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THE ANGELIC CROWN

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The initiation crown of the Hungarian kings—the "Holy Crown"—is mentioned under different names in the sources over the centuries. It is referred to, primarily in the early sources, as simply "the king's crown", or "the royal crown"; then increasingly as "the crown of the country", or "the crown of Hungary", but most frequently, up to the present day, as "the holy crown". There are fewer Latin references to Saint Stephen's ownership like *corona sancti regis* or *corona sancti regis Stephani.* It is in the Baroque age that the expression "apostolic crown" appears. Of all the names the most puzzling one, however, is "the angelic crown", in Latin texts *corona angelica.* This emerges, as it were, "from the depths of the nation" in the age of interregnum after the Árpád dynasty died out (1301) and later becomes essential in the independence movements.

When King Andrew III died, the country could easily have become the battle-field of foreign powers and different dynasties. Everybody agreed that the new king must be elected from among the female descendants of the Árpád dynasty. However, there were other pretenders as well as other considerations to be taken into account. The Roman Holy See, saying that Saint Stephen, the first king of Hungary, had received his religion and royal crown from the Roman Holy See, laid a claim to filling in the empty throne. Nor did the German emperor remain idle: remembering the offer made by Béla IV at the time of the Mongol invasion, he considered the Hungarian Kingdom a vacant German feudal tenure. Hungary, in order to preserve its independence, conceded the claim of the female descendants, but retained the right to elect its own king and did not even want to hear about the claims of the pope or the emperor. In the disastrous battle of principles and assumed rights, the popular rendering of the Holy Crown as the symbol of sovereignty, namely, "angelic crown", became a political slogan in Hungary for the first time.

We have to begin our story from the time when the son of the Czech King Wenceslas II, also called Wenceslas, was elected and crowned king of Hungary in Székesfehérvár (August 27th, 1301). Although he was the lawful king of Hungary, he could not defeat his enemies; therefore his father thought it best to take him back to Prague under the protection of his strong army (1304)—but not empty-handed! As a trick he had his son dressed up in the full regalia of the Hungarian king and then left the

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country with the treasures acquired in this way. The hurry in which the army left the country with the two Wenceslases excludes the possibility that any of the royal insignia were left behind. The Austrian Rimed Chronicle (written in German) gives an exact list of the pieces Wenceslas was wearing when leaving Hungary. According to this, he was wearing the robe of Saint Stephen *(einen roc heiligen),* to his waist was belted the sword of Saint Stephen *(sant Stephanes swert),* the spurs of Saint Stephen were fastened to his feet *(zwene sporn),* and the Holy Crown was put on his head *(die heilic krone)* which, as the source says, had been worn by Saint Stephen; (the other kings, however, were allowed to wear it only on the three major ecclesiastical holidays). Finally, in one hand he was holding the gold spectre *(daz zepter guldin)* and in the other the relic made of pure gold and covered with precious stones of the arm of Saint Stephen *(sant Stephans arm).* Obviously, this was the way they tried to replace the orb already missing. According to the author of the Rimed Chronicle, the orb had not yet been lost when Andrew III was crowned (1290). Therefore every word of the assertions of the other two sources (the *Continuatio Zwetlensis III* and *Chronicon aulae regiae*) is true, namely that the two Wenceslases had taken with them to Prague the full regalia of the Hungarian king.

In spite of the fact that he never returned to Hungary, Wenceslas continued to regard himself king of Hungary. By taking possession of the regalia, he wanted to secure his royal rights against anyone else. When, following the death of his father he occupied the Czech throne, he made a solemn declaration, waiving all his rights concerning Hungary (1305), and handed the regalia over to another pretender to the Hungarian throne and a relative of his, namely to Otto, Prince of Bavaria, so that they should not find their way to his enemy Angevin Charles Robert. The Czech king correctly assumed that the Hungarians could only recover the regalia necessary for crowning a king, those much desired ancient relics, if they accepted Otto as their king–no matter how they hated the idea. All these signs go to show that Wenceslas did not keep any of the Hungarian treasures. It is quite certain that the so-called Saint Stephen sword to be found in Prague was not brought to Czech land on this occasion. The sword is mentioned also by the Rimed Chronicle among the objects Otto obtained from Wenceslas. We have to suppose that the relic of Saint Stephen's arm was also returned to Hungary, if not to the abbey named after the Holy Right then, with the other regalia, to Székesfehérvár. According to Osvát Laskai it was kept there around 1480.

Once in possession of the Hungarian relics, Otto, prince of Bavaria pondered about his trip to Hungary with grave concern. Both the supporters of the emperor and those of the Angevins would have liked to stymie his plan and rid him of his treasures. The author of the Rimed Chronicle draws a vivid picture of how Otto hid the crown, the sceptre and the sword: the two latter pieces were hidden in a sheath which looked like a quiver and when he mounted his horse he hung it on his belt. He had a special little barrel made for the crown so that on his way people should think that it contained some kind of a drink. The Hungarian chronicler called this holder *flasco* in Latin and its role was defined in the same way in German by the Austrian Rimed chronicler:

gelich einer flaschen. He, however, described the sheath as a leather bag: *ein liderin taschen* or *der malhen liderin.* The two descriptions, independent of each other, allow us to conclude that: the leather-turned wooden sheath was covered with leather.

It was with this "misleading luggage" that Otto and his suite set out on their dangerous trip. They moved from the Moravian town Brno *(Brunne)* in the direction of Vienna *(Wiennen)* and after passing by Enzersdorf *(Enzestorfe)* they crossed the river Lajta *(Litach),* the Hungarian border, without any trouble. Here, however, they were in for a surprise. The event was recorded also by the Hungarian chronicle, but the Rimed chronicler describes it in a much greater detail. In order to distract the attention of the people, the party hunted during the day and rode on at a fast pace only during the night. And it so happened that in the dark of the night they did not even notice that the little barrel fastened to the pommel of the saddle had disappeared. As a result of the continuous jolting during the ride, the strap which fastened the little barrel to the saddle came undone, and the barrel, together with its precious treasure, fell into the dust of the busy thoroughfare. This, of course, caused great panic. Ignoring the danger of being taken prisoners by the alarmed Austrian guards, they turned back, crossed the Lajta again, and found the little barrel safe on the road at a mile's distance. Only their surprise was greater than their pleasure, because many people were travelling along the thoroughfare–a fact stated by both the Austrian and the Hungarian chroniclers–who, somehow, did not notice the little barrel with its valuable content.

When the Bavarians finally rode into the town of Sopron *(Oedenburc),* Ivan, the powerful count of Németújvár was informed of their arrival right away. Ivan who used to be the patron of Wenceslas and was now that of Otto, gave thanks to the Lord for the good news and then at once asked the messengers whether the guests had brought with them the coronation relics which the Czech king had taken away with him from Hungary a year before. He made special inquiries about the sceptre, the crown and the sword–it seems that these were the objects he considered most important *(zepter, krone unde swert).* Following this, Otto was escorted first to Buda *(Oven),* then to Fehérvár *(Wizenburge)* where he was duly anointed and crowned king of Hungary (December 6th, 1305). The Hungarians, never enamoured of the Bavarian prince, accepted him as king because they wanted to recover the holy crown of their country together with the other regalia. When he visited the voivod of Transylvania with the intention of asking for the hand of his daughter, he was captured, the crown was taken away from him and then he was chased out of the country ignominously (1307).

It is interesting to compare what the Austrian and the Hungarian chroniclers have to say about these events. The author of the Rimed Chronicle relates with apparent relish the adventure of Otto and of his suite. He tells the events one after another in a verbose manner similar to that of the adventure stories then in vogue. At the same time he is a reliable chronicler, factually accurate. In the Hungarian version the story of Otto is related very briefly, in an extremely biased manner. There are altogether three chapters (191, 192, 193) devoted to the story of Otto, but even these are not homogeneous. Chapter 191 tells everything worth knowing about Otto. Its partiality is betrayed by the emphasis put on the rightfulness of Otto's rule which the author

supports with good arguments. He attributes Otto's sorrowful fate to having been born under an unlucky star. The other two chapters are actually supplements to the story of Otto, fully discussed already in chapter 191. The paragraph of chapter 192 beginning with "we cannot conceal that. . ." turns the story of losing the crown against Otto; its author supported the interests of the opposing Angevin party. In this author's view, it was in this way that Heaven gave Otto to understand that he was not allowed to keep the crown he had gained possession of; he lost his kingdom together with his crown. Also as a supplement, chapter 193 relates how the people of Buda supporting the Angevins were released from the captivity imposed by the Czech King Wenceslas, and of the murderous revenge that followed.

That these two latter chapters were added subsequently is also shown by the fact that they were missing from the copy which the author of the Chronicon Posoniense used as his source. Originally, chapter 191 was directly followed by chapter 194. It was here that the chronicler of the Angevins summarized the events of the new dynasty occupying the throne, but only up to August 27, 1310 when Charles Robert was at last crowned with the Holy Crown. We think it highly probable that chapter 192 (dealing with the loss of the Holy Crown), and the accompanying chapter 193 were written by this pro-Angevin author. After 1311 we find only annal-like entries pertaining to the history of the Angevins, all of which begin with the words *Anno Domini* and whose literary style differs greatly from that of the writer of chapter 194. The following chapters are also the work of another writer.

Having defined the place and date of the writer of chapter 192, let us return to him again, for he still has something to tell us. It is characteristic of him that he should interpret the circumstances of finding the lost holy crown on the road as a real miracle. According to the Austrian Rimed Chronicle, the Bavarians were only surprised at their great luck, and did not even think of celestial interference: *daz si die flust funden / ze grozen saelden si daz mazen. . . .* Unruffled by these events they continued their journey. The Hungarian writer, however, tries to attribute the lucky occurrence to a real celestial miracle. He emphasizes several times the large number of travellers on the thoroughfare and the fact that the little barrel hiding the crown was lying on the road for a long time. He tries to define the time with utmost care: "The crown must have got lost before midnight, it is beyond doubt, however, that it was found only towards evening on the following day. This is a real miracle which cannot be concealed! Otherwise how could it be explained that it was not noticed by any of the passers-by, except by the one who was looking for it!" The Hungarian writer also draws his conclusion from this: "Pannonia will not lose its angelic crown!" *(data sibi corona ab angelo).*

The belief that the Holy Crown had been brought to the Hungarian people by an angel from Heaven must have been wide-spread when it was first—as far as we know—recorded by the Angevin chronicler in 1310. The "miracle" of finding the crown reminded him of another miracle, of the origin of the crown. Thus he came to the conclusion that the Hungarian crown received from Heaven could not be lost. That is why the Holy Crown was called "angelic crown" *(corona angelica)* for centuries. The

unusual event was turned into a miracle, a celestial sign which became suitable for justifying human actions.

According to the Larger Stephen legend, the foundation of the Hungarian Church and kingdom had been preceded by a miracle. Even Prince Géza had encouraged the spreading of Christianity and the founding of episcopates. It was at that time that he saw a beautiful young man in his dream who gave him the message of the Lord. This message revealed to him that everything he planned to accomplish would be achieved by his son yet to be born, once crowned as king. The author of the legend tried to make the Hungarians forget in this way the pagan Emese's dream which also promised that princes of the Árpád dynasty would rule in glory in the future. In this Christian version we can call the messenger of the Lord an angel, although that is not what the text calls him, and this "angel" brought not a crown from Heaven, but only a message. So, it is improbable that the Hungarians thought of this angel when calling the Holy Crown "angelic crown".

Since the time of Pope Gregory VII, the papacy had been trying to impose its authority over emperors and kings. In the person of Kálmán (Coloman, 1095–1116) an offspring of the Árpád dynasty, brought up in the spirit of Pope Gregory and trained for an ecclesiastic profession, a king occupied the Hungarian throne who seemed to be more permissive towards papacy than his forefathers. The new Saint Stephen legend, which was compiled by bishop Hartvik on his instructions, related the history of the foundation of the Hungarian kingdom in the way the Holy See expected him to: Stephen became the first king of the Hungarians with the blessing of the pope and was crowned with the crown sent by him. The blessing, if necessary, could be understood by Rome as a dispensation and it could always refer to the crown sent by the pope whenever it wished to dispose of the Hungarian throne by right of the Supremacy. But the Hungarian king never acknowledged the "liege" or any other rule of the pope, although he was ready to accept the Hartvik version of the origin of the crown. In Hartvik's view, the pope had the crown made by his goldsmith and it was already finished when the "messenger of the Lord" *(domini nuncius)* appeared in his dream. The crown, in actual fact, was not given by an angel but by the pope. The task of the angel was merely to tell the pope the will of God: that the crown should not be given to the one it had been ordered for.

We have discussed the Hartvik legend only to compare the angel appearing in the vision of the pope with the angel of the Holy Crown. We think that the question has been duly clarified: the two angels are not the same. It would have been strange indeed if they had had anything to do with each other. Hartvik's intention was to have the Hungarian public opinion accept the view of the Roman court and his attempt was partly successful. The fictitious story of the new Saint Stephen legend about the crown having been sent by the Holy See spread all over the country. It was propagated by the Church and also by the royal court and the ruling circles in agreement with it. The acceptance of the Hartvik legend about the crown was greatly facilitated by the form of the legend to which probative force was attributed in the Middle Ages. The texts of legends were quoted as if they had been official documents. Although Pope

Innocent III had a line he did not like deleted from the text of Hartvik, he had the legend as a whole confirmed. In spite of all this, the consciousness of the Hungarian society retained the memory of the angel having brought the crown to Pannonia, and that the country had received this crown directly from the Lord, "the king of kings", and not from earthly powers.

That this simpler but all the more glamorous rendering of the freedom of the country is actually older and more original than the Hartvik doctrine insinuated by King Coloman, is mainly proved by two points: its Byzantine origin and the popular character of its appearance from time to time.

It was a common idea in the East and in the West that the source of all power is God. This idea was, however, manifested in essentially different ways in the culture of Byzantium and of the Latin hemisphere, because of their different world-views. In the western representations either God's hand appears from behind the clouds of the sky and hands over a crown to the chosen one or Christ himself is sitting or standing, performing the coronation. The first version can be found everywhere among Christians, also in Byzantium. The second version, however, was spread directly under the influence of Byzantium. There was, however, a third version in Byzantium as well which we cannot find in the contemporary representations of the West; here the crown and the other symbols of power are brought by the angels as mediators. As in the East, so the angels are old appurtenances of the hierarchy of heaven in the West, although the sending of crowns was missing from their list of tasks. In Byzantium, however, the sight of angels descending from the celestial sphere with crowns or other objects was not infrequent at all. And if we happen to come across representations of that kind in the West as well, we have to suspect the influence of Byzantium. Let us quote here a few of these pictorial representations.

The angels' exclusion from functions of "state law" of this kind cannot be considered a chance phenomenon in Latin cultural territories. In direct opposition to Byzantium, the inheritor of the Roman Empire, the kings and emperors of the West wished to emphasize that their power came directly from God *(Dei gratia).* They did not want the mediation of angels; their connection with God can be considered personal. The basileus of Constantinople did not need this self-justification therefore he devoted greater space to the angels, these kindly mediators. The crown, brought by the angel descending from Heaven, was filled with special holiness in the eyes of earthly mortals, and it became a holy relic on the Earth. To verify this view let us quote the teaching of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus directed to his son, to be found in chapter 13 of his work about ruling the empire: "These (imperial garments and crowns) were not made by men, neither were they contrived or made by human machination, but as we find written in the secret books of ancient history, when God made Constantine the Great the first Christian ruler emperor, he sent him these robes of state and crowns by his angel. . .". In the following lines we read that these objects—as they are holy relics—must be guarded in Hagia Sophia, the great and sacred cathedral of God, and they may be taken out of it only on the great religious holidays of the Lord.

Fig. 1 Basileos Bulgaroktonos II.
Miniature from *Codex* gr. 17, fol. 3. Manuscript, Venice, Bibl. Marciana, after 1017 A. D.

Fig. 2 Emperor Constantinos Monomakhos with Zoe and Theodora. Miniature from *Codex Sinait.* 364. Manuscript, 11th century A. D.

Fig. 3 Detail from a miniature portrait of an unknown emperor. *Psalterium Barberini. Cod. Barb.* gr. 372, fol. 5r. Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana. After Manuel I (died in 1180 A. D.)

Fig. 4 The Bulgarian Tzar Ivan Alexander (1331–1371 A. D.). Illustration from the *Manasses-Chronicle.* About 1345 A. D. Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana.

Fig. 5 St. Edmund, King of England.
Miracula Sancti Edmundi. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York. About 1125–1145 A. D.

It looks very much as if this passage by the Byzantine emperor is about the Holy Crown of Hungary. The Hungarian crown was also seen in the glory of sanctity since people thought it had been given by the angel and it was guarded as a relic in the Maria Church in Székesfehérvár. All the kings were crowned with it and they were allowed to wear it on the three major holidays, Christmas, Easter and Pentecost. They also wore a crown on other days and for other events as well, but this was not considered holy by their subjects as it had not been given by an angel. From this it is obvious that the Holy Crown was not surrounded by sanctity because it was considered as belonging to Saint Stephen by common knowledge. For when the Holy Crown was retained by Elizabeth, widow of Albert, in vain did they crown Wladislas I in 1440 with the crown taken off the head relic of Saint Stephen: it could in no way replace the sanctity of the Holy Crown. The sanctity of the Holy Crown was bestowed by the fact that it had been brought by an angel from Heaven. Strangers–writes Péter Révay, keeper of the

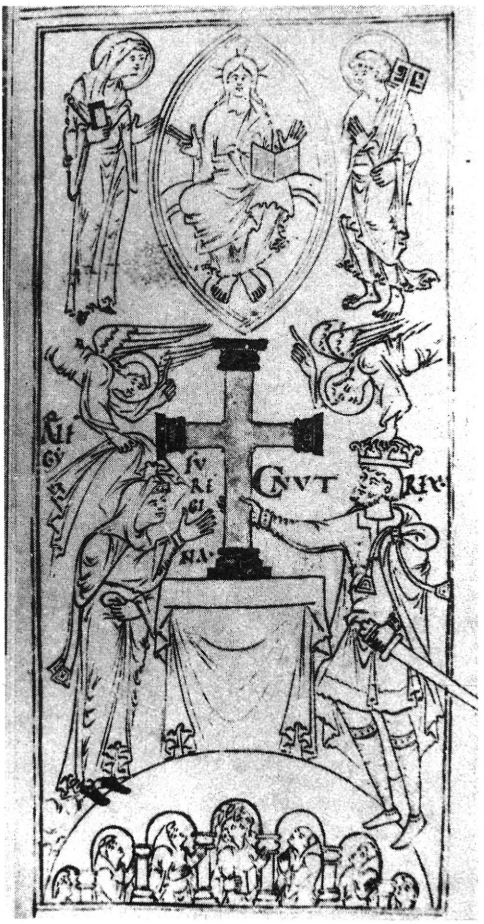

Fig. 6 Knut, King of Denmark and England, with Queen Aelfgifu.
Liber vitae (Hyde Abbey). London, British Museum,
Stowe Ms. 944, fol. 6r. 1020–1030 A. D.

crown, in his book published in 1613–"often smile or even look at us angrily when hearing that we call the crown holy, angelic, apostolic or other similar names". He wrote this work primarily with the intention of "making other peoples understand better why we, Hungarians, talk about the religion of our crown *(Religionem hanc nostrae Coronae)* and why we believe in it". If, however, the Hungarians were able to believe in the angelic origin of their crown like the Byzantines, the spreading of this belief cannot be supposed to have taken place later than the 11th century. Saint Stephen had issued documents in Greek which were still understood in the age of Coloman, although by then were translated into Latin.

Furthermore, it is also significant that as the name "angelic crown" was mainly used by the common people it was primarily adopted by those writers who had closer connections with the common people. Accordingly, we come across the expression more frequently when the political events stirred the large masses of society into motion. Official Hungary, the aristocracy and the prelates, would rather call our crown "the crown of the country" or "the holy crown of Hungary".

The social significance of the names of the Hungarian crown was already manifest at the beginning of the Angevin age when the chronicler supporting the Angevins refers to the crown as " the crown given by the angel" which Otto, Prince of Bavaria lost on his way to Hungary. At the same time the nobility arguing with the legate of the pope never called the Holy Crown "angelic" officially, but used the following names in their documents: *corona regni, corona sacra regni Ungarie,* etc. If, as many believe, the chronicler quoted did belong to the Franciscan order (which was close to the common people and the urban citizens from the beginning), it is easier to understand why he mentions the crown given by the angel.

In this respect it is no less illuminating to consider how György Szerémi refers to the Holy Crown in his memoirs on the "decay of Hungary". He consistently calls the Holy Crown "angelic crown". It is characteristic of him how he describes the scene when King John of Hungary demonstrated the Holy Crown to the "emperor of the Turks" in the Assembly Field of Rákos. When the king left, the crown remained in the tent of the Turks. Pál Váradi, Archbishop of Esztergom and Péter Perényi, keeper of the crown, happened to enter the tent, and catching sight of the crown, asked in surprise: "What is our Hungarian crown *(corona nostra Hungarorum)* doing here? " The Sultan answered: "Even if it used to belong to the Hungarians, now it belongs to me, to the Turks. And the reason for this is that I wanted to see what the angelic crown was like, for in the Turkish empire angels are held in high esteem."

Let us turn our attention to the expressions used. The aristocrats entering the tent speak about the "crown of the Hungarians", while Szerémi, recording the scene, calls it "angelic" both here and elsewhere. What comes out of the scene, whether it did happen or not, is that the Holy Crown received the name "angelic" because an angel had given it to Pannonia. This belief was still vivid in the 16th century, although at this time the country was already bleeding from a thousand wounds as a consequence of the Turkish invasion. The Turks also learned about this, at least that is how we have to interpret the words of the Turkish *fethname* about the military campaign of 1529: "Hungary . . . has an imperial crown decorated with gold and precious stones left from the old times known as 'the crown', guarded near Buda in a castle named Visegrád which is the object of the vain pride and bragging of the Hungarian kings . . .". Very probably, Hungarians were "bragging" to the Turks that their crown had not been man-made, but had been brought to them by an angel. In spite of this, the Turkish writers fail to mention the angelic origin of our crown; all they say about it is that it was known by the name of "the crown".

The most characteristic feature of György Szerémi as a chronicler is his popular orientation, and undoubtedly this is what explains his stubborn usage of the "angelic

crown". It is easy to understand why it is just this adjective "angelic" which is so dear to the common people. The role of mediator of the angel was mainly talked about among the common people, but the celestial origin of the crown was believed and acknowleged by everybody in Hungary, including the aristocracy and the court. In her memoirs Mrs. János Kottaner, maid of honour of Queen Elizabeth, widow of king Hapsburg Albert writes that "God sent the Holy Crown to Saint Stephen in Hungary and He intended it for him" *(von got gesandt vnd gemaint ist).* Elias Berger, whom Matthias II appointed the historian of the court, also takes us to the world of the court, and what is more, to that of the Hapsburgs. "The crown of Hungary is rightly called holy and angelic"–he writes in his book published in Latin. And then he continues as follows: "It was sent to us by Heaven and brought to us by the angels . . . The wisest authors call it apostolic". At the same time, he also refers to the crown having been sent by the pope, along the lines of Hartvik.

So far we have seen that the origin and sanctity of the crown of Hungary was understood differently by ordinary people, the court and the aristocracy. The concept of the former stemmed from the image of the crown having been given or brought by the angel, while that of the latter originated in the written tradition of the crown having been sent by the pope on celestial instructions. The contrast between the two views seems to be dissolving at the beginning of the 17th century. Berger, quoted above, considers that the crown was brought down from Heaven by the angels (thus), but he still inserts towards the end of his story the Hartvik version about the crown having been sent by the pope.

The history of the crown is related by Péter Révay in a similar way. The crown of Hungary is "holy, angelic, apostolic". The copper engraving of Wolfgang Kilian in the 1613 Augsburg edition of his book shows the scene of the two angels descending from Heaven with the crown. The caption is the same: SACRA, ANGELICA, ET APOSTOLICA REGNI HVNGARIAE CORONA. In the text, however, the author describes the crown as coming from the pope, who is induced by "divine revelation and angelic command" to make this donation. The Holy Crown is "angelic" as it "was given by God" and not because it was in actual fact brought by the angel as had been advocated before. In this way reality was transformed into an allegory by baroque imagination.

The final word in the history of the "angelic crown" was spoken by the fast gaining ground of enlightenment and scientific way of thinking which was felt at the end of the 18th century. The crown loses the adjectives "apostolic" and "angelic": by the 19th century the crown has only one widely used name: the Holy Crown.

The last trace of the old concept could be seen when the Holy Crown "arrived home" again from its "Hapsburg captivity". During the reign of Joseph II Emperor and Hungarian king (1780–1790) Hungary was threatened by the real danger of becoming one of the inherited territories of the Hapsburg house for ever. The Holy Crown, the symbol of the Hungarian state and independence, or essentially that of "Hungarian freedom", spoken about so frequently, was locked among the imperial treasures. So the Hungarians were extremely cheered when the emperor, right before

his death, permitted the crown and the other regalia to be transported to Buda, the capital of the country. All the Hungarians were moved and overjoyed by the glorious return of the Holy Crown. As József Keresztesi writes in his diary, the boundless pleasure made a poet out of everybody. In the poems written at that time, the adjective "angelic" is to be encountered occasionally (English translations by the editors):

Rejoice, Magyar, and guard this treasure of yours,
Like you guard the sight of your two eyes;
Because that is what God wants you to do:
When making you the keeper of this angelic treasure.

And another poem begins thus:

Welcome our angelic ancient Holy Crown!
Rejoice our apostolic, embittered homeland!
And press your treasure to your bosom in Buda
So that your enemy may see the hope in your eyes.

At that time the Holy Crown representing the symbol of "Hungarian freedom" is still referred to as the "angelic crown".

Since the belief that the crown was brought to Pannonia by an angel has such deep roots, let us try to find–in the hope that we shall succeed–the angel, who, according to the belief of the Hungarians, descended from Heaven under the orders of the Lord. This event–as it has been proved in the course of this study–was not familiar to the Saint Stephen legends; chapter 120 of the 14th century chronicle, however, seems to hint at this. This chapter can be found in both chronicle versions (*S* and *V*), therefore it may have been included in the *Gesta* continuation which followed the thread of events up to the death of King Coloman (1116). So we are justified in our belief that the story was recorded early.

Princes Géza and László (Ladislas) were preparing for a decisive battle with king Solomon when Ladislas had a vision. He caught sight of the angel of the Lord *(angelus Domini)* as he was descending from Heaven and placed a gold crown on the head of his brother. Turning to Géza he told him his vision with great pleasure and also explained it: They would win the battle and Géza would get the crown and the kingdom of Hungary *(regnum vero et corona)*. Actually they did win the battle at Mogyoród and after the battle Géza was crowned king (in the middle of March 1074). But with which crown? King Solomon had taken the crown of the country with him and since then nobody had an idea where it was. So Géza had a crown made for himself from the gift he had got from Byzantine emperor Michael Dukas VII. This is obvious from the circlet (i.e. the *corona graeca*) of the Holy Crown, even if not in its original state. His subjects must have been aware of the fact that his crown was not the same as the one bequeathed by Saint Stephen. But since it had been brought by an angel, its sanctity was beyond doubt, and therefore it was worthy of substituting for the old crown consecrated by tradition. The appearance of the angel bringing the crown in Ladislas' vision gave Géza what he lacked for his reign–legitimity. In vain would he have

occupied the throne, if Solomon was still alive and remained the anointed and crowned king of Hungary. The miracle of the crown given by the angel, however, made it obvious to everybody that Géza was the chosen one of the Lord and as such he was entitled to the title and crown of king.

It was not long before this Holy Crown of Géza was talked about as the crown of Saint Stephen. In the company of the relics of Saint Stephen, Géza's crown itself was transformed into a relic of King Stephen. Because, if Saint Stephen was the founder of the Hungarian kingdom, the Holy Crown could not have originated from anybody else but him.

The first entry testifying that the crown of Géza I was identified with the crown of Saint Stephen can be found in the so-called Sambucus (S) codex of the 14th century chronicles about the reign of King Coloman. Chapter 142 mentions that Prince Álmos was blinded "so that he should not be worthy of wearing the crown of the saint king" *(ut non sit dignus portare coronam sancti regis)*. As this text version relates the events in greater detail only up to 1108, the reference to the crown of "the saint king", i.e. king Saint Stephen cannot be older than this date. The fact that the remark refers to the so-called lower "Greek" part of the Holy Crown is proved by chapter 156 of 14th century chronicle which relates how the Byzantine king Ioannes Comnenus (1118–1143) offended the Hungarian King Stephen II (1116–1131). He stated that "the king of Hungary was his vassal". How could the emperor come to this idea? The reason for this was that Stephen II was wearing the picture of the Greek emperor of the Holy Crown on his crown. And if somebody had the picture of the emperor on his crown, the Byzantines had the right to consider him the subject of their emperor. This fact has been preserved by the history of the Álmos line which closes with the reign of Géza II (up to 1162).

Notes

Concerning the role played by Wenceslas Czech and Otto Bavarian princes, see *Die Königsaaler Geschichtsquellen* ed. Joh. Loserth, *Fontes rerum Austriacarum* I. Abt. *Scriptores* Bd. VIII, Wien, 1875. *Libr.* I. c. 68. p. 167–168; *Anonymus Leobiensis a. 1302* ed. H. Pez, *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum* I. p. 875; *Annales Austriae. Continuatio Zwetlensis tertia a. 1302, 1304, 1305, 1308* ed. MG SS IX. p. 660, 662; *Reimchronik* ed. MG SS qui vernacula lingua usi V/2 lines 80270–80300, 83370–83510, 86480–86500, 87040–87160, 87320–87390, 87590–87620. That the orb had not yet been lost when Andrew III was crowned king, see ibid. lines 41220–41240. Cf. J.M. Bak, *Sankt Stefans Armreliquie im Ornat König Wenzels von Ungarn* in: *Festschrift P. E. Schramm zu seinem 70. Geburtstag,* Bd. I, Wiesbaden, 1964. p. 175–188. *Annales Mechovienses a 1304* is obviously mistaken when stating that *caput sancti Stephani regis et lanceam et coronam* were taken to Bohemia (MG SS XIX. p. 668). Concerning the value of the sources in question see A. Lhotsky, *Quellenkunde zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Österreichs in Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband* XIX (1963). The Hungarian chronicles mention only the crown *(corona regni)* among the regalia that had been taken out of the country (p. 481): *Chron. s. XIV.* c. 188–193. ed. E. Szentpétery, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. p. 479–495. An excellent summary of this question is given by J. Deér, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns,* Wien, 1966. p. 215–224. We considered it necessary to separate the parts

from the chronicles dealing with the Angevin age according to the authors supporting the different parties. The latest undertaking of this task is the work of Gyula Kristó entitled *Anjou-kori krónikáink* published in *Századok* 98 (1967) p. 457–502. We quoted the Pozsony (Bratislava) Chronicle as a version with a different view, i.e. its chapters 78–82 from *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* II.

Among the Hungarian legends we did not find the data of *Legenda s. Ladislai regis* useful (ed. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* II. p. 515–527), although our most important datum about the miracle of the angel descending from Heaven is connected with Saint Ladislas (*Chron. s. XIV.* c. 120). However, originally the legend ended with chapter 8 (burial in Várad) and the further chapters, concerned only with the description of the miracles, were written much later, at the end of the 12th century, or even later, at the beginning of the 13th century. All the attempts of the author of the original legend are aimed at justifying that the reign of Saint Ladislas was legitimate. His visions and religious manifestations were recorded by the chronicler who himself refers to this legend, and who wrote the history of king Coloman up to his death. The early cult of Saint Ladislas appeared already at the time of Coloman and his son Stephen II. They had the name, though not the picture of Ladislas put on the reverse of their Denars. See: L. Huszár, *Münzkatalog Ungarn*, Budapest, 1979. Nos 31, 33–35, 40, 45, 49, 59.

The Larger Legend of Saint Stephen and the biography by Hartvik can be found in *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* II., under the editorship of Emma Bartoniek. In chapter II of his work, Hartvik adopted without any changes the vision of prince Géza from the third chapter of the *Legenda maior* but also added to it the vision of the pregnant princess for the sake of greater credit. She received the good news from the martyr Stephen that she would give birth to a son, *cui primo in hac gente corona debetur et regnum* (p. 406). The wording *regnum vero et corona tibi tradetur* . . . of *Chron.* s. XIV. c. 120 bears a conspicuous resemblance to the above rendering of Hartvik which confirms our thesis that the parts of the chronicle on Saint Ladislas were written right after the death of Coloman. The coronation of Saint Stephen is treated in the Larger Legend c. 9. p. 384 and in the Hartvik supplement c. 9. p. 412–414. In the literature dealing with these legends an outstanding place is occupied by the study of József Deér *Der Anspruch der Herrscher des 11. Jahrhunderts auf die apostolische Legation* in *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 2 (1964) p. 151–167 = *Byzanz und das abendländische Herrschertum*, hrg. v. P. Classen, Sigmaringen, 1977. p. 467–480), and also by his book on the crown 197 sqq. quoted above, as well as by the writing of József Gerics (*Judicium Dei a magyar állam XI. századi külkapcsolataiban.* In: *Athleta patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez*, ed. by L. Mezey, Budapest, 1980. p. 113–134). Innocent III makes a correction in the text of the Hartvik legend: Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Slavorum Meridionalium* I. 1863, p. 57 (abstract). Under the pressure of the pope's legate the court finally surrenders to the Holy See concerning the origin of the crown: 1233 Andrew II, the agreement in Bereg. (Theiner, *Mon. Hung. Sacr.* I. No. 198, p. 116); in 1279 Ladislas IV acknowledges that Saint Stephen became king not *auctoritate propria* but because he received the royal power and crown from the pope (ibid. I. No. 556, p. 339).

The book of Constantine VII, Byzantine emperor *De administrando imperio* was quoted from the edition of Gyula Moravcsik (Budapest, 1950. p. 66–67, c. 13, 24–48). In Hungary Saint Stephen acquired the same role as Constantinus the Great did in Byzantium: his bequest is considered holy and is guarded by the Church.

On the head relic-crown of Saint Stephen at the initiation of Vladislas I see: M.G. Kovachich, *Vestigia Comitiorum apud Hungaros*, Budae, 1790. p. 235–243.

Petrus de Rewa, *De Sacrae coronae regni Hungariae ortv, virtvte, victoria, fortvna* . . ., Avgustae Vindelicorum . . . Anno M. DC. XVIII. Avtor ad lectorem, and p. 5.

Acta legationis cardinalis Gentilis: Mon. Vatic. Hung. I/2, No. 39, November 27, 1308, Pest. According to the legate, *coronam regni primus rex Ungarie sanctus Stephanus a Romano pontifice consecratam acceperit.* It is on the basis of this that the Holy See claims the *potestas directa* or the right of free disposal over Hungary which, however, the barons and the noble were not willing to

acknowledge *sub specie tuende libertatis eiusdem regni*; May 8–July 14; 1309, *Const. synodales* c. 3. *De corona regis: sacra corona* (p. 273); No. 64, June 4, 1309, *regni corona* (p. 303); December 25, 1309, *corona sacra regni Ungarie* (p. 373); July 6, 1311, similarly (p. 387); etc. Similarly, according to *Chron. s. XIV.* c. 188 (*Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. p. 480) the freedom of the country is threatened by the Holy See.

The memoirs of György Szerémi about the decay of Hungary, *Szerémi György emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról*, ed. by Gusztáv Wenzel, Pest, 1857, c. 79. p. 270 sqq. The Holy Crown as *corona angelica*: c. 41 about the election of John king. Only the crown is "angelic", the robe, the sword are those of Saint Stephen; the sceptre, and the orb, however, are not defined like the *vexillum regale* (p.137–139); c. 42 p. 139, etc.

József Thury, *Török történetírók*, vol I, Budapest, 1893, in: *Okmánytár* XI. Fethnáme on the campaign of 1529 (p. 385–391). See also vol. II. pp. 86, 187, 192, 344, 381, etc.

The memoirs of Mrs. Kottanner: K. Mollay, *Die Denkwürdigkeiten der Helene Kottannerin (1439–1440)*, Vienna, 1971. p. 20 (23) *die heilige Kron*; p. 27 (20)–28 (24), etc.

Elias Berger, *Jvbilaevs de origine, errore, et restitvtione s. coronae Hvngariae regni* . . . Anno M. DC. VIII, p. A/3, A/4: *coelesti et Angelorum revelatione coronam hanc* . . . *S. Stephano monitus contulit* (the pope). See also M. Schmeizel, *Commentatio historica de coronis, tam antiquis, quam modernis iisque regiis, Speciatim de origine et fatis Sacrae, Angelicae et Apostolicae Regni Hungariae Coronae*, Jena, 1713. p. 237.

A good example for the intellectual change that took place toward the end of the 18th century is the bulky study of Sámuel Decsy, writing as "the doctor of sober and medical sciences": *A magyar szent Koronának és az ahoz tartozó tárgyaknak históriája*, in Vienna, in the year of 1792. In chapter 28 (p. 42) he points out: "From the beginning the Hungarians have been full of splendid ideas . . . about their glorious crown. As almost all of them believe that it was sent by God, they attribute extraordinary holiness to it and accuse those who dare to doubt or deny this of daring infidelity and heresy."

About the return of the Hungarian crown (1790): the original contemporary diary of József Keresztesi, *Magyarország polgári és egyházi közéletéből a XVIII-dik század végén*. New edition. Budapest, 1882. pp. 202–203. Cf. Kálmán Benda–Erik Fügedi, *A magyar korona regénye*, Budapest, 1979. pp. 176–177.

Concerning the chapters 120, 142 and 156 of 14th century chronicle writing, see: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* I. pp. 388, 421 and 439–440. Concerning the Byzantine connections of Géza I, his Greek marriage and the gift of the emperor: Gy. Moravcsik, *Die byzantinische Kultur und das mittelalterliche Ungarn*, Berlin, 1956, pp. 17–18. Concerning the Byzantine marriage of the daughter of Saint Ladislas called Piroska: ibid. pp. 17–18.

DER LÖWENER KODEX

Bilanz der Forschung – neue Ergebnisse – weitere Aufgaben

ANDRÁS VIZKELETY
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Im Frühjahr 1982, drei Jahre nach der Rückgabe der ungarischen Königskrone, lag erneut ein wichtiges Dokument der mittelalterlichen ungarischen Kultur in der Vitrine einer Budapester öffentlichen Sammlung: die bei der Löwener Universitätsbibliothek erworbene *Altungarische Marienklage,* die ersten Verse in ungarischer Sprache, die für Ungarns Sprache und Literatur etwa die gleiche Bedeutung haben wie das *Hildebrandslied* für die deutsche Dichtung. Von der Presse und anderen öffentlichen Medien wurde dieses Ereignis des öfteren mit der Heimkehr der Stephanskrone verglichen, obwohl die Handschrift vielleicht jetzt zum ersten Mal auf ungarischen Boden gelangte. Bislang, jedoch erst seit 1922, war der Kodex im Besitz der Universitätsbibliothek Löwen (Leuven, Louvain) in Belgien gewesen. Die früheren Schicksale der Handschrift sind so gut wie unbekannt.

Deutschland mußte sich nach dem ersten Weltkrieg verpflichten, die im Krieg zerstörte Löwener Bibliothek wiederherzustellen. Die zu dieser Aufgabe konstituierte Kommission kaufte von der Münchener Antiquariatsfirma Rosenthal u.a. eine lateinische *Sermones*-Handschrift aus dem 13. Jh. Jacques Rosenthal hatte die Handschrift 1910 auf einer Auktion in der Toskana erworben und besaß vom ungarischen Text keine Kenntnis. Erst Georg Leidinger, Leiter der Handschriftensammlung der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek, der die vom deutschen Staat gekauften Stücke für die Kommission katalogisierte, fand den fremden Text im Kodex, den der Slavist und Turkologe Franz Babinger identifizierte. Um ein Gutachten über die Handschrift wurde Robert Gragger gebeten, der damals Direktor des Ungarischen Instituts in Berlin war. Er untersuchte die Handschrift zusammen mit dem Mediävisten Emil Jakubovich und publizierte 1923 seine Ergebnisse in ungarischer und in deutscher Sprache.[1] Diese Veröffentlichung enthält nicht nur das Facsimile und die Umschrift des ungarischen Textes, sondern auch eine – noch immer die ausführlichste – Beschreibung des Kodex, die in einigen Punkten jedoch Ergänzungen und Korrekturen bedarf. Seitdem befaßten sich zwei Hungarologen-Generationen mit dem Kodex, jedoch zumeist mit Blatt 134^{v}, auf dem die ungarische *Marienklage* steht. Die spärlichen ungarischen Glossen auf Bl. 222^{r}, 279^{r}, 285^{v} (insgesamt 9 Worte) bedeuteten für die Forschung keine besondere Aufgabe. Nachdem die Leseschwierigkeiten des stark verblaßten Textes der *Marienklage* überwunden waren, konzentrierte sich die Forschung in erster Linie auf

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die lautgeschichtliche, morphologische, semantische, stilistische Untersuchung des Textes sowie – jedoch in geringerem Maße – auf die literarisch-ästhetische Wertung der Übersetzung bzw. der Bearbeitung.[2] Bereits Gragger stellte nämlich fest, daß das ungarische Gedicht die lateinische Sequenz *Planctus ante nescia* zur Vorlage hatte und daß eine Variante der lateinischen Sequenz auf Bl. 199[r] der Handschrift steht, die jedoch nicht die Vorlage der ungarischen Bearbeitung sein konnte. Als Autor der Sequenz haben die hymnologischen Forschungen seitdem Gotfrid, Subprior von St. Victor in Paris (geboren 1125–30, gestorben um oder nach 1194), identifiziert, den die ältere Literatur oft und die ungarische Literatur stets fälschlich mit Gotfrid de Breteuil gleichgesetzt hat. Auch die neue 1970 von B. Bischoff erstellte kritische Edition des *Planctus*[3] verwertete die ungarische Forschung noch nicht, um mit Hilfe ihres Variantenapparats die dem ungarischen Text am nähesten stehende lateinische Fassung zu bestimmen.

Seit 1923 wurde es nur wenigen ungarischen Wissenschaftlern zuteil, den Originalkodex an seinem Standort in Löwen zu untersuchen. Man hat zumeist auf der Grundlage von Photokopien und Mikrofilmen gearbeitet. Kein Wunder, daß der Inhalt der ganzen Handschrift nie genau bestimmt wurde. Gragger erkannte zwar, daß es sich hauptsächlich um eine Sammlung von Predigten (z.T. nur in gekürzter Fassung) handelt, und vermutete aufgrund einiger Dominicus-Predigten den Einfluß des Dominikanerordens und eine Entstehung in Oberitalien. Ihm ist auch nicht entgangen, daß mehrere Text- und Nachtragshände an der Handschrift gearbeitet haben, die aus dem letzten Drittel des 13. Jahrhunderts stammen dürften. Er stellte auch fest, daß der Kodex heute einen wesentlich später angefügten Einband trägt *(terminus post quem* 1399, Datum einer als Vorsatzblatt verwendeten Urkunde).

Erst 1968 untersuchte L. Mezey während eines nur auf einige Tage beschränkten Aufenthalts in Löwen den Kodex und ging dabei auf inhaltliche und paläographische Fragen ein.[4] Das wichtigste Ergebnis seiner Untersuchungen war, daß er auf die französischen Charakteristika der Texthände verwies und somit eine italienische Entstehung der Handschrift in Frage stellte. Es war uns aber noch immer kein Autor der Predigten bekannt und somit die Bestimmung der von der Handschrift gebotenen näheren literarischen Umgebung des ungarischen *Planctus* unsicher bzw. hypothetisch. Selbst beim heutigen Stand der mittelalterlichen *Sermones*-Forschung können jedoch anonym überlieferte Predigten nicht in einigen Tagen bestimmt werden.[5]

Dies war den verantwortlichen ungarischen Stellen seit jeher bewußt. Kaum war die Handschrift der Universitätsbibliothek Löwen übergeben worden (sie erhielt dort die Signatur *G 200*), machte H. Holub, Kustos der Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek, bereits 1923 das erste Tauschangebot in Löwen, das jedoch nicht akzeptiert wurde. In den folgenden Jahren wirtschaftlicher und politischer Spannungen hat man keine weiteren Versuche unternommen. Im zweiten Weltkrieg wurde die Bibliothek erneut stark beschädigt. Der Safe jedoch, in dem die Hs. *G 200* lag, überlebte den Brand. Der Romanist und Hungarologe G. Bárczi kam 1947 mit dieser guten Nachricht aus Belgien zurück.[6] Er fand den Vorstand der Universitätsbibliothek zu Tauschverhandlungen bereit. Sie wurden erst 1955 in konkreter Form eingeleitet, dann unterbrochen, abge-

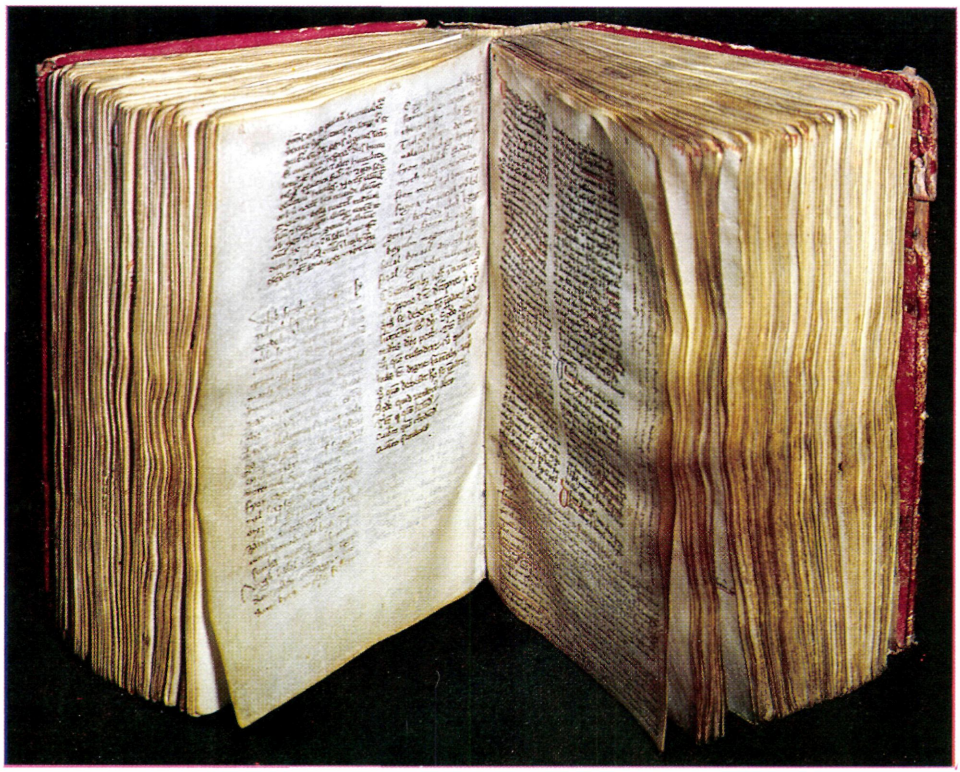

Abb. 1. Der geöffnete Kodex (links: die ungarische Marienklage, rechts: Anfang der Sermonesreihe „De sanctis“) (Photo MTI)

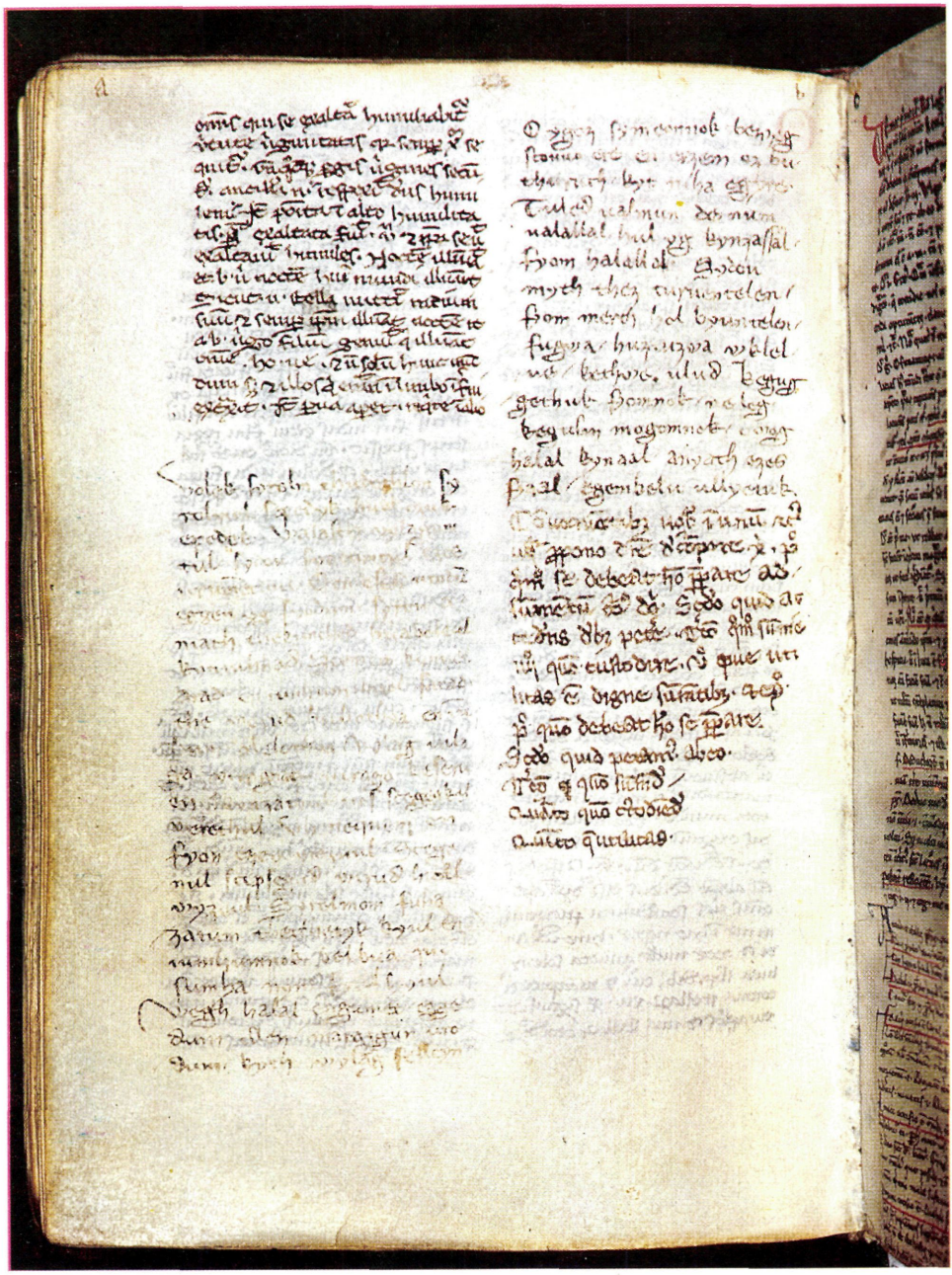

Abb. 2. Bl. 134^{v} Die ungarische Marienklage (Photo MTI)

lehnt und erneut aufgenommen. Des weiteren schufen die Ereignisse, die 1968–70 zu einer Teilung der Universität Löwen führten, keine günstige Atmosphäre für solche Verhandlungen. Auch die Universitätsbibliothek wurde in einen flämischen und einen wallonischen Bereich geteilt. Der flämische Teil, die Bibliothek der Katholischen Universität, blieb in Löwen und verfügte weiterhin über den Kodex mit der Marienklage (neue Signatur *A 6*). Es ist das Verdienst von Frau Dr. Elisabeth Soltész, Leiterin der Inkunabel- und Rara-Abteilung der Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek, daß sie die günstige Änderung der Atmosphäre während ihres Forschungsaufenthaltes in Löwen im Jahre 1980 wahrnahm und sich über Möglichkeiten, Umfang und Qualität eines Tauschverfahrens informierte. Dank den Bemühungen der Direktion der Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek und des ungarischen Ministeriums für Kultur und Bildung sowie dem verständnisvollen Entgegenkommen des Direktors der Universitätsbibliothek Löwen und des Vorstands der gesamten Institution wurden die Verhandlungen zugunsten beider Partner mit Erfolg abgeschlossen. Im Mai 1982 übergaben Herr Dr. Pieter de Somer, Rektor der Katholischen Universität Löwen und Herr D. Jan Roegiers, Direktor der Universitätsbibliothek den Kodex in Budapest, und sie erhielten 12 Inkunabeln, 24 weitere Drucke aus dem 16–17. Jahrhundert sowie acht Handschriftenbände aus dem 18. Jahrhundert – alles belgischer Provenienz – als Tauschobjekte.

Als dann die monatelang ausgestellte Handschrift an ihrem neuen Aufbewahrungsort lag, konnte die wissenschaftliche Bearbeitung beginnen, die heute (im Frühjahr 1983) bei weitem nicht abgeschlossen ist, jedoch bereits einige bemerkenswerte Ergebnisse zeitigte. Die Forschungen konzentrierten sich auf den Inhalt und zunächst auf den älteren Teil des Kodex. Die Untersuchung der Texte, die von den Nachtragshänden hinzugefügt wurden, wird einer späteren Phase der Forschung vorbehalten bleiben. Da aber die Zusammenstellung des Buchblocks oft wertvolle Auskünfte über den Inhalt eines Kodex gibt, verzichteten wir auch nicht auf die Untersuchung des Äußeren der Handschrift.

Wir erwähnten bereits, daß die Handschrift heute in einem Einband steckt, der etwa 120–150 Jahre älter ist als der eigentliche Text. Ein Zeichen dafür, daß die Handschrift eifrig benutzt wurde und der frühere Einband gegen 1400 bereits verschlossen war. Noch bevor der Buchblock einen neuen Einband bekam, wurden die Blätter mit arabischen Ziffern duchgezählt. Auf Blatt 136 beginnt aber eine zweite, ältere Zählung mit römischen Ziffern. Dies legte die Annahme nahe, daß der heutige Buchblock ursprünglich aus zwei Teilen bestand, die eine Zeitlang nicht miteinander verbunden waren. Sie wurden jedoch von einem einzigen Besitzer benutzt, da eine der Nachtragshände, und zwar jene Hand, welche die ungarische Marienklage in die Handschrift eintrug, in beiden vorausgesetzten Teilen aufzufinden ist. Als man die Handschrift neu einband, wurde sie auch neu umschnitten: einige Buchstaben der Randbemerkungen und einige Ziffern der älteren Zählung fielen stellenweise dem Schnitt zum Opfer.

Die ungarische Marienklage steht bekanntlich auf Bl. 134^{v}, und die ältere Zählung beginnt auf dem nächsten Blatt. Dieses Blatt trägt zwar heute die Blattzahl 136, da aber kein Gegenblatt in der Lage fehlt, müssen wir daraus folgern, daß hier bei der Zählung eine Zahl übersprungen wurde. Dieser Zweiteilung des Buchblocks entspricht auch eine Zäsur im Inhalt, auf die wir noch näher eingehen werden.

Dies gibt für den heutigen Zustand der Marienklage eine andere Erklärung, als bisher die *opinio communis* war. Schon den Entdeckern der Marienklage fiel auf, daß fast der gesamte ungarische Text stark verblaßt ist. Man erklärte es damit, daß der unverständliche Text späteren Besitzern, die nicht ungarisch verstanden, suspekt war und sie diese vielleicht heidnischen Eintragungen tilgen wollten. Die Oberfläche des Blattes zeigt jedoch keine Rasur, keinerlei Spuren mechanischen Eingriffs. Die Zeiten der Bekehrung, als man das Nationalsprachige zwangsläufig dem Heidentum gleichsetzte, waren im 13–14. Jh. längst vorbei. Eine viel größere Gefahr für die Kirche bedeuteten die Ketzer sowie die Irrlehren einiger Theologen – diese Auseinandersetzungen wurden aber in lateinischer Sprache ausgetragen. Für die verblaßte Schrift auf Blatt 134^{v} gibt es eine äußerst plausible Erklärung: Das Blatt war – zumindest zeitweilig – die Außenseite des letzten Blattes der ersten Handschrift. Wenn man – auch heute – die Handschrift dementsprechend geöffnet in der Hand hält, berühren Finger- und Handfläche genau die verblaßten Stellen. Ähnliche Benutzungsspuren befinden sich auch am Rand einiger Blätter, wo der Daumen die Randglossen berührte. Die Annahme, daß die Naht zwischen den beiden Teilen der Handschrift nach Blatt 134 verläuft, wird auch von der genaueren Untersuchung des Inhalts unterstützt.

Die von den Haupthänden geschriebenen Texte sind *Sermones*. Die Entstehungszeit dieser Texte (nicht die Zeit ihrer Abschrift!) versuchten wir zunächst durch inhaltliche Kriterien zu bestimmen. Bereits im Laufe des 12. Jahrhunderts setzte sich erst in Italien, dann in Frankreich und in anderen europäischen Ländern die thematische Predigt gegen die Homilien durch, d.h., nicht längere Bibeltexte, sondern nur ein Vers des Sonntags- oder Festtagsevangeliums, seltener ein Vers der Lektion, bildeten den Gegenstand der Predigt. Es entstanden allmählich kürzere Predigtzyklen, die nur die *Sermones* für die wichtigsten Sonn- und Feiertage vorsehen, später wurden Predigten nicht nur für alle Sonntage des Kirchenjahres, sondern auch für alle Heiligenfeste des Kalenders abgefaßt. So bildeten sich die beiden großen, zur Zeit der Scholastik bereits vorherrschenden Predigtreihen heraus: die *Sermones de tempore* und die *Sermones de sanctis*. Im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts stellten noch viele Autoren einige kleinere Zyklen zusammen: Marien-, Fasten-, Begräbnispredigten. Die homiletische Literatur erlebte zu dieser Zeit auch einen bedeutenden Stilwandel. Gründliche Kenner der mittelalterlichen Predigtliteratur setzen einen ähnlich tiefen Einschnitt zwischen die *Sermones* des 12. und des 13. Jahrhunderts wie zwischen den Reden des Mittelalters und der Renaissance.

Ursache dieses Stilwandels war das Eindringen der scholastischen Unterrichts- und Disputationsmethode in die Predigtliteratur. Dies hat im allgemeinen den Stil der *Sermones* nicht zu deren Vorteil beeinflußt. Die lebhafte, spontane, jedoch gepflegte Diktion der Predigt des 12. Jahrhunderts wurde vom trockenen Definieren, Dividieren, Argumentieren, Exemplifizieren, Kontrahieren der Universitätspraxis abgelöst, obwohl die Konstruktion einer scholastischen Predigt gewissermaßen einem kunstvollen, ausgeklügelten Bauwerk der Hochgotik vergleichbar ist. Vor allem die Lektüre der Predigthandschriften vermittelt diesen trockenen, gelehrten Eindruck, da die einzelnen Predigten nur selten ganz ausgeführt sind, sondern – häufig gekürzt – in der Form von

Expositiones oder Distinctiones überliefert wurden. Die Predikationspraxis dürfte wohl anders ausgesehen haben.

Der reich gegliederte, scholastische Bau der Predigten, die von den Haupthänden in unsere Handschrift eingetragen wurden, vermittelte sogleich den Eindruck, daß die Autoren unter den Predigern der Hochscholastik zu suchen sind. Dieser Entstehungszeit entsprechend ließen sich auch geschlossene Zyklen feststellen. Die *Sermones de tempore* stehen im ersten Kodexteil, d.h. vor Blatt 136, und der *de-sanctis*-Zyklus beginnt mit dem heutigen Blatt 136, das die ältere Blattziffer I trägt. Die unbeschriftete erste Predigt auf einen Apostel gilt gewiß für Andreas (30. November, also Adventanfang), da die Heiligenreihe dementsprechend fortgesetzt wird. In diesem zweiten Teil stehen auch die kleineren Zyklen, die Fasten- und die Leichenpredigten.

Die einzelnen Stücke tragen, wie wir bereits erwähnt haben, keinen Autorennamen. Außer den üblichen mit Namen autorisierten Zitaten fanden wir nur einen etwas verschlüsselten Vermerk, der uns weiterführen konnte. Auf Bl. 156[r] brach nämlich der Schreiber den Text mit dem Hinweis ab: die moralische Auslegung des Themas siehe bei *„Petrus provincialis"*.[7] Mit diesem Namen wurde zunächst im internen Gebrauch des Dominikanerordens, später allgemein, Petrus Remensis (de Remis) bezeichnet. Er war erst Prior des Pariser Dominikanerkonvents, bekleidete dann zweimal, 1224–33 und 1244–45, das Provinzialamt in Frankreich und starb 1257 als Bischof von Agen. Von der großen Popularität seines Predigtwerkes zeugen annähernd 100 verifizierte Handschriften in Europa, von denen die Mehrzahl im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert geschrieben wurde. Im 15. Jahrhundert scheint das Interesse an seinen Predigten bereits erloschen gewesen zu sein.[8]

Der Hinweis auf Petrus Remensis signalisierte mit einem *„terminus post quem"* die ungefähre Entstehungszeit der *Sermones* sowie das geistige Milieu, in dem der Kodex entstanden sein dürfte. Dieser Leitfaden war nicht irreführend. Als Author des größten von der Handschrift gebotenen *de-tempore*-Zyklus konnten wir den 1263 in Orvieto verstorbenen Hugo a Sancto Caro (de Saint Cher) namhaft machen, der ebenfalls zweimal (1227–30 und 1236–44) die französische Dominikanerprovinz leitete. In der Zwischenzeit war er an der Universität Paris tätig, wo er hauptsächlich das Sentenzwerk des Petrus Lombardus – eines der beliebtesten theologischen Handbücher des Mittelalters – kommentierte. Eine Handschrift dieser Kommentare liegt in der Széchényi-Nationalbibliothek zu Budapest, außerdem sind etwa 30 andere Standorte bekannt. Hugo war ein wesentlich universellerer Geist als Petrus de Remis. Seine wissenschaftlich-literarische Tätigkeit erstreckte sich auch auf die Bibel (Kommentare, Postillen, Textkritik, Konkordanz der Bibelstellen), auf eine Erklärung der *„Historia Scholastica"*, auf verschiedene scholastische Quaestionen (Abhandlungen theologischer und juristischer Einzelprobleme). Er schrieb auch einen sehr verbreiteten Traktat über die hl. Messe, der in ca. 200 Handschriften in verschiedenen Ländern Europas vorliegt, öfter gedruckt und ins Französische sowie ins Italienische übersetzt wurde.[9] Zu seiner internationalen Anerkennung trugen auch seine kirchenpolitischen Dienste bei: er war in Rom Berater dreier Päpste (Innozenz IV., Alexanders IV., Urbans IV.), weilte als päpstlicher Legat mehrmals in Deutschland und in Holland und führte in diesen Län-

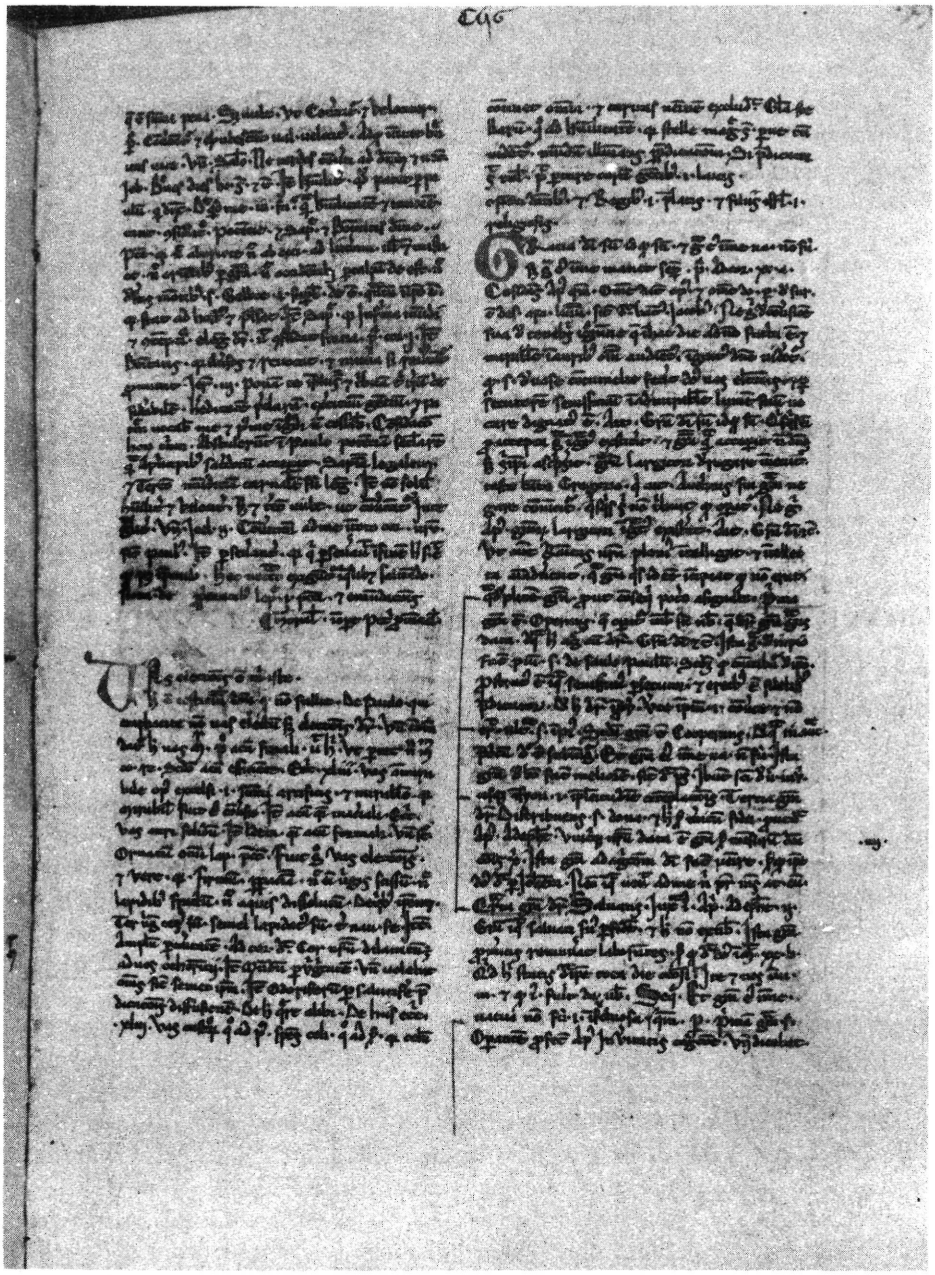

Abb. 3 Bl. 156[1] Mitte: Verweis auf „Petrus provincialis" (Photo Országos Széchényi-Könyvtár)

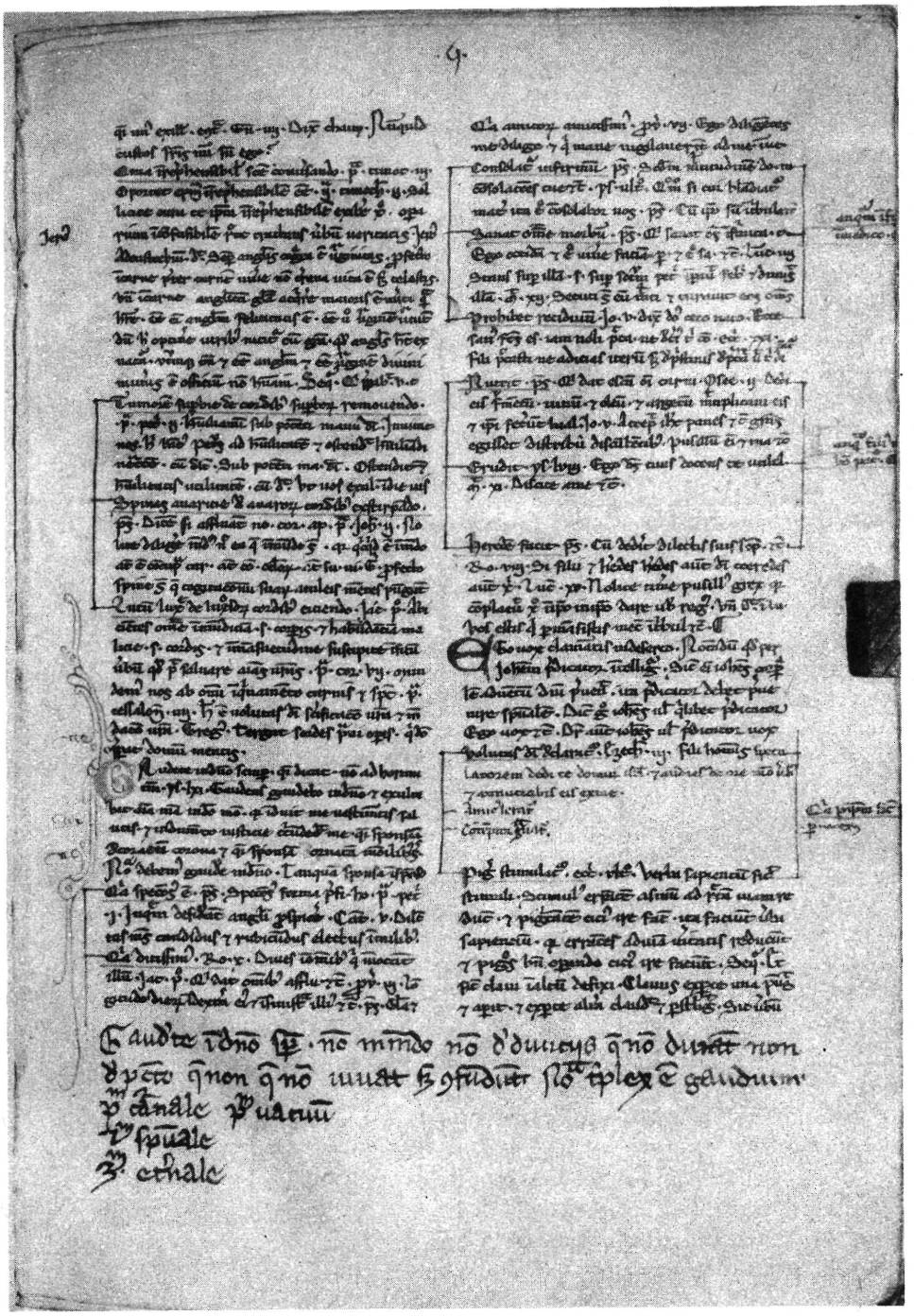

Abb. 4 Bl. 5r Predigten des Hugo a Sancto Caro (Photo D. Erdőkürti Zsuzsanna)

dern das Fronleichnamsfest ein. Er war der erste Dominikaner, der den Kardinalshut trug.

Der *de-tempore*-Predigtzyklus des Hugo besteht aus zwei Reihen: aus einer über die Evangelien und einer über die Lektionen. In den etwa 20 Handschriften dieses Zyklus, die von der Forschung detailliert beschrieben wurden, stehen diese Reihen – wenn sie überhaupt zusammen überliefert wurden – stets hintereinander als selbständige Zyklen. In unserer Handschrift sind jedoch diese zwei Reihen ineinander verzahnt und bilden einen großen Zyklus. Die für die Entstehung unseres Kodex sehr interessante Frage, ob diese Anordnung einer noch unbekannten textlichen Vorlage oder der Redaktionsbestrebung unseres Schreibers zuzuschreiben ist, konnte bis jetzt nicht geklärt werden.

Als Autor, jedoch nicht als einziger Autor des größten *de-sanctis*-Zyklus der Handschrift erwies sich Aldobrandinus de Cavalcantibus. Der aus Florenz gebürtige Dominikaner verbrachte sein ganzes Leben in Italien: Prior im Konvent seiner Vaterstadt, dann im Konvent zu Lucca, Leiter der Ordensprovinz von Rom, Bischof von Orvieto, das waren die Stationen seiner Laufbahn. Er starb 1279 und wurde im Kloster S. Maria in Novella zu Florenz – im Kloster, wo er eingekleidet worden war – begraben. Seine Predigten waren nicht nur in Italien beliebt, sondern auch anderenorts, falls die heutigen Standorte der etwa drei Dutzend Handschriften dies bezeugen können.[10] Mit den Textüberlieferungen der Aldobrandin-Sermonen hat es aber eine besondere Bewandtnis, die von der Forschung zwar registriert, aber nicht erklärt werden konnte. In manchen Handschriften, so in einem Kodex des Escorial (f. IV. 28 aus dem 14. Jahrhundert), werden seine Predigten einem ihm etwa gleichaltrigen Dominikaner, dem größten philosophisch-theologischen Systemgestalter des Mittelalters, Thomas von Aquin zugeschrieben.[11] Unsere Handschrift nennt ja keinen Autorennamen. In die hier überlieferte Aldobrandinus-Reihe wurden aber auch einige Predigten aufgenommen, die der Aquinate selbst verfaßt hatte. Wir haben also im ehemaligen Löwener Kodex einen solchen neuen Textzeugen vor uns, in dem die Predigten der beiden großen italienischen Dominikaner des 13. Jahrhunderts vielleicht noch zu ihren Lebzeiten, aber jedenfalls kurz nach ihrem Tode (Thomas starb 1274, Aldobrandin 1279) nicht klar auseinandergehalten oder aber miteinander vermengt wurden. Damit taucht wieder eine ähnliche Frage auf wie bei den Predigten Hugos: Hatte der Kopist der Löwener Handschrift einen Text vor sich, wo dies bereits vollzogen war, oder hatte er zwei Vorlagen – eine Aldobrandinus-Reihe und eine Thomas-Reihe – vor sich, die er stellenweise zusammenzog? Der Antwort kommen wir bestimmt näher, wenn wir die Aldobrandin-*Sermones*-Handschriften überprüfen können, die älter als unser Kodex sind.

Die identifizierten Autoren und der Wirkungsradius ihrer Werke können vorläufig sowohl für eine französische als auch für eine italienische Überlieferungstradition sprechen. Wahrscheinlich wird aber der textliche Befund, wenn die oben erwähnten noch ausstehenden Forschungsaufgaben gelöst sind, einiges zur genauen Lokalisierung und Datierung der Handschrift beitragen. Die Schrift der Text- und Nachtragshände hat auf unsere Bitte hin Herr Professor Bernhard Bischoff (München) paläographisch unter-

sucht. Für seine Bemühungen und schriftlichen Mitteilungen danke ich ihm auch an dieser Stelle aufs herzlichste. Er datierte die Texthände e t w a ins dritte Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts, die Nachtragshände, z.B. die ungarische Hand, wenn sie nur leere Stellen ausfüllt, möglicherweise ins Ende des Jahrhunderts. Was die Schriftheimat der Hände betrifft, „so überwiegt wohl französischer Stil, obwohl er vielleicht nicht in Frankreich erlernt sein mußte". Nur die Verwendung einer Kürzung deutet letzten Endes auf italienische Schriftpraxis.

Obwohl wir zunächst nur die von den Texthänden abgeschriebenen *Sermones* des ehemaligen Löwener Kodex untersucht und selbst diese Untersuchungen nicht zu Ende geführt haben, steht bereits fest, daß es sich nicht um einen willkürlich zusammengetragenen *„codex miscellaneus"* handelt, sondern der Grundstock der Handschrift planmäßig angelegte Predigtzyklen aufweist, die von den angesehensten zeitgleichen Autoren geschrieben wurden. Daß alle Autoren aus dem Dominikanerorden hervorgegangen sind, kann die dominikanische Provenienz der Handschrift noch immer nicht beweisen, jedoch viel wahrscheinlicher machen als der Umstand, daß es mehrere Predigten über den hl. Dominicus in der Handschrift gibt. Dies kommt nämlich auch an anderen Feiertagen vor. Die Benutzer der Handschrift, unter ihnen der Ungar, der nicht nur das Klagelied Mariä, sondern auch andere Kurztexte in die Handschrift eingetragen hat, hielten bei der Ausübung ihres Predigeramtes ein solches Handbuch für das ganze Kirchenjahr in der Hand, das ihnen – innerhalb der Gattung – die beste Literatur der Gegenwart und der unmittelbaren Vergangenheit vermittelte. Waren auch die ersten Benutzer, die „Nachtragshände" auf einer dementsprechend hohen Stufe der theologisch-literarischen Eruditio? Zur Einschätzung des Bildungsniveaus der Nachtragshände, insbesondere des ungarischen Schreibers, fehlen uns vorerst solide Ergebnisse. Ein Indiz dafür bietet die Qualität der Übersetzung des lateinischen Planctus, weitere Indizien können wir von der Untersuchung der eingetragenen Texte erhoffen.

Um einen Eindruck von der poetischen Qualität der ungarischen Marienklage zu vermitteln, drucken wir hier eine deutsche Prosaübersetzung ab, die die „Strophengrenzen" einhält.

Bislang kannte ich kein Weinen,
nun weine ich aber unentwegt,
werde vom Leid verzehrt.

Jude, du nimmst mir
meine Sonne weg, meinen lieben Sohn,
meine süße Freude.

O mein süßer, lieber Herr,
mein einziges Söhnlein!
Siehe deine weinende Mutter an,
rette sie aus ihrem Kummer!

Paläographische Transkription des ungarischen Textes (nach Molnár József–Simon Györgyi: *Magyar nyelvemlékek*. Budapest, 1977. Tankönyvkiadó, 2. Ausgabe, S. 43.)

1. Spalte

Volek ſyrolm thudothlon ſy
rolmol ſepedyk. buol ozuk
epedek. Walaſth vylagum
tul ſydou fyodumtul ezes
urume (m)tuul. O en eſes urodu(m)
eggen yg fyodum, ſyrou a-
– niath thekunched buabeleul
kyniuhhad . Sceı. em kunuel
arad, en iunhum buol farad
the werud hullothya en iu(n) –
hum olelothya Vylag uila
ga viragnac uirag.. keſeru-

Meine Augen sind naß von Tränen,
mein Herz verzagt vor Kummer.
Durch dein rinnendes Blut
erlahmt mein Herz.

Du Licht der Welt,
du Blume aller Blumen,
wirst grausam gepeinigt,
mit Nägeln durchbohrt.

O wehe mir, mein Sohn,
der du süß wie Honig bist!
Deine Schönheit wird geschändet,
dein Blut verrinnt wie Wasser.

Meine Klage, mein Flehen
bricht hervor [findet Töne],
mein inneres Leid
verebbt aber nie.

Tod, nimm mich weg
und laß meinem Einzigen sein Leben!
Es bleibe nur mein Herr lebendig,
den die Welt fürchten soll.

Ach, der Wahrsager Simeon
hatte doch recht!
Ich fühle den Dolch des Schmerzens,
wie er mir einst vorausgesagt hatte.

Ich würde mich von dir trennen,
[wenn ich dich dadurch erretten könnte],
damit du, mein Kind, nicht wie ein Geächtete
zu Tode gepeinigt wirst.

Was du tust Jude, ist gesetzwidrig,
da mein Sohn schuldlos stirbt.
Du erfaßst, zerrst, schlägst
und tötest ihn geknebelt [mit Unrecht].

Gibt Gnade meinem Sohn,
verschont [aber] mich nicht,
oder laßt durch qualvollen Tod
die Mutter zusammen mit ihrem Sohn sterben.

en kynzathul uoſ ſcegegkel
werethul. Vh nequem en
ſyon [!] ezes mezuul / Scege
-nul ſcepſegud wirud hioll
wyzeul. Syrolmom ſuha
-zatum therthetyk kyul en
iumhumnok [!] bel bua qui
ſumha nym [kyul] hyul
Wegh halal engumet / egge-
dum illen / maraggun uro
dum, kyth wylag felleyn [!]

2. Spalte
O ygoz ſymeonnok bezzeg
ſcouuo ere en erzem ez bu-
thuruth / kyt niha egyre.
Tuled ualmun [!] de num
ualallal, hul yg kynzaſſal,
Fyom halallal. Sydou
myth thez turuentelen /
fyom merth hol byuntelen /
fugwa / huztuzwa wklel /
-ue / kethwe, ulud. Kegug
-gethuk fyomnok / ne leg,
kegulm mogomnok / owog
halal kynaal, anyath ezes
fyaal / egembelu ullyetuk.

„Dies ist ein Gedicht, eins von den besten" begann 1931 János Horváth, zweifelsohne der bedeutendste ungarische Literaturhistoriker in der ersten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts, die Würdigung der Marienklage.[12] Bestand aber das ungarische Gedicht nur aus den im Löwener Kodex überlieferten Versen, die nur etwa die Hälfte der vollständigsten lateinischen Fassung ausmachen? Oder versagte dem Schreiber das

Gedächtnis? Oder arbeitete bereits der Übersetzer aufgrund einer solchen lateinischen Vorlage, die nur diese Strophen aufwies? Es sind Fragen, die wir kaum je mit Sicherheit beantworten können. Wir müssen das Gedicht nehmen, wie es in der Handschrift steht. Die vom Kodex gebotenen Verse machen jedenfalls den Eindruck eines Ganzen, obwohl selbst der Schluß nicht mit der theologisch-optimistischen Schlußstrophe des vollständigen Originals identisch ist. Bereits dem Versbestand nach können wir also von einer geschickt getroffenen Auswahl sprechen. Die Übersetzung des Sequenztextes ist frei, für den vielfach abgestuften Gedankenrhythmus fand der Übersetzer immer neue Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten, die jedoch dem gemeinsamen Formelschatz der christlichen Literatur des Mittelalters verbunden sind. In der Gestaltung der Endreime und in der Placierung der Stabreime nahm sich der ungarische Bearbeiter gänzlich freie Hand. Seine Verse sind Zweitakter wie die der lateinischen Sequenz, die Zahl der Silben war aber in der zeitgleichen ungarischen Rhythmik nicht an Regel gebunden, der Übersetzer konnte die Halbverse nach Belieben auffüllen. Im Gedicht „reichen die naive ungarische Form und die europäische Gemütskultur einander die Hand", schloß Horváth seine Betrachtungen.[13]

Anmerkungen

1. Robert Gragger: *Ó-Magyar Mária-siralom,* in: Magyar Nyelv 1923, 1–13, Eine altungarische Marienklage, Ungarische Jahrbücher, 1923, 27–46, zugleich als Bd. 7 der "Ungarischen Bibliothek", Berlin–Leipzig 1923.
2. Zur sprach- und stilgeschichtlichen Problematik vgl. Loránd Benkő: *Az Árpád-kor magyar nyelvű szövegemlékei.* (Ungarische Texte der Arpadenzeit.) Budapest 1980.
3. *Carmina Burana,* Mit Benutzung der Vorarbeiten Wilhelm Meyers kritisch herausgegeben von Alfons Hilka und Otto Schumann. I. Band: Text 3. *Die Trink- und Spiellieder – Die geistlichen Dramen. Nachträge.* Hrsg. von Otto Schumann und Bernhard Bischoff. Heidelberg 1970. S. 129–134, zur Vervasserfrage vgl. die dort angeführte Literatur.
4. László Mezey: *Notes lovaniennes sur la Complainte en vieux hongrois,* in: Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Tom. II. (1969), 21–38, ungarisch in: Irodalomtörténet, 1971, 356–370.
5. Den großen Fortschritt in der Sermonesforschung des Hochmittelalters markieren besonders zwei Veröffentlichungen: Joh. Bapt. Schneyers: *Wegweiser zu lateinischen Predigtreihen des Mittelalters.* München 1965. (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für die Herausgabe ungedruckter Texte aus der mittelalterlichen Geisteswelt. Bd. 1. – *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350.* I–IX. Münster 1969–1981. (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, XLIII/1–9.)
6. Vgl. Géza Bárczi: *A Leuveni Kódex történetének legújabb szakasza* (Die neueste Phase in der Geschichte des „Leuvener Kodex"), in: Magyar Nyelv, 1947, 301–305.
7. Siehe Abb. 3.
8. Vgl. Thomas Kaeppeli: *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi.* Bd. III. Romae 1980, S. 256–267, und Schneyer: *Repertorium,* a.a.O. Bd. IV. S. 724–757.
9. Vgl. Kaeppeli, a.a.O. Bd. II. 1975. S. 269–282, – Scheyer: *Repertorium,* a.a.O. Bd. II. S. 752–785.
10. Vgl. Kaeppeli, a.a.O. Bd. I. 1970, S. 35–38, – Schneyer: *Repertorium,* a.a.O. Bd. I. S. 150–222.
11. Th. Kaeppeli: *Una raccolta di prediche attribuite a san Tommaso d'Aquino,* in: Archivum Patrum Praedicatorum, XIII (1943), 59–94.
12. János Horváth: *A magyar irodalmi műveltség kezdetei.* (Die Anfänge der literarischen Kultur in Ungarn.) Budapest 1931, S. 89.
13. Horváth, a.a.O. S. 92.

HUNGARIAN STUDENTS AND VISITORS IN 16–17TH CENTURY ENGLAND

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One of the very first students at the University of Oxford whom we know by name is a "Nicholaus de Hungaria", a scholar maintained by Richard I,[1] yet no other Hungarian student follows him for the next few centuries. That is, at least, we have no knowledge of such student, although the names of Hungarian scholars keep cropping up in the registers of French and Italian universities throughout the Middle Ages. The University of Pécs in Southern Hungary, founded by Lajos (Louis) the Great in 1367 became defunct some time before 1400, and the University of Óbuda founded by the Emperor Sigismund (1389) did not have a long life either,[2] consequently in the 15th century Hungarians attended the universities of Vienna and Cracow in great numbers, while a century later Wittenberg and Padua attracted those desirous of pursuing their studies. For Hungarians England remained *terra incognita* and although Anglo-Hungarian diplomatic contacts did flourish at the time of Sigismund of Luxembourg or John Zápolya (a contemporary of Henry VIII's), we cannot speak of real cultural contacts between the two countries until the second half of the 16th century.

After 1526 (the decisive defeat of Hungarian forces at Mohács) several important developments take place in Hungary which raise the level of English interest in Hungarian affairs. The Turks take Buda in 1541 and occupy a large part of the Kingdom of Hungary but are unable to break through the defence line of the Upper Danube, held by troops loyal to the Hapsburg king. (After the Battle of Mohács the Hungarian estates could not agree over the succession and elected two kings simultaneously: Ferdinand I and John Zápolya.) In the chaotic decades that follow the majority of Hungarians (both in the Turkish-occupied areas and in Transylvania) embrace the Protestant religion. In contemporary English letters and dispatches Hungary features mainly as a stage on which Turks are to be fought and where one could achieve grand military feats (as did indeed Thomas Arundel, who was made Baron of the German Empire after his heroic conduct at the siege of Esztergom/Strigonium in 1595); the political status, however, of Hungary and Transylvania created interest not only in the context of Turkish-Western relations but also as a problem linked with the protection of religious freedom. Although after 1600 the Counter-Reformation, vigorously supported by the Hapsburgs, did manage to reconquer much lost territory in Western and Northern Hungary, part of the country

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and almost the whole of Transylvania (from 1556 a semi-independent principality) remained staunchly Protestant. Throughout the seventeenth century English policies *vis-à-vis* imperial Hungary and Transylvania were finely balanced between what we may call state interests and a desire to help co-religionists suffering from repressive measures and militant Catholic intolerance

As for Hungarian visitors and students in England between 1570 and 1694, their interests and preoccupations varied considerably. On the whole, they sought profit either in a cultural or a religious sense: they wanted to visit the famous English universities *or,* if they had some money and time, study there for a while; some of them were also interested in the organization and practices of the Church of England; still others were open to Puritan doctrines and tried to further the cause of ecclesiastical reform in their native country. (In the middle of the 17th century any student of theology who had been to England was automatically suspect in Transylvania as a possible convert to "independentism", a supporter of radical reform within the Calvinist Church.)

The first Hungarian visitor whose name may be mentioned here as having visited Cambridge was Máté Skaricza, a native of Ráckeve, a teacher and disciple of the famous religious reformer and polemicist István Szegedi Kis. Skaricza visited England in the autumn of 1571 as part of his three-year long Grand Tour of Europe which included Padua, Geneva, Basle, Heidelberg, Wittenberg and Marburg; it was thanks to him that István Kis's first theological work was published in Basle (he gave it to Bèze); he met Tremellius in Heidelberg, Johannes Sturm in Strassburg and other famous Protestant scholars elsewhere. Skaricza reached England in the company of two other Hungarians, Tamás Dési and András Udvardi, his fellow-students at Marburg,[3] but we know of the visit only from Skaricza's own account. During their short stay in Cambridge the host of the Hungarians was "Cevallerius", that is Anthony Rodolphe Chevalier, the eminent Hebraic scholar, Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge since 1569. Chevalier was a French Protestant who had lived at one point in Strassburg and Geneva and knew Tremellius well[4]—it may well have been on the latter's recommendation that Skaricza and his friends came to see him. In the Latin account of his travels, published under the title of *Vita Stephani Szegedini,*[5] Skaricza mentions Foxe and Dering too, as Englishmen who treated him with generosity in Cambridge. Edward Dering, the learned but quarrelsome Puritan divine, was also a Hebrew scholar; and as for John Foxe, the famous author of the *Actes and Monuments of the Church* . . .—he lived in London at the time and was probably only visiting Cambridge, to show his guests around. Skaricza was also presented to the Queen whom he describes as "rarissima virtutum Elisabeth". It is doubtful whether the Hungarian scholar's visit played any part in the fact that Szegedi Kis was amongst the very first Hungarian authors to be published in England: his *Tabulae analyticae de fide charitate et patientia* left the printer's in London in 1593.

The next Hungarian to appear as a student in Oxford, though not a matriculated one, was István Budai better known to readers of Hakluyt as Stephanus Parmenius Budaeus (or Budensis). He was one of those extraordinary travelling Humanists whose

luck (at least initially) almost equalled his talent as a Latin versifier. The facts about his life are not yet fully known, for example we still do not know in whose entourage or with what kind of recommendations he arrived in England in 1581. Other facts, however, are certain: he was born at Buda, he was educated first in Hungary, then in September 1579 he matriculated at Wittenberg but also visited a number of other European universities. In England Budai was the protegé of the Unton family and his first Latin poem (printed by Thomas Vautrollier in 1582) *Paean* or "Thanksgiving Hymn" was dedicated to the much-travelled Henry Unton. He studied in Oxford for a couple of terms, living as Richard Hakluyt's "bedfellow" in Christ Church (where the younger Hakluyt was Lecturer, and Tutor on Aristotle),[6] but in 1582 he was introduced to Sir Humphrey Gilbert whom he accompanied on his expedition to Newfoundland a year later. Well before this happened, Budai, or as he called himself in England Parmenius, published another long Latin poem, *De Navigatione* which gave credit to earlier English explorers and hailed Gilbert's plans to found a colony in the New World. These two poems and a descriptive letter from Newfoundland constitute the entire oeuvre of Parmenius; still, his figure was intriguing enough to warrant an excellent scholarly publication in our own times.[7]

The work of Quinn and Cheshire rekindled interest in Budai. Recently, I came upon a letter about him which, although published as early as 1700, has so far eluded the notice of other researchers. This is Jean Hotman's letter of recommendation for the Hungarian scholar addressed to William Camden, written in the spring of 1582. Jean Hotman (1552–1636), son of the famous author of the *Franco-Gallia,* came to England some time before Parmenius as instructor to the children of Sir Amias Paulet; in March 1581 he was incorporated at Oxford.[8] As a member of Christ Church, he frequently met Parmenius. He was not the only one to have written to Camden about the Hungarian Humanist–Budai's name appears in the draft of a letter which Camden probably sent to Hakluyt.[9] None the less, Hotman's Latin letter, the relevant parts of which I have translated into English, clears up several moot points about Parmenius. This letter was originally printed as "Epistola XIX" in the collection *Francisci et Joannis Hotomanorum . . . Epistolae* (Amsterdam, 1700):

It is your unparalleled friendliness towards foreigners that made me commend this (person): you already know him from the Paean. My commendation to you is a real one, for I know him well in all respects. A Hungarian by nationality, born at Buda under Turkish rule, because of his religion and piety he has been attending German and English academies for many years now. He has spent a few months here and because of his scholarship, as well as his conduct, our people in Oxford accepted him with the highest praise. He deserves your goodwill and friendship; neither do I doubt that because of me and others you will expand your efforts for him most generously. With this you shall be doing a favour to both of us–especially to me.[10]

Jean Hotman's reference to the *Paean* makes that poem indisputably the first publication of Parmenius in England. Moreover, his account of the Hungarian scholar's previous education with its pointed reference to "in Academiis Germanicis, Anglicisque" rules out the possibility raised by Quinn and Cheshire that Parmenius

may have studied at Pauda.[11] It also indicates the warmth with which the author of *De Navigatione* was accepted and, indeed, embraced by the Humanist elite of Oxford (which apart from the younger Hakluyt included Laurence Humphrey, Thomas and Henry Savile, and other refugee scholars such as the eminent Itlaian lawyer Alberico Gentili). Parmenius paid back the trust of the Oxford dons with a handsome compliment addressed to the University, especially with respect to its accomplished Latin poets: *dum spreto Helicone manebit / Ille Aganippaeis sacrata Oxonia Musias* ("that shrine of Art, Oxford, which now the Muses sanctify / In place of Helicon").[12]

The rest of Parmenius Budai's story is sad: although he joined Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition as a learned chronicler of this enterprise, he did not return from the Westward voyage—when one of the ships, the *Delight* ran aground on 29th August 1583, he was amongst those drowned.[13] In the words of Edward Hayes thus was lost "a rare poet of our time".[14] All that he left behind was included by Richard Hakluyt in the second edition of *The principall navigations* (1600).

The next Hungarian visitors in England whom we know of (apart from István Kakas of Zalánkemén, special envoy of the Prince of Transylvania), were two students of theology, Gergely Váci and Imre Újfalvi (Szilvásújfalvi). They followed a route not unlike Skaricza's: having studied in Wittenberg and Heidelberg they came to England via Leiden. From a petition to Lord Burghley asking for passes and financial assistance, apparently written towards the end of their stay in England, it transpires that they had letters of recommendation from the University of Heidelberg and that the purpose of their visit to England was to see its Church and "well-founded Academies" *(Academias bene constitutas)*.[15] On the basis of Újfalvi's recently found *album amicorum*[16] we can reconstruct the peregrination of the two Hungarians throughout the Queen's realm. They arrived in the early days of July 1595 and stayed for a month, visiting first Cambridge, then Oxford, and finally Greenwich and London. In Cambridge Újfalvi first called upon Peter Baro, Professor of Theology (soon afterwards Baro had to resign his chair because of his "proto-Armenian" views on predestination), but he also met Baro's opponent, the well-known Puritan William Whitaker and also Greek scholar Andrew Downes, both at St. John's. In Oxford Újfalvi and his friend paid their respects to two professors of Theology: John Rainolds, a staunch Puritan and a Ramist,[17] and his very learned colleague Thomas Holland, Rector of Exeter College. They also met John Case, famed for his commentaries on Aristotle and suspected of Catholic sympathies. If in Cambridge there was a spate of Greek entries in Újfalvi's album, in Oxford more than one Hebrew motto appears on its pages, and amongst the contributors there are such Hebraists as John Harding, Edmund Carpenter and Philippus Fernandus. The latter, a converted Jew, and Hebrew scholar, fully displayed his skill as a linguist by his contribution of a conventional wisdom in no less than twelve different languages.[18] Towards the end of July Újfalvi and Váci went to Greenwich where they met Archbishop Whitgift and probably saw the Queen, and the last English inscriber in Imre Újfalvi's album was none other than the author of *Brittania,* William Camden. (It should be added here that years later Újfalvi suffered persecution in his native Hungary for the criticism of Church government and he was

even jailed for some time—the relevant document suggests that he had Presbyterian leanings.)

The period between 1596 and 1617 appears to be as poorly represented in Hungarian visitors to England as it is rich in well-reported visits of other foreigners. Paul Hentzner, the Count of Waldstein, Thomas Platter Jr., and Louis Frederick, Duke of Wirtemberg, all embark upon their English journeys during this time; whenever their narrative reaches Oxford or Cambridge they wax enthusiastic to a man. Hentzner for instance thinks that the Oxford colleges and halls "excel all Academies in the Cristian world".[19] The Bodleian Library, that unique repository of books both English and foreign, opens in 1602 and in the following years attracts many distinguished foreign visitors. I have come across references to a speech by the first Librarian of the Bodleian, James, welcoming the king in 1605—these claim that James, naming the foreign users of the Library by nationality, mentions Hungarians as well.[20] On closer examination this report turns out to be false: Rawlinson C. 8.66, the manuscript on which it is based, names various nationalities but Hungarian is not amongst them.

In 1617 however a learned Hungarian visitor donated a book to the Bodleian. This was János Bánfihunyadi, known to his English contemporaries as Johannes or Hans Hunniades, alchemist and goldsmith turned "chemical operator", and still later lecturer in chemistry in Gresham College. Bánfihunyadi came to London from his native Transylvania (probably via Germany) in 1608, and although in 1617 he made preparations to return home for good, he nevertheless came back to England a year later and lived there almost to his death in 1646. The Hungarian Bible, his gift to the Bodleian, was by way of a farewell present to Oxford, but as the library already possessed a copy of the named book it was later sold to Christ Church, where it still remains.[21] Bánfihunyadi's Bible contains an inscribed dedication in Hungarian and also a little poem in Latin written by the donor. The poem entitled *Ad Antiquissimam et Celeberrimam Academiam Oxoniensem* starts with the following sonorous words:

Salve tam Patribus florens Academia doctis
Grandiloquisque sophis: Socratisque viris

Since he dedicated a valuable book to the "Socrates-like fathers" of the Academy, Bánfihunyadi must have known some of them personally. It is certain that he was a friend of Arthur Dee's (John Dee's son) who studied at Oxford at one point, but he could also have known the famous mathematician Thomas Allen of Gloucester Hall. What lends plausibility to this connection, is Ashmole's information that a certain astronomic manuscript of Allen's was copied by two hands and that William Lilly got his copy from "John Hunniades the great chymist".[22] Another fact supporting the likelihood of Bánfihunyadi's close relationship with Allen is the Hungarian alchemist's later cooperation with Sir Kenelm Digby, an ex-student of the Oxford mathematician.[23]

Bánfihunyadi, who had a house in London, was often visited by his fellow-countrymen passing through or studying in "the new Troynovant"; most of the documented contacts come from the early sixteen-thirties. One man whom de did *not* meet was Márton Szepsi Csombor, author of the first Hungarian travelogue, *Europica Varietas* (1620) who was in England briefly in May 1618; in fact, it is quite likely that at the time Bánfihunyadi was in Translyvania or on his way back to England. As for Márton Csombor he did not set foot either in Oxford or Cambridge–he claims that he got "Cantuaria" and "Cantabrigia" mixed up and thus found himself in Canterbury instead of Cambridge. Modern critics are more sceptical–they believe that Csombor, not having enough money, loathed to admit that he had not been able to visit the town of "Whitakerus and Perkinsus" and therefore had made up this story.[24]

It was only in the 1620s that Hungarian and Transylvanian students began to frequent English universities in greater numbers. There are good reasons for this: first of all, the traditional route of the Hungarian Calvinists student of theology underwent a change. Some decades earlier such a student would have studied at one of the German universities; after the "purge" of Calvinists at Wittenberg it was Heidelberg, Marburg, Herborn or Bremen that attracted him. The war that broke out on account of Frederick of Pfalz's election to the Bohemian throne and swept over Germany, forced the Hungarians to stay away from Heidelberg and other German academies; from 1621 onwards their peregrination took them further North, to "Belgian"–that is Dutch–universities. Franeker, Leiden and Utrecht quickly became favoured centres of learning for Hungarian and Transylvanian students following the "Helvetian creed" (as Calvinism was called in those days) and with financial help from towns, private patrons–rich landowners or the Prince of Transylvania himself–they managed to stay for years in the Low Countries. Hungarians who reached England in the sixteen-twenties can be regarded (with few exceptions) as a result of a spill-over from Dutch universities, though there were some cases where the student was using Leiden or Franeker only as a convenient springboard for England.

Sometimes, though, students would be specifically sent out to study in Holland *and* England. In October 1641 Péter N. Szerencsi, a Hungarian student of theology in London, reported to William Sancroft (at the time Fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge) that György Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania, chose three students from the Academy of Sárospatak to be sent abroad "ad studendum primum in Hollandiam, deinde in Angliam ablegavit", providing them with enough money to cover their considerable expenses.[25] The same letter shows that Szerencsi, who stayed in England until his departure for Leiden in the early summer of 1642,[26] had already visited Cambridge where he was well received not only by Sancroft but by other members of Emmanuel College whom he also thanks for their friendliness and hospitality.

The main sources which enable us to establish the identity of 17th century Hungarian students at English universities are: the letters of students to their patrons; gifts of books with the owner's or donor's inscription; the *alba amicorum* of Hungarian travellers or of those foreign students who met them; and finally, the book of foreign readers admitted to the Bodleian. I have left out university registers for the simple

reason that these students did not matriculate and only very rarely took degrees. Matriculation was expensive, college fees as much of a burden for the impecunious foreign student as today, and Márton Csombor probably assessed the situation realistically when he wrote: "(England) is not an expensive place when compared to Holland, but as for us it is very dear indeed".[27] So the tactics of Hungarian students who desired to stay in Oxford or Cambridge for a longer period of time would be something like this: having found a room in a hostel or an inn they would get in touch with the local professor of Theology or with another don sympathetic to the plight of foreign Protestants and ask for permission to attend lectures and use such facilities as the college library (or in the case of Oxford, the Bodleian).

Between 1620 and 1625 Hungarian visitors and students in England included those who were just passing through Oxford (Cambridge) and also those who spent a longer time actually studying. While Mihály M. Corvinus and probably Máté Csanaki (both in England in 1623) belong to the first category,[28] those who stayed longer include Máté Kecskeméti (the first Hungarian to sign his name in the *"Liber Admissorum"* of the Bodleian),[29] Benedek Bakay, János Tállyai and István Gyarmathi. Of these Máté Csanaki (1594–1636) was the most colourful personality. A student of theology, philosophy and finally medicine he visited most of the European universities from Cambridge to Padua during the eleven years of his peregrinations. His visit to England, which may have been one of several, preceded his matriculation at the University of Leiden on the 18th of October, 1623. It was there that he published his main work, *Controversiae Partim Logicae Philosophicae* (1625), an exposition and defence of Bartholomeus Keckermann's philosophy. After his return to Transylvania with a medical doctorate from Padua, Csanaki became Court Physician to the Protestant prince, György Rákóczi I. As for Bakay and Tállyai who spent several months in Oxford and Cambridge respectively (1625–26), they were supported by the town of Kassa, and from the letter sent by Bakay to the Council of Kassa it is clear that he only stayed in Oxford because "nearly all the famous schools of Germany were turned into dens of thieves and robbers",[30] i.e. were taken over by the imperial forces and their denominational character altered in such a way that no God-fearing Calvinist could study there. Incidentally, Bakay soon after his arrival in Oxford gave a thick folio to the Bodleian, a volume in Hungarian written by the Jesuit-trained Catholic Archbishop of Hungary Péter Pázmány. The book, amply annotated with sceptical comments by Bakay, is still in Oxford,[31] and in my view the only reason for this unexpected gift was Bakay's sheer exhaustion from carrying the huge book around: he thus availed himself of the best opportunity to get rid of it.

In fact, Bakay's name appears on an important list of Hungarians who were reputed to have studied in England in the 17th century. This is to be found in a handwritten volume by István Helmeczi entitled *Introductionis Historiam ad Ecclesiasticam Ungariae Reformatae* (1722), now in the Bodleian,[32] and it comprises forty-five names, amongst them some which were not otherwise known to have been in England at all. It confirms previous information about György Salánki, a Hungarian translator of Erasmus (his translation was published in Leiden in 1627), and Pál Keresztúri, both

of whom visited England some time in the 1620s. Keresztúri's printed work is less important than his example as a teacher: he introduced new teaching methods in Transylvania which set much store by the application of the vernacular, and it was suggested that he had come to appreciate the importance of education in the mother tongue in England.[33] He taught in the 1630s at the Protestant school of Gyulafehérvár, and later became Court Chaplain to György Rákóczi I.

Thanks to the long negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe with Gábor Bethlen, in the 1620s England and Transylvania drew closer to one another and in January 1626 the Treaty of Westminster received Transylvania into the Protestant Alliance. This political proximity was the background to the visit of Péter Bethlen and his retinue in 1628. This young man was the nephew of Gábor Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania (known by Ben Jonson as "Gabor"[34]), and his journey round the states of Western Europe had diplomatic significance well beyond a courtesy visit. Péter Bethlen and his escort of six landed at Margate in February 1628 and proceeded to London where they were received by Charles I who provided a special coach for them. From a letter written by János Pálóczi Horváth, a gentleman accompanying young Bethlen, we learn that having spent two weeks in London they set out for Oxford and Cambridge. The sight of the colleges filled the Hungarian with admiration: "We have never seen more splendid buildings" enthuses Pálóczi Horváth; "some of these rise so much above the others like citadels—ah, if our country had just one of these colleges!"[35] In the same passage he describes the function of Oxbridge which he saw in the training of future leaders of Church and State—these colleges disgorge educated men every year just like "the wooden horse of Troy". We lack information as to the party's contacts in Oxford or Cambridge but they were probably received by the Vice Chancellors at both universities.

From the next batch of Hungarian students who reached England in 1629–30 we know at least five by name (János Madarasi, Pál Medgyesi, András Ruszkay, János Nábrádi and Péter Maksai Őse)—the first three came to Cambridge and the others to Oxford. The most outstanding member of the Cambridge contingent was Pál Medgyesi. After returning to Hungary he became the first translator of English religious literature into Hungarian, or rather the first one who worked from original texts; before him English authors were translated from Latin.[36] Medgyesi's first translation was *St. Austin's Religion* by a Brasenose man, William Crompton, and his next *Scala Coeli* by Lewis Bayle, Bishop of Bangor (both were published in 1632); but his greatest achievement came four years later. It was Bayle's *Praxis Pietatis,* a huge Protestant best-seller of the 17th century, second only to the Bible in popularity. In the foreword to this translation Medgyesi describes the circumstances in which he undertook his ambitious work: "I had started... to translate this book when still in England, in that ancient, most famous and memorable Academy of Cantabrigia".[37] Although he was forced to interrupt his work at that time, some years later in Debrecen the ageing Albert Szenci Molnár, the much-travelled scholar and grammarian (who had also visited England in 1624) prevailed upon him to take it up again and "do the whole translation from the English language".[38] Medgyesi spent about two terms in

Cambridge and while it is not known whether he could use any of the College libraries, he was certainly acquainted with Samuel Collins, Provost of King's and Regius Professor of Divinity from 1617 to 1651, as many years later he sent him a rare book from Transylvania.[39]

Another Hungarian student of theology, János Madarasi, arrived in Cambridge after studies in Bremen and Leiden.[40] He was not a writer or translator but left behind other traces: he gave a present of two Hungarian books to the same person, John Mansell, President of Queens' College from 1622 to 1631. The first is a 17th century Bible still in the Library of Queens' College, Cambridge, containing a handwritten note by Madarasi in which he thanks Mansell for his patronage and the permission of the use of his College's library; the other, Albert Molnár's Hungarian grammar, was sent first to Madarasi from Frankfurt (an der Oder) by a friend and then passed on by him to Mansell. The latter book is now in the library of Westminster College, London.[41]

At about the same time that Medgyesi started his translation of *Praxis Pietatis* in Cambridge, another Hungarian, Péter Maksai Őse was living in London and later in Oxford. According to one source he was supported financially by the Archbishop of Canterbury,[42] which would explain how he was able to live in England from 1629 to September 1632. Maksai's contribution to English knowledge about the contemporary world was considerable–he wrote (probably in Latin) the relevant chapters on Transylvania and Hungary for the sixth edition of Botero's *Relations of the most famous Kingdoms and Commonwealths thorowout the world* (London, 1630). These chapters gave the most up-to-date information on those distant countries at the time, providing a judicious summing up of Gábor Bethlen's political aims and possibilities. Maksai's stay in Oxford is documented by the entry of his name into the *Liber Admissorum* of the Bodleian in July 1632. After his return to Transylvania he taught at the Academy at Gyulafehérvár which from 1629 onwards had a number of distinguished foreign scholars on its staff (Alstedt, Piscator, Bisterfeld).

Some Hungarians who had studied in England at the time later became pillars of the Hungarian Puritan movement–for instance, Pál Medgyesi. In his *Dialogus Politico-Ecclesiasticus* (1650) he argues forcefully in favour of a Presbyterian-type organization of the Hungarian Calvinist Church, at the same time attacking the organizational structure of the Church of England. He quotes Bèze against the episcopalians and adds: "if only Archbishop William Laud had followed [the advice]". Whoever fails to reform the Church in a presbyterian spirit will come to grief, just as, says Medgyesi "this miserable England which has been flattering herself with the perfect administration of her Church" and now is amidst the worst troubles.[43] Medgyesi often quotes such English authorities as Whitaker, Parker and Ames but seems to have had inordinate respect for "Brightmannus, a man of truly prophetic soul" who had clearly foretold England's coming tribulations. On Brightman Medgyesi's source of information was probably a Puritan tract of 1641, "A Revelation of Mr. Brightman's Revelation" in which two fictitious characters discuss the prophecies of this English Puritan minister who had to flee Queen Elizabeth's England because of his intransigent anti-episcopalian views. If

this was the case, it indicates that people like Medgyesi could get new books from England many years after their departure from there.[44]

Another noted Hungarian Puritan inspired by the English example was János Tolnai Dali. One of the last students of William Ames in Franeker in 1632, he reached England some time during 1633 and stayed for about five years. Towards the end of his stay he drew up a formal contract (a "Formula of Piety") to further the propagation of Puritan ideas in Transylvania and Hungary; this contract was signed by nine of his countrymen, all students of theology, then living in London.[45] We do not know much about the foreign contacts and studies of Tolnai's "London Ten"; some of them, and certainly the chief organizer himself must have visited Oxford or/and Cambridge. Tolnai Dali knew Hartlib and Dury, and he was on friendly terms with John Stoughton, a Cambridge scholar who later became minister in the London parish of Aldermanbury. Stoughton's book *Felicitas ultimae saeculi* completed in mid-1638, was in fact dedicated to Tolnai and addressed to György Rákóczi I, Prince of Transylvania. Tolnai returned to his native country soon afterwards, taking a manuscript copy of the book with him; but an extended version of Stoughton's last work was published only after the author's death in 1640 by the versatile Protestant educationalist Samuel Hartlib. Hartlib and his friend Dury were, as is well known, admirers of Comenius, while in Hungary Tolnai Dali was the first to show a serious interest in the educational views of Comenius; in 1650, as Rector of the Calvinist school at Sárospatak, he was instrumental in bringing the Bohemian refugees there. Another Hungarian student of theology and later a teacher at Sárospatak in whose work the influence of Comenius is apparent, is János Bényei Deák, who visited Oxford in 1635.[46]

With the exception of John Stoughton, and possibly Hartlib, few English writers took notice of the great popularity of England amongst Hungarian Protestant intellectuals in the seventeenth century. There was one notable exception, though, in the mid-forties—John Milton who wrote in the *Areopagitica* (1644): "Nor is it for nothing that the grave and frugal Transylvanian sends out yearly . . . not their youth but their stay'd men, to learn our language and our theologic arts".[47] We can only guess as to whether Milton observed these visitors whilst still in Cambridge, or later, between 1639 and 1644 in London, for by the mid-1630s many Hungarian Puritans were more attracted by the so-called "lectures" in London halls and churches than by the theological courses of Oxford or Cambridge. In Milton's sentence the word "yearly" is significant: it shows that the flow of Hungarian and Transylvanian Hungarian students continued throughout the 1640s. It was during this period that two future Calvinist bishops, Mátyás Nógrádi and Péter Kovásznai visited England. Many years later Nógrádi translated a religious work by Arthur Hildersam *(CLII Lectures on Psalm LI)* and in the introduction excused himself for "his lack of perfection in the English language", maintaining at the same time that his translation managed to reflect the essence of Hildersam's thoughts.[48]

In the mid-forties, partly as a reaction to political events in England, the authorities of the Reformed Church in Transylvania began a campaign against Tolnai Dali and his Puritan supporters. Synod after synod condemned his radical views on Church

organization; some of the accusations against him, though ridiculous, seem to have carried weight amongst his more conservative colleagues: "when in England he talked every day to Anabaptists, Puritans and independents".[49] For all the condemnations of Puritanism, the presbyterian principle began to take root in the Hungarian/Transylvanian Calvinist Church; also the Ramist-type educational reform introduced by Tolnai Dali at Sárospatak (where he enjoyed the protection of Prince György Rákóczi I's widow, Zsuzsánna Lorántffy) did much to enhance the standards of this particular Protestant school.

During Cromwell's protectorate the number of Hungarian visitors shows no sign of decrease: between 1652 and 1659 we know the names of no fewer than twenty-five students on longer or shorter stays in England. Many of these had strong Puritan sympathies; others may have had reservations about the regicide that followed the clash between King and Parliament. Gáspár Miskolczi Csulyak, for instance, deplored the King's execution in his *Angliai Independentismus* (English Independentism, Utrecht, 1654) a short account of the rise of independentism.[50] Others, like György Komáromi Csipkés, showed more interest in the language than in Church politics: after his studies in Utrecht he spent nine months in London (1651–52) and having written a Hungarian, and a Hebrew grammar, he also tried his skill at an English one, *Anglicum Spicilegium* (Debrecen, 1664). In the foreword of this work the author explains why in his view Hungarians should learn English: the English translated the Bible in a pure and accurate manner (he is referring here to the Bible of King James), and they also have many excellent religious writers whose example may be beneficial to their Hungarian brethren in faith.[51]

If Komáromi Csipkés visited Oxford of Cambridge, he did so only as a tourist. Others stayed long enough, however, to bring home academic trophies. In Anthony A. Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* the names of three Transylvanian Hungarians appear as recipients of M.A. degrees, all between 1654 and 1656: they were Gáspár Tiszabecsi, István Budai, and Tamás (Gáspár's brother) Tiszabecsi.[52] Either university fees were waived for these men or they received money from sources other than the usual patrons, for at this time no funds were explicitly earmarked in Transylvania for studies in England. On the other hand, Hungarian students did have preferential treatment in the Oxford of Cromwell's day: Wood claims that "several Hungarians who studied in Oxford, for the sake of the public library, some of which being poor, had commons daily allowed to them in Christ Church hall, by the favour of Dr. John Owen the dean, and the then canons of that house".[53] György Martonfalvi (later on Professor of Theology at Debrecen) could have been one of those Hungarians favoured by Owen: when he visited Oxford in December 1656 Owen was the very first person to write in his *album amicorum*.[54] One may add here that John Owen, who was Vice-Chancellor at Oxford until 1658 and ejected from Christ Church two years later, did not lose interest in the affairs of foreign Protestants even in later years—we find Hungarian visitors calling on him in London where he served as minister of an independent congregation in Leadenhall Street from 1673.[55] There are personally inscribed copies of his major theological work *The Doctrine of Justification by Faith* (1677) in at least

two Hungarian libraries, the former owners being Calvinist divines who visited London in the late 1670s.[56]

During the Protectorate Hungarian students found support amongst the Cambridge dons as well. Their foremost benefactor was Joseph Hill (1625–1707) whom the *Dictionary of National Biography* describes as "non-conformist divine and lexicographer".[57] He was also Fellow of Magdalen College, Cambridge and Senior Proctor in 1658, and one of the scholars very much involved in Oliver Cromwell's hoped-for project, a new college for Durham.[58] Durham College was meant to break the academic monopoly of Oxford and Cambridge but it never really got off the ground. Only preliminary lists of staff were drawn up, one by the Oxford don Ezerel Tong which included Joseph Hill and his colleague from Magdalen John Peachell.[59] The Durham project was close to the heart of Samuel Hartlib (and through him also to Comenius) and while the Hungarians supported financially by Joseph Hill were not necessarily ex-students of Comenius (they hailed from Debrecen rather than Sárospatak), they were also Calvinist Puritans and fluent Latin speakers. One of them, Orbán Érsekújvári Karádi, visited Cambridge in 1656 and delivered Hill's letter to the influential Utrecht Professor of Theology, Gisbertus Voetius.[60] Another protegé of Hill's István Beregszászi wrote from London in May 1658 with political news from Transylvania and gave the London address where he and his three compatriots were staying.[61] They were lodging in a certain Maria Parsons' house in Bear Street. (I mention this seemingly insignificant fact because many years later it suddenly becomes relevant.)

When in 1677 a delegation of much-afflicted Hungarian Protestant ministers (both Calvinists and Lutherans) appeared in London to collect money for the reconstruction of the shattered Protestant Churches of Hungary, István Beregszászi was among their number. These ministers had become victims of the ruthless political offensive of centralistic Catholicism in Hungary–they had been sentenced by a special court to imprisonment and hard labour solely because of their Protestant faith and were sold as slaves for the galleys in Naples. After terrible sufferings they were freed from slavery by the Dutch admiral de Ruyter; having recovered their strength in hospitable Zurich, they set out for other friendly countries with the aim of raising funds and pleading their cause to the public. From England Beregszászi sent a letter to another Hungarian minister who had stayed behind in Zurich–it is a moving piece of writing, full of gratitude to those people in England whom he had known twenty years earlier and whose kindness and charity now filled him with hope once again. The good Mrs. Parsons is one of them:

Apart from these (I met) in London the landlady of some Hungarians, Maria Parsons, at whose palace Mr. Köleséri lived for two years and where I lived after him. This very sweet lady together with her husband has shown much goodwill to us. Every Thursday three, four, sometimes five of us have lunch with her. She speaks Hungarian, Latin and English to us and keeps asking about numerous Hungarians from many years ago.[62]

This passage adds a rare personal touch to the picture of Anglo-Hungarian relations of those days.

In the same letter Beregszászi also reports on the progress of the collection in English churches which (with the help of an Appeal by the King) is going quite well. The person to whom he is writing is no stranger to England either–if he, as we have reason to believe, is the same János Rimaszombati who in 1661 was an impecunious student of theology appealing for aid to the Dutch Church of London, and later a visitor to Cambridge for whom the Vice-Chancellor of the University, Edward Rambcur, wrote out a finely worded Latin pass on 11th February, 1662.[63] As for the previous lodger of Mrs. Parsons' mentioned in Beregszászi's letter, Sámuel Köleséri the Elder, he also stayed in Cambridge for some days or weeks in 1655, when in the library of Trinity College he "sucked the sweetest fruits of books", if we are to believe his handwritten dedication to a little Latin tract which he donated to the library.[64]

The restoration of royal power in England did not keep Hungarian travellers away from these shores–on the contrary, a visitors' boom began soon after 1660. Now the range of Hungarians visiting England was more extensive than ever before: along with Puritans and Calvinist conformists we find Unitarians ("Socinians" or "anti-Trinitarians"), apart from the conventional students of theology, medical students and philologists. In fact, the fastest growing breed of Hungarians in Restoration England was the teaching profession, both private and public. There was not much of a language gap to bridge, for the language of tuition was invariably Latin. While the knowledge of Latin seems to have declined in 17th century England, it was reasonably well taught at the Calvinist school of Debrecen, at the Sárospatak of Tolnai and Comenius and at various schools in Transylvania. At the bottom of Pál P. Jászberényi's success story lies a thorough knowledge of Latin and the application of sound pedagogic principles.

Jászberényi came to England from Holland in 1658 and after a short spell in Oxford settled down in London where he opened a public school for the children of noblemen. He taught them Latin with less formal methods than customary at the time, and with instant success. In 1664 he published a textbook entitled *Fax Nova linguae latinae* or a "New Torch to the Latin Tongue" which ran to four editions, and contributed a poem in Latin to the broadsheet *Lacrymae Hungariae* (1665) commemorating the untimely death of the Hungarian military commander and poet, Count Miklós Zrínyi.[65] Another contributor to the same broadsheet was Ferenc Száki who in 1665–66 acted as private tutor to the children of Richard Norton of Southwick. Száki, who like other Hungarians in England had previously spent some years at Dutch universities, taught philosophy to Richard Norton junior. In the Bodleian there is a handwritten *Speculum Praeceptorum Logicorum Aristotelico-Rameorum* finished in December 1665 which confronts the texts of Peter Ramus with those of Heerebord, Professor of Philosophy at Leiden.[66] Before finding employment with the Nortons, Száki was in serious financial trouble and had to apply to the Dutch Church in London, a frequently used source of assistance to foreign Protestant scholars stranded in England.[67] Another Hungarian, János Kisvárdai sent a similar

application to the French Church in London, explaining the reasons which reduced him to extreme poverty and asking for a loan so that he would be able to pay his debts and "may be free to go to Cambridge to prosecute his studies, till he receives money from his country".[68]

All the same, it was not only poverty-stricken Hungarians who visited Restoration England; there were also wealthy young men such as Miklós Bethlen whose *Autobiography* remains one of the best pieces of 18th century Hungarian prose. He crossed the Channel in December 1663 and stayed in England less than three months. During his stay he was introduced to Charles II and kissed his hand; he visited Hampton Court, Windsor, and Oxford where "the professors received us with great respect and dined us one after the other, but spoke Latin with difficulty".[69] Bethlen found the English very friendly and described the English custom of kissing guests (including strangers) with delighted, though humorous interest. He also related his experiences in a London brothel in the company of two other Hungarians, one of whom was the Mr. Jászberényi mentioned above.[70] Another comfortably well-off student was János Nadányi whose Hungarian history *Florus Hungaricus* (Amsterdam, 1663) was translated from Latin into English by James Howell and published in London in 1664. Nadányi studied in Utrecht and Leiden and may have visited England more than once; he was certainly in London in the summer of 1663 accompanied by his preceptor, the medic Gáspár Enyedi.[71] It is possible that Nadányi actually paid Howell for his prompt translation of the Hungarian history and that Howell worked from a copy of Nadányi's manuscript delivered to him some time in 1662 by Enyedi or by the author himself.[72]

Around 1670–71 several Hungarian students appeared in Oxford. One of these, Pál P. Tarcali whose father had also studied in England and Scotland, even produced a brief dissertation under the title *De vocatione gentium et conversione Judaeorum* which was published in Oxford in 1672. As Tarcali matriculated in Groningen in October 1670, it is likely that he arrived in England only a year later, probably in the company of another Hungarian, Mihály Tolnai, whom he had met while in Groningen.[73] The latter, who may have been the son of János Tolnai, the Puritan reformer, also developed a liking for England. From Oxford he gravitated to Cambridge where he stayed for several months; Thomas Page, a Fellow of King's described him in a letter dated 14th October, 1672 as "a studious, modest man, frequent at divine service and of a blameless behaviour".[74] Page wrote this to William Sancroft, by that time Archbishop of Canterbury, and in the end Mihály Tolnai found himself a suitable position (possibly with Sancroft's help) as Latin schoolmaster in Kensington, a position that he held for many years. When Miklós Bethlen's son, Mihály visited London in 1694 he saw Tolnai more than once; he was still alive in 1701 signing the *album amicorum* of a visiting Hungarian in Kensington as "Michael Tolnai, Hungarus, Hospes apud Anglos".[75]

Another Hungarian who made a career in the permissive and dynamic England of Charles II. was György Szilágyi, penname Sylvanus, a classical philologist of remarkable energy and ingenuity. After studies in Heidelberg and Basle he surfaced in Oxford in

the early summer of 1671, composing there two Latin eulogies.[76] Both were achrostichs; the first, addressed to the University, suggested more or less that Oxford was the centre of the civilized world: "Noscere si cupias totius stemmata Mundi/ Oxonium venias, haecque videre potes"; while the other honoured Thomas Barlow, the very learned Provost of Queen's and Professor of Divinity.[77] Szilágyi was but a poetaster, with another talent unusual amongst Hungarians--a flair for business. He went into printing popular editions of the classics, editing them himself; between 1676 and 1696 he published a work of Isocrates which was reprinted four times, and brought out cheap editions of Homer, Plutarch, Seneca, and Theocritus.[78] As the inscribed copies of his edition of the *Idylls* of Theocritus show, Szilágyi-Sylvanus visited Cambridge soon after the publication of this book (in 1678 or 1679) where he probably enjoyed the hospitality of Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely and ex-Master of St. John's.[79]

From a letter addressed to Thomas Barlow by Isaac Basire, Anglican divine and ex-Professor at Gyulafehérvár in Transylvania, we can surmise that Barlow met one particular Hungarian who was supported by Basire: János (Johannes) Adami, who had arrived in England some time before 1670 and was still there in 1672; in the course of these two years he managed to publish two Latin poems (one also in English translation), which shows that he had at least some poetic talent. *Londinum Heroico Carmine Perlustratum,* a bilingual publication, was published in 1670 (as I managed to establish from a copy in King's College, Cambridge);[80] Adami's short farewell poem to Oxford must have appeared in the first months of 1671. Adami spent only a few months in Oxford but he certainly found patrons there, for at the end of the farewell poem he claims that it was they who, through their friendship, literally re-created him "the fallen Adam, out of a better clay" *(qui me seminecem donis animaltis amicis / Et meliore luto lapsum recreastis Adamum).*[81]

Unless they had heard wild stories of Jászberényi's success or were hoping to establish themselves through Basire's connections, it is difficult to say what made Hungarian students of philology try their luck in England. In the case of printers it was different: someone choosing to learn the art of typography in Holland could easily take time off to visit England to try and find work (as a rule, illegally) as a printer's apprentice. The first Hungarian Transylvanian printer in London was young Mihály Udvarhelyi who spent only a few months there as Miklós Bethlen's servant in 1663 and 1664.[82] Mihály Gávai followed him in 1676, and the Amsterdam-based Transylvanian master-printer Miklós Kis of Misztótfalu, inventor of the "Jansen-type", stayed there some time in 1687.[83] Finally, Adam Frank Jr., printer of many Socinian tracts (who also came from Transylvania), was living and presumably working in the English capital in the 1690s.[84]

One of the most resourceful scholars who made their home in the London of Pepys and Wren was János Mezőlaki. An alumnus of Sárospatak and former student of Franeker and Groningen, Mezőlaki first arrived in England during the winter of 1666/67 and from January to March 1667 was in Oxford. From there he returned to the Netherlands only to come back to England in the September of the same year, and after a spell in London spent five months in Cambridge. Having published a theological

dissertation in Utrecht in 1670, he crossed the Channel for the sixth time and settled down in London, where he lived until his death in 1693. All this information can be gleaned from Mezőlaki' amazingly rich *album amicorum*[85] which contains entries by such Cambridge worthies as Isaac Barrow, Peter Gunning, Henry More and John Pearson, and by their Oxford counterparts Richard Allestree, Thomas Barlow and Joseph Crowther. Mezőlaki, though a Calvinist, did not neglect to contact highly placed representatives of the Church of England: Tillotson and Stillingfleet also signed their names in his album. Despite recurring financial problems (as one of his letters to William Sancroft shows),[86] Mezőlaki somehow eked out a living in London by teaching Latin and, probably, philosophy. Although he died as a patient in Bedlam, the proximity of the date of his admittance to his death suggests meningitis or a tumour of the brain rather than mental illness.[87]

Hungarian scholars in Restoration England included short-term visitors such as Sámuel Hodosi who out of his four months devoted 2–3 weeks to Cambridge and only a few days to Oxford (in London he met the leading non-conformist authority Richard Baxter);[88] but there were also long-term guests such as the mysterious Péter Almási, and the adventurous István Zádori. The mystery about Almási lies in his long and seemingly uninterrupted residence in London: he first appears there in November 1676 but is still in evidence in 1679 and 1681.[89] Was he a student, or, rather like Jászberényi and Mihály Tolnai, a Latin teacher? The latter seems plausible on the basis of his inscription to Hodosi's album where he quotes Horace rather than the Bible, and also because of his connection with Richard Busby, Headmaster of Westminster School.[90] As to Zádori, we know more about his circumstances–he was sent to England by Protestants of Samarja in Upper Hungary in 1680, he studied first in Oxford, then spent some time at the Scottish universities.[91] This information was supplied by Zádori himself in his fund-raising letters to Sancroft and Dr. Richard Busby in 1682, at the time when he was poised to return to his native Hungary. News of the war raging there between the insurgents of Imre Thököly and the Imperialists may have been the main reason why Zádori suddenly changed course: he sailed to New England and it was from there that he wrote to thank Sancroft for his assistance. The rest of Zádori's fate is unclear. He left Boston for Jamaica and the last written reference about him comes from September 1685.[92] We have no way of telling whether he died in Jamaica or managed to get back to his native Hungary.

The last Hungarian visitor to 17th century England to be dealt with here is Mihály Bethlen, son of Miklós Bethlen, Chancellor of Transylvania from 1691. He kept a diary of his peregrination throughout Europe, the English part of which is full of interesting information.[93] Mihály Bethlen was accompanied by his tutor János Borosnyai; they stayed most of the time in London but in February 1694 visited Oxford, and some weeks later, Cambridge. In Oxford they duly paid a visit to the Bodleian and Mihály Bethlen donated a book to the library, a history of Transylvania written in Latin by his grandfather.[94] Cambridge impressed the two Hungarians even more than Oxford. Having seen Newton's college young Bethlen concluded that Trinity was even more beautiful than Christ Church in Oxford, and added thoughtfully: "The people here are

perhaps even more learned and friendly than in Oxonium; they received us kindly, entertaining us every day".[95] He also describes a Cambridge degree ceremony where the *doctorandi* kneel down in front of the Vice Chancellor who admits them by laying a hand on their forehead; after this ceremony, Bethlen reports, "they do not eat that day until evening, in Popish fashion".[96]

In London Mihály Bethlen saw the King and the opening of Parliament, made the acquaintance of Bishop Burnet, Hans Sloane of the Royal Society, and dined with Tillotson, then Archbishop of Canterbury. At the same time, he kept on meeting members of the small but lively Hungarian colony: Tolnai (the Latin master), Szilágyi-Sylvanus, Adam Frank Jr., the Transylvanian printer, and Jacob Bogdányi, the painter (later a favourite of Queen Anne).[97] His brief, but colourful description of English customs and sights makes his *Diary* both informative and enjoyable; indeed, in this no Hungarian traveller surpasses him until the 19th century.

To conclude, I have not tried to list *all* Hungarian students or visitors to England during the 17th century, only those were mentioned whose visit was particularly fruitful in one sense or another, and those who left behind a written proof of their stay in England. Most of them, as I have pointed out, were Protestant clergymen or theological students, though in the second half of the 17th century there was a slight increase in the number of medical students and philologists of various description. The majority of Hungarians stayed longest in London; in Oxford of Cambridge they usually spent only a term or two, taking degrees in very few cases. A fair amount of English religious literature was translated into Hungarian thanks to their efforts; on the other hand, their contribution to the English culture of the day was very small, taking the form of a few poems and/or theological tracts in Latin. The numerous books of English authors which have survived in Hungarian (and in some Transylvanian) libraries show that a certain kind of English literature was widely read by Hungarian Calvinists in the 17th century and that the original possessors were, with few exceptions, students who had been to England.[98] All this brings us to the conclusion that the period discussed in the above paper (and especially 1620–1694) was one of considerable English influence over Hungarian religious life and literature.

Notes

1. *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, II. (Oxford, 1958), p. 985.
2. *A magyar irodalom története 1600-ig* (Edited by Tibor Klaniczay), (Budapest, 1964), p. 104.
3. For their Marburg matriculation see W. Falckenheimer (Editor), *Personen und Ortregister zu der Matrikel und den Annalen der Universität Marburg* (Marburg, 1904), p. 277.
4. *Dictionary of National Biography* IV. (London, 1908), p. 215.
5. This was Skaricza's introduction to Szegedi Kis *Theologiae sincerae loci communes* (Basle, 1585), reprinted in *Studia et Acta Ecclesiastica* III. (Budapest, 1973).
6. *The Original Writings and Correspondence of the two Richard Hakluyts*, The Hakluyt Society LXXVI. (London, 1935), p. 27.
7. David B. Quinn and Neil M. Cheshire, *The New Found Land of Stephen Parmenius* (Toronto, 1972).

8. Anthony A. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses* (London, 1820), Pt. I, p. 217.
9. Quinn-Cheshire in *op. cit.* pp. 211–215 prints the original letter as well as its English translation. Camden's draft is dated April 5, 1582.
10. *Francisci et Joannis Hotomanorum . . . Epistolae* (Amsterdam, 1700), p. 276.
11. Quinn-Cheshire, op. cit. p. 17.
12. ibid. p. 93.
13. ibid. p. 59.
14. ibid. p. 61.
15. British Library (London), Lansdowne MSS 42., fol. 33
16. It was first described by Bálint Keserű, "Újfalvi Imre és az európai 'késŏhumanista ellenzék'", *Acta Historiae Literarum Hungaricarum* (Acta Universitatis Szegediensis), IX (1969), pp. 3–46.
17. He is described as an "erudite and celebrated man" by the Baron of Waldstein: cf. G.W. Groos *(ed.) The Diary of Baron Waldstein* (London, 1981), p. 129.
18. Imre Újfalvi, *Album Amicorum,* (Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (= OSZK), Budapest, MS Oct. Lat. 150. fol. 72–72/v.
19. P. Hentzner, *A Journey into England* (Strawberry Hill, 1757), p. 63.
20. W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Boldeian Library* (Oxford, 1890), p. 33.
21. NA. 5.2. in Christ Church Library, Oxford. It was discussed in some detail by George Gömöri "New Information on János Bánfihunyadi's Life", *Ambix,* 24, Pt. 3. (November 1977), pp. 170–174.
22. A. A. Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis* (London, 1815), II, p. 544.
23. Sir Kenelm Digby, *Of the Vegetation of Plants* (London, 1669), p. 226.
24. Péter Kulcsár and Iván Sándor Kovács (Editors), *Szepsi Csombor Márton összes művei* (Budapest, 1968), p. 525.
25. Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Tanner 66. fol. 108.
26. See his inscription J. Gheselius' *Album Amicorum:* British Library, MS Add. 28693. fol. 55.
27. *Szepsi Csombor,* op. cit. p. 207.
28. These travellers were already mentioned by Berta Trócsányi "Református theológusok Angliában a XVI. és XVII. században." *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* V–VI, (1944), pp. 115–146. Mihály M. Corvinus's *album* is in the OSzK (Budapest) under MS Oct. Lat. 14; Csanaki inscribed his name in Johannes Hoffman's *album* which is in the Bodleian: MS Rawl. D. 933. fol. 155.
29. The date of his admission was August 18, 1624. Kecskeméti also visited Cambridge where he inscribed his name in Joachim Camerarius IV's *album:* British Library, MS Egerton 3039. fol. 79.
30. *Történelmi Tár* (Budapest), 1885, p. 183.
31. Péter Pázmány, *Isteni igazságra vezérlő Kalauz* (Pozsony, 1613). It is catalogued under T. 7. 4. Jur.
32. MS Additional A. 57. The list of students who have visited England is in Vol. II. fol. 108–109.
33. Géza Nagy, *Akik kősziklára építettek* (Kolozsvár, 1937), p. 101.
34. *The works of Ben Jonson,* Vol. VI. (Oxford, 1938), p. 337.
35. Pál Binder (Ed.), *Utazások a régi Európában.* (Bukarest, 1976), pp. 87–88.
36. These included Edmund Campion's *Decem rationes* (Vienna, 1607), King James I's *Basilikon dóron* (Oppenheim, 1612), and Perkins's *Catholicus Reformatus* (Debrecen, 1620).
37. Pál Medgyesi, *Praxis Pietatis azaz Kegyesség-Gyakorlás* (Debrecen, 1936), p. 12.
38. Medgyesi, *op. cit.* p. 14. As to Molnár's visit to England, see Róbert Dán–György Gömöri, "Szenci Molnár Albert Angliában", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények,* 1979/3, pp. 278–280.
39. The book never reached Collins, however; for the reasons see Bánfihunyadi's only surviving letter in *Erdélyi Protestáns Közlöny* 1874, p. 269.
40. Cf. Imre Czegle, "A brémai főiskola magyar diákjai (1618–1750)", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények,* 1974/1, p. 94.

41. Madarasi's inscription reads as follows: "Clarissimo viro domino Johanni Mansel, illustrissimi Collegii Reginalis Praesidi dignissimus Joannis Madarasi mittit Londino Cantabrigiã 25 Maii AD 1630".
42. *Utazások a régi Európában* p. 102.
43. Pál Medgyesi, *Dialogus Politico-Ecclesiasticus* (Bártfa, 1650), p. 174.
44. In the letter referred to in note 39, Bánfihunyadi informs Medgyesi that he is sending a book requested by him earlier; it is Henry Bunting, *Itinerary of Scripture* . . . (London, 1619).
45. Pál Berg, *Angol hatások tizenhetedik századi irodalmunkban* (Budapest, 1946), p. 85.
46. He was admitted as a reader to the Bodleian in February 1635. In 1634 he edited *Janua Linguarum* together with his pupils, the Transylvanian princes Zsigmond and György Jr. Rákóczi, see: *Régi Magyar Könyvtár* I. 899.
47. John Milton, *Selected Prose* (Harmondsworth, 1974), p. 236.
48. Quoted by Berg, *Angol hatások*. . . p. 177.
49. Jenő Zoványi, *Puritánus mozgalmak a magyar református egyházban* (Budapest, 1911), p. 120.
50. Gáspár Miskolci Csulyak, *Angliai Independentismus* (Utrecht, 1654), p. 96, also discussed by Berg, *Angol hatások*, p. 150.
51. Berg, *Angol hatások*, p. 191.
52. Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, Pt. II, pp. 181, 190 and 197.
53. ibid. p. 191.
54. Cf. George Gömöri, "Some Hungarian alba amicorum from the 17th century" in J. U. Fechner (Editor) *Stammbücher als Kulturhistorische Quellen*, (München-Wolfenbüttel, 1981), p. 99. Martonfalvi's *album* is in OSZK, MS Oct. Lat. 458.
55. *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXIV. (London, 1909), p. 1315.
56. Sámuel Hodosi and János P. Jablonczay. The two books are in Debrecen (Library of the Theological Academy, C 495) and OSZK, Budapest (Dogm. 367), respectively.
57. *Dictionary of National Biography*, IX. (London, 1908), p. 853.
58. Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration* (London, 1975), p. 234.
59. ibid. p. 236.
60. British Library, MS Add. 4277. fol. 173.
61. British Library, MS Ass. 4277. fol. 14.
62. Zürich Stadt- und Universitäts-Bibl. MS F/199.
63. J. H. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Bataviae Archivum* III. Part II, (Cambridge, 1897), p. 2451–52. Rambcur's pass is in Chetham Library, Manchester, MS A. 6. 77.
64. "De Christi Potestate", (Leiden, 1655).
65. Géza Kathona, "Zrínyi Miklós halálára 1665-ben Londonban megjelent gyászversek", *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények*, 1975/2, pp. 218–225.
66. Its signature in the Bodleian is MS Rawlinson D. 234. Another Hungarian who supported himself by teaching was the Unitarian Péter Ádám (Rázmán), cf. János Herepei, *Adattár XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez*, Vol. III. (Budapest–Szeged, 1971), p. 430.
67. Hessels, *Ecclesiae*. . . p. 2511.
68. ibid. p. 2479. Kisvárdai signs this letter as "Acad. Oxon. membrum".
69. Éva V. Windisch (Edited by), *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei* (Budapest, 1980), p. 587.
70. ibid. p. 619.
71. Péter Körmendi, *Album Amicorum*, MS K. I. 461. fol. 53. The album is in the Library of the Theological Academy of the Reformed Church, Budapest.
72. Enyedi was in London already on July 12, 1662 (cf. Körmendi's *album*, fol. 66) and although Nadányi's inscription dates from 1663 he also may have been in England a year earlier, too.
73. Mihály Tolnai matriculated at Groningen on October 15, 1670, one day before Tarcali. Cf. Herepei, *Adattár*. . . Vol. III. p. 439. There can be no doubt whatsoever that this Mihály Tolnai is a different person from his namesake, author of *Szent Had* (1676).

74. Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 43. fol. 41.
75. György Bonyhai's *album* OSZK, Budapest, MS Oct. Lat. 121. fol. 165. As to Tolnai's occupation in England see Sámuel Kaposi, *Omniarium* (microfilm, University of Szeged), note 217. Tolnai died and was buried in Kensinton in 1703.
76. These date from June 5 and July 14, 1671, respectively. Szilágyi 's studies were interrupted in Basle in 1668 and although he calls himself "Medicus Pannonicus" there is no proof that he took a medical degree at any of the continental universities.
77. Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 54. fol. 105. The signature of the acrostich in praise of Oxford is Wood 276. A. (521).
78. There is no entry on him in *Dictionary of National Biography* but both *Régi Magyar Könyvtár vol. III.* and Wing list his publications. Apart from the authors named in the text he edited Aesop and Lucianus Samosatensis as well.
79. Both copies of the *Idylls* are in the Library of St. John's College, Cambridge. One of them is dedicated to Gunning himself, while the other one to Magister (Francis) Roper, Fellow of St. John's.
80. The entry in the catalogue of the British Library is incorrect. For more information on Adami, see György Gömöri in *Korunk* (Cluj-Napoca) 1977/No. 8 and 1978/No. 10.
81. British Library, 806. K. 16/56.
82. *Kemény János és Bethlen Miklós művei* p. 581.
83. Zsigmond Jakó (Ed.), *Erdélyi féniks* (Bukarest, 1974), p. 29.
84. Herepei, *Adattár. . . vol. III.*, p. 434
85. OSZK, Budapest, MS Duod. Lat. 108. For a more detailed description see G. Gömöri's article in *Stammbücher. . .* (Cf. footnote 54.)
86. Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 37. fol. 45.
87. He was admitted to Bedlam on June 9, 1693, and died on September 29 of the same year. For this information I am indebted to Miss Patricia Allderidge, Archivist of the Bethlem Royal Hospital, Beckenham, Kent.
88. Hodosi's *album* in the OSZK: Oct. Lat. 777. Baxter's inscription is on fol. 45.
89. Cf. Nikléczi's *album:* OSZK, Duod. Lat. 81, fol. 3, also Hodosi', *album* fol. 59. Almási's inscription in the book presented to Dr. R. Busby (Westminster College Library, London): *Szent Dávid királynak . . . 150 zsoltári* (Amsterdam, 1645).
90. Dr. Busby was Isaac Basire's friend and some of his Hungarian contacts were Basire's former disciples or friends in Transylvania. Péter Almási, however, may not have been one of these.
91. Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 35. fol. 105.
92. M. Halsey (Editor), *The Diary of Samuel Sewall* (New York, 1973), I, p. 78.
93. *Bethlen Mihály útinaplója* (Budapest, 1981). The chapter relating to England was published in a separate English translation by József Jankovics: "A Hungarian Traveller in Late 17th Century England", *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok* (Debrecen) VII. 1973, pp. 87–102.
94. *Bethlen Mihály útinaplója*, p. 92.
95. *Op. cit.* p. 95.
96. *Op. cit.* p. 96.
97. *Op. cit.* 87, 90 et al. On Bogdányi (Bogdani, Bogdane) see *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. II. p. 764.
98. Berg, op. cit., also József Bodonhelyi, *Az angol puritánizmus lelki élete és magyar hatásai* (Debrecen, 1942).

HUNGARIAN LOANWORDS OF ROMANIAN ORIGIN

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I

1. Although the original aim of my account* was to inform Hungarian linguists about an etymological project being carried out at the Hungarian Linguistics Department of Cluj-Kolozsvár University, the need to subject this question to a thorough examination from a new angle seems to be an imperative task for the history of linguistic studies, and may be of interest to a wider readership. Therefore, as a first step, I venture to make some critical remarks on the most outstanding points and achievements in this field, which has been labored for nearly two centuries.

It is fairly well-known that in Hungarian linguistics the study of loanwords has a remarkable past. At around the time when modern linguistics was born, at the turn of the 19th century in a Hungarian context, the linguistic values of loanwords were beginning to be recognized. The earliest study of this kind was the *Debreceni Grammatika* (1795) which, retrograde as it was in its opposition to language reforms, was, nevertheless, a strikingly modern and objective treatise. Unlike books written by early grammarians which are full of naive etymological assumptions, it brings to light the linguistic interrelationships that necessarily result from human and social contacts. Presumably independently of, but simultaneously with, the authors of the *Debreceni Grammatika,* Sámuel Gyarmathi, a pioneer of Hungarian etymological research, while on a study tour in Germany, attempted to trace a long list of common Hungarian words back to German, Italian, Romanian, Slavic, Turkish and other origins, applying for this purpose a new-tangled etymological method. He presented his results first in *Affinitas linguae Hungaricae cum linguis Fennicae originis grammatice demonstrata* (Göttingen, 1799), then in *Vocabularium in quo plurima hungaricis vocibus consona variarum linguarum vocabula* (Béts 1816). In the wake of these earliest developments (i.e. since the mid-19th century) etymological studies appeared, and still appear, to be one of the most effective and successful areas in Hungarian linguistics.[1]

*This article is based on a longer paper read on February 5, 1982 in Budapest at the plenary meeting of the Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság. References to the author's own publications will not always cite their first appearance but their place within the five volumes of his selected studies, *Válogatott tanulmányok,* more precisely in three of them. See Szabó T. 1970, 1971, resp. 1972.

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2. In the history of scientific research in the related area it was József Benkő, a polymath from Transylvania, who first pointed to the Romanian origin of some Hungarian dialect words then in use in Transylvania (*bács, berbécs, bosztány, esztena, kukujza, kompona, krinta, pakulár, szkumpia, sztringa,* etc.). In the same treatise, written in the last decade of the 18th century, but which regretfully remains unpublished, he refuted the hypothesis of the Turkic origin of the Hungarian language.[2] Since that time a great many linguists have examined Hungarian loanwords of Romanian origin. However, for a long time they were obsessed with little else than the study of contemporary dialectal words which had been collected either by themselves or by fellow linguists. Few of them were familiar with the problems of etymology and with the social implications of borrowing, aiming solely at finding the etymon. Still fewer managed to adopt a historical approach to lexico-geographical problems.

As the study of medieval Hungarian loanwords of Romanian origin requires a stance that embraces lexico-historical as well as lexico-geographical aspects, in the following pages we shall ignore the considerable accomplishments of those who, like János Gáspár, József Vass, István Damián, Gyula Márton, János Péntek, István Vöő, limited their efforts to the search for the etymon, and took an almost exclusively descriptive approach. Instead, we shall evaluate the achievements only of those linguists who adopted a lexico-historical method, later to be supplemented with lexico-geographical aspects.

3. The pioneer work in uncovering historical data on medieval Romanian loanwords was done by Antal Edelspacher and Pál Hunfalvy.[3] It should be noted, however, that Edelspacher's method was not consistently etymological, as is shown in his summary on loanwords of Romanian origin. In his wake, a much richer compilation was made by József Szinnyei,[4] in which certain entries were supplemented by etymological references, though the list of words was mostly restricted to dialectal words used in the second half of the 19th century. He obtained the data from F. Páriz Pápai's Latin and Hungarian dictionary editions and other 18th-19th century sources. Whereas Szinnyei's entries can be traced back to certain medieval Romanian vocabulary elements which are put into a historical perspective, in the compilation made by his contemporary, Gergely Moldován,[5] all that reveals an etymological interest is the occasional reference to *Lexicon Budense* (1825).

Basically, György Alexics was the first to be deeply concerned with medieval loanwords of Romanian origin. He relied upon some hitherto neglected sources, while being aware of the achievements of Romanian linguistic etymology. From among his etymological elaborations (valid even today), his minor publications on the loanwords *alacs, ármás, baraboly, borbát, cáp, cápunkurt, góbé, kópé, kurtán, szemény* reveal him as one of the pioneers in the study of loanwords of Romanian origin on the strength of his systematic application of a historical approach.[6] The list of loanwords of Romanian origin set up by Alexics was further enriched by such words as *bráha, dajnál, falcsa, furulya, gyilok, haricska, pópa, poronty, pulya, tretina* and *vakisa,*[7] thanks to the etymological studies of Miklós Putnoky, Gábor Szarvas, Zoltán

Gombocz, Antal Horger and János Melich. In reference to the etymology-specific minor publications of Gombocz and Melich it should be stressed that in both volumes of the *Etymológiai Szótár*, where in their search for the etymon, they gave a fairly comprehensive list of medieval loanwords of Romanian origin, the two authors repeatedly drew attention to etymological as well as historico-geographical points. While acknowledging in passing the merits of our first modern etymological dictionary, we must not forget to mention Géza Bárczi's *Szófejtő Szótár* (1943), which comprised only those loanwords of Romanian origin which turned up in the literary language; thus its vocabulary is far more restricted. *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára*, in three volumes (1967–1975), which includes also many dialectal words, provides a uniquely rich collection of Hungarian loanwords of Romanian origin with its historical data processing and its historico-geographical approach.

4. The successes of the linguists mentioned above should not obscure the true worth of Sándor Takáts's culture historical studies. It was he who managed to insert into the vivid description of the history of Hungarian shepherding[8] an ample group of loanwords of Romanian origin *(berbécs, boér, brindza, cáp, esztena, esztrenga ~ sztronga, kápra, milióra, oszkotár, szkotár, tretina, vátra).* He registered not only the root words but also their derivatives *(cápocska, oszkotárság ~ szkotárság, sztrongál, sztrongálás, sztrongás)* and even their compounds (*berbécs-bárány, juh-sztronga, kecskecáp, milióra-juh, sztrongahajtó, sztronga-bor, sztronga-juh, tretinapénz, tretina-váltság, vátra-pénz,* etc.). The mere fact that the derivatives and compounds were also mentioned amounted to an almost entirely new approach in Takáts's etymologically oriented study. Moreover, he was the first linguist to pay attention to the social implications and even the geographical limitations of word loaning. Thus it is no exaggeration to ascribe an outstanding significance to his role in the search for medieval Hungarian words of Romanian origin. The opportunities presented by this new way of study were further enhanced by his passionate archival researches. Therefore, besides his merits just mentioned, he may be considered the first scholar not to be content with studying well-known dictionaries, publications and other sources. By his enthusiastic investigation of archival materials, infinitely abundant and more expressive and colourful than any other source, he opened up new areas of reference and research.[9] However, the linguistic value of his historical data is slightly diminished by the fact that his archival notes are transcribed or embedded in his own texts. This practice often creates ambiguity; one cannot decide whether the notes appear in transposition or not, i.e. whether the compound deriving from a Romanian loanword emerges from an archival note or is a derivative or compound created by the author himself.

5. These remarkable achievements are due to Takáts's archival research in the first two decades of our century. Besides him there were no other linguists who delved into the impenetrable paper forests of archives, no one who excelled in putting the material found in the publications into historical perspective. In this 25-year period of diminished Hungarian research, the one notable exception was Nicolae Drăganu, professor of Romanian linguistics at Kolozsvár-Cluj University, who devoted one brief

chapter to medieval Romanian elements in the Hungarian language in a book otherwise concerned with problems of a different nature. From his list of words full of critical remarks and showing a profound knowledge of Hungarian historical and linguistic literature, the words *berbécs, cimbora, domika, fálcsa, ficsor, gárd, gárgya, milióra, nótin, pakulár, szkutár, sztronga,* and *vecsin,* were accepted by later investigations as Romanian loanwords.[10] In addition to indicating their first appearance, Drăganu gave historical and dialectal data concerning the geographical diffusion of the loanword, that is to say, he took into consideration not only etymological but also lexico-geographical facts.

In the light of what has been said, it is all the more noticeable that Géza Blédy, in his study on the Hungarian loanwords of Romanian origin[11] fails to indicate their exact dates, and in his otherwise copious vocabulary he makes do with merely registering the century of occurrences, thus ignoring both Takáts and Drăganu in their description of the circumstances of historical, social and lexico-geographical occurrence.[12]

6. For quite a while, the role in this area of research of the great Hungarian Slavist, István Kniezsa, went unnoticed. In his collection of Slavic loanwords, Kniezsa dealt not only with those of definitely Slavic origin, but scrutinized also those words which, initially thought to be Slavic or of Slavic origin, turned out to be non-Slavic. The author was extremely well versed in the literature of Hungarian, Turkic and Indo-European linguistics, and, mainly in the two final parts of his book, he pointed out with varying degrees of certainty that many words which had been considered to be Slavic were in fact of Romanian origin or at least had come into Hungarian through Romanian. By maintaining that these words be listed among the loanwords of Romanian origin, he rejected many deeply rooted assumptions. Kniezsa's study is also significant for the methods it employed.

a) While firmly deliberate and consistent, it sets a good example of how the achievements of the comparative analysis of lexical elements belonging to different cognate languages should be taken into account.

b) Highly familiar with the available historical and linguistic sources, Kniezsa pointed out how historical word references were to be constructed.

c) In his study on lexical elements of possibly Romanian origin, he was the first to apply systematically the historical lexico-geographical approach with its exhaustive and validating force.[13] Kniezsa can thus be regarded as an outstanding linguist for his part in pinpointing some new methodological ways to find interrelationships between Romanian and Hungarian.

7. While highly appreciating Kniezsa's contribution to Slavic studies, mention must be made of the Romanist Ferenc Bakos, who has had and–it is to be hoped–will continue to have considerable success in the study of Romanian loanwords. His major work on the Romanian elements of the Hungarian vocabulary–based on his doctoral thesis–appeared too recently to receive here a detailed analysis. His place in the history of studies concerning Hungarian words of Romanian origin will be determined by the value of this contribution, more comprehensive than the numerous studies he had previously published on this topic.[14]

II

1. In the preceding brief survey, considerable accomplishments as well as glaring deficiencies in the field of research we are concerned with have been, so I hope, brought into focus. The attempt to find new methodological approaches is invariably stimulating for all who endeavor to improve their methods and to apply these more systematically in further research work. Given the peculiar situation of Hungarians in Transylvania, a national minority, it is obvious why the Department of Hungarian Linguistics at Cluj-Kolozsvár found it necessary to undertake and to carry on the study, of the lexical elements which Hungarian and Romanian have borrowed from each other. However, the investigation of Romanian words of Hungarian origin belongs primarily to the scope of Romanian linguistics or, more generally, to that of Romanistic studies. This part of the job was done by Lajos Tamás in an excellent etymological study (Etymologisch-historisches Wörterbuch der ungarischen Elemente im Rumänischen. Budapest, 1966.) of the highest standard. In its turn, the staff of our Department of Hungarian Linguistics at Cluj/Kolozsvár found a pressing need for the collection of Hungarian loanwords of Romanian origin and their processing in view of new considerations.

Right at the start of the study work itself, it was clear that this manifold project would require much time and energy. It was chiefly for this reason that the department decided to put two departmental groups in charge of the project, each with a different assignment. In 1958, the two groups began their work: one was to study the lexical elements of Romanian origin which came into Hungarian prior to the middle of the last century; the other group was to collect and process those Romanian loanwords which first appeared after the middle of the 19th century.

2. The author of this paper, a member and director of the study group concerned with loanwords of Romanian origin from the first epoch, intends to supply information only about the overall set-up, the aims, the methods and the achievements of his own group. It would hardly be necessary for him to give an account of the other group's activities, since three summaries were published partly by individual authors, partly by joint efforts.[15]

In 1958, when the project was first listed among the assignments of the Department, the idea of a monograph on the subject had not yet been conceived, nor did the actual work begin in that year. As for its commencement, the author of this paper can only repeat, almost word for word, what he said in his first account of the *Erdélyi Magyar Szótörténeti Tár*[16] (Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary). Before 1958, there had been no underlying theoretical concept of what span of time the book should be restricted to. Only during almost twenty years of archival research in Transylvanian Place Name Databank *(Erdélyi Magyar Névtörténeti Adattár)* did it gradually and surreptitiously begin to dawn on us that on the basis of all those expressive and colourful etymological data it would be sensible to construct a Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary and then, parallel with this, to process the medieval Romanian elements of the Hungarian vocabulary. Since the Etymological

Dictionary was to be a dialect dictionary, from the huge archival material–besides thousands of common Hungarian words–we began to copy passages containing words which might originally have counted as common Hungarian words, but which, fossilized in their lexico-geographical forms, were and still are to be regarded as dialect words. We assumed that in turn they could serve as invaluable data for the construction of a historical dialect dictionary. In the collection phase of our work we found hundreds of loanwords of Romanian, Transylvanian Saxon, and Slavic origin, results of the coexistence over several centuries of several peoples. In addition, there were many words which came into Hungarian by the intermediary of these languages but originating from other tongues. Such words occurred in the vocabulary of Transylvanian standard Hungarian and the vernaculars, and some of them are still alive.

3. In these personal remarks I have reached the question of the first steps of the project, those of data collecting and reference use. But before analyzing these stages, let me cast a cursory glance at an organizational problem. It might have appeared reasonable to have performed the whole task by myself. Yet I decided against it, since my own schedule was crammed with all kinds of other plans, and besides, my intention was to refresh the supply of researchers at the Linguistics Department of the Cluj-Kolozsvár University. Single-handed work with all its ramifications would have burdened me with many time-consuming details which do not require any special expertise in solving linguistic problems, but would offer a good opportunity for younger colleagues to gain experience in coming to grips with intricate scientific questions. Moreover, within the framework of team work, data collection and arrangement would be quickened if undergraduate students keen on scientific research work were to be involved in the simple processes of card arrangement and even mere copying. This would have the further advantage of ensuring the future supply of linguists.

These were the causes which, at my suggestion, made the Department opt for team work. In the initial stages of data selecting, reference supplementing and card arranging, the following undergraduates of the Department volunteered to offer their services: Piroska E. Gergely, Ferenc Kósa, Júlia B. Kovács, Zoltán Szabó, Márta Vámszer, István Vöő and János Zsemlyei. This relatively large team was later reduced to five members by the withdrawal of Júlia B. Kovács and István Vöő, followed by Zoltán Szabó in the final period.

4. Right at the start we had to set time and space limitations concerning the dialectal words of Romanian origin to be included in our investigation. We also had to take decisions on the categorical, stylistic, and social scope of our inquiry.

As far as time was concerned, the upper limit was definitely laid down, as the title of the project suggested, by the middle of the last century, with the lower limit left (inevitably) open, since obviously enough it could not be fixed until the earliest data had emerged in the collecting phase. Likewise, it would have been absurd to set regional, lexico-geographical limits to our interest in the collecting and later in the data processing phase. As the small team were undertaking the task of an extensive etymological summary, the regional restriction of etymological data from ancient

Transylvanian sources was out of the question. We could not but take into account every kind of data, from every Hungarian-speaking area. Nor could we impose restrictions on either the research or the data processing phase in terms of stylistic and social varieties; spoken and written standard language, official and literary registers, vernaculars as well as the language of diplomacy or social interaction—all words of Romanian origin had to be taken into account.

It was only in matters of lexical categories that data collecting and processing were to be checked. Although the Transylvanian Place Name Collection *(Erdélyi Helynévtörténeti Adattár)* with its 600,000–700,000 entries offered thousands of references to Hungarian place names of Romanian origin, there were two reasons for not including these lexical categories in our work.

a) The study of common nouns vs. proper nouns raises divergent linguistic problems and, in its turn, requires divergent methods.

b) To register all Hungarian place names of Romanian origin to be found in the Transylvanian Place Name Collection would have increased enormously the amount of data, the time needed for this processing and the length of the book. The team could not have coped with a task of such proportions for lack of time and printing capacity.

In view of the limitations on lexical categories, the vocabulary frames were established as follows:

a) the collection would only comprise common nouns of medieval Romanian origin;

b) proper nouns of Romanian origin would be represented only by those which derived from common names of Romanian origin, if the bearers of the names were unequivocally Hungarian;

c) similarly, only those place names would be entered and processed which dated back to common names of Romanian origin.

5. As I have already mentioned, (part II, paragraph 2, above) the idea of studying medieval loanwords of Romanian origin first occurred to me when I first encountered the richness of Transylvanian dialectal word-stock while collecting data for the Transylvanian Place Name Collection and the Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary. The question of the sources which supplied the data for our work is inevitably linked with the inception of the idea to prepare it.

a) The most important source right at the beginning was the card material available from the two above-mentioned individual projects. However, one trouble was that the cards from the Transylvanian Place Name Collection, owing to the different nature of the project, could not have been used in the form they had originally been collected, when constructing the data stock of the vocabulary of Romanian origin. Therefore, on the basis of the coordinator's pencil marks and under the supervision of colleagues in charge of the seminar classes, the students registered and arranged the cards of the place name collection appropriately according to changed needs. This data collecting phase took about one to two years' work.

The cards of the Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary suited our purposes both in their format and content. However, it was extremely time-consuming to find the references hidden on the several hundred thousand cards and to arrange them by the entries. This job, which required much more expertise, was done by the Department staff and, under their guidance, by the students of the linguistics seminars.[17]

b) Because our long-forgotten data had all been collected in the archives of Transylvania, we felt it necessary to complement them with material culled from sources outside Transylvania. However, on account of manpower limitations and other constraints we were in no position to launch a complementary research in the archives likely to supply such data. One way which lay open for us was through access to data available in historical and etymological publications, *belles-lettres* and dictionaries. Owing to the thorough card-indexing of the sources assigned by the coordinator, my colleagues managed to increase the number of data in the collection considerably. Thus, when the data processing phase began in around 1960, there were about 15,000–16,000 entries to work with, collected by the editors.

6. Since the operational phases of data collecting mentioned above, and the editing itself, turned out to be far more time-consuming than expected, what had been scheduled for the six years between 1958–1964 in fact took a further two years. In 1966 the project reached a stage when it seemed timely and necessary to give an account of the advance and achievements of the project as vell as to publish a number of sample entries from the data collection.[18] In the following two years, between 1966 and 1968, the collection of the material and the etymological notes to the entries were completed, and so were the evaluating studies summarizing many aspects of the collection. Thus, as early as 1968 the corpus of the book had been prepared in manuscript form and another four summaries had been typed. However, there were two reasons why the full preparation for publication was held up for 15 years. One was that from January 1966, the entire energy and time of the project coordinator were absorbed by the editing of the first volume of the Etymological Dictionary. Shortly afterwards four members of the project–Piroska B. Gergely, Ferenc Kósa, Márta Vámszer and János Zsemlyei–joined the editorial board of the Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary in order to speed up the editing of the second and further volumes. This task required total dedication, and it necessarily pushed the matter of the project into the background. The second factor that hindered our progress was the continual discouragement we felt at the lack of printing capacity. Around 1966 and for the following 15 years there seemed little hope of getting a book into print which was going to be lengthy but unlikely to sell well. The prospects remained grim until Géza Domokos, the director of Kriterion Publishing House, decided to insert our book in the publisher's plans. His willingness gave the small team fresh impetus. Now it was hoped that the full manuscript, after a touch of supplementing, editing and a few technical refinements, will soon be placed on the publisher's desk ready to be sent to the printer's.

7. Our team set to work with the intention of, on the one hand, presenting a data collection of Hungarian words of medieval Romanian origin on as extensive a basis as

possible; while on the other hand making up for the deficiencies and gaps which had appeared until then.

Although our data collection, in view of the etymological references to the vocabulary of Romanian origin, is far richer than those prepared by earlier linguists, we must admit that even in this respect no research can eber be regarded as concluded. The fact of the matter is that the daily study of archival material and other publications invariably has brought, and will continue to bring to light very old and distant data previously unregistered which will allow more specific registration of certain loan words in a lexico-geographical sense.

With this remark I have, in fact, alluded to a potential hidden in the wealthy data collection of the nearly completed book. Suffice it to say, that while collecting data both for the Transylvanian Place Name Collection and the Transylvanian Hungarian Historical Dictionary, after initial hesitation, I found it necessary to register lexico-geographically every single reference. Consequently, in the corpus of the present book the overwhelming majority of the data are regionally fixed and as such can be considered as genuine historical lexico-geographical data. Thus, compared to some vague attempts by earlier linguists, our data collection offers a great opportunity to provide a systematic use of the lexico-geographical approach. One can see the possibilities offered by our fairly abundant collection by reading through the many etymological studies concerning the history of words such as *berbécs, esztena, esztronga ~ sztronga, kalács ~ kalák, kaláka, kaluger ~ kalugyer, orda, tretina ~ tretyina* and *zsentice.* Even more instructive are the lexico-geographical map sheets *(alakor, baraboly, mióra, pakulár, szokmány)* and a summary map sheet.[19] Furthermore, the cards utilized by the two etymological publications with the enclosed map sheets[20] which refer to Hungarian *bongor* vs. Romanian *bungur* borrowed from Transylvanian Saxon, reveal the possibility of registering and illustrating on a map this threefold Hungarian-Romanian-Saxon language interrelationship.

8. In an attempt to overcome the lack of interest in social implications manifest in the work of earlier linguists, in the course of our archival work we registered on our cards the names of the witnesses, editors, correspondents and informants. We often added to this information their social position as well as their age. Our assumption was that it did make a difference whether the loanword was uttered by a peasant or farmer, or whether it appears in a file prepared by someone on a certain level of the hierarchy of land or economic management. In correspondence, too, social and stylistic usage varies according to whether or not the author were from the privileged classes—princes, aristocrats, councellors, and diplomats. The social formalities, phrases and expressions reveal to an extent the social divisions. Their verbal behaviour reflects a kind of social restraint, distinguishing itself from that of the intellectuals as handed down to us in letters, reports, accounts and other documents. All this justifies the technique we applied in data collecting, whereby the social position and, wherever possible, even the age of the interviewer were indicated. In order to give emphasis to the social implications involved, quotations were not cut unduly short and were occasionally supplemented with footnotes.

9. It is a well-known fact that the loan words of Romanian origin can be divided into two groups of unequal size: (a) those words which turn up with more or less frequency and vitality also in the vocabulary of the Hungarian literary language; (b) those words which occur only within regional limits. A few of these can be found also in the regional standard language, but most of them appear merely in the vernacular.

The number of loanwords of Romanian origin in the first group is extremely small. (Bárczi's examples are only *alakor*–of hitherto unknown origin–, *cimbora, ficsor ~ ficsur, poronty* and perhaps *pulya.*)[21] To this category may belong the words *cigány, kalugyer* and *cserge* borrowed directly from Romanian, or *berbécs, esztena ~ sztina* and some others, all technical terms used in ethnography, as well as a few more belonging to the vocabulary of shepherding.[22]

In our data collection most of the historical references to the regional standard language, or to the incomparably richer dialect vocabulary subsisting in the vernaculars, date from far earlier ages than those taken from 18–19th century dictionaries and glossaries. Thus, our work attempts to satisfy a long-felt need in this respect.

During the editing phase of the data collection, the attention of the project team–and that of some outsiders too–was drawn to certain aspects of source analysis which had not at all or only partly been utilized. This justified the introduction of loanwords of Romanian origin from, among others, the Gyöngyös Dictionary Fragments, the works and dictionaries of Transylvanian memoir-writers, and those of Ábrahám Barcsay, Dávid Baróti Szabó, József Gvadányi, Sámuel Gyarmathi, Ferenc Pápai Páriz and others. These words are to be found in literary language, but exist for the most part in dialectal environments.[23]

10. In the course of the archival research work and the later additional collecting phase, and even more so, while editing the data collection and evaluating the references, it struck us that certain categories of Romanian loanwords had been completely left out of consideration by previous researchers, who had in any case showed very little interest in historical implications. Most blatant were the deficiencies in the historical lexical elements of ecclesiastic life, the offices of Romanian voivode courts and military life. These gaps are all the more conspicuous since the Byzantine-Orthodox orientation of Romanian ecclesiastical and court life as well as the character of state life and military organization differed considerably from their Western counterparts, and thus brought into being a specialized Romanian vocabulary in the related fields. Certain elements of this vocabulary, through peacetime and wartime military communication, penetrated into Hungarian, where they showed varying vitality. For example, in the vocabulary of ecclesiastical life: besides words of literary value in Hungarian, such as *beszerika ~ biszerika* (1648), *kaluger ~ kalugyer* (1566), and *pópa* (1566), our book includes such loanwords of ancient usage as *monaszter ~ monasztéria* (1572), *protopop* (1568) and *deák ~ deják* (1639), not to mention others of less frequent usage dating from the beginning of the 18th century and concerning church institutions and ecclesiastical life. But even from among these, *kaluger* and *pópa* were known to have dated from the 18th century. Oddly enough,

not even Blédy's dictionary, the most comprehensive of its kind, gives historical references.

11. Previous investigations paid little attention to loan words taken from the terminology of Romanian aristocracy, voyvode courts, dignitaries and high-ranking state officials. However, from the diplomatic correspondence of Transylvanian princes, Romanian voivodes and the Hungarian royal chancellery as well as from the reports of envoys and spies, and several other documents of the 16–17th century, the following list of loanwords could be drawn up: 1529: *boér ~ bojér* (a) "a dignitary from Moldavia"–(b)"a kind of nobleman from Fogarasföld"; 1559: *visztiernik* "treasurer"; 1563: *vajvode* "voivode"; 1569: *sztolnik* "warden of the king"; 1584: *logofet* "chancellor". If we include partly Hungaricized words, compounds and derivatives of Hungarian and Romanian origin, this list would be greatly expanded: 1559: *fő-ármás;* 1592: *fő-pahárnik;* 1608: *fő-boér;* 1641: *fő-vornik;* 1651: *fő-logofet;* 1657–1658: *fő-visztier;* 1600: *bojérfi;* 1657: *bojér-falu;* 1696: *bojér-mente;* 1570: *bojéri;* 1641: *bojérocska,* etc.

12. Alexics was the first to study medieval loanwords of Romanian origin concerning military life and institutions, but he selected only those Hungarian loanwords of Romanian origin and Romanian loan words of Hungarian origin which were to be found in Nicolae Iorga's book on the history of the Romanian army.[24] Among the words belonging to this latter group of 16–17th century reference, he mentions no more than two: *ármás* (1572) (a) "bailiff", (b) "brigand", (c) "highwayman" and *kurtán ~ kurtány* (1657–1658) "miles curiae", both marked with a year reference. (We dated the latter back to 1592.) The compound *ármáskurtán* (1662) "mercenary" and *ármásság* (a) "brigandage", (b) "banditry", can only be found in our reference book, which contains many more entries on military life.

13. The following list contains the Romanian loanwords borrowed by Hungarian up to the end of the medieval period and indicates the dates of their first occurrences. Early 15th century: *katrinca;* 1429: *cserge;* cca. 1450: *alakor:* 1520–1530: *pulya;* 1529: *boér ~ bojér;* 1546: *brindza, orda;* 1549: *zsentice;* mid-16th century: *alacs;* 1554: *esztrenga ~ isztringa;* 1559: *főármás, viszternik;* 1560–1570: *berbécs;* 1564: *fálcsa;* 1565: *bordó ~ burdó;* 1566: *fustély, kaluger ~ kalugyer, pópa;* 1567: *szokmány;* 1569: *bács, brindzatúró, ficsor, sztolnik;* 1570: *poronty;* 1572: *ármás;* 1578: *tretina ~ tretyina;* 1579: *csobán;* 1581: *tretyina-pénz;* 1582: *mióra;* 1583: *esztena ~ isztina ~ sztina;* 1584: *cáp, logofet, posztelnik;* 1585: *domika, esztrenga-bárány, jegumen, kecske-mióra, kozsók, lák, vornik;* 1587: *kápra;* 1588: *baraboly;* 1590: *cimbora;* 1592: *főpáhárnik;* 1594: *tretyina-tehén;* 1596: *cimboraság;* 1598: *kurtán ~ kurtány.* The list amounts to 47 words.

14. In my evaluation of Sándor Takáts's contribution I praised his approach which took into account not only the root words of Romanian origin but also their derivatives and the compounds in which they occur. If the study of these loanwords is based merely on root-words it cannot distinguish between the casual and the permanent, and cannot show the depth and effectiveness of cultural interaction. It goes without saying that, in terms of their linguistic, social and cultural value and

significance, there is a tremendous difference between unrelated, solitary root-words and other loanwords constantly ramifying and proliferating. Nevertheless, let us take some examples. E.g. *jegumen* (1585) "Greek Orthodox monastery abbot" and *kaluger* ~ *kalugyer* (1566) from the same period are obviously to be judged differently, since the former is clearly sterile, whereas the latter can be recorded in our collection together with its derivatives *kalugereskedik* (1747), *kalugyereskedik* (1775), *kalugyerség* (1749), and its compounds *kalugyer-gárgyán* (1749) and *tanító-kalugyer* (1774). Another loanword of Romanian origin with an even richer family tree could be *berbécs* (1560/1570). Its vitality needs no further justification in view of the historical references on hundreds of cards or its use in various present-day dialects. Nevertheless, the list below will be outstanding proof of the dialectal turnover value and significance of this loanword: (1) "ram": *berbécsecske* (1629), *berbécsbárány* (1631), *berbécsbőr* (1660), *berbécsbőrbunda* (1795), *berbécsbőrirha* (1688), *berbécscímer* (cca. 1715), *berbécsgyapjú* (1686), *berbécshús* (1629), *berbécsjuh* (1696), *berbécskirlán* (1782), *berbécs-legeltetés* (1688), *berbécsmióra* (1743), *berbécspásztor* (1688), *berbécspecsenye* (1715), *berbécstök* (1730), *berkeberbécs* (1794), *dézsmaberbécs* (1732), *diszkeberbécs* 1627), *fiaberbécs* (1728), *kosberbécs* (1800), *mióraberbécs* (1818), *nótinberbécs* (1690), *nótin-berkeberbécs* (1775); (2) "pile driver ram": *berbécs* (1813), *fa-berbécs* (1821), *gyalog-faberbécs* (1852), *kézi faberbécs* (1824), *vas-berbécs* (1818).

Before concluding this account, let us shed some light on the life and social implications of loan words of Romanian origin. From the point of view of social usage and the naturalization or extinction, they can be placed into two categories. (a) Words originating in the court life of Romanian voivodes and in the circles of state management and superior church organizations emerge nowhere except in the narrow circle of Transylvanian princes, in the diplomatic documentation of international relations, in the official correspondence of the privileged and that of the officials and intellectuals in their service, and in the private correspondence of these social classes. (b) Because of the direct, everyday linguistic interchange between Hungarians and Romanians, originally it was among the peasants and the provincial nobility with a similar life style that several words or Romanian origin took root in the language of agriculture, everyday life, meals, clothing, superstition, medical care and witchcraft. This opened the gate to the spread of these words, through the local administration and the land management of princes, landowners and noblemen, up to the privileged in government administration, top offices and literary circles. Trade between villages and towns, weekly and regional fairs and other public gatherings gradually provided an opportunity for the loanwords of Romanian origin widely used in villages, to spread to the towns.

However, these two groups of words differ considerably according to whether they were used in the period of Transylvanian dynasties or later. The loanwords in the first group did not exist outside diplomatic and personal correspondence and the direct social interaction of Transylvanian princes, Moldavian and Wallachian voivodes, and they abruptly ceased to be used when, because of the expansion of the Hapsburg empire in Transylvania from the late 17th century, diplomatic contact had been

completely cut off. After that the loanwords in the first group disappeared, showing that language is the most sensitive instrument to react to the changes in state law, social, economic and cultural life.

In contrast, the words of plebeian origin in the second group, after cropping up in Hungarian during early medieval period, not only managed to take root and survive, but, as we pointed out earlier, many of them also developed a more or less rich stock of derivatives.

Having unduly taxed my readers' patience, let me put a quick end to this report. But before doing so, I have to apologize for the inability of our small team to complete the monograph on schedule. The delay was caused by the unexpectedly time-consuming hard work involved and the editing of the Etymological Dictionary. Undoubtedly, by virtue of its historical lexico-geographical character, based on archive-data collecting, our book could have supplied plenty of references for other ventures working along similar historical lexico-geographical lines. It could even have offered a reliable background to the other project of the Department, involved in collecting the loanwords of Romanian origin in the last hundred years. It is no exaggeration to say that the publication of our collection as well as that of the volumes of the Etymological Dictionary will significantly modify any critical approach to earlier etymological studies.

Notes

1. Cf. a brief summary of this and of its causes in Kniezsa 1955, I/1. 3.
2. Cf. Mikó 1867, 320–329, and Éder 1978, 35, 112, 179–280.
3. Cf. brief references to Edelspacher's (1876) *bojár* and *orbonás:* Magyar Nyelvőr VII (1878) 241–242, and to Hunfalvy's *cimbora* and *kaláka,* Nyelvtudományi Közlemények XIV (1878) 306–308.
4. Szinnyei 1893–1894.
5. Moldován 1899.
6. For further information cf. Szabó T. 1970, 159–161.
7. Szabó T. 1970, 159–161, 167.
8. Takáts 1915, II, 259–354.
9. For further information see Szabó T. 1970, 161–163.
10. Drăganu 1933, 582–586. See my summarizing remarks Szabó T. 1962a.
11. Blédy 1942.
12. On Blédy see Köpeczi 1942; Bárczi 1958, 119; Szabó T. 1972, 99; Szabó T. 1979. 3 sqq.
13. See Szabó T. 1970, 16 and in greater detail Szabó T. 1966.
14. Bakos 1982 with further references.
15. Cf. Márton 1966 (without references) and, under the same title but with references Márton 1972. Also: Márton–Vöő–Péntek 1977.
16. Cf. Szabó T. 1956, and 1972, 383.
17. More details about this are given in Szabó T. 1972, 414–415.
18. Cf. B. Gergely–Kósa–Zsemlyei 1966.
19. Cf. Szabó T. 1970, 183–184, 236–258; Szabó T. 1971, 198–274; Szabó T. 1968; Szabó T. 1962b, especially the summarizing tenth map.
20. Szabó T. 1971, 179–197.

21. Cf. Bárczi 1958, 120–121, and also some of my own remarks in Szabó T. 1971, 178–179.
22. Cf. Földes 1961, 674 sqq.
23. Cf. Péntek 1967, Szabó 1965a, Szabó 1965b, Szabó T. 1970, 196–235, etc.
24. Iorga 1910.

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LE MONDE SINGULIER DE "PUSZTÁK NÉPE"

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Egyéni külön világ ez is, lakóinak nemcsak szókincse, hanem álomvilága is teljesen egyedülálló. . .[1]

Le professeur Marc Soriano, mettant le point final à sa thèse magistrale intitulée *Les Contes de Perrault, culture savante et traditions populaires*,[2] nous livre le jugement suivant:

En fait, les Contes de Perrault sont une chance pour la critique. Ils l'obligent à reconsidérer sa méthode et ses schémas d'explication. Par cet aspect aussi, ils constituent une sorte de "test".

A l'heure d'apporter ma modeste contribution à l'étude de *Puszták népe*, il m'est apparu que ce jugement constituait l'introduction la plus pertinente à cet article qui vise deux objectifs prioritaires: rendre compte d'une recherche de type universitaire, et rendre compte d'une œuvre, *Puszták népe*.

C'est que *Puszták népe*, au même titre que le célèbre recueil de Perrault, présente un double visage; dans un premier temps c'est la qualité de l'œuvre qui s'impose à nous dans toute son évidence, par sa vigueur, par son souffle, et par son indiscutable originalité; mais, dans un deuxième temps, c'est cette originalité même qui *provoque* le regard critique et qui, le contraignant à se ressaisir, l'engage à son insu dans un cheminement qui va se révéler extrêmement fructueux. D'un côté c'est donc la certitude qui prédomine, de l'autre, non pas l'ébranlement de cette certitude, mais l'envie irrépressible de tirer au clair *ce qui se cache derrière elle.*

Puszták népe, dès sa parution en 1936 sous les auspices de *Nyugat*, fait figure de nouveauté, et ne tardera pas à être considéré en particulier comme le plus beau fleuron du courant dit "sociographique" des années 1930. Tel est encore, semble-t-il, l'appréciation littéraire qui prévaut largement auprès de la critique hongroise contemporaine.

*L'article qu'on va lire est le résumé d'une thèse soutenue en 1980 à l'Université de Paris III–Sorbonne Nouvelle.

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Mais cet ouvrage n'est-il que cela? N'est-il qu'une étape, qu'un maillon, si important soit-il, dans un processus historico-littéraire donné? Une telle attitude critique, même lorsqu'elle est parfaitement fondée, comme c'est le cas ici, est-elle suffisante? Et ne risque-t-on pas, en prenant prétexte du caractère manifestement daté de cette œuvre, de la figer dans le passé, dans "l'histoire littéraire", et ce faisant de lui fermer l'accès à de nouvelles lectures ou à de nouveaux lecteurs?

Il existe fort heureusement, aux côtés de "la critique", une autre instance, un autre "pouvoir" en matière de littérature: je veux parler des lecteurs. Or il s'avère que *Puszták népe* est encore lu de nos jours par un vaste public. Pourquoi en est-il ainsi, alors même que "ceux des pusztas" forment un monde à jamais disparu? Que cherche, et que trouve *aujourd'hui* le lecteur de *Puszták népe?* Et que peuvent y trouver les lecteurs étrangers, dont je suis? Telles sont les questions les plus urgentes que nous pose *Puszták népe.*

A vrai dire la critique hongroise a soulevé le coin du voile dès le premier jour: des hommes comme László Németh, ou comme Gyula Ortutay, parmi tant d'autres, ont dit bien souvent que *Puszták népe,* loin d'être uniquement un écrit "sociographique" ou un plaidoyer politique et social, pouvait se définir aussi comme un roman autobiographique, ou comme une œuvre lyrique, ou encore comme un essai de caractère anthropologique, etc.

La thèse présentée ici s'est donc développée à partir des deux prémisses suivantes: d'une part la profonde émotion et le profond trouble qui saisissent aujourd'hui encore le lecteur de *Puszták népe,* d'autre part, et cette seconde prémisse est en quelque sorte le corollaire de la première, l'idée que cette émotion et ce trouble devaient *nécessairement* provenir d'une complexité et d'une richesse qui faisaient de *Puszták népe* autre chose qu'une monographie "de circonstance", en quelque sorte.

Et c'est ici qu'il nous faut revenir à la thèse de M. Soriano. En effet, de même que ce sont les *Contes* eux-mêmes et leur singularité propre qui ont poussé ce chercheur à faire preuve d'un éclectisme hautement revendiqué,[3] ainsi ce sont les résultats de l'investigation en profondeur que j'ai personnellement menée dans le monde singulier de *Puszták népe,* qui m'ont d'eux-mêmes amené à rejeter toute exclusive concernant les méthodes d'approche de cette œuvre.

Sans prétendre, bien entendu, avoir atteint si peu que ce soit la pénétration d'un homme comme Marc Soriano, je me prends toutefois à espérer qu'une telle attitude en matière de choix méthodologique permettra du moins d'éclairer d'une lumière à la fois nouvelle et adéquate une œuvre qui mérite d'être accueillie et méditée bien au-delà des frontières de la petite Hongrie. Le lecteur de cet article, et peut-être, qui sait, de la thèse qu'il résume, en jugera.

*

La première articulation de mon enquête s'intitule "*Puszták népe* comme message politique". Comme on peut le constater, cet intitulé présente la forme d'une assertion; c'est que *Puszták népe,* sans aucun doute, est, ou contient, un "message" politique. Cependant, cette assertion étant elle-même associée à deux autres assertions de même type,[4] elle offre également le caractère d'une interrogation pouvant se formuler

comme suit: dans quelle mesure, jusqu'à quel point, *Puszták népe* est-il, ou contient-il, un "message" politique? Telle est donc la question débattue dans la première partie de ma thèse.

Comment réduire à quelques pages un long développement et un lent cheminement qui en occupent 60, et qui ne valent précisément que par leur ordonnance et leur rythme? Disons, pour simplifier à l'extrême, que cette première partie s'est ordonnée pour l'essentiel autour d'une comparaison: partant de la place et du rôle surprenants que Petőfi occupe dans *Puszták népe,* je me suis appliqué à mettre en regard cette œuvre et un poème célèbre de Petőfi: *Nemzeti dal.* Un tel rapprochement est-il fondé? Mais c'est Illyés lui-même qui nous invite à l'opérer, et ceci à double titre: non seulement il considère d'une façon générale ce poème de Petőfi comme un "message" politique exemplaire,[5] mais encore il fait de ce poète, et ceci dans *Puszták népe* même, un juge, voire un confesseur, en tout cas un maître dont il ne saurait être lui-même qu'un modeste disciple:

A compter de ce jour, l'angoisse me saisissait chaque fois que nous traversions Sárszentlőrinc et Borjád, une angoisse semblable à celle qui s'empare de nous au seuil du confessionnal ou de la salle d'examen comme si les peupliers au loin me faisaient savoir qu'ils attendaient de moi un acte de foi solennel.[6]

écrit Illyés parlant de sa découverte des différents séjours de Petőfi dans ces deux bourgades.

Or que nous enseigne une lecture attentive de *Nemzeti dal?* Elle montre, lorsqu'on l'envisage comme "message", et que par conséquent l'on fait appel à des notions purement linguistiques, qu'en effet le poème de Petőfi présente une efficacité politique remarquable. Qu'en est-il par contre de *Puszták népe,* du "message" du prosélyte?

L'étude comparée de la "transparence" et de "l'opacité" de ce texte, celle du "je", celle du "nous", celle du ton, l'examen des fins de chapitre, ces temps forts de toute œuvre littéraire, l'étude conjointe des objectifs fixés (la liberté et la libération d'un "peuple") et des moyens préconisés pour y parvenir, tout montre clairement que si *Puszták népe* présente une charge émotive aussi intense que *Nemzeti dal.* celle-ci ne saurait en aucune façon *se limiter* à l'effet du pouvoir immédiatement mobilisateur d'un poème comme celui de Petőfi.

Ainsi donc, si *Puszták népe* a pu être pensé par Illyés comme la mise en forme rationnelle et consciente d'une réflexion politique et sociale, il n'en reste pas moins que le poète, à son corps défendant, s'est laissé entraîner et nous entraîne à sa suite dans un univers de sentiments, d'images, et de rêveries, qui dépasse largement le cadre d'une œuvre à caractère politique prédominant.

Il convient alors de rechercher par d'autres voies où peut bien se situer la source de ce courant dans lequel nous nous trouvons emportés par ce livre et par son auteur.

En guise d'introduction à cette quête et à ce qui suit, qu'on me permette de citer Illyés:

Les cigognes qui reviennent avec le printemps traversent des continents d'un coup d'aile, mais tournoient pendant des heures au-dessus de leur ancien nid avant de s'y poser. Que craignent-elles? Une fois posées, elles examinent chaque brindille du nid. J'approchais ainsi, moi aussi, j'examinais ainsi le berceau de mon enfance–nous verrons bien à quelles fins. (o.c. p. 23)

Nous verrons bien nous aussi, du moins je l'espère, à quelles fins j'introduis ici ce passage.

*

"*Puszták népe* comme récit mythique": il faut l'avouer, un tel intitulé, qui se trouve être celui de la deuxième partie de ma thèse, a de quoi surprendre. Comment peut-on en effet, lorsqu'on prend connaissance de la table des matières et du contenu de *Puszták népe,* parler de "récit"? Et n'est-ce pas un abus de langage que d'employer un terme aussi précis, et tout aussi galvaudé d'ailleurs, que celui de "mythique"?

Précisons donc brièvement l'acception conférée à ces deux vocables.

"Récit": le mot a été pris dans son sens courant, et ne soulève pas de problème particulier. Ce n'est pas le cas, par contre, du terme "mythique". Disons-le tout de suite: le "mythe" dans cette thèse n'est rien d'autre que ce qu'il est dans le vocabulaire de l'ethnologie et de l'anthropologie appliquées à l'étude des sociétés "traditionnelles". Il y est donc considéré, pour reprendre les mots de Mircea Eliade, comme quelque chose de vivant, "en ce sens qu'il fournit des modèles pour la conduite humaine et confère par là même signification et valeur à l'existence", et comme "un récit qui fait revivre une réalité originelle, et qui répond à un profond besoin religieux, à des aspirations morales, à des contraintes et à des impératifs d'ordre social, et même à des exigences pratiques."[7]

Or un tel choix, une position de principe aussi tranchée, entraînent bien entendu, s'agissant de *Puszták népe,* le faisceau de conséquences et d'hypothèses suivant: l'auteur de ce livre, Illyés, doit pouvoir être assimilé en quelque façon à l'officiant d'un mythe, son "récit" à un mythe, enfin l'ensemble des lecteurs à l'auditoire d'un mythe.

Où se trouve donc le récit, puisqu'il est manifeste que c'est sur cette notion que prend appui l'assertion-interrogation "*Puszták népe* comme récit mythique"?

On constate en fait qu'il apparaît déjà en filigrane dans la table des matières elle-même, et qu'il se développe, sinon sur un mode linéaire, complet et transparent, du moins de façon suffisamment précise et substantielle dans le corps de l'œuvre.

La table des matières, sous les dehors d'une certaine objectivité et neutralité "sociographiques", contient en effet des éléments d'un récit: chap. 2: notion de pays natal; chap. 3: "deux familles qui veulent monter"; chap. 4: "deux familles et deux pusztas opposées"; chap. 17: "ceux qui quittent la puszta"; chap. 19: "ceux qui s'élèvent au-dessus de leur condition".

Quant à l'examen du corps de l'œuvre, qui passe aussi par un nouvel examen des fins de chapitre, démarche essentielle, il permet clairement de noter les faits suivants: *Puszták népe* contient trois récits, et même trois drames comme nous le verrons, et ces trois drames, en se jouant en quelque sorte sur trois cercles concentriques admettant la "puszta" natale comme centre, mettent en scène respectivement "ceux des pusztas"

sur le plus petit, les familles paternelle et maternelle du poète sur le suivant, enfin le poète lui-même sur le troisième. C'est ainsi, dans cet ouvrage qui se voulait le plus neutre possible,[8] que son auteur, comme fasciné par sa "puszta" originelle, a en réalité englobé les siens, "ceux des pusztas" (le livre comme le "peuple"), et leur histoire, entre les deux temps forts d'un récit qui n'est autre que celui de sa propre existence *de poète:* son œuvre, en effet, s'ouvre sur l'évocation de sa naissance à la "puszta", et se clôt sur ce moment à la fois grandiose et pathétique où l'enfant, implicitement mais clairement appelé à devenir poète, en est brutalement arraché: "Je n'ai pas résisté: je suis allé où l'on m'emmenait".

La question portant sur l'aspect mythique d'un tel récit reçoit déjà un début de réponse d'une telle analyse. Mais comment nourrir plus abondamment le faisceau de conséquences et d'hypothèses présenté plus haut? Je ne peux retenir ici que quelques points, et renvoyer le lecteur au plan de la thèse.

Tout d'abord, si l'on examine la "situation de communication" de *Puszták népe,* on met le doigt sur une donnée fondamentale: dans cette œuvre se trouvent étonnamment confondus en un seul "je" un "héros", un narrateur, et un auteur; et ce "je" désigne toujours, pour Illyés comme pour nous, un "officiant" de type bien particulier, un "officiant" public en quelque sorte, *puisqu'il s'agit d'un poète.*

D'autre part, l'histoire du "héros" se trouve constamment rapportée, voire opposée, à celle d'un "peuple", dans une confrontation générale qui veut que le premier, Illyés, s'élève, et que le second sombre; un tel récit, illustré comme il l'est par un riche réseau métaphorique empruntant bien souvent à l'univers du mythe, n'est pas sans évoquer, comme je le montre, certains mythes cosmogoniques dans les sociétés "traditionnelles".

Enfin il y a lieu de se demander dans quelle mesure de telles données concourent à réveiller chez le lecteur *le vieil homme qui sommeille,* et si ce n'est pas de ce réveil-là, précisément, que provient une grande part de l'émotion qui s'empare de nous à la lecture de *Puszták népe.*

On voit mieux maintenant que ce qui constitue véritablement *le nœud* de *Puszták népe,* l'épicentre de cette œuvre, le fil rouge auquel il faudra inlassablement revenir, c'est cette fameuse "puszta" natale: d'une part cette "puszta" perdue dont la quête poétique a su faire germer sous la plume de Illyés des images, des formes et des rêveries qui appartiennent au fonds commun du mythe,[9] mais aussi et encore cette "puszta" unique, et bien réelle celle-ci, qui fut le berceau de son enfance et sur laquelle le poète a tant de fois tournoyé avant de se poser définitivement et d'écrire *Puszták népe:*

Avant d'écrire Puszták népe en prose, j'ai souvent tenté de traiter ce thème en vers, notamment dans le poème intitulé Hősökről beszélek. J'ai abordé le sujet sous bien des angles, et pour finir c'est Puszták népe, la version en prose, qui s'est avérée la plus réussie.[10]

C'est dans la troisième partie de ma recherche, intitulée "*Puszták népe* comme expression d'un conflit", que j'ai tâché à mon tour de plonger plus profondément encore dans la matière grouillante de cette œuvre,[11] et de déterminer jusqu'à quel

point "la poésie, [qui] fait de ceux qui s'y adonnent des écorchés", a pu aussi "sécréter une véritable coquille protectrice autour de sa victime", Illyés.[12]

*

A y bien réfléchir, cette troisième et dernière partie peut être toute entière introduite par cet étonnant passage de *Puszták népe*, qui vient clore le chapitre 12:

C'est là que j'ai appris que l'on pouvait lutter sans perdre sa bonne humeur, du moins, moi, je n'en suis capable qu'ainsi, même si cette bonne humeur est mêlée d'humour noir ou de sarcasme, et n'engendre qu'un plaisir ambigu, semblable à celui de l'enfant qui, malgré les grimaces et les serrements de dents, se livre au désir irrépressible d'arracher la croûte qui recouvre sa plaie.[13]

Etonnant passage en effet, et combien révélateur de l'ensemble de l'œuvre!

Dans le chapitre 12, Illyés, partant d'un souvenir particulièrement dramatique, celui du suicide d'une jeune fille violée par l'un des intendants, développe une analyse portant sur la morale et la sexualité à la "puszta". On le voit s'emparer d'un "fait divers", dont il fait le symbole même de la condition humiliante de "ceux des pusztas", s'attarder sur la description du cadavre, traiter du problème général de ce qu'on peut appeler le "droit de cuissage" à la "puszta", enfin s'interroger sur les moyens de lutter contre une telle tyrannie. On s'attend donc à trouver à l'issue de ce chapitre un appel à la révolte aussi vigoureux que celui de Petőfi dans *Nemzeti dal*. Eh bien non! Illyés, après avoir présenté la "comédie" comme la seule arme permettant aux jeunes filles d'échapper au dilemme tragique de la résignation ou de la mort, fait un retour surprenant au "je", et nous fait l'aveu que nous venons de lire. Or mille indices parsemés çà et là dans *Puszták népe* prouvent manifestement que ce livre aussi fut pour Illyés l'occasion de se livrer au plaisir ambigu d'aller fouiller sa plaie la plus intime: celle qui s'est ouverte en lui lorsque son destin de poète l'a arraché à la "puszta" de son enfance. Et c'est cette plaie-là qui est à la fois la cause et la marque indélébile du conflit qui se joue souterrainement dans cette œuvre.

Nous avons déjà parlé de la crainte de Illyés à l'heure de revivre la "puszta" par l'écriture: souvenons-nous par exemple des cigognes. Mais nous n'avons rien dit de très précis du conflit, de sa forme, de son emprise sur l'auteur de *Puszták népe*. Un terme, et un thème, permettent de le cerner: celui de la "métamorphose".

Combien de fois Illyés nous interpelle-t-il, et s'interroge-t-il:

Me suis-je identifié, ne serait-ce que par un petit réflexe, avec ceux des pusztas?

Et il fait mine, par endroits, de connaître une sérénité désormais retrouvée:

J'ai parcouru les étapes de cette métamorphose douloureuse, et j'ai eu le courage d'assumer la puszta...

Mais ne nous y trompons pas: loin que cette métamorphose soit achevée et réussie, c'est justement elle qui constitue le drame central et intime de *Puszták népe;* et si Illyés écrit encore en 1942 dans son poème *Székfoglaló:* "Me voilà en haut, et je n'ai

pas un ami", il ne fait pas de doute que la cause de cette solitude est à rechercher dans le fait que l'auteur de *Puszták népe* ne peut pas dire de lui-même, comme il le fait de Petőfi:

Il a émergé du peuple, et il y est revenu: voilà en quoi il fut et demeure exemplaire.[14]

Cecit dit, il est pour nous une certitude: c'est que dans le temps même où il met en scène *Puszták népe,* Illyés recourt comme les jeunes filles de la "puszta" aux moyens de la "comédie", et que ce type de "lutte" doit aussi lui permettre d'éprouver le plaisir du poète qui se coule dans la "coquille protectrice" de son art.

C'est sur ce deuxième point que je me suis penché dans les dernières pages de ma thèse: en dissociant la "puszta" natale de "ceux des pusztas", comme le texte de Illyés m'invitait si souvent à le faire, et en évacuant ainsi pour un temps l'aspect conflictuel du lien unissant le poète aux hommes de la "puszta", j'ai concentré mon attention sur les rapports chaleureux et intimes qui rassemblaient en un foyer unique le poète, sa mère, et sa "puszta" nourricière. En procédant ainsi, je me suis notamment conformé à ces mots de Illyés:

nous n'avons qu'une seule mère nourricière, la terre (. . .), elle est sacrée.[15]

On a pu assister, tout au long de la présentation de cette thèse, à une sorte de glissement: la descente dans l'intimité du texte *Puszták népe* nous a permis de constater qu'Illyés, en s'approchant comme une cigogne du nid de son enfance, ne nous a pas seulement donné accès au "monde singulier" de "ceux des pusztas", mais aussi, et d'une façon beaucoup plus significative, à celui de sa propre psyché et au drame qui s'y jouait: celui de son arrachement à sa "puszta" natale. Et c'est là, c'est dans ce détournement qui s'y opère, que réside l'essentiel de la singularité et de l'originalité de *Puszták népe.* Ajoutons que c'est aussi de là qu'il faudra repartir chaque fois que l'on voudra mettre le doigt sur l'importance considérable d'un thème, celui de la "puszta", au regard de l'œuvre toute entière de Illyés: pensons seulement à *Bolhabál, Bál a pusztán, A tű foka,* et au nombre infini de poèmes qui, explicitement ou implicitement, nous parlent d'elle.

Est-ce à dire pour autant qu'il n'y aurait qu'une seule lecture juste de *Puszták népe?* Bien sûr que non! Il n'a jamais été question pour moi par exemple de nier que cette œuvre fût un remarquable et saisissant plaidoyer. Mon effort, comme on a pu le noter, a seulement consisté à mettre en relief et à éclairer la richesse et l'importance, la singularité et la spécificité de ce texte. Cette tentative, je l'ai menée en le rapprochant d'un texte de Petőfi, comme m'y invitait Illyés; en montrant comment le mythe, avec ses contenus et ses formes, "prenait" bien chez ce poète; enfin en dégageant le pouvoir structurant d'un drame intime.

Ceci dit, mon principal outil de travail ne fut autre que la persévérance de la lecture: n'est-elle pas la condition première pour entrevoir les "penchants les plus secrets de l'âme" d'un poète, comme nous le souffle Illyés:

Le tempérament d'un poète (. . .), c'est dans les comparaisons, dans cette part du poème qui semble purement illustrative (. . .), que l'on peut le saisir le plus aisément; dans le matériau le plus susceptible d'être librement choisi, et par conséquent le plus apte à révéler les penchants les plus secrets de l'âme: les images poétiques? [16]

Plan de la thèse

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PUSZTÁK NÉPE COMME EXPRESSION D'UN CONFLIT

Notes

1. *Puszták népe* pp. 6 et 7. "Ceux des pusztas possèdent un univers à part, avec son vocabulaire et ses rêves. . .": *Ceux des pusztas,* traduction de V. Charaire, Ed. Gallimard, 1968. Il existe cependant une autre traduction de *Puszták népe,* moins élégante peut-être, mais plus fidèle et *intégrale* (à la différence de celle de V. Charaire): celle de P. E. Régnier, chez Gallimard.
2. Ed. Gallimard, 1968.
3. Il déclare en effet: "L'étiquette, en réalité, voudrait stigmatiser le fait que j'utilise en même temps des méthodes réputées inconciliables et, en somme, que je ne me réclame pas uniquement du marxisme, ou du structuralisme ou de la psychanalyse. Ce serait là le signe de mon embarras, de ma misère méthodologique. *Or cette misère est volontaire et constitue, je crois, la conclusion la plus riche de mon enquête:* le problème des méthodes ne peut pas être un problème *antérieur* à la recherche elle-même: il la suit. On trouve d'abord, et après, si on peut, on cherche comment on a fait." (o.c. p. IX, c'est moi qui souligne).
4. Les intitulés des 2e et 3e parties: se reporter au plan de la thèse à la fin du présent article.
5. Il écrit à son sujet: "La poésie s'était soudain incarnée, et s'était envolée en direction de Pozsony où, semblable au jour chassant la nuit, elle avait réduit à néant les obstacles qui s'opposaient au renouveau de la Hongrie." (*Magyarok,* in *Itt élned kell,* T. I, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1976, p. 136)

6. Traduction de moi-même (voir *Puszták népe*, pp. 22 et 23).
7. *Aspects du mythe*, Paris Ed. Gallimard, 1963
8. Voir aussi cette précaution oratoire de Illyés au tout début de son Livre: "Les souvenirs personnels que je raconte çà et là (ne) sont que des illustrations. . ." (o.c. p. 32).
9. Notamment celui de l'Age d'Or.
10. *Élet és Irodalom*, 3 Novembre, 1962.
11. Illyés écrit à propos de "ceux des pusztas": ". . .atteindre cette couche grouillante et cachée dans les profondeurs, qui dérobe jalousement son âme bouillonnante aux regards étrangers et même à la lumière objective du jour." (o.c. p.32)
12. *La vie de Petőfi*, Paris, Ed. Gallimard, 1962.
13. "même si. . . sa plaie." n'est pas traduit dans l'édition citée.
14. *Tiszatáj*, nº 2, février 1973.
15. o.c. p. 22.
16. *Petőfi Sándor*, Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1972 p. 175.

HISTORICAL, LITERARY, LINGUISTIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC RESEARCH ON HUNGARIAN-AMERICANS

A Historiographical Assessment

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American scholarship has made the historiographical study of the humanities and the social sciences an increasingly popular endeavor in recent years. This does not hold true, however, for Hungarian studies. This complex discipline—made up of such fields as Hungarian-American history, literature, language, culture, social life—is still at a relatively early state of its development, and its historiographical assessment is even less advanced. A number of earlier evaluations of some of its fields do exist, but these are few in number and cover only a few of its achievements.* As an example, besides a number of essays on the development of Hungarian studies in general (Sinor, Várdy),[1] we have only a few articles on the results of Hungarian-American linguistic research (Lotz, Kerek),[2] two assessments on the accomplishments of Hungarian-American ethnographic research (Voigt, Gunda),[3] some studies on the desirable approaches to folklore research (Dégh),[4] an appraisal of Hungarian immigration research (Bődy),[5] and an earlier general assessment of Hungarian-American historical and cultural research (Várdy—Huszár Várdy).[6]

While historiographical studies are rare and scanty, we do have a number of recent bibliographies which are partially or wholly devoted to Hungarian-American studies. The former include E. Bakó's *Guide to Hungarian Studies* (1973), A. Tezla's *Hungarian Literature: An Introductory Bibliography* (1964) and *Hungarian Authors: A Bibliographical Handbook* (1974), I. Halász de Béky's bibliographies on the Hungarian Uprising (1963, 1967, 1976), and the Horecky-edited handbook on American archival and library resources entitled *East Central and Southeast Europe* (1976).[7] The most important among those devoted specifically to Hungarian-American studies include F. Vitéz's *A Bibliography of the Hungarian Reformed Literature in the United States* (1965), I. Kovács's *The Hungarians in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography* (1975), and J. Széplaki's *Hungarians in the United States and Canada: A Bibliography* (1977c).[8] Széplaki and Halász de Béky have also published a number of smaller and more specialized bibliographies, including—among others—Széplaki's list of North American doctoral dissertations concerning Hungary and the Hungarians,[9] and Halász

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de Béky's various compilations on the related holdings of the University of Toronto Library.[10] The Hungarian collections of some of the major academic and public libraries have also been examined, either in the form of complete bibliographies, as in the case of Harvard (1974), or in descriptive essays, as in the case of Indiana (1978, 1979).[11] A number of shorter assessments also exist on many of the other Hungarian collections in other academic and public libraries.[12]

Mention should also be made of the most significant bibliographies of Hungarian newspapers and periodicals abroad, including Hungarian-American and Hungarian-Canadian publications.* The two most significant of these are: M. Németh's *Title Index and Reference Data of Magyar Language Newspapers and Periodicals Abroad, 1945–1970* (1975), and K. Mildschütz's *Bibliography of the Hungarian Emigré Press, 1945–1975* (1977).[13] Not as recent, but also significant is Iván Nagy's *Hungarian Press Abroad* (1943),[14] which, in addition to an annotated list of Hungarian newspapers in various sections of the world, contains also a brief history of the development of this press beyond the borders of Hungary.

While the above-mentioned specialized historiographical studies and specialized bibliographies do exist and are very helpful to the researcher, to the best of our knowledge–outside our own earlier attempt–no effort has as yet been made to summarize and to assess the accomplishments and present status of research in Hungarian-American studies from the very beginning to our own period. Thus, in conjunction with its earlier, preliminary version, this study is probably the first of such efforts, with all the limitations that such a pioneer work implies. All we can really do is to point to some of the significant or interesting students of the Hungarian-American past, to identify a few of the main trends in the related fields of study, and to register the strengths and weaknesses of these efforts. As such this essay is closer to an initial guide, than to an in-depth analytical study of the century-old effort to portray the Hungarian-American past and of the constantly changing present. But it is a start, which–hopefully–will be followed by a number of other related studies enriched both by the observations of our colleagues, and by our own efforts to deal in greater depth and detail with the various earlier and ongoing scholarly efforts in this area.

The General Characteristics of Early Hungarian-American Studies

There were chroniclers of the Hungarian past in America as far back as the late nineteenth century. Yet, the collection of sources and the systematic study of this past–as already alluded to above–has lagged far behind the desired level. One of the reasons for this strange phenomenon was that–outside of the general field of immigration history–in the past very few learned scholars regarded it worth their time to devote attention to the study of Hungarian "ethnic history". Nor was there a major, systematic, and institutionalized effort before the 1960s to collect the sources of this history, except by a few dedicated individuals and perhaps by a few fledgling

*(In the text of the paper Hungarian publication titles are given in English translation. For the title in the original language see the bibliography. Editorial remark.)

institutions. Thus, much of what has been written about Hungarian-American history in the course of the past one hundred years—but especially prior to the 1960s—came largely from the pen of well-meaning, but mostly untrained chroniclers who published the results of their efforts in qualitatively undemanding newspapers, calendars, pamphlets, the anniversary albums of various churches, associations, periodical publications of specific Hungarian settlements in the United States and Canada. In many instances the results of these efforts were hardly more than collections of raw facts, naive assumptions, or at best, pious and well-meaning chronological summaries.

Although much of Hungarian-American history before the 1960s—i.e. before the so-called "ethnic revolution" made the study of the Hungarian-American past "acceptable" in American scholarly circles[15]—was in the realm of amateur chroniclers, there were a few professionals, as well as a number of learned and competent non-professionals who devoted some of their efforts to this question. Professional historians, however, dealt with Hungarian-American history only as a sideline, while competent non-professionals (e.g. clergymen, journalists, etc.) combined their interests and dedication with the pressing obligation to earn a livelihood in other endeavors. Furthermore, both of these types were forced to work without the benefit of systematic archival collections and without being able to base their synthetic works on reliable research monographs. The reason for this was that outside of a few private collections, no significant Hungarian-American libraries and archives had come into being before the 1960s. Moreover, with the exception of a few Ph.D. dissertations, research monographs were also wanting; there are still relatively few of them today. Even so, a number of the pioneer researchers of the Hungarian-American past did produce a few acceptable to good studies. Others made their names known through their systematic collection of sources, even though they had to do so without the benefit of community, state, or academic support.

Pioneers of Hungarian-American Historical Research

The most important early pioneer of Hungarian-American historical research and the first professional in the field was Sándor Márki (1857–1925), Professor of History at the University of Kolozsvár (now Cluj-Napoca in Rumania), whose excellent study *America and the Hungarians* appeared in 1893.[16]

Márki's study was the first scholarly effort to trace the history of Hungarian-American connections, including the growth of Hungarian knowledge about the New Continent, as well as the coming of Hungarian explorers, missionaries, soldiers-of-fortune, and settlers to the Americas.

Márki's work was paralleled by the somewhat less weighty research and publishing efforts of Lajos (Louis) Kropf (1854–19? ?), an engineer and an amateur historian, who settled in London, in 1874. Kropf began to write on Hungarian historical topics already during the 1870s, but his articles on Hungary's connections with the Americas did not appear until the late 1880s and early 1890s. Particularly significant among the

latter are his studies on the famous and perhaps notorious Captain John Smith, even though his attempt to destroy Smith's credibility concerning the latter's sojourns and deeds in Hungary and Transylvania is now generally rejected by historians.[17]

Márki's and Kropf's efforts were followed by those of Jenő (Eugene) Pivány (1873–1946), a non-professional historian, who spent nearly two decades of his life in the United States (1899–1915, 1919–1920).[18] In the period between 1905 and 1944 Pivány authored scores of shorter and longer studies on the Hungarian-American past. These included his *Hungarians in the American Civil War* (1913), *Hungarians in the American Revolution* (1924), as well as his oft-cited *Hungarian-American Historical Connections* (1927).[19] In many ways, the latter work is an improvement over Márki's pioneering study of three and a half decades earlier, but it also has its shortcomings. In addition to lacking the historiographical and geographical erudition of Márki's work, it displays some of the Kossuthist Magyar patriotism that generally characterized, and at times disfigured, Hungarian-American popular and even learned writings of that period. Moreover, Pivány carried his story only up to the Civil War, and never managed to finish a complementary study on the more recent period.

Subsequently, Pivány also authored such other short summaries as his *Hungarians in North America* (1944), *Hungarians in the Americas* (1944, with Tivadar Ács), and *The Story of an American Mission* (1943).[20] The last of these is perhaps the most interesting, for there he describes his own personal experiences of 1919–1920, when he headed a Hungarian delegation sent for the purposes of trying to change American public opinion and American policy toward Hungary. As expected, Pivány had the tendency to over-emphasize the significance of this mission, as well as his own personal role therein.

Although no major works, many of Pivány's studies were indispensable in their own day, and some of them are still useful today. As such, his role in the development of Hungarian-American studies is definitely significant. Yet, of at least equal significance was his effort to gather a large collection of sources on the Hungarian-American past, with particular attention to the period since the eighteenth century. His library eventually consisted of several thousand published volumes, as well as much archival material. It contained most of what had been written about Hungary and the Hungarians in the Anglo-Saxon world. As perhaps the largest of such "Hungarica" collections, Pivány's library, which he took back to Hungary, was destined to go to the National Széchényi Library of Budapest. But it never came to be. This priceless collection was destroyed during the siege of Budapest in the early part of 1945.[21] Fortunately, however, it had already been used, and some of the important sources copied by one of Pivány's friends and disciples, the literary scholar, historian and publicist István Gál.

Although almost four decades his junior, István Gál (1912–1982) has emerged as one of the important scholars of Anglo-Hungarian and American-Hungarian relations already in Pivány's lifetime.[22] He appeared on the Hungarian intellectual scene in the mid-1930s as the founding editor of the "new humanist" periodical, *Apollo* (1934–1939), which advocated the need for coexistence and cooperation among the

nations of East Central Europe. While emphasizing the interdependence of the small nations of that area, Gál also devoted an increasing portion of his scholarly efforts to the study of the relationship between Hungary and the Anglo-Saxon world. Thus, in the course of 1939–1944, while Pivány's library was still intact and available to him, Gál wrote an increasing number of studies on American-Hungarian relations, based on that collection. In 1945, he incorporated many of these studies into a volume published under the title *Hungary, England, and America.*[23] Although this volume is still the only collection of Gál's studies in this area, he did not cease his research on Hungarian-American connections in 1945. As a matter of fact, his numerous related articles, written in the course of the last three and a half decades, would probably fill several additional volumes; and they include a number of related disciplines in the field of Hungarian-American studies. Gál has never attempted to synthesize his research findings in Hungarian-American relations but he added much in the way of new details.

Simultaneously with the early phase of Pivány's research and publishing activities, a number of other scholars were also active in Hungary. But unlike Pivány, who concentrated mostly on Hungarian-American relations and on Hungarian contributions to American civilization, the latter were mostly economists and statisticians who studied the nature and size of the Hungarian emigration of the late dualist period, and tried to measure the economic and social impact of that mass emigration upon Hungarian society and economy. The best known of these scholars was Gusztáv Thirring (1861–1941), a noted statistician and geographer whose pioneering statistical compilations–among them the highly regarded work, *Hungarian Emigration and Hungarians Abroad* (1904)–are still indispensable today.[24]

There were a number of other similar scholars in the field in those days, some of whose works were of almost equal significance. These included Andor Löherer's *Emigration to, and Repatriation from America* (1908), József Gerényi's *The Cause and Effect of the Emigration to America* (1913), Dezső Laky's *Emigration from, and Repatriation to the Lands of the Hungarian Holy Crown* (1918),[25] as well as several others of lesser significance. All of these works are basically statistical summaries and assessments of the size and nature of the contemporary mass emigration; all of them try to explain the causes and effects of this exodus primarily in social and economic terms; and all of them deal, to a lesser or greater degree, with the negative impact of this mass emigration upon the nation's future. For this very reason, the authors of these works are almost universally critical of this population loss, and suggest various ways to put an end to this so-called "national blood-letting."

The outbreak of World War I, the subsequent collapse of Austria-Hungary, and the almost simultaneous introduction of the quota system in American immigration policy brought an end to mass emigration from the Danubian lands of East Central Europe. These developments also put an end to such large statistical compilations as those of Gusztáv Thirring and his contemporaries. Their place was taken by shorter studies, such as those authored by Pivány, who was still active throughout the interwar period. In addition to István Gál, the most noted authors of these shorter studies included the

philologist Sándor Fest, the legal scholar and statistician Iván Nagy, and the publicist-historian Tivadar Ács.

Being one of the outstanding representatives of English philology in Hungary, Sándor Fest (1883–1944) was particularly interested in Anglo-Hungarian literary and cultural relations which he examined in two important Works: *English Literary Influences in Hungary to the Emergence of Stephen Széchenyi* (1917), and *Englishmen in Hungary during the Era of Reform, 1825–1848* (1920).[26] In dealing with Anglo-Hungarian relations, however, Fest could not avoid paying also some attention to Hungary's North American connections, which he did in several shorter articles.

The situation was different with Iván Nagy (1898–1977), who usually added the title "Vitéz" to his name. As an employee of the Ministry of Religion and Public Education, and as a prominent member both of the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Association and of the Turanian Society, Nagy appears to have had an official mandate to follow the fate of the Hungarian diaspora. During the 1930s and the early 1940s he was also associated with the Institute of National Minority Studies at the University of Pécs, and a number of his relevant studies appeared under the auspices of that institute. These include his *Hungarians in the World–Hungarians in Canada* (1938), and *The American Hungarians* (1939). Some of his other relevant studies appeared under the titles: *The World Statistics of the Hungarians* (1931), *Hungarians of the Five Continents* (1935), and *The Hungarian Press Abroad* (1943).[27] None of these are very extensive works, but they still resemble some of the much larger statistical analyses of the late-dualist period. At the same time there are differences. The most significant of these is their ideological orientation. Contrary to Thirring and his contemporaries, Nagy was laboring under the impact of the Treaty of Trianon (1920), when–to use his words–"after the nation had been broken into seven parts, keeping tab on every single Magyar appeared to be an important objective."[28] It is quite evident that Nagy was much more motivated than his predecessors by the desire to save the Hungarian diaspora from extinction, as well as by the goal to tighten the relationship between this diaspora and the mother country. These two goals seem to permeate all of Iván Nagy's writings, as well as those of his less well-known contemporaries.

The future of the Hungarian diaspora, and especially the survival of the large Hungarian-American community produced much soul-searching and much intellectual debate in interwar Hungary. Some of this discussion found its way even into the pages of the highly respected periodical *Magyar Szemle* (Hungarian Review), edited by Gyula Szekfű (1883–1955), the dominant figure in Hungarian historiography.[29] While this debate produced no meaningful solutions, the concern that prompted it did lead to the convening of two "Hungarian World Congresses" (1929, 1938),[30] as well as to the foundation of the "World Federation of Hungarians" in 1938.[31] Moreover, towards the end of that period it also led to the establishment of the first Hungarian lectureship in North America at Columbia University in 1939, and to increased scholarly activities.[32] These activities manifested themselves partially in the writings of István Gál, and partially in similar efforts by a number of other young scholars and intellectuals. The

latter included József Szentkirályi (St. Clair), Imre Kovács, Dezső Halácsy and Tivadar Ács.

Szentkirályi (1913–), the first Hungarian lecturer at Columbia University (1939–1942), authored several shorter studies, but his projected major summary *Hungary and the United States,* although advertized in 1946, never appeared in print.[33] The situation was different with Kovács (1913–1980) who during the 1930s and early 1940s was one of the best known populist writers and sociographers in Hungary. Although not a student of American-Hungarian relations, while dealing with the problems of the Hungarian peasantry, Kovács also authored a well-known work on Hungarian emigration, in which he analyzed the causes and effects of the great exodus of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Entitled simply *Emigration* (1938), Kovács's work turned out to be perhaps the most successful and most popular indictment of those social and economic conditions that forced so many Hungarians to leave their native land.[34]

As opposed to Imre Kovács, who was a serious student of Hungarian rural conditions, Dezső Halácsy (? –?) was a popular publicist associated with the Word Federation of Hungarians. His major compendium entitled *For the Hungarians of the World* (1944) scanned the whole spectrum of the Hungarian diaspora, as well as of the efforts to save this diaspora from extinction.[35] But the dozens of short studies included in his work treat this problem on a popular, and not a scholarly level. Even so his work reflects fully the general attitude and ideological orientation of contemporary Hungarian leading circles toward the questions of emigration and repatriation, as well as toward the preservation of the Hungarian communities and ethnic groups scattered throughout the world.

Like Halácsy's studies, the writings of Tivadar Ács (1901–1974) were also rather on the level of popularizing works.[36] In his many books and articles, Ács relied heavily on his personal experiences in South America, but he also made good use of the library and archives of the World Federation of Hungarians, which he headed for a few years after World War II. During the 1940s to the 1960s Ács produced half a dozen works on the Hungarian diaspora, including several on the Kossuth-emigration in the United States, as well as a new assessment of Hungarian participation in the Civil War (*Hungarians in the North American Civil War, 1861–65,* 1964).[37]

Early Hungarian-American Libraries and Archives

While during the interwar period interest in Hungarian-American history and life was growing, interested scholars still faced the problem created by the almost total lack of systematized source collections, in Hungary as well as in the United States. Granted that toward the end of this period the National Széchényi Library of Budapest, as well as the newly founded World Federation of Hungarians and the so-called National Minority Institutes of the Universities of Budapest, Pécs and Debrecen began to collect materials on Hungarians abroad, but the largest single

collection concerning Hungarian-Americans was still Jenő Pivány's already mentioned private library.

The situation was basically similar in the United States. The fledgling Hungarian programs at Bloomfield College (Bloomfield, N.J.), Franklin and Marshall College (Lancester, Pa.) and Elmhurst College (Elmhurst, Ill.) did have small "Hungarica" collections, but since they were more interested in transmitting basic Hungarian linguistic skills and culture to future Hungarian-American Protestant clergymen, than in studying the Hungarian-American past, their small library collections naturally also reflected this attitude.[38]

This situation did not really change until the establishment of the American Hungarian Studies Foundation in conjunction with the Elmhurst College Hungarian Program in 1954.[39] As the Foundation grew under the direction of its founder August J. Molnár, it gradually expanded its Hungarian library and archives, and by the 1960s it began to turn consciously toward the collecting of sources of the Hungarian-American past. As in Hungary, during the interwar period the largest Hungarian-American collection in the United States was in the hands of a private collector, Charles Feleky (1865–1930) a musician and a theater director in New York, who began to collect published and unpublished sources on Hungarian-American history and culture, and on Hungary's relationship with the Anglo-Saxon World almost simultaneously with Jenő Pivány. But whereas the latter took his collection to Hungary, Feleky's library remained in New York. Apparently the two collections were nearly of the same size, with the primary difference that Pivány concentrated on the eighteenth, nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, while Feleky collected material on the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries.[40] In the course of assembling his collection, Feleky also undertook to produce a comprehensive bibliography of Hungarian-American publications. But since he died before he was able to complete this undertaking, his bibliography never appeared in print. After his death, Feleky's collection was purchased by the National Széchényi Library, and became the basis of the so-called Hungarian Reference Library of New York (1937). During World War II the Library was confiscated as "enemy property". After the war, its remnants were scattered into the Hungarian collections of Columbia University, the Library of Congress, and the budding collection of the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation.[41]

Pivány's and Feleky's efforts to collect the sources of the Hungarian-American past were paralleled by those of the Rev. Ödön (Edmund) Vasváry (1888–1977).* Instead of emphasizing the collection of books and pamphlets, Vasváry collected primarily archival material–including letters, documents, newspaper cut-outs, as well as handwritten notes on innumerable aspects of Hungarian-American life. Ultimately his collection grew to over four hundred boxes, grouped alphabetically according to the names of the persons that these documents were primarily concerned with. Although not too well organized, the Vasváry Collection is virtually unsurpassed in its field.[42] After his death it ended up in the Somogyi Library of Szeged, his native city in

*On the Vasváry Collection see a special paper on pp. 123–130 (Editorial remark).

Hungary. Fortunately, before its departure from the United States, it was microfilmed and deposited in the Library of the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation of New Brunswick, New Jersey.

In addition to collecting sources, Vasváry was also involved in writing. He authored thousands of short articles for various Hungarian-American periodicals and newspapers, such as the *Szabadság* (Liberty), the *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* (American Hungarian People's Voice), and the *Amerikai Magyar Világ* (American Hungarian World). Most of these writings are unavailable to the average researcher, for they were never published in book-form. The only exceptions are a few of his earlier English language articles on Hungarian participation in the American Civil War, which appeared in a volume under the title *Lincoln's Hungarian Heroes* in 1939.[43]

Besides Pivány, Feleky and Vasváry, the only other well-known Hungarian-American who assembled a respectable "Hungarica" collection in the United States during the interwar period was Joseph Reményi (1892–1956), a Professor of Comparative Literature at Western Reserve University (Cleveland, Ohio) for nearly three decades, one of the most noted popularizers of Hungarian literature in North America.[44] After Reményi's death in 1956, his collection went to the Library of the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation (New Brunswick).

During the post-World War II decades, and especially since the 1960s and 1970s, numerous other "Hungarica" collections also came into being in North America. Some of these collections are held by private organizations, others by public and university libraries, and still others by private collectors whose number has grown steadily in the course of the past two decades.

Hungarian-American Libraries and Archives Today

The largest Hungarian-American collection in the United States today is the Library of the American Hungarian (Studies) Foundation, directed since its inception by August J. Molnár. The Library's holdings now exceed 35,000 volumes, a sizable portion of which is related to the Hungarian-American past and culture. It also has a large collection of archival materials, which grows day after day, but remains largely uncatalogued and therefore difficult to use.[45]

Of almost equal size is the Library of the Hungarian Cultural Center of Toronto, Canada. Its archival collection, however, is much smaller and its book collection contains many duplicates and thousands of volumes that have nothing to do with Hungary and Hungarian–Americans.[46] Smaller collections are held by the Hungarian Cultural Foundation of Atlanta, Georgia; the California Hungarian American Cultural Foundation of Northridge; the Hungarian Scout Association of Garfield, New Jersey; and the American Hungarian Library and Historical Association of New York City. The Hungarian-American collection of the Immigration History Research Center of the University of Minnesota, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, the Cleveland Public Library, and the libraries of such major universities as Columbia

University, Harvard University, Indiana University, Hoover Institute of Stanford University, Yale University, the University of California at Berkeley and at Los Angeles, the University of Illinois, the University of Chicago and the University of Toronto are also important. With the exception of the Immigration History Research Center, however, all of the above collections are much stronger in Hungarian, than in Hungarian-American materials. Moreover, the Center's collection in the area of Hungarian-American sources is relatively new, small and haphazard.[47]

It should be mentioned here that in the course of the past two decades–through the efforts of Professor Denis Sinor and a few other scholars–Indiana University of Bloomington, Indiana has definitely emerged as the most significant center of Hungarian Studies in North America. It has one of the two recently established endowed chairs of Hungarian Studies in North America (the other one being at the University of Toronto). It is bound to increase in significance, not only as a center of Hungarian, but also of Hungarian-American Studies. And this should also hold true for its library and archival collections.[48]

Mention must also be made of the Archives of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Ligonier, Pennsylvania, which is in a class by itself. Although its book collection is not very large, it consists almost exclusively of Hungarian-American material. But what is even more significant, it houses the papers of all of the now defunct Hungarian Reformed congregations in the United States, along with much other related archival materials.

In addition to the above discussed institutional and academic libraries and archives in North America, the United States also has a number of major private collections of Hungarian and Hungarian-American materials. Knowledge about their existence is all the more important as several of these private collections are larger and more significant than many of the above-mentioned institutional collections. The largest and most important of these include the Szathmáry Archives of Chicago (20,000 volumes), the Andrew T. Udvardy Reference Library of New Brunswick, New Jersey (15,000 volumes), the Várdy Collection of Pittsburgh (10,000 volumes), the Szendrey Collection of Erie, Pennsylvania (5,000 volumes), and the Könnyű Collection of St. Louis, Missouri (1,500 volumes). But there must be scores of other private collections of some significance; especially those that emphasize certain specific areas of specialization, such as the Rev. Francis Vitéz's collection on the Hungarian Reformed Church in the United States (Los Angeles, California). Moreover, many public institutional, and even private libraries contain special collections of archival materials, such as the papers of prominent Hungarian-American personalities and organizations.[49]

Simultaneously with efforts by American libraries, archives and private individuals, a number of Hungarian institutions are also beginning to place greater emphasis upon collecting sources that deal with the Hungarian-American past. The relevant collections of the National Széchényi Library of Budapest is by far the largest in this area, and in all probability, the largest Hungarian-American collection in the world. The Széchényi Library has always collected such material, but since the 1960s it does so with much

more effort and much greater thoroughness. Important Hungarian-American collections can also be found in Hungary in the Library of the College of Sárospatak, in the Somogyi Library of Szeged which owns the already discussed Vasváry Collection, as well as in the Library of the Institute of History of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.[50] And in light of the increased interest in Hungarian emigration and in the history of the Hungarian diaspora, these collections are being used much more thoroughly in recent years.

The First Synthesizers of the Hungarian-American Past

Although Feleky, Pivány, Vasváry and Reményi were all avid collectors of the sources of the Hungarian-American past, and the last three of them also wrote a great number of shorter and longer studies about aspects of this past, none of them managed to produce a major summary and synthesis of Hungarian-American history. As such, the task of writing such syntheses fell to others, who were either less qualified from a scholarly point of view, or regarded such an undertaking as secondary to their main scholarly interests. In this group two most significant authors were the Hungarian-American journalist Géza Kende, and the prolific publicist-historian Emil Lengyel.

Géza Kende (? –1927) was a columnist for the Cleveland-based *Szabadság* (Liberty) (1891–), one of the oldest and most influential Hungarian newspapers in the United States. His two-volume work entitled *Hungarians in America* appeared in 1927, and carried Hungarian-American history up to 1914.[51] Although a voluminous and commendable work, Kende's *Hungarians in America* is not really a history in the traditional sense of that term. It is rather an unusual and interesting mixture of near-history, sociography, and high-level journalism. Moreover, according to Edmund Vasváry—who during the 1960s and 1970s was known as the "dean" of old-time Hungarian-American historiography—it is also filled with numerous factual errors and misconceptions.[52] Even so Kende's *Hungarians in America* is a valuable source and a mine of information, particularly for the turn of the century period. It certainly has been "mined" ever since by many of Kende's successors in the field of Hungarian-American history. It is to be lamented that the third volume of this work, although finished, never appeared in print.

Emil Lengyel (1895–) also started out as a journalist. Contrary to Kende, however, his primary association was not with the Hungarian-American press, but with such major North American papers as *The New York Times, The Toronto Star, The Nation,* and *The Saturday Review.* Later Lengyel moved into the academic field and became a professor of history at New York University, and later at Fairleigh Dickinson University, New Jersey.[53]

Emerging as a prolific scholar, translater and creative writer, Lengyel authored well over a dozen major works on world affairs and on various aspects of Middle Eastern politics. His interest in the Hungarian-American past was only peripheral. Even so, he is responsible for the first major English language analytical synthesis of Hungarian-

American history. Entitled *Americans from Hungary* (1948; reprinted 1974),[54] his work is now somewhat outdated–partially because of the new research results of the past thirty years, and partially because he has virtually nothing to say about the several waves of the post-World War II immigration. Yet, it is still the only major English language summary on this question. This lack will soon be corrected by the new synthesis entitled *The Hungarian-Americans* (1985), written by one of the authors of this study.

The work performed by Lengyel for the Hungarian past and achievements in the United States was in a sense accomplished for the Canadian-Hungarians by the sociologist John Kósa (1914–1973). Entitled *Land of Choice: The Hungarians in Canada* (1957),[55] Kósa's work is closer to a sociological analysis of Hungarian immigrant life in Canada than to a traditional history of this ethnic group amidst our northern neighbors, yet it can also be used as a history of the Canadian-Hungarian past up to the mid-1950s. Although not written by a historian, even as straight history it is a radical improvement over Jenő Ruzsa's simple compilation, *The History of Canadian-Hungarians,* published in 1940.[56]

In the United States, in Kende's and Lengyel's wake came others, each of whom tried to add something to the emerging picture of the Hungarian-American past. Besides John Kósa, who also dealt with immigration to the United States, these authors of the past twenty-five years include László (Leslie) Könnyű (1914–), Joshua A. Fishman (1926–), István Török (1915–), Joseph Széplaki (1932–), and many others. None of these are historians in the traditional sense of that term, but Kósa's *A Century of Hungarian Emigration, 1850–1950* (1957), Fishman's *Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States* (1966), Könnyű's *Hungarians in the U.S.A.* (1967), Széplaki's *The Hungarians in America, 1583–1974* (1975), and Török's *Catholic Hungarians in North America* (1978) all have their merits and their special significance in Hungarian-American historiography.[57] This is particularly true for Fishman's work which has much new to offer as a sociological analysis of the problems of language maintenance among first, second and third generation Hungarian-Americans. Even so, their merits notwithstanding, these studies cannot take the place of the needed new synthesis of Hungarian-American history and of Hungarian achievements in the United States. They are either too short (Kósa), deal only with certain specific problems or topics (Fishman, Török), or are primarily chronological and statistical summaries, not integrated syntheses (Könnyű, Széplaki). Thus, there still is an urgent need for a new historical summary and reassessment of the Hungarian-American past, particularly for one that would also cover the history of the past three decades. Such a synthesis, however, must be based on the results of recent and ongoing historical, sociological, anthropological, linguistic and literary research that seems to have picked up pace in the course of the past two decades, and is beginning to replace many earlier conclusions based more on well-meaning assumptions than on well-researched scholarly conclusions. (This is what one of the authors tried to do in his above-mentioned work in the process of publication.)

Recent Trends in American-Hungarian Scholarly Research

Research and writing on the Hungarian-American past and on Hungarian contributions to American civilization are on the upturn. This is indicated, not only by the increasing number of trained scholars in the field, but by the growing number of theses and dissertations, articles and monographs dealing with the subject. This observation applies almost equally to North America and to Hungary. To cite only one example: of the thirty relevant Ph.D. dissertations written during the past six decades and brought to our attention, only five stem from the three decades preceding 1950. Of the remaining twenty, four were authored during the 1950s, eight during the 1960s, and thirteen during the 1970s. The situation is similar with some of the M.A. and Honor's theses. Of the twenty we have examined, only three were written before 1950. Most of them are the products of the 1960s and 1970s.

As to the general pattern of interest among scholars of Hungarian-American studies, it is clearly revealed even by a brief survey of their works; so is the difference in interest between American and Hungarian scholars. Thus, if we examine the thirty dissertations, topically they are divided into the following categories: six deal with the Kossuth-episode in American history;[58] six with Hungarian linguistic problems in the English-speaking world;[59] five discuss the problems of adjustment and acculturation of the Hungarian immigrants;[60] five with Hungarian-American religious and cultural organizations;[61] four with American and Hungarian diplomatic relations;[62] three with nineteenth-century Hungarian travelers in the United States;[63] and one with the influence and role of the Kodály method in American musical education.[64] Of the twenty theses, ten concentrate on the problems of adjustment,[65] three on specific Hungarian settlements,[66] two on church organizations,[67] two on Hungarian-American bibliography,[68] one each on the Kossuth-episode, the Hungarian-American press, and the effects of bilingualism on children.[69]

These dissertations and theses clearly reveal a readily recognizable pattern of interest among students and scholars of Hungarian-American studies. With fifteen dissertations and theses, the topic of adjustment and acculturation clearly dominates the field. But other areas of significant concentration include: linguistic problems and bilingualism (7), religious and cultural institutions (7), the Kossuth-episode (7), United States–Hungarian diplomatic relations (4), Hungarian settlements (3) and Hungarian travelers in the United States (3); with lesser attention devoted to bibliography (2), the Hungarian-American press (1), and Hungarian music (1). The only area of some significance not represented is Hungarian-American literature. While American dissertations and theses on Hungarian literary topics are plentiful, apparently no budding scholar has found it worth his or her effort to examine the development and contributions of Hungarian-American literature. This undoubtedly reflects upon the relatively low esteem—perhaps undeservedly low—in which this literature is held among literary scholars.

The general pattern of interest that emerges from the study of these dissertations and theses also holds true for the monographic and periodical publications of the last three decades. The only exception is that these pay some attention also to Hungarian-American literature.[70]

Although similarities do exist, the situation is somewhat different in Hungary, where Hungarian-American topics are enjoying a degree of renewed popularity. The primary interest of Hungarian researchers, however, centers on the causes of emigration. In fact, of the forty-odd most significant research articles and monographs published during the past two decades available to us. nearly half (i.e. twenty-one) deal with this problem.[71] Of the remaining half, eight concentrate on specific Hungarian-American personalities,[72] five on the image of the United States in nineteenth-century Hungarian political works,[73] three each on American-Hungarian relations[74] and on Hungarian-American literature,[75] two on Hungarian-American folklore,[76] and one on Hungarian-American organizations.[77] There are also three recent travelogues, and a historical novel.[78]

The two most prolific among Hungarian scholars who deal with this question are István Rácz and Julianna Puskás, both of whom have recently published major monographs on their respective areas of research. Rácz's *Peasant Migrations and their Political Assessment in Hungary* (1980),[79] concentrates largely on developments within Hungary and carries the story only up to World War I; while Puskás's *Immigrant Hungarians in the United States, 1880–1940* (1982)[80] devotes at least as much attention to the economic, social and cultural life of the immigrants in the United States, and also carries the story up to World War II.

Mention should also be made of three other works of significance. The first of these is Miklós Szántó's *Hungarians in the Wide World* (1970),[81] which, while not documented, is the most recent summary and assessment of the general state of the Hungarian diaspora. (Szántó's major sociological analysis of the various waves of Hungarian immigrations to the West and the United States, and their relationships to each other, to American society, and to the mother country, is now in the process of publication.)[82] The second work by László Juhász entitled *Hungarians in the New World* (1979),[83] is a straightforward brief summary of Hungarian-American connections and of Hungarian immigration to the United States up to the early twentieth century. Much different is Kázmér Nagy's *The Lost Constitution* (1974, expanded edition 1982)[84] which is a most interesting, if controversial, sociological-psychological study of the mentality and life of the post-World War II emigrants throughout the Western World. Satirical and even sarcastic, Nagy nonetheless paints an unusually revealing portrait of the three waves of political emigrations of the late 1940s and 1950s. This is particularly true for the immediate post-war emigrants who, after having lost their social position and political power, continued to live in a phantom world of hopes and make-believes. It is to be lamented that the author's analysis of the developments since the mid-1960s is rather cursory even in the second, expanded edition of his work.

Hungarian-American Literary Scholarship

Although Hungarian-American literature is as old as the Hungarian-American past itself—reaching back to the odes and letters of István (Stephen) Parmenius of Buda (1555–1583) who died in a shipwreck off New Foundland in 1583[85]—not until the 1920s did Hungarian men of letters begin to pay any attention to this literature. Moreover, even after this initial show of interest, Hungarian-American literature remained a stepchild of Hungarian literary studies to such a degree that as late as 1963 the literary critic László Illés was forced to admit that neither he, nor his colleagues knew much more about it than that it existed.[86]

Today, two decades later, the situation has only sligthly improved. Much of Hungarian-American literature—particularly that of the post-World War II period—remains uncollected and unexplored. The exceptions to this rule are some of the writings of a few *avant garde* poets (e.g. J. Bakucz, L. Baránszky-Jób, A. Makkai, etc.) and the writings of those few who had already established their reputation in interwar Hungary (e.g. L. Zilahy, S. Márai, F. Körmendi, A. Wass, etc.). This is all the more lamentable as—contrary to the simple "workers' literature" of the early twentieth century—besides numerous third and fifth-rate "writers", today's Hungarian-American literature has a number of good to excellent lyricists and essayists (e.g. S. András, Gy. Faludy, F. Fáy, T. Flórián, I. Sári-Gál, Z. Sztáray, T. Tűz, as well as those mentioned above).

One of the first men of letters to call attention to the significance of Hungarian-American poets and literature in general was Zsigmond Móricz (1879–1942), one of interwar Hungary's most outstanding novelists. As early as 1921—after receiving a small anthology of Hungarian-American poetry edited by Ernő Rickert (1887–1947)[87]—Móricz wrote at least two articles about the fate and creativity of his "brothers-in-exile," emphasizing that these "exiled poets" were also part of the same body of Hungarian literature. Entitled respectively "National Literature" and "The Heartbeat of Exiled Hungarians," these Móricz-articles were the first to proclaim the unity and the indivisibility of Hungarian literature.[88] In Móricz's view, all literary creations written in the Magyar language must be considered as being an integral part of Hungarian national literature. He also believed that Hungarian-American literature has much to offer to Hungarian literature proper, for it reflects the trials and aspirations of immigrant life, and thereby widens the latter's scope and enriches its themes. In other words, it contributes to the universality and widens the appeal of Hungarian literary creativity.

Barely a decade after Móricz's attempt to call attention to Hungarian-American literary endeavors, Zoltán Csorba, a Protestant clergyman who spent some time in the United States, published his *Contributions to the History of Hungarian-American Literature* (1930).[89] Csorba may be considered as the pioneer of Hungarian-American literary scholarship, for his small volume is the first noteworthy attempt to summarize and to assess the achievements of Magyar language literature in the United States.

Almost simultaneously with Csorba, who wrote in Hungary about Hungarian-American literature, two literary scholars were writing in North America about Hungarian literature. They were Joseph Reményi and Watson Kirkconnel (1895–1977).[90] The first of these was a Hungarian-American novelist, poet, essayist and literary critic, whom we have already mentioned in connection with his "Hungarica" collections; while the second was a Canadian poet, translator, publicist and scholar. Both of them achieved outstanding success in popularizing Hungarian literature in North America. But while doing so, they paid relatively little attention to Hungarian-American literature. This holds true even for the Hungarian-born Reményi, notwithstanding his interesting studies on "The Psychology of Magyar Language Creative Spirit in America" and "The Hungarian-American Writer," both of which appeared in the highly respected *Magyar Szemle* (Hungarian Review).[91]

In the course of the next few decades Hungarian-American literary scholarship was represented only by the short, popular articles of Edmund Vasváry who wrote mostly about some of the significant "first generation" Hungarian-American poets, such as Gy. Rudnyánszky (1858–1913), L. Pólya (1870–1950), Gy. Kemény (1875–1952), Gy. Szécskay (1880–1958), L. Szabó (1880–1961), and Á. Tarnóczy (1884–1957). Vasváry's articles, however, are scattered throughout the Hungarian-American press and are most difficult to come by even for interested researchers. Edmund Vasváry's significance in the field of Hungarian-American literary scholarship is further augmented by his already mentioned archival collection, which contains innumerable newspaper articles, letters, notices, photographs, etc. by and about American-Hungarian literary figures.[92]

This publicistic, literary scholarship represented by Vasváry's relevant articles was also practiced during the same decades by Sándor Csanády, Erzsébet Ruby, Sándor Linek, and several other writers and journalists.[93] Their articles did fulfill a certain need to inform and to educate the reading public. But their short, occasional essays could hardly take the place of a needed synthesis of Hungarian-American literature. Not for three decades after Csorba's pioneer study was there a new attempt to summarize the history of that literature. This was accomplished by László Könnyű–himself a poet and a writer on a wide variety of topics[94] –whose *History of Hungarian-American Literature* appeared in 1961, and its English version in the following year.[95] It is indicative of the status of research in Hungarian-American literature that this twenty-year old work is still the latest summary on this question. Könnyű's work is more factual than interpretive. It consists largely of a lexicographical presentation of biographical data, a list of the published works of each author, and a selected number of excerpts from the works of some, with marked emphasis on poetry.

A decidedly different type of work appeared in this field in 1977 in Hungary. Authored by the Budapest literary historian József Kovács (1928–), and entitled *Documents of Socialist Hungarian Literature in Light of the Hungarian-American Press, 1920–1945,* this work is both factual and interpretive.[96] It concentrates, however only on the literature of the so-called workers' movements among Hungarian-

Americans—much of which has more publicistic than easthetic value. Even so, Kovács's volume, the interpretive section of which is based on his more extensive Hungarian Academy of Sciences thesis,[97] is both pathbreaking and a significant contribution to Hungarian-American literary scholarship.

Another literary critic who has published in this field in Hungary is Miklós Béládi (1928–1983). Most of his studies, however, deal with Hungarian literature in Western Europe. His most extensive compendium of Hungarian literature in the West (including North America) has just appeared as part of the volume entitled *Literature beyond Our Frontiers*) (1982):[98]

Next to Béládi's pioneering synthesis, the most recent short study on this topic to appear in Hungary is the work of József Gellén (1949–), a philologist and a historian at the University of Debrecen. Gellén is the product of perhaps the only "school" of Americanology in Hungary that had been established there by László Országh (1907–1984), who in turn is probably the best English lexicographer that Hungary has ever produced.[99] Although Országh wrote very little in the area of Hungarian-American literature, his presence and activities in Debrecen for two decades after 1947 turned many young scholars, including several historians and literary historians, toward the study of Hungarian-American connections. In addition to these activities, Országh compiled the most comprehensive Hungarian-English and English-Hungarian dictionary to date, and at the same time authored the first Magyar language synthesis of American literature *(The History of American Literature,* 1967).[100]

Although almost two generations removed from Országh, József Gellén is one of several young scholars who have emerged from the "Debrecen School." His sixteen-page essay on Hungarian-American literature entitled: "Immigrant Experience in Hungarian-American Poetry before 1945" carries the mark of a trained scholar.[101] Gellén has also published studies on various emigration questions and on Hungarian-American historical connections.

The literary historian Lóránt Czigány (1935–) of England has also authored some literary studies that touch upon Hungarian-American literature.[102] Czigány deals with this problem, however, only insofar as the literary creations of Hungarian-American poets and writers appear in one of the better West European Magyar language periodicals, or if they participate in the literary-cultural activities of a number of European literary circles. The former include the *Új Látóhatár* (New Horizon), *Irodalmi Újság* (Literary Gazette), and *Magyar Műhely* (Hungarian Workshop), and the latter the "Mikes Kelemen Circle," and the "Szepsi Csombor Circle."

As is evident from the above, the study of Hungarian-American literature is very much an open field. To this day no single, comprehensive and reliable critical-analytical summary of this literature has appeared in print. And this vacuum is even greater and more apparent for the post-World War II period. The works of Hungarian-American poets, essayists and novelists of the past thirty-five years have been appraised and kept account of only by fellow poets, writers and a few journalists whose writings appear in the rapidly shrinking number of Hungarian language newspapers in the United States and Canada. So far very few literary scholars took the time to evaluate

and to interpret the creative achievements of this literature. And this lack of interest is all the more conspicuous, as today there is a host of Hungarian-American scholars who are engaged in the study of Hungarian literature. Apparently, they still do not regard Hungarian-American literature as being sufficiently significant to warrant their attention. We believe this to be both unfair and unjust, and hope for a change in this area.

Prospects for a well-researched and all-inclusive history of Hungarian-American literature are still bleak, although there are a few decisively encouraging signs. It is indeed encouraging, for example, that the number of literary historians in Hungary who are engaged in the study of Hungarian-American literature is growing. Hungarian literary and cultural journals, e.g. *Életünk* (Our Life), *Jelenkor* (Present Age), *Vigilia*, *Alföld* (Low Lands), etc. also began to publish the writings of several Hungarian poets living abroad, including those in North America. Moreover, in addition to Béládi's synthesis, recently two relevant anthologies have also appeared in print. These include the *Anthology of Western Hungarian Poets* (1980), published in Vienna under the editorship of a Canadian-Hungarian poet L. Kemenes-Géfin,[103] and the *Wanderer's Song: Hungarian Poets in Western Europe and Beyond the Sea* (1981), published in Budapest under the auspices of the World Federation of Hungarians and edited by Béládi himself.[104]

Hungarian-American Linguistic Research

While the roots of Hungarian-American historiography reach back to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and those of Hungarian-American literary scholarship to the interwar period, the scholarly examination of the linguistic problems and peculiarities of Hungarian-Americans did not begin until the mid-1950s. The pioneer in this area appears to have been Pierre E. Szamek, whose Ph.D. dissertation, *The Eastern American Dialect of Hungarian,* was accepted in 1954.[105] Subsequently, at least five other dissertations were written in this field.[106] Later, the author of one of these disserations, William Nemser, also published a monograph on the "interference phenomenon" in the English speech of native Hungarian speakers.[107]

Only a year after Szamek's path-breaking dissertation, the versatile John Kósa published an article on the knowledge of English among Hungarian immigrants in Canada.[108] This was followed in the early 1960s by Elemér Bakó's (1915–) effort to initiate a comprehensive Hungarian dialectal survey in the United States. Bakó's project, however, hardly went beyond a preliminary attempt to sketch out its "goals and methods,"[109] and the preparation of a longer article "On the linguistic Characteristics of American-Hungarian" (1965).[110]

Bakó's latest article on this topic was followed almost immediately by Joshua A. Fishman's excellent and oft-cited *Hungarian Language Maintenance in the United States* (1966),[111] and then by John Lotz's (1913–1973) first survey of the

achievements of Hungarian linguistic research in the United States.[112] In line with the realities of Finno-Ugric linguistic research in North America, Lotz's survey naturally had far more to say about Hungarian than about Hungarian-American linguistic questions and results.[113]

The late 1960s and early 1970s witnessed Linda Dégh's and Andrew Vázsonyi's ethnographic and ethnolexical field research in the Calumet region of Northwestern Indiana, and, as a by-product of this research, the appearance of several reports and articles incorporating the linguistic aspects of this research.[114] One of its results, for example, was the discovery of seven different dialects among the Hungarian immigrants and their descendants.[115] Another, even more important and tangible result is the Vázsonyi-edited *Dictionary* of Hungarian-English—or "Hunglish"—now being considered for publication.[116]

Similar ethno-linguistic research was also undertaken by Zita McRobbie at the Hungarian-Canadian settlement of Békevár (Kipling, Saskatchewan), who studied the bilingualism and the gradual changes in this bilingualism among several generations of Hungarian-Canadians. After some preliminary reports, the summary of her research appeared under the title: "A Linguistic Analysis of the Békevár Community" (1979).[117]

Next to Vázsonyi's yet to be published "Hunglish Dictionary" and McRobbie's analytical study of the Canadian "Hunglish" speech, some of the other current results of related Hungarian-American scholarship include Isabella Janda's study on "Hungarian Place Names in the United States" (1977),[118] and Andrew Kerek's bibliography (1977) and general assessment of the achievements and results of Hungarian language research in North America (1978).[119]

Hungarian-American Ethnographic and Folklore Research

If research in Hungarian-American dialectology, bilingualism and related questions was late in getting under way, this is even more true for ethnographic and folklore research among Hungarian-Americans. Granted that some of the nineteenth and twentieth-century Hungarian travelogues and memories do contain certain observations of an ethnographic nature, and a number of prominent twentieth-century Hungarian ethnographers did conduct ethnographic research in North America following their immigration (e.g. Géza Róheim, Pál Fejős, Pál Kelemen, István Borhegyi, Géza Rohan-Csermák, Lajos Vincze, Bela C. Maday, etc.),[120] until quite recently none of these observations and research efforts were concentrated on the Hungarian-Americans themselves. Thus, ethnographic and folklore research concerning the Hungarian-American community did not really begin until the 1960s when the rising "ethnic revolution" of that decade turned the attention of a number of Hungarian and Hungarian-American ethnographers, cultural anthropologists and folklorists to the customs and traditions of their own kinsmen in America. This recognition of the worthiness of the study of Hungarian-American culture and way of life—which was

paralleled by the continued primary attention of these scholars to Hungarian ethnography proper–was aided by a number of factors. These included the increasing availability of research funds for cultural anthropological research (and here the role of Bela C. Maday as the Program Administrator for the Cultural Anthropology Fellowship Review Committee at the National Institute of Mental Health was of utmost significance);[121] the simultaneous increase in funding in Hungary (e.g. the Hungarian Academy's support of Institute of Ethnography at the University of Debrecen);[122] the increased attention of the Hungarian Academy's Research Group on Ethnography to the ethnographical and folklore traditions of Hungarian-Americans;[123] the appointment of Linda Dégh to Indiana University (1964) and her increased efforts to study Hungarian-American folklore;[124] and the rise of a new generation of Hungarian-American cultural anthropologists, ethnographers and folklorists (e.g. Marida Hollós, Michael Sozán, Susan Gál, Éva Huseby, etc.), who devote an ever larger portion of their research efforts to the study of Hungarian-American culture.

As a result of these various efforts, the position of Hungarian-American ethnographic and folklore research improved considerably during the 1960s and 1970s. The late 1960s saw the appearance of Linda Dégh's two significant methodological studies,[125] followed by the publication of a number of basic research monographs and research articles both by Dégh[126] as well as by a number of her colleagues.[127] Moreover, these research efforts by Hungarian-American ethnographers were paralleled by similar efforts on the part of the "settlement historian" Martin L. Kovács in Canada, which resulted in the publication of two basic monographs on such early Hungarian-Canadian settlements as Békevár and Esterházy,[128] and by the appearance in Hungary of the first major collection of Hungarian-American folkore material under the title *The Folklore of Hungarian Americans* (1978–1979).[129] Of at least equal significance for the future was the establishment in 1979 of the American Hungarian Joint Committee on Folklore and Ethnography under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, which formalized the increased cooperation between Hungarian and Hungarian-American scholars in the field. Some of the early results of this increased cooperation include the Duquesne University Symposium on Hungarian Folk Culture in April 1980, and the First American Hungarian Bi-National Meeting on Folklore and Ethnography held in Budapest in July 1981. The papers presented at the Duquesne University Symposium have already appeared in print (*The Folk Arts of Hungary*, edited by W. Kolar and A. H. Várdy, 1981),[130] while the papers of the Budapest meeting are now under publication.[131] The Joint Committee has also initiated a number of parallel research projects on specific Hungarian settlements in Hungary and the United States.

Simultaneously with these efforts in Hungarian-American ethnographic and folklore research, efforts were also made to portray the life of individual Hungarian-American communities from various other perspectives, usually supported by grants from the U.S. Office of Education. As exemplified by the published results (e.g. *Hungarians of*

Detroit by M. H. Abonyi and J. A. Anderson, 1977; *Hungarian Americans and their Communities of Cleveland* by Susan M. Papp, 1981; and the *Hungarian Ethnic Heritage Study of Pittsburgh* by a group under the direction of Paul Bődy, 1981; etc.),[132] the results are rather diverse both in extent and in quality. Some of the information found in these works will no doubt end up in future syntheses on Hungarian-American history and culture. And this also holds true for the few scholarly assessments on such aspects of Hungarian-American culture as the Hungarian theater (e.g. E. J. Gergely's *Hungarian Drama in New York,* 1974; and T. Szendrey's "The Hungarian Ethnic Theater" 1983),[133] and Hungarian contribution to the American film industry (e.g. M. Birnbaum, "The Hungarians of Hollywood", 1982).[134]

Prospects

As we look back on our summary of the developments and achievements of Hungarian-American studies in the course of the past century, we cannot fail to observe that after a slow and weak start in the late nineteenth century, this field of study has made great strides during the 1960s and the 1970s. This is true both qualitatively and quantitatively. The primary effort of those who are active in the various disciplines within the field still have to be directed toward collecting and preserving the rapidly vanishing sources and information dealing with the past, and toward producing basic research studies and monographs on the various details and aspects of this past. Yet, the time has also arrived for the writing of a number of major new syntheses on Hungarian immigration to North America and on Hungarian experiences in the United States and Canada.

There are signs that all three of these goals are being met to a lesser or greater degree. As we have seen, the collection of the fast vanishing sources of the Hungarian-American past are being collected by an increasing number of institutions and individuals. The number of trained scholars active in the field are also increasing, and they are producing more and better, research articles and monographs. Simultaneously, publications of local nature and significance, but containing various useful primary sources, are also being published in ever growing numbers and generally with increasing competence. Moreover, summarizing compendiums are likewise available in increasing numbers. Thus, in addition to the two major syntheses on the "old" (i.e. pre-World War I and pre-World War II) immigrations to America by the Hungarian scholars Rácz and Puskás,[135] a new collective volume on the Canadian-Americans has just appeared in print under the direction of N. F. Dreisziger (*Struggle and Hope: The Hungarian-Canadian Experience,* 1982).[136] Furthermore, new syntheses are also being published on the post-World War II immigrations, both in Hungary (by M. Szántó),[137] as well as in the United States (by one of the authors of this study).[138] Naturally, none of these works will constitute the final word in this field. But they are gradually filling the gap, and will also serve as encouragements to others in producing better and even more comprehensive works on the Hungarian experience and culture in North America.

Notes

*The strongly bibliographical nature of this study–which encompasses a whole century of research and writing on Hungarian-American history and immigration–makes our list of cited sources much longer than usual. Thus, in order to compress our notes as much as possible, we have decided to compile them into a bibliography, and then to cite them in our notes only in an abbreviated form using the name of the author and the date of publication. The titles of works in other than English have been translated, with the translation following the original title in brackets. The titles of periodicals, however, have not been translated:

1. Sinor, 1971, 1973, 1981; Várdy, 1973, 1975a, 1977a, 1977b, 1981a, 1981b, 1983; Várdy-Huszár, 1981, 1983. For Hungarian studies on the primary and secondary level see K. Nagy, 1972, 1973; Bodnár, 1975; Tamás, 1966; and Várdy-Huszár, 1974a, 1974b, 1976, 1978.
2. Lotz, 1967; Kerek, 1977, 1978.
3. Voigt, 1982; Gunda, 1982.
4. Dégh, 1966, 1968–1969.
5. Bődy 1976.
6. Várdy and Huszár Várdy, 1981.
7. Bakó 1977; Tezla, 1964, 1970; Halász de Béky, 1963, 1967, 1976; Horecky, 1969a, 1969b.
8. Vitéz, 1965; I. Kovács, 1975; Széplaki, 1977c.
9. Széplaki, 1972, 1974, 1976a, 1977a, 1977b, 1980 and Széplaki-Walsh, 1972.
10. Halász de Béky, 1976b, 1976c, 1977a, 1977b, 1977c, 1977d.
11. Harvard, 1974; L. Kovács, 1978, 1979.
12. Horecky, 1976; L. Kovács, 1980; A. Molnár, 1981.
13. Németh, 1975; Mildschütz, 1977. See also Mildschütz, 1963.
14. I. Nagy, 1943.
15. See Novák, 1971, 1977; Roucek-Eisenberg, 1982; Puskás, 1980.
16. Márki, 1893. Concerning Márki as a historian see Várdy, 1976a, pp. 37, 196–197; and Várdy, 1974, pp. 20, 23–24.
17. His most important relevant studies include Kropf, 1888, 1889 and 1890.
18. On Pivány see I. Gál, 1945b, 1974, 1976; Várdy, 1981b.
19. Pivány, 1913, 1924, 1927. For a complete list of Pivány's publications see I. Gál, 1974, 1976.
20. Pivány, 1943, 1944; and Pivány-Ács, 1944.
21. Concerning Pivány's library see I. Gál, 1945a, pp. 216–229, 272–276; I. Gál, 1945b, 1974.
22. On Gál see Várdy, 1977c, pp. 80–82; Várdy, 1976a, pp. 159–60.
23. I. Gál, 1945a.
24. Thirring, 1904a.
25. Löherer, 1908; Gerényi, 1913; Laky, 1918.
26. Fest, 1917, 1920; Concerning Fest see MÉL (=for abbreviations see the Bibliography), below I, 504–505, and Szentkirályi, 1936.
27. I. Nagy, 1931, 1935, 1938, 1939, 1943. On Nagy see MTCN, pp. 364, 580, 602; P. Szabó, 1940, pp. 143–144; and *Pécsi almanach*, p. 45.
28. I. Nagy, 1939, p. 14. On this question see also Várdy, 1976b.
29. Concerning Székfű and the *Magyar Szemle* see Bácskai-Payerle, 1933; Reményi, 1934; Kun, 1934, 1936; Gondos, 1936; and Kosáry, 1942.
30. On the two congresses see *Magyarok Világkongresszusa* I, 1929; and *Magyarok Világkongresszusa* II, 1938.
31. On the World Federation of Hungarians see Halácsy, 1944, pp. 157–182; and Várdy, 1976b, pp. 239–242.
32. Várdy, 1976b, pp. 52–54.

33. Szentkirályi's work was to appear in the series "Hazánk és a Nagyvilág" (Our Country and the World), edited by Kálmán Benda and István Gál, and published by the Teleki Research Institute between 1945 and 1947.
34. Imre Kovács, 1938. On Kovács see MIL, I, 686–687, and his own autobiographical narrative, Kovács, 1981.
35. Halácsy, 1944.
36. Concerning Ács see MIL, I, 8.
37. Ács, 164. Some his other works include Ács, 1940a, 1940b, 1944, 1946.
38. On these early college programs see Várdy, 1973, pp. 8–9, and Várdy, 1975b, pp. 92–95.
39. See in our paper the section on Hungarian-American libraries and archives.
40. On Charles Feleky and his library see A. Feleky, 1938; Duggan, 1939; Szentkirályi, 1940; Paikert, 1941; and HRL.
41. I. Gál, 1974, pp. 70–71.
42. See Vasváry's own account: Vasváry, 1975; and Péter, 1975, 1977; and Takaró, 1972, pp. 209–210.
43. Vasváry, 1939. See also his brief history of Hungarians in America, Vasváry, 1950.
44. See in our paper the section on literary research.
45. On Hungarian-American library and archival collections see Szilassy, 1973; Basa, 1974; Széplaki, 1975a, pp. 136–137, 1975b, 1976b, 1977b, 1977c; Halász de Béky, 1977e; Török, 1977; Wynar and Buttlar, 1978; L. Kovács, 1978, 1979, 1980; and Molnár, 1981.
46. On this Canadian-Hungarian collection see various issues of the Center's official periodical, the *Krónika*, 1977–1981. The authors have also examined this collection personally.
47. In addition to the works listed under note 45, see also Horecky, 1976.
48. Concerning Hungarian Studies at Indiana University see Sinor, 1967, 1973, 1980; Várdy, 1973, pp. 11–15, 1975b, pp. 69–100, 1981a, 1983; Radványi, 1975; Hungarian Studies Newsletter, 21 (Autumn 1979); Szántó, 1981; Lintner, 1981; Bayerle, 1981; Ránki, 1981.
49. For additional private collections see Wynar and Buttlar, 1978, pp. 175–182; and Molnár, 1981.
50. The authors have personally examined these Hungarian-American collections in Hungary. This also holds true for the Archives of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Ligonier, mentioned above.
51. Kende, 1927.
52. Vasváry often mentioned the shortcomings of Kende's book to the authors of this study. He also made numerous corrections and marginal notes in his own copy of this work, which today is located at the Somogyi Library of Szeged.
53. Based on Lengyel's biographical essay to appear in a multivolumed literary encyclopedia to be published be the Hungarian Academy Press. See also DAS, I, 404; and HIA, 1972, p. 129.
54. Lengyel, 1948, 1974.
55. Kósa, 1957a.
56. Ruzsa, 1940. For an early brief summary see Marchbin, 1937.
57. Kósa, 1957b; Fishman, 1966; Könnyű, 1967; Széplaki, 1975a; Török, 1978.
58. May, 1927; Leffler, 1949; Trautmann, 1966; Spencer, 1973; Zarychta, 1976; Iványi, 1980.
59. Szamek, 1954; Nelson, 1956; Nemser, 1961; McWhinnery, 1973; S. Gál, 1976; Santiago, 1980.
60. Beynon, 1933; Weinstock, 1962; Head, 1963; Schuchat, 1971; Benkart, 1975.
61. Kalassay, 1939; Balogh, 1945; Bütösi, 1961; Komjáthy, 1962; Gerzsányi, 1978.
62. Baretski, 1959; Rupprecht, 1967; Major, 1973–1974; Max, 1980.
63. Madden, 1950; Gáspár, 1967; Reisch, 1970.
64. Stone, 1971.
65. Kruytbosch, 1958; Boros, 1959; Richard, 1961; Walhouse, 1961; Baranyai, 1963; Brown, 1963; Galbraith, 1963; Canzona, 1964; Gellért, 1964; Mészáros and Wittkover, n.d.

66. Primes, 1940; Foster, 1965; Szentmiklósy-Éles, 1972.
67. Kautz, 1946; Bogár, 1949.
68. Vitéz, 1965; I. Kovács, 1975.
69. Komlós, 1971; Táborszky, 1955; Fischer, 1971.
70. The reference here is primarily to László Könnyű's works to be discussed below.
71. Kanyar, 1957; Rácz, 1962, 1965, 1971, 1973, 1980; Polányi, 1964; G. Deák, 1964; A. Lengyel, 1969; Szászi, 1970, 1972; Puskás, 1974, 1975, 1977, 1980, 1981, 1982; Wellman, 1976; Gellén, 1977, 1978a.
72. Ács, 1964; Sándor, 1970; E. Gál, 1971; I. Gál, 1974, 1976; Zombori, 1977; Szente, 1978; Póka-Pivnyi, 1982.
73. Kretzoi, 1965, 1974; Katona, 1971, 1973; I. Gál, 1971, 1972; Szabad, 1975a, 1975b. Some of these are English versions of the original Hungarian.
74. Magos, 1952; Pintér, 1972; Zs. Nagy, 1975.
75. J. Kovács, 1977; Gellén, 1978b; Béládi, 1982.
76. Gunda, 1970; Voigt, 1982.
77. Puskás, 1970.
78. Pethő, 1972; Ipper, 1973; Végh, 1980; and Bogáti, 1979.
79. Rácz, 1980.
80. Puskás, 1982a; and the shorter English version, Puskás 1982b.
81. Szántó, 1970.
82. We have only seen Szántó's manuscript briefly.
83. Juhász, 1979.
84. K. Nagy, 1974, 1982.
85. Quinn and Cheshire, 1972.
86. Illés, 1963, p. 241.
87. Rickert, 1920.
88. Móricz, 1921a, 1921b.
89. Csorba, 1930.
90. On Reményi see Keresztury, 1938; Cushing, 1957, and the obituaries listed in Reményi, 1964, p. xi. Concerning Kirkconnel see Perkin, 1975; Dreisziger 1977a, 1977b, 1978; and his autobiography, Kirkconnel, 1967.
91. Reményi, 1937a, 1938. His other relevant essays include: Reményi, 1932, 1934, 1937b.
92. Concerning Vasváry see the works under note 42.
93. Many of the short literary articles by the authors mentioned can be found in the Vasváry-Collection at the Somogyi Library of Szeged.
94. On Könnyű see HIA, 1966, p. 243; HIA, 1972, p. 116. For a list of his writings see Könnyű, 1973, 1979, pp. 58–61. See also his memoirs: Könnyű, 1977.
95. Könnyű, 1961, and its English version: Könnyű, 1962.
96. J. Kovács, 1977.
97. J. Kovács, 1972.
98. Béládi, 1982; MIT, 1945–1975, pp. 323–445.
99. Concerning Országh see MIL, II, 405.
100. Országh, 1967.
101. Gellén, 1978b.
102. On Czigány see PHHA, 1973, p. 78; PHHA, 1979, p. 90, MIT, 1945–1975, p. 442, For his relevant articles see Czigány, 1977, 1979.
103. NMKA, 1980.
104. *Vándorének*, 1981.
105. Szamek, 1954.
106. Nelson 1956; Nemser, 1961; Mc.Whinney, 1973.
107. Nemser, 1971. See also Nemser, 1967.

108. Kósa, 1955.
109. Bakó, 1961, 1962, 1963.
110. Bakó, 1965a.
111. Fishman, 1966.
112. Lotz, 1967.
113. On John Lotz see Austerlitz, 1974; Sebeok, 1976, 1978.
114. Dégh and Vázsonyi, 1971.
115. Dégh, 1966, p. 554.
116. Concerning this "Hunglish" Dictionary see Vázsonyi, 1965; Kerek, 1977, p. 28.
117. McRobbie, 1979.
118. Janda, 1977.
119. Kerek, 1977, 1978.
120. See Voigt, 1982; Gunda, 1982.
121. On Maday see HIA, 1966, p. 277; HIA, 1972, p. 113; PHHA, 1979, p. 295. Information concerning Maday's positive role came from most of the active Hungarian-American scholars in the field.
122. Gunda, 1982.
123. See Voigt, 1982.
124. Concerning Dégh's activities see Bődy, 1976, pp. 45; and Várdy and Várdy-Huszár, 1981, pp. 87–89.
125. Dégh, 1966, 1968–1969.
126. Dégh, 1975, 1976, 1979, 1980a, 1980b; Dégh and Vázsonyi, 1971, 1971–1975.
127. Hollós, 1975, 1979; *Békevár*, 1979.
128. M. Kovács, 1974, 1980a. See also M. Kovács, 1978a, 1978b, 1980b, 1980c, 1980d, 1981.
129. D. Nagy, 1978–1979.
130. Held on April 15 and 16, 1980 at Duquesne University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the papers of this symposium have been published. Cf. Kolar and Várdy-Huszár, 1981. See also Várdy-Huszár, 1981a, 1981b.
131. Concerning the Budapest meeting see Voigt, 1982.
132. Abonyi and Anderson 1977; Papp, 1981; HEHSP, 1982.
133. Gergely, 1974; Szendrey, 1983.
134. Birnbaum, 1982.
135. Rácz, 1980; Puskás, 1982.
136. Dreisziger, 1982.
137. Szántó's work will be published in the course of 1983.
138. This work entitled *The Hungarian-Americans*, and it will appear in early 1985 (See Várdy 1985). A section of it has already appeared in print. Cf. Várdy, 1982.

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THE EDMUND VASVÁRY COLLECTION

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Ethnic studies have gained new importance both in Hungary and in the United States. Historians from Hungary, such as S. Márki, I. Pivány, and more recently J. Puskás have dealt with the general features of Hungarian emigration and ethnicity in America, while on the American side there have been useful compilations on the subject by G. Kende and E. Lengyel. Ethnographers, literary and art historians are also determined to contribute to the study of this important subject. It has become widely realized and accepted by now that the largest Hungarian ethnic group outside the Carpathian Basin lives not in Europe but overseas, within the boundaries of the United States of America. Although this Hungarian population is rather scattered and occasionally the "victim" of the "melting pot", in its history, language, literature and traditions it shows many common traits. Today, therefore, a growing number of scholars of many disciplines find it worth their while to focus their attention on various aspects of this question.

Unfortunately, because of lack of relevant archival material and other sources about certain particulars or representatives of ethnic life, very often researchers had to face great difficulties. It is widely known that up to now—with the possible exception of collections on special topics, such as the Huziányi Collection in Budapest of the National *Széchényi Library* on Kossuth's American relations—there has not existed in Hungary such a single important collection of sources or archival materials devoted to Hungarian ethnicity in the United States that could have served as a basis for further research on any aspect of the field.

Since 1849, the year of the defeat of the War of Independence, a great number of Hungarian immigrants have arrived in the New World in several waves. At the outbreak of the American Civil War they numbered approximately three thousand, and in the peak period of mass migration (around 1910) their number grew to some 350,000, while now well over a million Hungarians live in the United States as first or second generation naturalized citizens. From Hungary, a small nation, pioneers and emigrants with outstanding talents served the cause of the American nation in 1776, fought for the cause of the Union, and later continued as distinguished leaders of state, military and other affairs.

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In the service of George Washington and the War of Independence, Colonel Michael Kováts of Hungary fought the British in several battles. His cavalry unit subsequently engaged the British in South Carolina, where Kováts fell in battle. But more massive emigration of Hungarians to America started with the exiles following in Kossuth's wake. After 1849, many soldiers, officers and former political leaders found their way to the United States, the country whose short history as a republic had inspired them.

In 1851–52, during his historic visit to the States, Lajos Kossuth, in an effort to obtain moral and material help for a revival of Hungary's national struggle, delivered speeches in polished English to large audiences in almost all the big cities. After Lafayette, he was the second foreign dignitary ("The Nation's Guest") in American history to speak before the Joint Houses of Congress. At the outbreak of the Civil War, former Hungarian officers and other political refugees from Hungary, almost to a man, joined the cause of Lincoln to save the Union.

Let us examine the reasons why in later years thousands of Hungarians emigrated to the United States of America. The early emigrants of the 1890s and 1900s went so as to accumulate during a brief period some savings and return to their native village or town. At that time very few considered the thought of becoming American citizens. Some decades later, before and after the Second World War, besides poverty, escape from Nazism and other political reasons prompted emigration.

During their more than a century old history, the Hungarians of America have always endeavoured to preserve their identity as an ethnic group in the great "melting pot". Hungarian communities founded churches which became strongholds of their continuity; they established fraternal organizations, "burial and sick benefit societies", banks, schools and other social or cultural associations, so as to promote and share their common bonds of heritage. They have published numerous newspapers, periodicals and books and built up public as well as private library collections to meet their cultural needs. A renaissance of interest in things Hungarian and Hungarian heritage in America is evident and growing at present. For example, since 1959 the *American Hungarian Foundation* (one of the largest cultural organizations of its kind) has provided funds and grants for college and university programs of Hungarian studies. Interest in the Hungarian language is also encouraged in many ways.

In Hungary, research concerning the history of Hungarians in America and Hungarian-American historical connections, or exchange of cultural information have been encouraged by events such as trade agreements between Hungary and the United States or the return of King St. Stephen's Crown in the 1970s–signs of an improved relationship. In such circumstances, to serve purposes of research, and in accordance with Edmund Vasváry's deed of gift, in 1978 a unique collection of documents and books was finally transferred from Washington, D.C. to the *Somogyi Library* of Szeged.

The Edmund Vasváry Collection consists of 436 loose-leaf volumes containing extensive notes, citations, manuscripts, facsimile reproductions, news clippings, etc., concerning the most important ethnic Hungarians of America. They are grouped in

alphabetical order of the names of the persons to whom they refer. The Collection comprises also several hundred valuable rare books, chronicles, almanacs, pamphlets dealing with Hungarian history, literature and ethnicity. A catalogue of 20.000 bio- and bibliographical file cards along with the collected writings of E. Vasváry are also part of the Collection.

A clergyman and historian himself, Edmund Vasváry (1888–1977) devoted fifty years to the research of the history, literature and traditions of Hungarians in the United States, with records going back as early as 1583, the date when Stephanus Parmenius of Buda, the first Hungarian to do so, set foot in the New World. Born and educated in Szeged, Vasváry arrived in the United States in 1914 as a pastor of the Hungarian Reformed Church. After serving in several churches for a period of time, in 1936, he became comptroller of the *Hungarian Reformed Federation of America* in Washington, D.C., a post he held until his retirement in 1957. Among his several hundred articles and other publications his major work is *Lincoln's Hungarian Heroes* (Washington, D.C., 1939). In recognition of his "pioneering research, his dedication to the scholarly endeavour in behalf of those who are to follow him and for his commitment to enrich the American scene with a clearer appreciation of the role Hungarian pioneers and immigrants played in all walks of American life", in 1974 he was presented the Abraham Lincoln Award.

Vasváry, in the 1920s still a beginner, started his research with tackling the greatest of all American–Hungarian subjects: Kossuth's trip to the U.S. In doing so–he later wrote–he stumbled on one single short sentence, which became the most important motto or reminder for him, never to be forgotten. This short sentence was written by William L. Garrison, the leader of the movement for the abolition of slavery. Garrison became bitterly disappointed with Kossuth, because the great Hungarian refused to take sides in that gigantic internal conflict–saying that being a foreigner, the guest of the nation, it would be highly improper for him to do so. So Garrison, who shortly before had written a poem to Kossuth asking for his help, in his weekly *The Liberator*, hurled the following angry reproach to him: "You are a mere Hungarian–and nothing more!" Kossuth probably did not pay much attention to this remark–but it hit Vasváry very much. It reminded him forcefully that a Hungarian, if he lives in the United States, must be more than a "mere" Hungarian–and that more "can be nothing less but the totality of what the word American means".

And while during his 63 years in America he did his best to live up to the obligation implied by the above quote, to his own astonishment Vasváry found out "that there is no *small* nation on this earth, besides Hungary, that contributed more to the intellectual, scientific and industrial progress of the United States. There is no small nation that could come even near Hungary in this respect. I found out that the Hungarians in the United States have been and are much more than a mere ethnic group, which is satisfied with finding here a better livelihood and wants to be nothing more". The statement was made in 1974, and he then also pointed out the importance of his aim to collect any available document about his outstanding fellow countrymen. At that time he must have thought of those Hungarians who deserved to be

remembered but who would probably be much less known to posterity without collections of material such as his own.

The Collection, while providing basic sources and data for the history of Hungarian contributions to American life, puts special emphasis on subjects of outstanding importance such as Colonel Michael Kováts's role in the War of Independence, Lajos Kossuth's tour of the U.S., or Hungarian participation in the Civil War.

Vasváry was well aware of the sad fate of two earlier collections of this kind: those of Károly Feleky and Jenő Pivány. Between the two World Wars Feleky possessed the largest collection of books and manuscripts related to Hungarian-American relations and after his death it served as a basis for the *Hungarian Reference Library* of New York. Unfortunately, this unique collection fell victim of wartime tribulations; it was split up and its material was distributed among various libraries. A similar fate was destined to the historian Pivány's collection which perished during the siege of Budapest at the end of World War II. Thus it is easy to understand why Vasváry's collection, immediately after his death, was brought to one of the big libraries of Szeged, his native city, to be an indispensable depository for future research. (A microfilm copy of the Collection remained in the United States, in custody of the *American Hungarian Foundation* of New Brunswick, N.J.)

As it would be almost impossible to give a full description of the entire Collection, I only attempt here—in a more or less chronological order—to enumerate some of those items or entries that Vasváry himself considered as prominent parts of his Collection.

The afore-mentioned Stephanus Parmenius of Buda, no doubt, occupies a most important place in the history of Hungarian-American relations as well as in the Collection itself. A young clergyman of the Reformed Church and a foremost Latin poet of his time, he is considered the first Hungarian to have set foot on American soil, in the port of St. John's in New Foundland, Canada. The leader of an English expedition, Sir Humphrey Gilbert appointed him to be the official historian of the important adventure. Before they sailed from England, Parmenius, hoping to be included in the crew wrote a long Latin poem in hexameters, in which he envisions the possible emergence of a democratic world overseas:

Quam nummos, quam lucra sequi, quam propter honores
Vivere ad arbitrium stolidae mutabile plebis.
Non illic generi virtus opibusve premetur
Libertas populi, non contra in deside vulgo
Oppugnabit opes, civis sub nomine, pauper:
Quisque suo partem foelix in iure capesset.
Tum sua magna parens ingenti foenore tellus
Exiguo sudore dabit bona: cura iuventam
Nulla adiget senio, nec sic labor ocia tollet
Quominus e virtute petant sua commoda cives.

(De Navigatione, lines 147–156)

Together with Gilbert, he found his grave in the ocean in 1583. Parmenius, an important individual, is represented in the Collection by a separate volume.

The material on the Revolutionary War and its best known Hungarian officers, Colonel M. Kováts and Major John Pollereczky, a former Bercsényi-hussar in France, constitutes a considerable and extensive part of the Collection. The documents, facsimile reproductions, pamphlets and articles on the details of the period and its outstanding Hungarian personages occupy as many as thirteen volumes of bulky, loose-leaf notebooks.

The figure of Colonel Kováts was especially dear to Vasváry, so much so, that at the end of his life he planned to write a book on him. Kováts, second in command of the Pulaski Legion, is respected by many as the first of Hungarians to sacrifice his life for American freedom and independence. He suggested a slogan–as Vasváry pointed out–for the future generations of Hungarian Americans at the end of his letter written in Latin to Benjamin Franklin (January 13, 1777, Bordeaux, France), in which he offered his services for the American cause: "FIDELISSIMUS AD MORTEM"– "Most faithful unto death". He died before Charleston, South Carolina, on May 11, 1779.

Without attempting to draw up a complete list of all those outstanding 19th century Hungarian immigrants whose records are accessible in the Collection, special attention must be called to such pioneers as Sándor Bölöni Farkas or Ágoston Haraszthy, the father of Californian viticulture, both of them authors of the first Hungarian travelogues on the pre-Civil War U.S.A. in the 1830s and 1840s.

By far the most important and bulkiest section of the Collection is dedicated to Kossuth and to the so-called Kossuth Emigration. This includes Hungarians who in the armies of the North fought in the Civil War. Several of them became general officers, and one of them (J.H. Stahel) was awarded the highest military decoration of the nation, the Congressional Medal of Honor.

In thirty-four of the 436 notebooks of the Vasváry Collection, Kossuth's relationship with America is listed, discussed and documented. These include topics such as the details of his voyage to America on board the U.S.S. "Mississippi". It was Vasváry who found the report of Captain Long, commander of the steam frigate on which Kossuth sailed from his Turkish internment. There are documents on Kossuth's tour of the country: on his relations with Congress, the Government, with prominent politicians and personalities of the time. The Collection has the texts of Kossuth's speeches, material on his negotiations for the cause of Hungary; his views on slavery, politics, etc. A number of books, facsimile reproductions of contemporary articles from the press and pamphlets; manuscripts, charts, even musical scores bear witness to the deep impression Kossuth made on the American general public of his days.

Special volumes of notebooks are devoted to commemorative poetry, literature and music; to the description of festive occasions, geographical names of localities, traditions attached to Kossuth, along with the enumeration of the various memorabilia in the States, all to honour "The Nation's Guest". Besides giving a good picture of

Kossuth's figure in literature, the Collection contains excellent sources for research focusing on his image in the visual arts such as sculpture or portrait painting. Ever since the time when he visited America, Kossuth's memory has always been fondly cherished by ethnic Hungarians. For them it was a major event when in the early 1950s in Philadelphia, Vasváry discovered several of the long forgotten portraits of the great patriot and of his suite painted by a well-known American painter of the last century, Walter Gould.

Mention must also be made of at least such relevant rare books of the Collection as e.g. John Prágay's *The Hungarian Revolution* (New York, 1850); *Scences of the Civil War in Hungary by an Austrian Officer* (Philadelphia, 1850); *Kossuth and His Generals* (Buffalo, 1852); Frost's *A Complete History of the Hungarian War* (New Haven); Teffts's *Hungary and Kossuth* (1852); *Reception of Gov. Kossuth* (Report of the Special Committee appointed by the Common Council of the City of New York, 1852), or Headley's *The Life of L. Kossuth* (Auburn, N.Y., 1852) and *Modern War* by Emeric Szabad (New York, 1863), etc. (Scholars interested in Kossuth are reminded here of the Huziányi Collection of Budapest).

From the period of the Kossuth Emigration (i.e. the 1850s and the 1860s) I would like to mention volumes of documents in the Edmund Vasváry Collection dedicated for example to Colonel John Prágay, member of the Lopez expedition to Cuba, or to the Martin Koszta Affair, both former officers of the Hungarian revolutionary army with memorable and tragic experiences in American service. But ample material can be found also on men such as László Madarász or Lázár Mészáros.

As regards participation in the Civil War, great names of the several hundred, duly recorded in the Collection, include Major Generals Sándor Asboth and Gyula Stahel-Számwald; Brigadier General György Pomutz; Colonels Károly Zágonyi, Géza Mihalotzy, Miklós Perczel, János Fiala, etc. Seventy-five years later President F. D. Roosevelt in a letter addressed to the *Hungarian Reformed Federation of America,* expressed highest acknowledgment with the following words: "Men of Hungarian blood—many of them exiles from their fatherland—rendered valiant service to the cause of the Union. Their deeds of self-sacrifice and bravery deserve to be held in everlasting remembrance." (Facsimile copy of the letter in the Collection, dated March 15, 1939.) Countless articles, illustrations and biographical notes make it possible for the researcher to create a more perfect image about these heroes, whose names have been immortalized by Pivány and Vasváry. Three additional volumes of the Collection, entitled *Lincoln and the Hungarians,* allow better approach to the subject matter.

If we wanted to recall and enumerate the names of at least all those Hungarian immigrants and their descendants who, in one way or another, contributed considerably to postbellum American civilization and whose records are duly preserved in the Collection, we would be faced with an *embarras de choix.* The following descriptive list, which is far from being complete, is a somewhat arbitrary selection of material contained in the Collection and relative to some Hungarians who brought a noteworthy contribution to American life:

First of all, we would like to mention the name of Joseph Pulitzer, born in Makó in 1847. He deserves priority not only because, as a penniless youth, he went to the New World to take part in the Civil War as a Union soldier and later became editor and manager of several of America's largest newspaper enterprises; or because he turned out to be an innovator of the daily press and a prominent figure in the American society of his day. More importantly, he wrote his name in the golden book of American civilization by endowing the Pulitzer Prizes; a fund that is used every year to reward and honour the best achievements in literature, drama, journalism, historiography and music, as a symbol of highest recognition and a means of encouragement in the intellectual sphere.

In the world of science, great Americans from Hungary include such personages as Theodore von Karman, the "Elder statesman of aviation"; the Nobel laureates: physicist Eugene P. Wigner and biologist Albert Szent-Györgyi; the eminent nuclear scientists, Leo Szilárd and Edward Teller; physicist Zoltán Bay. At Princeton University, the *Institute for Defense Analysis* is housed in a new building, *John von Neumann Hall,* honouring the great Hungarian-born mathematical genius, who "gave so generously of his rare gifts of mind for the defense of his adopted land and the cause of freedom".

Other great Americans of Hungarian background, duly represented in the Collection, include Joseph Galamb, first chief engineer and principal draftsman of Model T of the Ford motor cars; Adolph Zukor, "Mr. Motion Pictures", founder of Paramount; Peter C. Goldmark, "the maverick inventor", who headed CBS Laboratories until his retirement and developed the LP record and colour television broadcasting; John G. Kemeny, President of Dartmouth College and noted mathematician; Marcel Breuer, the outstanding architect. In literature and arts: Ferenc Molnár, novelist and playwright; Arthur Koestler, writer and essayist; Joseph Reményi, writer, poet and critic; eminent symphony orchestra conductors: Fritz Reiner, George Solti, George Széll, Antal Dorati and Eugene Ormandy; László Moholy-Nagy, the well-known Bauhaus artist, foremost among refugees from Hitler who introduced the European revolution in modern art, architecture, industrial design and art education to American students; or American-born Stevan Dohanos, the famous artist and illustrator.

Much more space would be required for a description of all the other biographical entries of the Collection. Many of these may be different from those just referred to, but equally important in their content. Mention should also be made of the excellent source material referring to specific topics; for example, the general features and characters of the Hungarian literary scene in the United States, including some remarkable poetry and translations into English of Petőfi; the activity and reception of noted Hungarian artists in the musical and theatrical life; the development of Church organizations with all their representative personages; the efforts of the Horthy régime to bring about "official" contacts with the Magyars of America between the World Wars, along with the less constructive but significant overseas activities of one-time Hungarian politicians (such as e.g. Tibor Eckhardt); or details

about the United States, keeping King St. Stephen's Crown after World War II; the history of American-Hungarian journalism; or the state and conditions of Hungarian Studies as a discipline at American colleges and universities nowadays.

The preparation of various name and subject indexes essential for more comprehensive research in the Collection was finished in 1983. At the same time the preparation of a publication of Edmund Vasváry's selected writings, entitled *„Magyar Amerika"*, is also under way as part of a further plan for the future. The project is being sponsored by the Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Somogyi Library.

Donations of correspondence materials or other documents together with new acquisitions, mainly books and articles from the press, are also being added to the Collection, in a permanent effort to keep it as up to date as possible. The Collection, a provincial centre for American Ethnic Studies in Hungary, has already attracted a number of scholars, writers, students and journalists. In February 1981, the Hungarian Television presented to a nationwide audience a film report featuring the Collection and its most interesting documents.

In August 1984 a detailed description of the Vasváry Collection was published in Szeged (*Mutató a Vasváry-gyűjteményhez*, összeállította Csillag András, Szeged, A Somogyi-könyvtár kiadványai 30., pp. 167) with detailed index of the complete material.)

On the Vasváry Collection see furhter details on pp. 84–85 in this issue of *Hungarian Studies*. About the latest projects see the report by László Péter *„A Vasváry-gyűjtemény a szegedi Somogyi-Könyvtárban"* in *Hungarológiai Értesítő* IV:1–4, (1982) pp. 602–605. (Editorial remark)

A REPORT ON THE INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HUNGARIAN STUDIES

Following the usual and internationally recognized procedures, the *International Association of Hungarian Studies* (IAHS) was founded by approximately one hundred researchers from inside and outside Hungary in a provincial Hungarian town in Nyíregyháza in August 1977. The founders' meeting elected Bo Wickman, professor of the University of Uppsala, as president of the Association, a choice which the first general assembly, held in 1981 in Budapest, confirmed.

The task and the objective of the Association is to gather within one organization the experts on the so-called Hungarian philological studies i.e. linguistics, literary history, ethnography and folklore; and to facilitate the international dissemination and cultivation of these studies. At present the Association has more than 800 members, almost half of whom are scholars, university professors, librarians, editors and translators not living in Hungary. It was founded with the aim of introducing the results of research in Hungarian studies to the international arena and, as had been done for Germanistics, Turkology and Hispanology, to unite within one organization the philologists dealing with Hungarian studies in different countries of the world. Naturally, the Association wishes to perform not just the tasks of organizational representation, however in international scientific life organizational matters cannot be altogether neglected. It will fulfil its role properly if sooner or later it also assumes the role of offering encouragement, transmitting information of facilitating and promoting research. These are the long term aims it has set its sights on, for which quick successes in the shorter term, as provided by organizational activities, offer a good start. Given the scope for the spread of Hungarian philological studies, the size of the membership can be reckoned quite large. The scientific gain it yields will be measured by whether, through patient work performed assiduously over long years, the Association can be the active initiator in the international forum of Hungarian philology.

Why was it necessary to found the Association? The idea of establishing an international association was raised by experts dealing with Hungarian philology outside Hungary. For the number of researchers dealing with Hungarian philology abroad is increasing–in many cases they are not of Hungarian origin–and their fundamental professional interest dictates that they try to establish contacts with their

colleagues, including those living in Hungary. In the same way experts on linguistics, literary history, and ethnography and folklore, living in Hungary cannot disregard the results and educational experience of their colleagues working abroad. The scientific activities of philologists performed outside Hungary may enrich Hungarian philology through new discoveries; they can add fertile viewpoints to the cultivation of comparative philology. International exchanges of views can exert an influence on the methods applied and even on the assigning of trends in research. It is even possible that the employment of Hungarian results will start abroad, where they will be systematically checked by experts; as a result of this a professional dialogue of the creative individuals of science will be initiated, the significance of which can hardly be underestimated in this day and age.

What do the designations "Hungarian studies", "Hungarology", and "Hungaristics" mean? They are cognate ideas, originating from the words *Hungaria,* and *Hungarus.* All of them are collective ideas embracing the whole of the sciences that deal with the Hungarian people, its history, culture and language. Hungarian studies and Hungarology are wider categories than philology, their scope of meaning includes the study of history, culture history, archeology, music and art in general. Hungarology embraces all the sciences engaged in the complex, interdisciplinary research on Hungarian civilization. However, Hungarology defined in this way can be interpreted from three different points of view, taking into account the fact that not all of the Hungarians do constitute one national state. Quite understandably the centre of Hungarology is the scientific-intellectual life in Hungary. The systematic research of the history, culture, language and literature of the Hungarians includes essential contacts with the past, with the collective memory preserved in linguistic and intellectual manifestation. While the philologist or Hungarologist in Hungary is dealing with his subject, he can conduct his research with the same unbiased objectivity as if Hungarian were a dead classical language, as if Hungarian civilization were one of the ancient civilizations. But without any bias or nationalistic passion seething within him, he can perform research on his subject–the history of Hungarian literature, for example–with more intrinsic interest and can conceive the work of writers also as documents of the historical continuity of the Hungarian consciousness, besides their being linguistic, aesthetic creations. Research on the national character may never be an end in itself or a scientific program of more importance than anything else. But if the national character is inherent to the subject itself as one of the elements of linguistic or aesthetic existence, then they must be dealt with through objective, scientific means. This dilemma is raised mainly for the Hungarologist living in Hungary, who has to decide for himself whether he should examine the Hungarian language, literature and ethnography from such a distance as if he were examining the product of a foreign civilization; or whether he should comprehend the creations of culture as intellectual creations which, through the mother tongue, lie closer to him than the products of Icelandic or Eskimo civilization.

In the life of the Hungarian minorities the neighbouring countries Hungarology, and similarly the preservation of the mother tongue, are means of fostering and

nursing awareness of cultural and ethnic identity. Hungarology may play a role in sustaining their traditional culture. Research on the culture history, language, literature and ethnography of the Hungarian ethnic groups as well as the fostering of cultural traditions, require an increased cultivation and complex integration of comparative Hungarian studies. The objective and methods of proper Hungarology have the same principles as the methodology of philology anywhere else. Nevertheless in its pedagogical and educational emphasis it differs from the way large and homogenized states cultivate philology. In the eye of the foreign Hungarologist outside Hungary, Hungarian culture is one of the subjects of study which possesses specific features for him too, but these he comprehends not as his own but as part of world civilization. The knowledge of Hungary that the Hungarologist living abroad possesses may differ in several details from the knowledge, viewpoints and methods of the experts in this field within Hungary, but never to the extent that it would allow us to speak of two types of Hungarology: one type cultivated inside Hungary and the other outside Hungary, in North America, for example.

When was Hungarology born? Its very name was born during the period between the two world wars and even then it was a collective idea with a very wide scope of meaning: it included all the studies dealing with the Hungarian nation, all the sciences dealing with the past, physical and intellectual stature, natural characteristics and intellectual values of the Hungarian people, from archeology to art history, from linguistics to anthropology. An independent periodical of these branches of science was started under the title *Magyarságtudomány* (1935–1937, 1942–1943) and a university research department of Hungarian studies was also established (1939).

Why did the new international association adopt in its (Hungarian) name "philology" instead of "Hungarology"? It did so because acquintance with national cultures is attained through language. Historically national studies were revealed through the investigation of languages, they centered on language and literature–as is often the case even today. Within Hungarology the viewpoints of linguistics and literature are in the foreground at present too, which, of course, does not mean that the concept of Hungarology is narrowed down only to these. The Association, besides bringing together the experts on philology sciences, strives to establish contacts with as many historians as possible too. Without historical research there exists no Hungarology but no Hungarian philology either.

What was the topic of the first congress of the Association? According to the program of IAHS the cultivation of Hungarian studies conducted with international collaboration is an incentive for scientific progress and it not only promotes the discovery of new partial results but it contributes to establishing a wider scientific range of vision as well. The international context trains and tests as well as deepens the self knowledge, enhances its objectivity, accustoms them to adopting sober viewpoints, free from illusions.

A good opportunity for this was afforded by the first International Congress on Hungarology held in Budapest in August 1981, where experts dealing with Hungarian linguistics, literary history, and ethnography and folklore gathered for the first time to

discuss the situation of Hungarian teaching outside Hungary and to exchange views on the history of Hungarian versification and its characteristics. Altogether nine main lectures were delivered on the main topics, followed by the section meetings where more than one hundred participants took the floor. Twenty-two countries were represented at the congress; the experts from different countries conducted the meeting in a spirit of mutual understanding towards each other's opinions, and the atmosphere of the congress was permeated by the spirit of scientific openness. The scholarly results yielded as the fruits of international cooperation may ripen over a longer period of time, but the basis and incentive of this collaboration are personal acquaintances, mutual respect and tolerance towards differing opinions. An even more indispensable condition for the futher development of Hungarology than it has been before is the widening of international collaboration as well as the utilization of experience resulting from different scientific angles of approach. The first International Congress on Hungarology made a significant advance in this direction. Its experience also proved that social sciences must not be forced into some kind of secondary role. If we remember that the so-called "human factor" is gaining increasing importance in production and in the economy, parallel to the development of technological civilization, then nobody can entertain doubts of any kind about the increasing significance of the different branches of social science which have joined hands with the noble purpose of fostering and nurturing the traditions of intellectual culture and its values that date back several centuries. The congress material will be published in two separate volumes. Papers concerning education are already been published (M. Róna Judit ed.: *Hungarológiai oktatás régen és ma.* Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1983. pp. 235.), a second separate volume will include the papers devoted to Hungarian versification, and will be printed by the end of 1984.

The next congress of the Association will be held in Vienna in 1986.

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Irodalomtudományi Intézet

Miklós Béládi

OFFICERS OF THE ASSOCIATION

The Association has at the present time 15 Honorary Members from eight countries. Its President is Bo Wickman (Sweden). There are six Vice-Presidents from five countries. Its Secretary General is Tibor Klaniczay (Hungary), Deputy Secretary General was until his death Miklós Béládi (Hungary), and at present it is (until 1986) József Jankovics (Hungary). 37 members are elected for its Executive Committee from 15 countries. The Auditing Committee has three members from three countries. The secretary's office has three staff members. The address is Budapest, Országház utca 30. This is also the address of the Hungarian yearbook of the Association *(Hungarológiai Értesítő),* as well as the mailing address of *Hungarian Studies.*

THE FIRST FULLY-ENDOWED HUNGARIAN CHAIR IN NORTH AMERICA

The Hungarian Chair of the University of Toronto was established in 1978 by a fund raised by the Hungarian Canadian community (on the initiative of the Széchenyi Society) and matched by the Federal Government. Its academic objective is to further the study of the Hungarian language, literature, and culture, conceiving these in a global context; and, to make the Hungarian heritage familiar and relevant within the unique multicultural society of Canada. It is the first fully-endowed Hungarian Chair in North America, and, at present, the only one in Canada.

Every year, three Hungarian courses in language, literature, and civilization studies are offered. Hungarian language is taught on two levels: elementary and intermediate. Students may pursue higher language studies in a third course entitled *Advanced Studies in Hungarian.* Another course, *Hungarian Literature and Culture,* explores Hungarian civilization through lectures and presentations in English. At present time the following courses are taught on a rotating basis: *Elementary Hungarian, Intermediate Hungarian, Hungarian Literature and Culture, Advanced Studies in Hungarian, The Modern Hungarian Novel, Hungarian Drama, Hungarian Cinema.*

In addition to the courses set up by the Hungarian Chair, a number of courses offered in the departments of History and Political Economy include significant Hungarian content. These courses also form part of the Hungarian Studies Programs.

The courses offered by the Hungarian Chair and the other departments may be combined either towards a MAJOR PROGRAM (minimum 6 courses) or a MINOR PROGRAM (minimum 3 courses) IN HUNGARIAN STUDIES.

Or, the 3 language courses qualify as a MINOR PROGRAM IN HUNGARIAN LANGUAGE. These three programs suit students of all language and cultural backgrounds, and of virtually all interests. The Minor Program in Hungarian Studies may be undertaken without any language study.

The Hungarian Chair is becoming an international centre for Hungarian studies. It organizes triennial conferences on diverse scholarly topics.

The journal of the Chair, *Hungarian Studies Review,* the first academic periodical of its kind, is published in conjugation with the Chair. The Hungarian Chair regularly invites eminent scholars from Hungary and Canada as well as other countries to hold public lectures.

Robarts Library (the central library of the University) and the library of the Hungarian Chair offer a varied selection of some 20,000 volumes, predominantly in Hungarian. These two collections make Toronto by far the most favourable location in Canada to pursue Hungarian studies. The Hungarian Chair also has rapidly growing sound library and slide collection.

University of Toronto *George Bisztray*

A PIONEER IN HUNGARIAN STUDIES—HUNGARIAN STUDIES NEWSLETTER (No. 1. 1973-No. 39–40. SPRING-SUMMER 1984)

It is axiomatic that the essential ingredient of intercultural understanding is good communication. Good communication, in turn, calls for media comprehensible to all parties involved. For this reason, publications in the Hungarian language contribute little to the interpretation and understanding of Hungarian culture abroad. It would be quite presumptuous on our part to expect intellectuals all over the world to learn Hungarian for the sole purpose of reading an article or book or attending a course with Hungary-related content (although I have heard of a few such cases). Hungary has been linguistically isolated ever since it was established in the Carpathian Basin over 1,000 years ago, and this linguistic isolation has been aggravated by the reluctance of Hungarian scholars to address their foreign counterparts in their own languages.

This situation has, however, been changing. Mainly because of the emigration of large numbers of intellectuals from Hungary during the past fifty years or so, hundreds of books, doctoral dissertations, and articles related to Hungary and Hungarians have been published in many languages, most extensively in English. The HSN (=*Hungarian Studies Newsletter*) alone has reported on 400 scholarly English-language, Hungarian-related books, 380 articles, and 70 doctoral dissertations during its first eleven years. The problem facing us now is not so much the scarcity of sources as the dispersed nature of the data, which makes research tedious and time-consuming. Computerization may eventually ease the hardship of Hungarian studies, but for the time being other means of assistance are clearly necessary if such studies are to continue and expand.

The HSN is one attempt to remedy the situation. It was founded in 1973 and has been edited ever since by Bela Charles Maday (Máday Béla), a cultural anthropologist and research professor at The American University in Washington, D.C., with the assistance of many like-minded people, of whom Enikő Basa deserves special mention for her seven years of service as journal editor. The burden of publication and dissemination has been undertaken by the *American Hungarian Foundation* at New Brunswick, N.J. The newsletter is a quarterly with a circulation of 1,200 and is basically self-supporting.

In addition to up-to-date reports on books, dissertations, and articles, the HSN presents the tables of contents of such Hungarian-oriented English journals as *Hungarian Studies in English* (Debrecen), *Studies in English and American* (Budapest), and *The Review of Hungarian Studies* (Toronto). In general, the newsletter aims at an overview of who is doing what in Hungarian studies among English-speaking scholars and scientists. Thus, it regularly reports on relevant papers presented at scholarly meetings and conferences, on announcements and awards of governmental and private funding agencies, and, in general, on programs of scientific exchange between Hungary and North America. Thus, the exchange and support programs of the academies of

sciences, the *National Science Foundation,* the *International Research and Exchange Board, (IREX),* and the *American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS)* receive regular coverage. Besides this, less well-known programs such as the collaboration for medical research and training between the University of Pennsylvania and the Semmelweis University in Budapest, the Senior Fulbright-Hays Program, administered by the *Council for International Exchange of Scholars,* and the ACLS joint program in the social sciences also receive detailed descriptions, including names, academic affiliations, scientific areas of interest, and when appropriate, the names of participating colleagues. The index, covering the first 34 issues, lists over 2,000 names, 80 periodicals, and 150 organizations, all involved in one way or another in Hungarian studies.

In addition to its regular features, the newsletter also contains special reports–for example, on teaching aids (no. 11), on selected master's theses prepared in U.S. and Canadian universities (no. 13), on studies in semiotics (no. 16), on the White Stag program (no. 25), on economic cooperation (no. 22), and on Hungarian academic chairs in North America (no. 21). It has republished the entire Hungarian country profile of the Population Council (no. 6).

In brief, the HSN has been a pioneer in the field of Hungarian studies carried out in English, and it hopes to be able to serve members of the academic and scientific communities with interests in Hungarian culture. According to Prof. I. T. Sanders of Boston University, the HSN "is the kind of publication that helps one keep in touch with a wide variety of activities and materials. It is certainly the best of the several newsletters issued (in America) by nationality-based associations."

The American University, Washington, D.C. *Bela C. Maday*

There exists an *Index for Hungarian Studies Newsletter, Nos 1–30.* with a name index of 2,000 entries, 80 periodicals, 150 organizations listed in the first thirty issues of HSN, available by order from the *Hungarian Research Center–American Hungarian Foundation* (Post Office Box 1084, New Brunswick NJ. 08903, USA).
(Editorial Remark)

ZWEITER INTERNATIONALER KONGRESS FÜR HUNGAROLOGIE WIEN, 1. – 5. SEPTEMBER 1986

II. NEMZETKÖZI HUNGAROLÓGIAI KONGRESSZUS BÉCS, 1986. SZEPTEMBER 1–5.

Veranstalter/Szervezők:

Institut für Finno-Ugristik der Universität Wien und Österreichisches Ost- und Südost-Europa-Institut. Das Generalthema und die Hauptaspekte der Sektionsthemen des Kongresses lauten:

Die ungarische Sprache, Literatur, Geschichte und Volkskunde in Wechselwirkung mit der Kultur der Donauvölker unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der beiden Jahrhundertwenden vom 18. zum 19. bzw. vom 19. zum 20. Jahrhundert.

1. Kulturelle Pluralität: Die Rolle Wiens und Budapests für die ungarische Kultur und die Kulturen der Donauvölker.

2. Nationale Frage, Literatur und Literaturwissenschaft.

3. Die Frage der bäuerlichen Verbürgerlichung im Donauraum. Aufschwung und Verfall der Volkskultur.

4. Die Volkskunst als Quelle der nationalen Kulturen.

5. Literarisch-künstlerische Richtungen der zwei Jahrhundertwenden.

6. Die Rolle der Sprachwissenschaft in der Entwicklung der nationalen Kultur.

Die offiziellen Sprachen des Kongresses sind ungarisch und deutsch. Referate und Diskussionsbeiträge können auch in englisch, französisch und russisch präsentiert werden.

Postadresse/Levélcím:

Österreichisches Ost- und Südosteuropa-Institut, A-1010 Wien, Josefsplatz 6, Tel.: 52-18-95

Books Concerning Hungarians in the Americas

Recently several studies, articles and monographs dealt with the past and present of Hungarians in the Americas. This selection of titles attempts to present a survey of the material.

In this period one of the first studies was written by August J. Molnár "Hungarian pioneers and immigrants in New Jersey since colonial days" (In: *The New Jersey Ethnic Experience,* pp. 249–266. Edited by Barbara Cunningham. Union City, N. J.: Vm. H. Wise and Co. 1977). It discusses the different waves of Hungarian immigration to New Jersey and gives details on the New Brunswick Hungarian community.

A series of further descriptions of Hungarian communities in the United States was published in the 1980s. First of all a monograph should be mentioned that is one of the most voluminous in the field: Susan M. Papp, *Hungarian Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland:* (Cleveland Ethnic Heritage Studies. Cleveland, O.: Cleveland State University, 1981. 224 pp.) Following a short summary of Hungarian history and the history of Hungarians in the United States, the third section of the book deals with three periods of the history of the Hungarian communities of Cleveland. These are: 1880–1910, 1920–1960, and 1945–1980. In the preliminaries the book describes Kossuth's visit, quoting information published in contemporary sources. Then it gives data about how the first Hungarian community came into being in Cleveland by 1880: its religious institutions, its cultural life, the maintenance of Hungarian language and literature. By 1920 the Buckeye Road Hungarian Community in Cleveland "as a unique phenomenon" had become the largest and most stable Hungarian settlement in the US. The number of Hungarians had reached 43,134 by that time. The history of this Hungarian neighbourhood, the traditions preserved by the community, their changing views, the effect of World War I on their Americanization, their adjustment to American institutions and participation in the political life are described. Great interest is shown by the author in the period following World War II. New possibilities for Hungarians, the adjustment of the new waves of Hungarian immigrants and the recent developments concerning the decline of the Buckeye Road Hungarian Community are analysed. Maps, statistical data, photos and reproductions of original documents add to the value of the monograph.

Among other ethnic groups, Hungarians are also discussed in a collection of studies concerning ethnic groups in Minnesota. In the study written by Paul Kirchner and Anne R. Kaplan "The Hungarians" (In: *They Chose Minnesota. A Survey of the State's Ethnic Groups,* Edited by June Drenning Holmquist. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1981), pp. 423–439. Minnesota Hungarians are introduced. The first Hungarian settlers in Minnesota, the Kállays, owned a homestead in Nicollet about 1858. They were followed by Hungarians in six stages, between 1850–1869, 1870–1918, 1921–1948, 1948–1956, 1956–1960, and finally from 1960 to the present. In every period the changing numbers of Minnesota Hungarians are given in the study. In 1870 only 209 Hungarians were recorded and by 1910, at the peak of immigration, they already numbered 5,582. Most of them lived in cities: mainly in St. Paul and Minneapolis. In

contrast to Cleveland they did not form a strong Hungarian community, but rather, they lived in scattered groups all over the Twin Cities, following the job opportunities provided by factories and mills. Interesting data are given on the 'Hungarian process' imported from Budapest, and introduced in the world famous milling center of Minneapolis in 1878. Outside the Twin Cities, Elk River was known as a settlement of Hungarian farmers; first potato farmers, later dealing with dairy farming. In the Twin Cities the Hungarians had a lively religious and associational life that served as a frame for preserving their cultural and social activity and their ethnic traditions. Many data are provided in the study concerning these topics. As a result of World War I and II the exodus of Hungarians from Minnesota back to the native land had started but for many reasons it soon stopped. The study is based on a great number of sources and is rich in information.

A fascinating monograph was published by József Zachár on the early Hungarian immigrant hero of the War of Independence, Mihály Kováts. The monograph is based on the research of Aladár Póka-Pivny but was complemented and finally put in finished form by József Zachár: Aladár Póka-Pivny, and József Zachar:„Az amerikai függetlenségi háború magyar hőse [A Hungarian Hero of The American War of Independence.] (Budapest: Zrínyi Kiadó, 1982. 177 pp.) In this monograph siginificant details are given on Mihály Kováts's European career in the Habsburg, French, and the Prussian army, and on his role in the foundation and training of the Pulaski Legion in America. His heroic self-sacrifice in the battle of Charleston is described at the end of the book on the basis of contemporary sources.

The greatest attempt to research Hungarian Americans is the huge monograph involving years of research: Júlia Puskás: *Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban.* Immigrant Hungarians in the United States *1880–1940.* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982. 638 pp.) In the first part of the book are described the process and extent of emigration as well as the distribution of immigrants according to age, sex and educational level. The social and economical reasons for emigration from Hungary, the pull factors of the United States, the effects of emigration on the Hungarian economy, the policy of the Hungarian government concerning emigration and the policy of the US government relating to Hungarian immigrants are broken down into two periods, first prior to 1914 and then between 1920–1940. In the first period, information is given on the distribution of Hungarians in the United States, their lives and working circumstances, their social, cultural and political organizations, their churches and their press. In the second period, the complex development of the Hungarian ethnicity following the World War I–the process of integration and differentiation–in the associations and churches as well as the Hungarian press are analysed. The author follows their incipient conflicts and their assimilation as it speeded up after the 1930s. The immense volume of bibliographical and statistical information and other data concerning Hungarian immigrants from this period are of inestimable value in research on the history of Hungarian Americans. Along with other material the appendix lists different kinds of sources: books, periodicals, archival materials and lists of Hungarian settlements, churches, organizations and statistical tables.

A series of studies concerning Canadian Hungarians has also been published. The first of these was by Linda Dégh "Folk Religion as Ideology for Ethnic Survival: The Hungarians of Kipling, Saskatchewan" (In: *Ethnicity on the Great Plains,* pp. 129–146. Edited by Frederick C. Luebke. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press for the Center for Great Plains Studies, 1980). The study is an ethnographical approach to the understanding of the existential bases of Canadian Hungarian ethnic communities. Many details are given on the size and living conditions of the Hungarian community of Kipling, an isolated small town, serving as a center for wheat farmers. Kipling, named Békevár by the early Hungarian settlers, was a homogeneous Hungarian community as regards their country of origin, but their traditions and religious bases differed according to their regional origins. They formed two groups, a fact which became very important factor in creating controversies among them. Their loyalty to different regional identities rather than to the common national one played a special rôle in their assimilation.

The Canadian prairie is again the subject of the following study: Martin L. Kovács "Hungarian Communities in early Alberta and Saskatchewan" (In: *The New Provinces: Alberta and Saskatchewan 1905–1980. 12th Western Canada Studies Conference,* pp. 101–130. Edited by Howard Palmer and Donald Smith. Vancouver, Canada: Tantalus Research Limited, 1980). It provides details on the arrival of Hungarians in Western Canada, and analyzes the similarities and differences between the social and cultural life of the two types of communities as represented by the peasant community of Békevár, Saskatchewan and by the multi-industrial community of Lethbridge, Alberta. Their history, their social composition and their institutions are discussed. The slow process of the change of immigrants from sojourners into settlers in Lethbridge and the quick adjustment in Békevár is described. The author follows how the new waves of immigration left Békevár untouched, but reached and changed the community in Lethbridge.

The data concerning Hungarians of another district of Canada is analyzed in the collection of studies edited by M. Susan Papp "Hungarians in Ontario" (*Polyphony: The Bulletin of the Multicultural History Society of Ontario* Vol. 2. no. 2–3 (1979–80) pp. 1–105). The issue contains studies dealing with different aspects of the Hungarians' life in Ontario. They are as follows: an introduction by M. Susan Papp, a summary of the history and status of Hungarians in Ontario. First section: Hungarian Immigration to Canada before the World War II by Carmela Patrias. Second section: Hungarian Immigration after 1945: National Hungarian Canadian Organizations by Nandor F. Dreisziger; The Hungarian Canadian Press by George Bisztray; The Hungarian Greek Catholic Church in Ontario by Rev. John Girhiny. Third Section: Flight and Settlement: the '56ers: Cultural Institutions by George Bisztray; Maintaining Hungarian in Canada by István Hegedűs; Oral History Sources' Collection: The Delhi and Tobacco District Hungarian House, Hungarian-Canadian Cultural Centre–Hungarian House, and the Canadian Székely-Magyar Association by Susan M. Papp. Many aspects of the history and life of the Hungarians of Ontario are analyzed here, including information, contemporary documents and photos.

The series of publications concerning Hungarians in Canada is closed by a monograph on the history of the first Hungarian settlement in Canada–Győző Dojcsák, *A kanadai Esterházy története* (The History of Esterházy in Canada). (Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1981. 246 pp.) The author first became acquainted with the Canadian prairies as a geologist. In the course of his work he came across the Hungarian community and grew interested in the Hungarian past in Canada. The book gives an overall picture of Canadian nature and history, including the story of Hungarians in Esterházy in this broad perspective. It provides data on the pioneer Hungarian families, their arrival and their first experiences as they faced the Canadian climate and natural environment. The later development of the community is also discussed. Some information on the Hungarians of Kaposvár and Stockholm in the neighbourhood of Esterházy is also included. As an introduction to the monograph, one chapter gives an intriguing description of the life story of Pál Oszkár Esterházy, the owner of the agency which promoted the Hungarian "colonization" program in Canada. And finally an additional chapter compares the life and development of two colonies, Esterházy in Canada and New Buda in the United States.

As a complement to the history of Hungarians in North America, the history of Hungarians in South America also provides very singnificant data and valuable information on the role of Hungarians in the development of the South American countries. One monograph, published first in Spanish in Buenos Aires in 1978, was also released in Budapest in 1982–László Szabó: *Magyar múlt Dél-Amerikában* (Hungarian past in South America) *1519–1900.* (Budapest: Európa Könyvkiadó, 1982. 281 pp.) The author uncovers contacts of Hungarians with the South American continent from the earliest times. He publishes interesting details of the Hungarian participant of the Magellan expedition, János Varga, one of Pizarro's Hungarian conquistadors, and the Hungarian Jesuits in the missions established all over the continent, paying special attention to László Orosz, the "most excellent Jesuit of Paraguay", the reorganizer of the University of Cordoba. The author collected authentic data on the life and activity of László Szalay, a popular hero of Argentine folklore, known as a "South American Robin Hood". Among others he gives reliable information

on Ferenc József Dabály, the composer of the Uruguayan and Paraguayan national anthems. He provides a chapter on the years Sándor Asbóth spent in Buenos Aires until his death, as ambassador of the United States. Finally, a lengthy chapter is devoted to the honorable János Czetz, the colonel of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848, who earned great fame as a professor, professional engineer and writer in Argentina. The author quotes a great variety of contemporary sources. The monograph is a scholarly work and makes also for pleasurable reading.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, *Ilona Kovács*
Budapest

Hungarian Studies in English, I–XV

If the life of *Hungarian Studies in English,* (henceforth: *HSE*), is calculated, as would be expected, from its date of birth, at first sight it may appeâr strange that, though it started publication in 1963, it is only 15 years old in 1982. The explanation is that in the beginning *HSE* appeared every two years. László Országh, Chairman of Kossuth University's English Department in Debrecen, who founded the present series in 1963, was cautious in promising further volumes in the *Prefatory Note* of the first issue, saying only that more would follow "from time to time". Owing to Professor Országh's organizational talent and dedication, "from time to time" became regular intervals: every two years up to 1973, and annually since 1974. The annual sequence is only seemingly interrupted in 1978, for the 1977 Festschrift, Volume XI, in which the then retired László Országh was honored by his students, was a double issue, so much so that it should really have been numbered Volumes XI and XII.

The very first volume of the present series of the *HSE* was a Festschrift, a memorial volume. Besides commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Debrecen English Department, Professor Országh's *Prefatory Note* explained that while the volume was a first comer of a novel and unique undertaking in post-World War II English Philology in Hungary, it was "at the same time to serve as a memorial to Sándor Fest, the first professor of English in this university". László Országh and István Gál *(In Memoriam Sándor Fest)* inform us that Sándor Fest, a comparatist of commanding stature in Anglo-Hungarian intellectual relations, inaugurated a series, *Studies in English Philology* in 1936 and renamed it *Hungarian Studies in English* in 1944, in what turned out to be the first and last volume by that name. In that very year Fest died tragically during the siege of Budapest. Almost twenty years later, László Országh regarded his new series of *HSE* as a continuation of what his predecessor in the Chair had started.

Already a tradition which still prevails had established itself: the chairman of the Debrecen English Department is always the editor of *HSE.* The first seven volumes were edited by Országh, who chose P. Egri and A. Katona as his assistant editors. After volume VIII, edited by A. Katona, the temporary confusion that surrounded the chairmanship and the short interregnum that followed are also reflected in the editorship of *HSE*, volume IX bearing the name of L. Némedi, "Acting Head of the English Department"; László Országh helped out with volume X. It was with volume XI, the Országh *Festschrift,* that the present editor, István Pálffy took up his position. After László Országh the editors no longer had assistant editors.

Though *HSE* was a considerable feat of English Philology in post-war Hungary, the production of fifteen volumes is not a formidable achievement and for a scholarly journal the life-span of nearly two decades (1963–82) is by no means considerable. Nevertheless, the sixties and the seventies were decades of far-reaching change in Hungary, which substantially altered the conditions under which *HSE* existed.

The 1944–63 hiatus was not the product of mere chance and it did not pass without leaving its mark. The English and American scholarships and fellowships, which practically all serious Hungarian scholars working in the field of English and American studies could acquire in the 60s

and 70s, were just beginning to become available in 1963. The establishing of comparative studies was an impressive accomplishment and *HSE* will have to maintain its role as a forum which is especially relevant for it. (From the 1963 volume it can be seen that Sándor Fest was the first to devote a life's work to the systematic comparative study of Anglo-Hungarian relations in history and literary history.) Yet the proportion of comparative essays, especially of papers where research was conducted on the reception of various British and American authors in Hungary, was not *simply* a virtue but–considering its almost exclusive presence–must have been virtue born of necessity. In those years the younger scholars working in this field lacked both the means to expand the English holdings of their libraries, and the present system of state-supported individual or team-research. They had for too long been cut off from the desirable and long-coveted opportunity of completing their scholarly training with a period of intense and essential study at Anglo-Saxon universities and of carrying out research in British and American libraries. It should not be forgotten that the Debrecen English Department was closed in 1949 and reopened only in 1957. To participate in international conferences or to organize international professional events in Hungary was utterly out of the question. No wonder many felt this lack of opportunity would have thrown into question the relevance of their contribution in the fields of linguistics and literature, if the scope of their activity had remained more than naturally restricted. However, there have been radical changes in this respect and these are also mirrored in *HSE*. There is hardly a Hungarian contribution to the volumes of the past decade whose author has not conducted research either in Great Britain or in the United States, as a British Council exchange scholar, a Ford research scholar, an IREX exchange scholar, an ACLS fellow or under one or the other exchange agreements.

HSE has made good use of the new opportunities available in recent years. While preserving the venerable tradition inherited from Országh and displaying faithfully the range of Hungarian scholarly interest in general, but of Debrecen and Budapest scholars in particular, *HSE* clearly registers our improved international relations. This is most conspicuous in volumes XII and XIII which present the proceedings of the 1978 Debrecen International Seminar of English and American Studies held to mark the fortieth anniversary of the Debrecen English Department–an event that John Lawler's *Foreword* refers to as "a landmark for English Studies in Hungary". Participants came from all parts of the world: Bergen, Berlin, Brno, Budapest, California, Debrecen, East-Anglia, Edinburgh, Eger, Graz, Keele, London, Moscow, Munich, New York, Pécs, Poznań, Prešov, Rostock, Szeged, Tokyo. Moreover the new feature of international contributors whose presence is not a complete novelty, for it had occasionally occurred earlier, seems to have continued after the seminar volumes.

The *HSE* now tends to include an increasing number of internationally relevant Hungarian contributions in linguistics and literature as well as in other fields of research. Both this and the beneficient international openness as regards contributors can be regarded as the praiseworthy accomplishments of I. Pálffy, the present editor. Yet he would be the first to remind us that behind all this there towers the figure of László Országh (who died in 1984), the grand old man of English and American Studies in Hungary, whose incomparable achievements were recognized by the British government in 1977 when he was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire (C.B.E.). He lent his influence to almost all Hungarian applications for English and American scholarships, and to all other professional enterprises; and he is, among other things, the father of American Studies in Hungary in the broad and modern sense of the word. It was he who in volume II of *HSE* outlined *A Programme for American Studies in Hungary*. He himself contributed unceasingly and voluminously to the study of English and American literary history, Anglo-Hungarian cultural relations, English and Hungarian linguistics. He compiled, edited and reviewed dictionaries, English language teaching books and papers as well as other books; and, last but not least, taught generations of future teachers. Volume XI of *HSE*, one of the richest volumes, was due homage, his students' salute with the pen.

An intelligent critical appraisal of HSE's ramifying material is beyond the ability of any one reviewer. Such a task would need to be attempted in separate papers, and assigned to several critics. However, it is part and parcel of every introduction to step closer and take at least a cursory look. In other words, it would be appropriate at this point to glance at just what this 15-year-old East-Hungarian younger sister of time-honored journals is concerned with.

The following conspectus is arranged under—occasionally loosely applied—larger headings. The subjects within each large group appear in chronological order of publication except where several comparatists or linguists wrote on the same topics on different occasions, or the same author contributed on different English or American literary subjects in different volumes, or when some simplifying inner logical grouping (comparatists, linguists etc.) was necessary.

Comparatist subjects. Anglo-Hungarian relations (by S. Maller and posthumously by S. Fest); American-Hungarian relations (I. Gál on Jenő Pivány's pioneering research); Széchenyi and the U.S.A. (I. Gál); Csokonai and Burns (K. Bárczy); Hungarian culture versus European patterns (L. Némedi); English references in Ferenc Verseghy (V. Julow); anglomania in Hungary (L. Országh); Hungarian literature in English (G. F. Cushing); Chekhov and O'Neill (P. Egri); essays on various travelogues, memoirs etc., such as Martin Csombor's (Á. Békés), S. Bölöni Farkas's (I. Gál), Sir Philip Sidney's Guidebook (I. Gál), Count Michael Bethlen's (J. Jankovics); Hungarian travelogues on pre-Civil-War and post-Civil-War America (A. Katona); Bölöni Farkas and A. de Tocqueville (J. Gellén); the Hungarian reception of Pope (V. Julow); also, Shaw in Hungary (I. Pálffy), Poe in Hungary (B. Korponay), Shakespeare in Hungary (M. Szenczi, T. Bognár, K. É. Kiss), Jack London in Hungary (A. Horváth), American drama in Hungary (Cs. Székely), modern English drama in Hungary (I. Pálffy), T. S. Eliot in Hungary (O. Rózsa), Franklin in Hungary (K. Halácsy), Sinclair Lewis in Hungary (L. Jakabfi); helpful bibliographies like American belles-lettres in Hungarian translation 1945–1970 (A. Katona, M. Zöld), English literature in Hungarian 1945–1965 (A. Katona). Hungarian critics on English literature 1957–1965, 1968–1972 (E. Mészáros, G. Zsuffa, L. Vadon, V. Vattamány), the celebration of the U.S.A.'s First Centenary in Hungary (P. Magyarics), the American Civil War in the Hungarian press, 1961–1965 (C. Kretzoi).

Linguistics. Contrastive studies (adjectival constructions by B. Korponay, adjectives with negative affixes by J. Csapó); lexicography (T. Magay, L. Országh, N. Horton-Smith, P. Sherwood): case grammar (B. Korponay, J. Andor); dialectology (L. Matzkó, W. Viereck); semantics (L. Lipka); language history (V. Kniezsa on Old Scottish); lexicology (English sporting and medical terminology in Hungarian by J. Csapó, M. Kontra); on the first English grammar in Hungary (B. Korponay); Hungarian grammars for English students (G. F. Cushing); on the Hungarian name of the U.S.A. (L. Országh); topic and focus (K. É. Kiss); on aspect in English (B. Hollósy); on subjecthood (J. Anderson); on dissimetry in liguistics orientation (Y. Ikegami); on pronominalization (K. É. Kiss).

British literature. A. Katona on George Eliot; P. Egri on Joyce and Thomas Mann, and on T. S. Eliot; K. Ruttkay on Young; Z. Abádi-Nagy on Swift; B. Mohay on F. M. Ford; J. Szabó-Papp on Angus Wilson; M. Szenczi on the English Renaissance; E. Hankiss on Keats; I. Pálffy on Byron and on 17th c. English drama; J. Fletcher on Swift and Beckett; G. Klotz on modern British drama; J. Kocmanová on MacDiarmid; Gy. E. Szőnyi on John Dee; H. Höhne on Stoppard.

American literature. C. Kretzoi on poetry in colonial America, on Styron, on American realism, on 17th c. American prose style; A. Katona on modern American picaresque; P. Egri on Hemingway, on T. S. Eliot, and on O'Neill; Z. Abádi-Nagy on Vonnegut, on Barth, on Pynchon, on entropic fiction, on John Irving; Zs. Virágos on Baldwin, on myth in the American novel; Z. Szilassy on Kopit; O. Øverland on Rølvaag; J. B. Vickery on Barth's use of myth; J. Gellén on Willa Cather and Rølvaag; J. Grmela on Dos Passos; M. Koreneva on Albee.

Other subjects. G. F. Cushing on travel in 18th c. Hungary; I. Rácz on emigration; J. Gellén on a Hungarian colonel's unknown letter to an American statesman, as well as on emigration

immigration; J. Barta, Jr. on enlightened absolutistic theory; L. Arday on 1917–19 British plans for East-Central Europe; T. Frank on Hegel in England; R. Kroes on new conservatism in America. Also, articles on the history of the Debrecen English Department, in-memorian papers (Fest, Yolland) and book-reviews.

It is regrettable that book-reviews are no longer published in *HSE* after volume X and that teaching methodology is represented by one single study (G. Lengyel on teaching English as a foreign language).

Beginning with volume XII *HSE* has been printed in Kossuth University's Duplicating Office and–now that initial difficulties have been surmounted–its presentation has been improved and the number of misprints diminished.

1986 will be an important year for English studies in Hungary, the centenary of their introduction in the curriculum of Hungarian universities. The *HSE* volumes in preparation have been conceived in anticipation of this anniversary and will again pay due attention to Anglo-Hungarian and Scottish-Hungarian historical and intellectual relations since these are of long standing and particularly important in the case of Debrecen.

Zoltán Abádi-Nagy

Kossuth Lajos Tudományegyetem,
Debrecen

Clara Györgyey: Ferenc Molnár

Boston, Twayne Publishers, A Division of G. G. Hall and Co., 1980. 195. pp. (Twayne's World Authors Series No. 574.)

It is not to the credit of Hungarian self-assessment that the first biography of Ferenc Molnár (1878–1952) and systematization of his works, which can be considered complete in spite of its sketchy character, was conceived not in Hungary but in the United States. All the greater is the pleasure that it has at last been born and through her work Clara Györgyey has undoubtedly done a great service to both the Hungarian and international history of drama and the theatre.

The book depicts in eight chapters the–essentially sad–story which was the life of Ferenc Molnár, and his more joyous career as a writer. The glamor and unexpected successes of the first years–his gluttonous enjoyment of life, money and women–were avenged by the decades of loneliness, mutual misunderstandings and illness–not to mention his rushes of torturing qualms of conscience. And if the man went through the tortures of hell while still alive–merely by living too long in a world which he no longer understood–this was intensified by the tortures the writer had to suffer when he lived long enough to see the dwindling of his creative power and the alienation of his audience.

Clara Györgyey traces this long road in eight concise chapters. She sketches for the American reader the picture of Budapest towards the end of the last century, then she presents a brief but in my view, authentic, biography of Ferenc Molnár. The next two chapters deal with the achievements and failures of the writer of short stories and novels, with occasional side-glances at the dramatist and the overlappings between the prose works and the plays. The following two chapters are about the dramatist, one discussing all his plays except *Liliom* to which, as the central play of his oeuvre, a separate is dedicated. Finally, a picture is drawn of his years in America, followed by a summary of how the author evaluates the writer and his career.

Let me repeat again: it is almost impossible to give this pioneering work the commendation it deserves. The value of the work is enchanced by an excellent bibliography which–primarily

because of its listing of the literature on Molnár published outside Hungary–will probably remain a major source for a long time.

It would be uncalled for to enter into a debate with the author about the system of values on which her judgements are based. I am compelled to remark, however–without arguing about the presence of autobiographical elements–that I find it a gross exaggeration to call Molnár an "autobiographical artist" (in the preface) and to try to prove this in his life's work. On the contrary: Molnár was an artist trying to conceal his feelings–perhaps that is why he found his real genre in the drama–who *did* make use of the raw material of his own life and emotions but almost never directly, "autobiographically", in the cases he did so, like in *The Companion* (Hungarian title: *Útitárs a száműzetésben*) his performance was far below his usual standard.

I would also query the "central role" played by *Liliom* if we look at his whole life' work. It is probable that it was his most successful play; it is more than probable that both its ruthlessness and sentimentalism are close to his real-life experiences, but I doubt that it is the peak of the career of Ferenc Molnár either from the point of view of the artist or from that of the craftsman.

In several places Clara Györgyey makes passing hints at parallels and coincidences between characters in the works of Molnár and in the great works of world literature. She makes an important intimation that Schnitzler had possibly the greatests impact of any writer on him. It would be a good idea for her to support this and similar notions with a more thorough documentation–perhaps in a separate study. Having made such suggestions, she, however, reiterates her assertions (p. 64, 172) that Molnár did not have any contact with the literary movements of his age and that his reading did not have a significant influence on him either. I think Györgyey could prove the opposite of this on the basis of her own material–without being afraid that it would undermine the significance of Ferenc Molnár as a writer.

Finally, special credit is due to the careful and attractive printing, including the correct spelling of Hungarian names and titles. I found only one disturbing mistake, the criticism of Osvát (his first name is Ernő, who wrote about Molnár several times) is not equivalent to the criticism of Osváth (his first name is Béla: p. 141) mentioned by Györgyey. My other remark is that the excellent sketch by Ady on Molnár is, unfortunately, not even mentioned in the book.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,
Budapest

Péter Nagy

Romániai magyar irodalmi lexikon, I

Bukarest, Kriterion Kiadó, 1980. 650 pp.

Hungarian literature in Rumania came into existence in the twenties after the provisions of the Peace Treaty of Trianon had awarded the greater part of historical Hungary to the neighbouring countries, and historical Transylvania as well as the adjacent territories had come under Rumanian jurisdiction. In these territories, besides the Rumanian majority, there lived two nationalities of sizeable population: Hungarian and German. (Of the population that came under Rumanian jurisdiction 53.8% proclaimed themselves to be of Rumanian nationality, 31.7% Hungarian and 10.6% German.) Hungarians became a minority group and their ethnical and cultural survival was strongly threatened by the assimilative endeavours of the Rumanian policy that aimed at establishing a uniform national state.

Under such circumstances a very important role was allotted to the majority culture, especially literature, which considered it its primary role to maintain the national and historical consciousness of the minority Hungarian population and to foster the intellectual connections of the Transylvanian peoples: Hungarians, Rumanians and Germans. Hungarian literature in Rumania

had cultural traditions dating back several centuries as Transylvania had always been an important home of, and a significant contributor to Hungarian national culture. Soon the institutions of minority literature came into being: journals, publishing houses and literary societies; the development of the minority literature started and it enriched Hungarian national literature with several valuable works. The history of Hungarian literature in Rumania, now more than six decades old has produced some excellent writers and literary works. It is the treatment of these sixty years and also of the earlier regional traditions that is undertaken by the *Romániai Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* the first volume of which (covering the letters A to F) introduces the institutions and creative personalities of the minority literary culture.

Work on this encyclopaedia has been going on for more than ten years, under the editorship of Edgár Balogh, a journalist and writer living in Kolozsvár (Cluj), who has been engaged in fostering Hungarian intellectual life in Rumania since the mid-1930s. The encyclopaedia is prepared by a wide circle of collaborators including literary, cultural, journalistic and art-historians, ethnographers, historians of philosophy, and natural scientists. Obviously, the encyclopaedia planned to consist of four volumes, will not only cover Hungarian literature in Rumania; it will also summarize the whole body of Hungarian intellectual achievement in Rumania. Its field of interest has an extremely wide range and its method of treatment is truly thorough. Besides the institutions and creative writers of national literature, it covers the past and present of Hungarian journalism, theatrical culture, philosophical and religious literature, scientific life, and even the natural sciences. It also provides glimpses of the regional, cultural-historical and folk traditions of Hungarians in Rumania. The summarizing articles and biographies of writers are supplemented by extensive literature, preparing the ground for further studies.

In the professional standard of this reference book, the editors and collaborators of the encyclopaedia have created a valuable piece of work which will, we hope, prove in itself an effective literary institution: when complete, it will not only be a large scale summary of Hungarian intellectual achievement in Rumania but also foster and maintain the national consciousness, acquainting the reader with the values and traditions of the culture of a people that number two million in Rumania.

Béla Pomogáts

Magyar Tudományos Akadémia
Irodalomtudományi Intézet,
Budapest

Magyar irodalmi hagyományok szlovákiai lexikona

Bratislava, Madách, 1981. 147 pp.

The *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* in three volumes, edited by the late Professor Marcell Benedek, was published in Budapest between 1963 and 1965 and even today is the "valid" Hungarian literary handbook. It was too bulky and of too high requirements to be enjoyable to the widest circle of readers. Besides, it was completed almost two decades ago and since then not only a new generation of writers has grown up, but Hungarian literary history and literary theory have also made significant advances. All this made it necessary for different new Hungarian literary encyclopaedias with specific fields to be prepared.

Among these the first to appear was a one-volume, small-sized Slovakian-Hungarian literary encyclopaedia. It was produced by a working team formed at the Hungarian Department of the Faculty of Arts at Komenský University in Bratislava. The work of the three chief collaborators (László Benkő, Lajos Garaj and Lajos Turczel), and of five co-workers (Bertalan Révész, Zoltán Szeberényi, Árpád Tőzsér, Erzsébet Varga and Tibor Zsilka) was directed by Professor Sándor

Csanda, who was also the chief editor of the book and its most important contributor. The compilation of the manuscript was finished by the spring of 1978, in comparison to which the actual publication did not take very long. For practical reasons the volume only contains data up to the end of World War I. Hungarian literature as has evolved since the foundation of Czechoslovakia will be discussed in the coming volume of the Slovakian Hungarian Literary Encyclopaedia under preparation.

The volume contains approximately 700 entries almost without exception dealing with individuals. Featured are not only the writers of present-day Slovakia (one time Upper Northern Hungary), but also all those like Petőfi and Zsigmond Móricz, whose life or oeuvre is somehow connected with this region. As is the case with similar encyclopaedias, not only are there entries on writers and editors, but we also have a complete small encyclopaedia of a specific cultural history. There are for example entries on Béla Bartók and Zoltán Kodály, Miklós Bercsényi and Ferenc Rákóczi II, Farkas Kempelen, Ottó Herman, the officers of 1848, and others. This is in fact the right approach as it would be impossible to prepare a separate Hungarian encyclopaedia of every specific field in, say, Slovakia. The volume focuses on regional history and literature-museology, and this is understandable within the framework of Slovakian culture, highly conscious in these respects. The glossary of the Hungarian–Slovakian place names indicates who among those whose names appear in the encyclopaedia visited or worked there.

The work contains excellent illustrations and references from specialist literature. The first printing ran to 1,600 copies, 500 of which were sent to Budapest at once, as laid down within the framework of cooperation between the Madách Publishing House in Bratislava and the Gondolat Publishing House in Budapest. This number of copies cannot in itself be considered low, but if we keep in mind that this volume is a necessary supplement to every Hungarian literary encyclopaedia and that the first printing of the three-volume *Magyar Irodalmi Lexikon* already ran to 40,000 copies at that time,thenthe pessimism of the Hungarian Gondolat Publishing House concerning the number of copies seems unjustified.

As for critical comment, a few supplements could, of course, be recommended, and the attention of the reader could be called to some more exact data and more recent specialist literature as well. Instead, however, we consider it important to enumerate three other recent publications which are worth knowing for those interested in the Slovakian encyclopaedias of Hungarian cultural history.

It was in 1977 that a small encyclopaedia of literary theory by Tibor Zsilka was published: *Poétikai Szótár* (Bratislava: Slovenské Pedagogické Nakladatel'stvo. 1977. 243 pp.) which appeared only in 850 copies and was not available abroad; however it is used in Slovakia. This offers orientation on the topics of poetry, genre theory, stylistics, the entries on which are lacking in the encyclopaedia of Hungarian literary tradition.

Perhaps it is not generally known that the biographical material of the *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* (Akadémiai Kiadó, vols I–V, 1977–1982) also contains entries (e.g. on Mátyás Bél, Gergely Berzeviczy, Fábián Szeder, et al.) which can be found in the Slovakian encyclopaedia of Hungarian literary traditions.

Furthermore there is the three-volume excellent–and widely known–publication which contains data on all the villages and towns of Slovakia, with rich historical, demographical and onomastic material, and with indices in which Hungarian names can be looked up easily: *Vlastivedný slovník obcí na Slovensku.* I–III. (Bratislava: Veda, Vydavatel'stvo Slovenskej Akadémie vied. 1977–1978.) Although this encyclopaedia on the whole takes the present as a starting point and considers history and cultural history mostly only as a background, it does contain indispensable information and its publication in 20,000 copies has made it available everywhere.

In the given circumstances we appreciate even more highly the literary encyclopaedia which has now been published and we eagerly await the promised new volume on this century.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

Bibliografie československé hungaristiky za léta 1966–1968
(Sestavil: Richard Pražák).
Brno, University J. E. Purkyně, 1971. 97 pp.

Bibliografie československé hungaristiky za léta 1969–1971
(Sestavili: Richard Pražák, Marta Romportlová).
Brno, Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1974, 108 pp.

Bibliografie československé hungaristiky za léta 1972–1974
(Sestavili: Richard Pražák, Marta Romportlová).
Brno, Universita J. E. Purkyně, 1977. 166 pp.

So far three volumes of a large scale Hungarological bibliographic venture have been organized, edited and published by the Cabinet of Hungarology and Balkanistics of the Faculty of Arts of J. E. Purkyně University, Brno, covering all the books produced by Czechoslovakian scholars between 1966 and 1974. A similar venture concerning Yugoslavia is represented by the publications of the Institute of Hungarology of the Faculty of Arts of Novi Sad (Újvidék) University. In both cases the aim of the venture is to survey the output of the country in the field of Hungarology.* But while the scholars in Novi Sad restrict the scope of their interest to recording the bibliographical data of Hungarian materials alone, those in Brno have made it their aim to carry out the bibliographical exploration of practically the whole territory of Czech and Slovak languages, as well as to collect the bibliographical data of the Hungarian newspapers, books, etc. published in Czechoslovakia. The first volume published in Brno was restricted to exploring the studies of researchers, journalists and translators residing in Czechoslovakia; the further volumes, however, of which two have so far appeared, is broader in scope. By the time the third volume was published, the format, which seems acceptable and easy to handle, had been established. the material is presented to the reader, divided into eleven chapters and several sub-chapters. The first part of general character is followed by the bibliography of the organizational set-up of scientific life; then we can read the chapters on linguistics, literary history and theory, Hungarian history, ethnography and folklore. After this comes the part entitled Hungarians in Czechoslovakia, which virtually ends the bibliographical chapters. The listing of the resources proves how well-informed and conscientious the editors were; the reader is assisted by a list of abbreviations and an index of names; the Hungarian authors whose works have been translated into Czech or Slovak are also "registered", as are the translators; the volume is rounded off by an appendix, followed by a table of contents. So far the volumes have listed more than 3919 bibliographical items.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár,
Budapest *István Fried*

In honorem Bo Wickman

Fenno-Ugrica Suecana (Tidskrift för finsk-ugrisk forskning i Sverige–Journal of Finno-Ugric Research in Sweden)
5. Uppsala, 1982. 418 pp.

Bo Wickman, chairman of the Finno-Ugric Institute of Uppsala University, celebrated his 65th birthday on September 7th, 1982. He has been a professor there since 1961, and has gained well-deserved respect in the impressive circle of Swedish Finno-Ugric Studies, although as the successor and student of Björn Collinder–who died in spring 1983–his inheritance was one of great obligation. The bulky volume of the departmental yearbook which he initiated is a

*We will publish a detailed review of the Novi Sad Hungarological Bibliographies in one of the forthcoming issues of Hungarian Studies. (Editorial remark)

celebratory publication, modest in its exterior but rich in its contents. The volume includes 24 studies, written mainly in English, and even where the text is in Swedish or Finnish it is followed by an abstract in English. For reasons of limited space, it contains only the works of Swedish collaborators; consequently the topics concern mainly Northern Europe. However, one can find in the volume articles on Korean, Siberian, Baltic and even Hungarian subjects. The introduction by the two editors (Lars-Gunnar Larsson and Erling Wande), the *Tabula gratulatoria* which all Northern publications of this type include, and the scientific bibliography of Wickman make this new, significant creation of Swedish Finno-Ugric Studies a truly celebratory publication.

It's a well-known fact why we are mentioning this publication and the jubilee of Professor Wickman: he received an excellent introduction to Hungarology as the student of János Lotz, and later he had the opportunity to further his knowledge in things Hungarian when he was granted a scholarship in Hungary. Besides the rich Hungarian material and references included in his linguistic studies, we hold in high esteem the volumes of his *Swedish–Hungarian* reference book (the Swedish title of which is more apposite: *Svensk-ungersk hjälpreda*) produced in 1957, and the excellent dictionary *Svensk–ungersk ordbok* published in 1965.

It is unfortunate that the bibliography does not list the minor articles of Wickman or his translations, including those made from Hungarian. Professor Wickman was one of the founders of the International Association of Hungarian Studies, and has been its president ever since its foundation. This fact is mentioned not only in the introduction but also in the article (on Hungarian place names in the Middle Ages) written by Loránd Benkő, the volume's only non-Swedish contributor. It would seem that Professor Wickman and his entourage consider his hungarophile attitude just as significant as do we in Hungary. This is the reason why a review of this volume has been included in our journal.

The content of this Festschrift will not be discussed here since it does not include Hungarian topics. Yet mention should be made of the thorough method which characterizes it and the comparison of several linguistic territories. This is a characteristic product of the Collinder–Wickman school whose standards should be maintained. It is also our hope, from the point of view of Hungarology, that one of the forthcoming volumes of *Fenno-Ugrica Suecana* will be a Hungarian issue. There are in Sweden enough scholars to fill such a volume–the first of its kind in that country–and it would also be easy to find a fitting occasion which such a book could mark.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem *Vilmos Voigt*
Budapest

Образцы фольклора цыган-кэлдэрарей

Подготовили Р. С. Деметер и П. С. Деметер
Moscow, Nauka publishers 1981. 263 pp.

It may be surprising to find that a book publishing specimens of the folklore of Gypsies living in Russia is being reviewed among Hungarian studies. However there is a good reason for this. The fundamental law of evolution of Gypsy culture is that it becomes influenced by the folk culture of the given host country as soon as the wandering Gypsy groups come into contact with it and the traces of this impact are also manifest after the Gypsies' departure for another country. In accordance with this, a Gypsy group that has spent a considerable time in Hungary may preserve Hungarian cultural elements in foreign countries too, or even overseas.

The homeland of the Coppersmith Gypsy tribe was South-East Hungary (in the *Bánát*, now in Rumania). This area was inhabited by a mixed Hungaro-Rumanian population and, accordingly,

the Coppersmith Gypsy folklore is built up of elements from these folk cultures, above all Rumanian. Previously they had lived in Wallachia (Old Rumania) where they played the role of professional performers of ballads to the Rumanian peasant audience, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that this way of earning money had also led to the borrowing of Rumanian ballads and their adoption in Gypsy language.

This book comprises 20 ballads with the original Gypsy texts and parallel Russian prose translations. They were sung by Iśvan Demeter (1879–1969) and other members of his family, and were written down by his son. The Demeter family travelled from the Bánát via Transylvania and Bucovina to Russia. Both the surname and Christian name of I. Demeter are Hungarian (*Isvan* being a vulgar form of *István* 'Stephen'). Similarly some heroes of the ballads bear Hungarian names: *János, Györgyi,* and the magic steed, called *Bárson* (Hung. 'velvet'). However, only the names are Hungarian, for the stories are unknown in Hungarian folklore. Thus in this case János is a hunter who meets woodcutters in the forest, roasts their children on the spit and forces the parents to eat their children. Györgyi (originally a girl's name in Hungarian!) represents the well-known folk tale figure of the dead bridegroom ("*Lenore*-motif", AaTh 365) but here, after his reappearance, he wishes to remain with the living who refuse to accept him, whereupon he gets angry and hangs himself.

Similarly, a very popular figure of Hungarian folk tales is the discharged soldier (*obsitos katona*) whom we meet in the tales published here (No. 69; 8 tales are published in the volume), Yet his adventures have nothing in common with the Hungarian originals: they are rather like a nightmare, like haphazard ghostly events (probably due to his encounters with ghosts and devils in Hungarian folk tales). All this proves the ingenuity of Gypsy fantasy in shaping the borrowed motifs.

An interesting and indirect Hungarian influence is manifest in the lyric songs (45 in number). The greater part of the songs were sung by the members of the Demeter family not in their Coppersmith *(Kelderari)* vernacular, but in "Horse-dealer" *(Lovari)* Gypsy dialect. The Lovaries are the *par excellence* Hungarian-influenced Wallachian Gypsy tribe whose traditional craft and culture go back to the Hungarian-inhabited parts of Transylvania. From here they emigrated to present-day Hungary at the end of the last century and continued their wanderings from this territory in subsequent decades. They know a unique genre of lyric songs, the so-called "slow song" (the name is a calque on Hungarian *lassú* or *„hallgató"*). The other Gypsy groups often borrow the Lovari songs in the original Lovari dialect without transforming them into their own tongue. In the songs published here the master *Jóska* speaks to his horse called *Rendes*; the horse-gear is called *szerszám* and is made of *bakfunt* (Hung. *pakfont*); and the Gypsy remembers the prison of *Temesvár.* All these words come from Hungarian. A few pieces are reproduced from collections made directly in Hungary.

The melodies of the ballads and songs are added in an appendix. The scholarly notes by L. N. Cherenkov and V. M. Gatsak satisfy all scholarly demands.

Országos Széchényi Könyvtár,
Budapest

József Vekerdy

A Reader's Guide to The New Hungarian Quarterly
A Complete Analytical Index. Nos 1–75, 1960–1979.

Budapest, The New Hungarian Quarterly, 1979.
Compiled by Ágnes Liptai and Csaba Varga. 118 pp.

The most important journal in English not only in Hungary, but perhaps in East Europe as well—following in the footsteps of the "old", pre-war *Hungarian Quarterly* (1936–1941) edited by Joseph Balogh—appeared first as *New Hungarian Quarterly* in December 1960 by issue 1, and was followed by the Spring 1961 number also as issue 1 (making some confusion among the readers). It was then a new attempt to make available Hungarian cultural and social life to the English speaking world. Nowadays it is available in more than 25 countries (except of Canada), in all the continents. The index under review covers approximately the first twenty years, 75 issues altogether. After a useful and detailed table of contents a short introduction for use follows, giving information on the system of the index. It is amazing, how wide is the scope of the *Quarterly*. 16 articles on demography, more than a hundred on Hungarian history (including 6 papers alone of the history of the Hungarian national flag and the Holy Crown), 12 articles on Hungarian historical relations with England, 8 similar articles referring to the United States, nearly twenty papers on national identity or ethnic minorities in Hungary, hundreds of political papers (among them 9 concerning the UNESCO, more than ten on different religions in Hungary etc.), several hundred papers on economy, twice as many on science and scholarship (9 articles on archeology, 14 on folklore, 5 on folklore films 12 on English and American studies under the heading "Linguistics", 1 paper on mythology, 22 on György Lukács, 5 on ecology, 2 on medical institutes, etc.). Cultural life, museums, poetry, drama and fiction are clearly given preference by the editors. Non-fiction, essays, travel writings, fine arts, photography, architecture, urban planning and music are the major topics of the journal. Six articles deal with Shakespeare-problems, 5 with Miklós Jancsó's films, 30 articles are devoted to Bartók, 11 deal with Kodály, and 7 papers discuss Hungarians abroad. In every second issue there is an interview with a prominent Hungarian or Hungarologist: three times with János Kádár, twice with György Lukács, but also with the Most Reverend Archbishop of Esztergom László Lékai, and twice with the US citizen Hungarian Nobel prize-winner Albert Szent-Györgyi, or with Roger Garaudy, Victor Vasarely, Eugene Wigner or Béla Bartók, Jr. The "Index of names" covers both the writers and the persons described in the articles. Nearly one thousand names are mentioned here. Present and future contributors to the *Hungarian Studies* appear among the "nobility list" of the New Hungarian Quarterly.

The Index is useful in finding articles read long ago and remembered. But the booklet is more than an index to an excellent journal: it is a mirror of Hungarian cultural life of two decades as seen in Budapest, by the editor-in-chief Iván Boldizsár and his staff at the *New Hungarian Quarterly*. A vademecum for fans and experts of Hungary in the modern Anglo-Saxon world.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

SHORT NOTICES ON PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

Congressus internationales Fenno-ugristarum, I–V

More than twenty years ago a new series of international congresses in Finno-Ugric studies was started. Five such meetings were organized, at five-years intervals, and the proceedings of the congresses were published in widely used languages. Major topics are linguistics, ethnography and folklore, archaeology, anthropology, history of literature, and in some cases music, art or history. Congress participants came from all the five continents, in the main from Hungary, Finland, Estonia, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United States, Sweden, France, and Italy also from some Soviet republics and Poland, Rumania, Japan, etc. The language of the congress publications at the beginning tended to be German rather than English, while in the latest issues there is a clear language shift in favour of English. However, some papers are written in Russian, French, or even Finnish or Hungarian. Major papers and panel texts are of outstanding scholarly value, while most of individual contributions summarize important or extensive research. Only a few of the papers is a document of one's ambition to be a mere congress participant. All the volumes were available at the main bookshops in Finno-Ugric countries, although by now, some of them are unfortunately out of print. Besides Hungarian studies Finnish, Estonian, Lapp and Samoyed problems prevail, and about half of the papers deal directly or indirectly with Hungarological questions. Hitherto the following volumes have appeared.

Congressus internationalis fenno-ugristarum Budapestini habitus 20–14. IX. 1960.

Adiuvantibus G. Bereczki, P. Hajdú, G. Képes, Gy. Lakó redigit Gy. Ortutay, secretarius redactionis J. Gulya. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1963. 490 pp. (The only publication of the first congress held in 1960 in Budapest.)

Congressus secundus internationalis fenno-ugristarum Helsingiae habitus 23–28. VIII. 1965.

Adiuvantibus Maija-Liisa Heikinmäki et Ingrid Schellbach acta redigenda curavit Paavo Ravila. Helsinki: Societas Fenno-Ugrica, 1968. Pars I. *Acta linguistica.* V+586 pp.; Pars II. Acta ethnologica. 434 pp. (The short summaries of the papers were also available to the participants in a separate publication: *Deuxième congrès international des finno-ougristes. Esitelmien ja tiedonantojen tiivistelmät.* Rédaction: Toivo Vuorela–Esko Koivusalo. Helsinki: 1965. 164 pp.)

Congressus tertius internationalis Fenno-ugristarum Tallinnae habitus 17–23. VIII. 1970.

Acta redigenda curavit Paul Ariste. Pars I *Acta linguistica.* Adiuvantibus Anu-Reet Hausenberg et Aime Kährik redigit Valmen Hallap. Tallinn: "Valgus", 1975. LI+752 pp. (The only published part of the congress material. At the time of the Tallinn congress one-page summaries

were available to participants: *Teesid* I–II. Toimetaja M. Norvik. Tallinn: 1970. V+180 pp.+V+155 pp. The first volume contains linguistics, the second one archaeology, ethnography, folklore and literature.)

Congressus Quartus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Budapestini habitus anno 1975.

Redigit Gyula Ortutay. Pars I. *Acta sessionum.* Curavit János Gulya. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975. 242 pp. (The book was available to congress participants, together with an information book: *Forschungsstätten für Finnougristik in Ungarn.* Redigiert von János Gulya und László Honti. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1975. 165 pp.)

Pars II. *Acta sessionum.* Curavit János Gulya. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1980. 259 pp. (Plenary session papers of the four sections with discussion.)

Pars III. *Acta sectionis linguisticae.* Curatores Gábor Bereczki, János Gulya. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981. 452 pp.

Pars IV. *Acta sectionis ethnographicae.* Curatores Attila Paládi-Kovács, János Gulya. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1981. 240 pp.

(When completed, the publication is expected to consist of seven volumes.)

Congressus Quintus Internationalis Fenno-Ugristarum Turku 20–27. VIII. 1980

Pars I. *Sessiones plenares.* Redigit Osmo Ikola, curaverunt Kaisa Häkkinen–M. K. Suojanen. Turku: Suomen Kielen Seura, 1980. XVI+144 pp.

Pars II. *Summa dissertationum.* Turku: Suomen Kielen Seura, 1980. XVI+391 pp.

Pars III. *Dissertationes symposiorum linguisticorum.* Turku: Suomen Kielen Seura, 1980. XI+412 pp.

Pars IV. *Dissertationes symposiorum ad ethnologiam, folklore et mythologiam, archaeologiam et anthropologiam, litteras pertinentium.* Turku: Suomen Kielen Seura, 1980. XI+464 pp.

Pars V. *Acta congressus et symposia.* Turku: Suomen Kielen Seura, 1981. XIV+106+16 pp.

Pars VI–VII–VIII. *Dissertationes sectionum.* Turku: Suomen Kielen Seura, 1981.

VI: *Phonologica et morphologica, syntactica et semantica.* XVI+486 pp.

VII: *Lexicologica et onomastica, alia linguistica et litteraria.* XVI+464 pp.

VIII: *Ethnologica, folkloristica et mythologica, archaeologica et anthropologica.* XVI+449 pp. (Thus the full material of the congress was published in record time.)

Studia Uralo-Altaica, 1–19, 1973–1983 Szeged

The first decade of the publication series of two institutes of the Attila József University in Szeged is an important event in comparative Uralic and Altaic studies, and also a significant contribution to Hungarological research. In 1973 the professors in the two university chairs, Péter Hajdú and András Róna-Tas, started a new series of publications, and in 1975 the new chairman of the Uralic Institute, Tibor Mikola, joined them. At the beginning the publications appeared only in a few hundred copies, but now the editions is larger. Earlier volumes are out of print, but later issues are available through John Benjamins publishers, Amsterdam, Holland, or through Kultúra, the Hungarian Trading Company for Books and Newspapers. Hitherto the following volumes have appeared.

No. I. A. Róna-Tas–S. Fodor: *Epigraphica Bulgarica (A volgai bolgár-török feliratok).* 1973. 189 pp. (Texts and commentaries in Hungarian Language.)

No. II. *Die erste sölkupische Fibel aus dem Jahre 1879.* Eingeleitet von P. Hajdú. 1973. IX+49 pp. (Reprint of a bilingual Selkup-Russian book.)

No. III. Grigorij Novickij: *Kratkoe opisanie o narode ostjackom.* 1973. XIII+157+105+(4) pp. (Reprint of the 1941 edition of G. Novitsky's book (in 1715 originally) on the Ostyak people, with an introduction of P. Hajdú, and with a Hungarian translation by I. Ferincz.)

No. IV. H. Paasonen: *Tschuwaschisches Wörterverzeichnis.* 1974. 7*, 244 pp. (Introduction by A. Róna-Tas.) Photomechanic reprint of the original, Budapest, 1908.

No. V. Ferenc A. Molnár: *On the History of World-Final Vowels in the Permian Languages.* Translated by Béla Hollósy. 1974. 87 pp.

No. VI. Péter Hajdú: *Samojedologische Schriften.* 1975. 145 pp. (Two papers in German, one in English, another in Hungarian translation.)

No. VII. *N. Witsens Berichte über die uralishcen Völker.* Aus dem Niederländischen ins Deutsche übersetzt von Tibor Mikola. 1975. IV+107+107+(60) pp. (Short introduction, German translation and reprint of Witsen's reports on Cheremis, Mordvin, Ostyak, Samoyed and Vogul peoples and languages.)

No. VIII. (Since this issue on cover with Arabic numerals, too). Ph. Johann von Strahlenberg: *Das Nord- und Östliche Theil von Europa und Asia.* With an introduction by J. R. Krueger. 1975. (13)+(26):438+(16)+(11) pp. (A complete reprint of the 1730 edition, with a practical introduction. The pagination is confusing, and the numbering of the plates is also of a doubtful nature.)

No. IX. Jenő Kiss: *Studien zur Wortbildung und Etymologia der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen.* Aus dem Ungarischen ins Deutsche übersetzt von Hans-Hermann Bartens. 1976. 111 pp. (The author deals with loan or onomatopoeic verbs in Finno-Ugric languages. Hungarian material proper is dealt with on pp. 1–28, 79, 82–83, 84–86, 88, etc., general remarks on pp. 53–71, 73–79, 94–111, etc., data from other Finno-Ugric languages in the other parts of the book. Unfortunately there is no table of contents in the publication.)

No. X. K. U. Kőhalmi: *Chrestomathia Sibirica. Auswahl aus der Volksdichtung der sibirischen Urvölker.* 1977. (6), IV, 233 pp.

No. XI. Tibor Mikola: *Materialien zur wotjakischen Etymologie.* 1977. 188 pp.

No. XII. Ja. N. Popova: *Nenecko-russkij slovar.* Lesnoe narečie. 1978. 152 pp. (In Russian.)

No. XIII. Lajos Tardy: *Beyond the Ottoman Empire. 14th-16th Century Hungarian Diplomacy in the East.* Translated by János Boris. 1978. (V)+III+260 pp., map. (An extended version of the author's 1971 book in Hungarian, *Régi magyar követjárások Keleten.*)

No. XIV–XV. Sir Gerald Clauson: *An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish, Index.* Vol. I–II. With a Preface by A. Róna-Tas. 1981–1982. XI, 342 pp., (2) 261 pp. (An alphabetic "key" to Clauson's famous work, made by a computer program, with useful other indices, and with a list of the author's publications.)

No. XVI. László Honti: *Nordostjakisches Wörterverzeichnis.* 1982. XI+211 pp. (Approximately 1,700 words from three unpublished 19th century sources.)

No. XVII. *Studies in Chuvash Etymology.* I. Edited by A. Róna-Tas. 1982. 240 pp. (Seven papers by Hungarian and Turkish linguists, in German or in English, with a selected bibliography towards a future etymological dictionary of Chuvash.)

No. XVIII. Péter Domokos: *Handbuch der uralischen Literaturen.* 1982. 397 pp. (After a short Foreword the author gives a pilot survey of Literatures within the framework of Uralic studies; in 18 essays he describes the different Uralic literatures; four papers deal with various questions of folk or written literatures of Uralic peoples; at the end of the book there is a very brief anthology of Uralic poetry. The book is conceived as a university textbook on Uralic literatures, and is the first attempt of its kind. Several parts deal with Hungarian folk poetry or literature within a comparative framework.)

No. XIX. Valéria M. Korchmáros: *Definiteness as Semantic Content and its Realization in Grammatical Form.* 1983. 126 pp. (Hungarian data from a theoretical and comparative point of view.)

As indicated by the title of the series, its content is not limited to Hungarian, but covers the whole of the Uralic-Altaic field. However, in some cases an entire book, or a part of it, is devoted to Hungarology. The series is the biggest international publication venture of Uralic and Altaic studies recently launched in Hungary.

Bibliotheca Uralica, 1–5, 1978–1980, Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

The new series of Hungarian Finno-Ugric studies, was created and is being edited by Péter Hajdú, the most eminent Uralic linguist in Hungary. It aims to concentrate not merely on linguistics, but also on the entire field of Uralic studies. The books are especially directed at an international audience and sometimes the majority of the authors are international as well. We ought to mention the elegant printing of the books together, alas, with their exorbitant price. So far the following have been published.

1. *Shamanism in Siberia.* Edited by V. Diószegi and M. Hoppál. 1978. 532 pp. (30 papers divided into five major topics, two short introductions, and exemplary name and subject indices. Hungarian material is mentioned only in some papers. The publication is entirely in English, and was initiated and prepared by the great Hungarian expert on shamanism, Vilmos Diószegi (1923–1972); after his death Mihály Hoppál carried out the publication. The book is the second volume on Siberian shamanism produced in Hungary, and other similar publication are to appear.)

2. Edith Vértes: *Morphonematische Untersuchung der ostjakischen Vokalharmonie.* 1978. 192 pp., figs., plates. (A summarizing monograph on vowel harmony in Ostyak.)

3. *Zyrian Folklore Texts* by Károly Rédei. 1978. 652 pp. (251 texts in the original and English translation, with a short introduction and notes, 29 melodies and 7 photos enrich the important collection made in 1964 in the Komi ASSR by the author.)

4. Marianne Sz. Bakró-Nagy: *Die Sprache des Bärenkultes im Obugrischen.* 1979. 141 pp. (A strictly linguistic data study, with a few references to bear-ceremonialism in general.)

5. *Genre, Stucture and Reproduction in Oral Literature.* Edited by Lauri Honko and Vilmos Voigt. 1980. 188 pp. (5 papers by Finnish, 6 papers by Hungarian scholars, devoted to Siberian, Finnish, Old Icelandic and in 2 papers to Hungarian folk literature. Some of the papers deal mainly with comparative or theoretical problems. A similar joint Finnish-Hungarian volume was published in 1981 in Helsinki: *Adaptation, Change, and Decline in Oral Literature,* edited by Lauri Honko and Vilmos Voigt, in the series *Studia Fennica,* vol. 26., with 7 Hungarian and 5 Finnish contributions. In this volume 4 papers deal with Hungarian topics. Similar joint volumes are in preparation.)

Hungarológiai Értesítő–A Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság Folyóirata, I–III, 1979–1981, Budapest

The Hungarian language journal of the International Association of Hungarian Studies was launched in 1979. Its general editor was Miklós Béládi, its managing editor is József Jankovics.

The first volume (for 1979, 405 pp.) in a single issue carries a short introduction, and book reviews of the year 1977 concerning Hungarian literary history, music history, linguistics, ethnography, and folklore. The issue contains three bibliographies devoted, respectively, to Hungarian literary studies, linguistics, ethnography and folklore. "Hungarological News" at the end of the volume gives a summary of the founding meeting of the International Association of Hungarian Studies (Nyíregyháza 1977), and reports on conferences, publications, news. The full list of members and bureau members of the society concludes the volume.

The second volume, also in a single issue (for 1980, 504 pp.), follows the same principles. Book reviews and bibliographies for the year 1978, then the "Hungarological News", and finally the complete up-to-dated membership list of the society are printed.

The third volume (for 1981) was divided into two issues, no. 1–2, and no. 3–4. in 228 and 344 pages, respectively. The first double issue presents the three bibliographies for the year 1979, the second one the book reviews for 1979, then the "Hungarological News" and the current membership list. Among the book reviews, even in the earlier volumes references were given to musical records. In the last issue this section is especially useful, because besides Hungarian music or literary records it gives a list of Hungarian records issued in Rumania and Yugoslavia.

The printing technique and editorial care improved during the later issues. The first three volumes gave an impressive amount of information concerning recent Hungarian studies. They contain more than fifteen hundred short book and record reviews, and the bibliographies give more than 10,000 references. The formal coordination of the bibliographies could be more strict, and if the journal prints book reviews on the history of music, it is curious that in the bibliographies, works on the history of music are omitted. Our first and major impression is that the journal, despite its short existence, has already become the central publication for world-wide Hungarology.

Ethnography of Ethnic Minorities in Hungary, 1975–1982

In 1975 the Hungarian Ethnographic Society *(Magyar Néprajzi Társaság)* initiated in irregular series of publications devoted to the ethnic minorities living in present-day Hungary. Iván Balassa was the editor-in-chief of the whole series, while the different language publications had their own editorial board. The publications have appeared in such languages as Croatian, German, Rumanian, Serbian, Slovak or Slovenian, sometimes with Hungarian summaries. Hitherto the following issues were published.

Beiträge zur Volkskunde der Ungarndeutschen–A magyarországi németek néprajzához

Redaktionskollektiv: Iván Balassa, Claus Klotz, Karl Manherz.

1. Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság, 1975. 260 pp.
2. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1979. 230. pp.
3. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1981. 303 pp.
4. Herausgegeben von Karl Manherz. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1982. 308 pp.

Din tradiţiile populare ale românilor din Hungaria–A magyarországi románok néprajza

1. Redactori: Ágnes Kovács, Alexandru Hotopan. Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság, 1975. 131 pp.

2. Redactor-sef: Iván Balassa; redactor Ágnes Kovács. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1979. 71 pp.

Etnografija južnih slavena u Mađarskoj–A magyarországi délszlávok néprajza

1. Urednici: Iván M. Balassa, Marko Deić. Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság, 1975. 159 pp.

2. Glavni urednik: Iván Balassa. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1977. 217 pp.

3. Glavni urednik: Iván Balassa. Urednici: Marija Kiss, Marien Mandić. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1979. 178 pp.

4. Glavni urednici: Iván Balassa, Mária Kiss, Ágnes Démuth, Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1982. 251 pp

5. Urednik: Marija Kiss. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1982. 199 pp.

Národopis slovákov v Maďarsku–A magyarországi szlovákok néprajza.

Redakčná rada: Anna Gyivicsanová, András Krupa, István Lami, János Manga.

1. Budapest: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság, 1975. 186 pp.

2. Hlavný redaktor: Iván Balassa. Redaktori: András Krupa, Štefan Lami. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1979. 297 pp.

3. Hlavný redaktor: Iván Balassa. Budapest: Tankönyvkiadó, 1981. 284 pp.

As one can see, the form, amount and speed of publication vary somewhat from one series to another. All of the first volumes were prepared on the occasion of the first international ethnographical congress of ethnic minorities (Békéscsaba, 28–31 October, 1975). The proceedings of this congress were later published, in Hungarian, in a separate volume (*Nemzetközi néprajzi nemzetiségkutató konferencia.* Ed. Iván Balassa. Budapest–Békéscsaba: Magyar Néprajzi Társaság–Tudományos Ismeretterjesztő Társulat Békés megyei szervezete. 1976. 440 pp. The book is in Hungarian.)

In honour of the second similar congress in Békéscsaba (30th September-2th October, 1980) new volumes appeared, and the congress papers were published soon afterwards (*A II. békéscsabai nemzetközi néprajzi nemzetiségkutató konferencia előadásai.* I–III. Ed.: Ernő Eperjessy, András Krupa. Budapest-Békéscsaba: Művelődési Minisztérium Nemzetiségi Önálló Osztály. 1981. 754 pp. All three volumes are in Hungarian.)

We may trust that both the publications and the congresses will continue. There are other publications in Hungary also devoted to minority studies. We will come back later to review them.

Debrecen University Publications in Ethnography and Folklore

At the Kossuth Lajos University in Debrecen the Ethnographic Institute *(Néprajzi Intézet)* has been in existence since 1949, founded and headed for three decades by Professor Béla Gunda. After some earlier interim publications, since 1960 the Institute has published a yearbook *Műveltség és Hagyomány* with papers written in Hungarian by Hungarian and foreign scholars, with summaries in widely used languages. An exception was vol. XIII–XIV. (1971), a Festschrift in honour of the editor's 60th birthday, entitled *Studia ethnographica et folkloristica in honorem Béla Gunda* with papers written exclusively in widely used languages. In 1979 a long time member of the institute, Professor Zoltán Újváry became the head of the department and also the editor of its publications. He has slightly changed their profile, and separated articles written in Hungarian from those published in a widely used world language.

Beginning with volume XIX (1981) the yearbook *Műveltség és Hagyomány* changed its title to *Ethnographica et Folcloristica Carpathica,* using new series numerals (1 for 1980, 2 for 1981 and 3 for 1982), but still keeping the old, Roman, numerals for the whole series (i.e. XIX for 1980, XX for 1981 and XXI for 1982) together with the old title *Műveltség és Hagyomány* as a subtitle. Each volume has about 300 pages, and the publication languages are German, English or French. The yearbook concentrates on East Central European folk traditions, and has become an important international organ, not only maintaining its reputation, but also strengthening its importance for comparative studies.

For practical use in university education a new, mimeographed or reprint series was started. *Folklór és etnográfia* is its title, and so far 8 publications have appeared, all in Hungarian, of which only one of the last issues has English summaries. The first five issues are now out of print, thus we simply give a list of them.

1. László Dám: *Az alföldi lakóház. Kérdőív* (A questionnaire concerning folk architecture on the Great Hungarian Plain). Debrecen: 1979. 50 pp.

2. Zoltán Újváry: *Népszokások és színjátékok. Jegyzet* (Folk customs and folk theatre. University lectures). Part I. Debrecen: 1979. 197 pp.

3. László Dám: *Bevezetés az ethnográfiába. Jegyzet* (Introduction to ethnography. University lectures). Debrecen: 1979. 66 pp.

4. *A Néprajzi Tanszék harminc éve* (Thirty years of the Debrecen University Institute of Ethnography). Debrecen: 1979. 23 pp.

5. Zoltán Újváry: *Népszokások és színjátékok. Jegyzet* (Folk customs and folk theatre. University lectures). Part II. Debrecen: 1981. 69 pp.

6. Zoltán Újváry: *Agrárkultusz* (Agrarian cults). Debrecen: 1981. 265 pp. (Reprint for university use of the author's earlier book *Az agrárkultusz kutatása a magyar és az európai folklórban.* Debrecen: 1969.)

7. József Vekerdi: *A magyarországi cigány kutatások története* (An outline of Gypsy studies in Hungary). Debrecen: 1982. 60 pp. (The first complete history of Gypsy studies in Hungary, with an English summary on pp. 50–59. The Bibliography contains nearly 300 items in two languages, Hungarian and English. This small booklet is the most important recent contribution to Gypsy lore in Hungary.)

8. Erzsébet Bődy: *Bevezetés a magyar néprajzi terepmunka módszertanába* (Introduction to fieldwork technique in Hungary). Debrecen: 1982. 143 pp. (The first attempt in Hungarian to summarize fieldwork problems in anthropology and ethnology.)

More ambitious publications, monographs in fact, appear in the series *Studia folkloristica et ethnographica* which despite the title, are only in Hungarian, but with summaries and tables of contents in other languages. The general editor of the series is Professor Újváry.

1. Zoltán Újváry: *A temetés paródiája. Temetés és halál a népi játékokban* (The Parody of funerals. Funeral and death in Hungarian folk theatre). Debrecen: 1978. 259 pp. (With summary and table of contents in Russian and German.)

2. István Dobrossy: *Dohánytermesztés a Nyírségben* (Tobacco cultivation in East Hungary). Debrecen: 1978. 117 pp. (With summary and table of contents in German.)

3. Ernő Kunt: *Temetők az Aggteleki-karszt falvaiban* (Cemeteries in North-East Hungary). Debrecen: 1978. 152 pp. (With summary and table of contents in German.)

4. László Szabó: *A magyar rokonsági rendszer* (The Hungarian Kinship System). Debrecen: 1980. 133 pp. (With summary and table of contents in German and Slovakian).

5. Elek Bartha: *A hitélet néprajzi vizsgálata egy zempléni faluban* (Folk Religion in a Hungarian village–Komlóska). Debrecen: 1980. 130 pp. (With summary and table of contents in German and Slovakian).

6. László Dám: *Lakóházak a Nyírségben* (House Types in North-East Hungary). Debrecen: 1982. 115 pp. (With summary and table of contents in German and Slovakian.)

7. Emőke Szalay–Zoltán Újváry: *Két fazekas falu Gömörben* (Folk pottery in two Hungarian villages of South Slovakia: Lévárt and Derenk). Debrecen: 1982. 152+(3) pp. (With summary and table of contents in German and Slovakian.)

8. József Farkas: *Fejezetek az Ecsedi-láp gazdálkodásához* (Agriculture in a moor area in North-East Hungary). Debrecen: 1982. 196 pp. (With summary and table of contents in German and Slovakian.)

9. István Dobrossy–Márta Fügedy: *Termelés és életmód. Tíz község termelőszövetkezete* (Production and Folk Life. A study of 10 agricultural cooperatives). Debrecen: 1983. 282 pp. (With summary and table of contents in German and Slovakian.)

University textbooks proper are also available from the Debrecen Ethnographic Institute. These primarily serve teaching, but are important for general research as well, for example:

László Dám: *Magyar Néprajz. I. Építkezés* (Hungarian Ethnography. I. Folk architecture). Budapest: 1980. Tankönyvkiadó, 194 pp.

To sum up the activity of the Debrecen Ethnographic Institute during the last few years, it is impressive to see how much devotion and scholarly energy was put into the production of nearly twenty publications. The yearbooks in which comparative and synoptic papers are being published, maintain a high scholarly standard. The Hungarian series is devoted to practical and commemorative purposes. The most important field work monographs are rich with notes, photos and other

documentary ma etial; each of them is a small summary of the topic. Because of the regional orientation of the series is North-East and East Hungary, summaries in Slovakian (and German) are highly justified. We wish all the Debrecen series of publications success in their continuing work.

Folia Rákócziana 1–6, 1979–1981

The *Vay Ádám Múzeum* in Vaja, East Hungary is named after the statesman to Prince Ferenc Rákóczi, and therefore issues and important series of documents relating to the "kuruc" revolution (1703–1711) led by Rákóczi. The publication series is edited by the historian Gusztáv Heckenast, and the museum's director, Mátyás Molnár. The "publisher" is the "Friends' circle of the Museum" *(A Vay Ádám Múzeum Baráti Köre)* and all the volumes are registered as publications in Vaja. So far the following issues have appeared, all of them containing important and previously unpublished material. With one exception no foreign language summary or information is included, but a great number of the documents are written in Latin.

1. József Zachar: *Bercsényi László, a Rákóczi-szabadságharc kapitánya, Franciaország marsallja. Válogatott források* (Selected documents concerning L. Bercsényi, captain in Rákóczi's revolution, later Marshal of France). 1979. 168 pp. (With a French summary, pp. 143–152.)

2. Anna Zay: *Herbárium 1718.* Nyíregyháza: 1939. 151 pp. (Photomechanic print of the 1718 manuscript with commentaries.)

3. Gusztáv Heckenast: *Kajali Pál (1662–1710) kuruc szenátor, országos főhadbíró válogatott írásai* (Selected writings of P. Kajali, chief military judge). 1980. 87 pp.

4. Imre Bánkuti: *Lónyai Ferenc fegyveresítési és ruházati főhadbiztos válogatott iratai* (Selected writings of F. Lónyay, chief mobilization agent). 1980. 104 pp.

5. Ágnes Kovács: *Iratok a nyírségi salétromtermelés történetéhez a Rákóczi-szabadságharc idején* (Documents on salpeter industry in East Hungary during the Rákóczi revolution). 1981. 120 pp.

6. Miklós Kamody: *A Rákóczi-szabadságharc postája. Válogatott iratok* (Selected documents on mail service during the Rákóczi revolution). 1981. 192 pp.

The Vaja museum has also issued four other small unnumbered publications by the same team. In chronological order they are the following.

Mátyás Molnár, ed.: *Rákóczi-kori tudományos ülésszak* (17 papers of a conference on Rákóczi's age). 1973. *szeptember 20–21.* Vaja: 1975. 125 pp.

Mátyás Molnár ed.: *Thököly-emlékünnepség. A fejedelem halálának 270. évfordulója alkalmából* (7 papers and other materials of a commemorative meeting of Prince I. Thököly). *1975. október 18.* Vaja: 1975. 115 pp.

Mátyás Molnár ed.: *A Rákóczi-szabadságharc vitás kérdései. Tudományos emlékülés* (Unsolved problems in Rákóczi's revolution. Papers of a conference) *1976. január 29–30.* Vaja-Nyíregyháza: 1976. 93 pp.

Vay Ádám verses Önéletírása (Verse Autobiography by Á. Vay). Ed.: Krisztina Szalay. Vaja: 978. 31 pp.

This series was followed from 1979 onwards by the *Folia Rákócziana.* Some of the publications are still available at the *Vay Ádám Múzeum* in Vaja.

Vivat Hussar, 1–17. Revue de l'Association des Amis du Musée International des Hussards

(N° 17.) Tarbes: 1982. 224+(13) pp.

In 1966 the French Brigade General Pierre Mondain founded the Association of the Friends of the International Hussar Museum in Tarbes, South France. The Association has been publishing its yearbook *Vivat Hussar* since then: the major topics are on all kinds of hussar studies, on cavalry and general military history. Documents, articles, hundreds of illustrations, information and bibliographic references give a manysided picture on hussars of the world. More than 400 shorter or longer communications appeared in the 17 issues of *Vivat Hussar.* The association often acknowledges the fact that the homeland of the hussars is Hungary, thus in every issue there appear important articles on Hungarian military and cultural history. Thus, for example, in the issue under review Pierre Charrie describes the 18th century Austro-Hungarian hussar regiments, based upon material kept at the Military Museum in Vienna.

No. 12 (1977, 209 pp.) is in fact a monograph devoted to a Hungarian topic: *Le Maréchal de Bercheny de Szekes*, by Jacques de la Rupelle. It deals with the history of the Bercsényi family with special emphasis on Ladislas who was the son of Miklós, a prominent Hungarian politician during the Rákóczi revolution and the organizer of the French hussards.

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