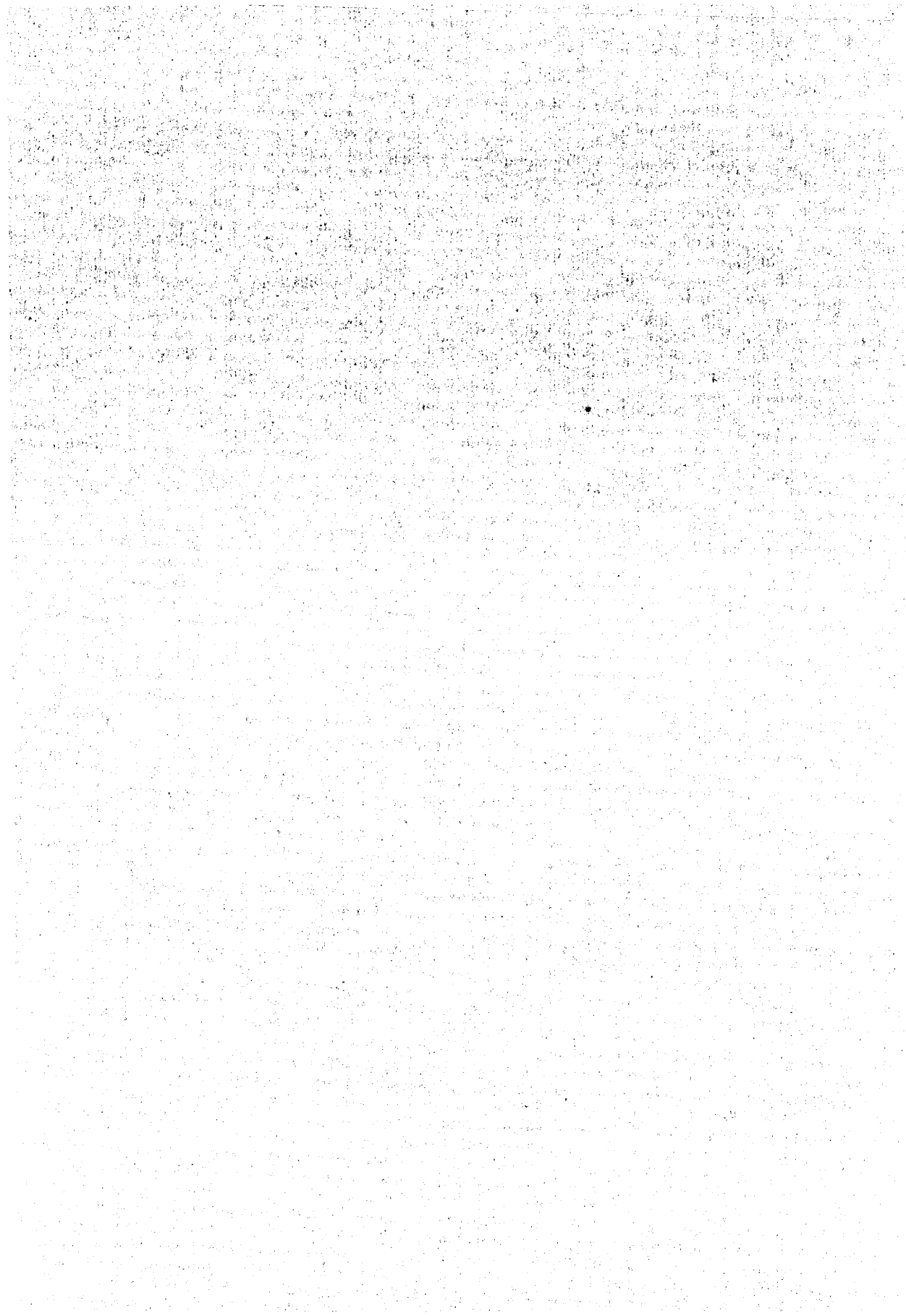


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STUDI
FINNO-UGRICI

1999 - 2001

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ARTICOLI, SAGGI

AILA MIELIKÄINEN

BIBLICAL LANGUAGE
AND STANDARD WRITTEN FINNISH¹

1. ORIGIN OF FINNISH BIBLE TRANSLATIONS

The whole Bible has been translated into Finnish altogether three times: for the first time in the 17th century and then twice in the 20th century. These translations were done as committee work and aimed at official church use. The history of Bible translations, however, goes back to the 16th century, marking at the same time the birth of standard written Finnish. Mikael Agricola, an influential religious reformer and bishop, was the first person to translate the New Testament in 1548. His aim was to translate the whole Bible, but he managed only to finish some parts of the Old Testament. In addition, he published other ecclesiastical books, including a primer and prayer books for church service. Since written Finnish did not exist before Agricola's time, he also became the founder of standard written Finnish with his translations.

The first Bible translation committee, thus, had a good foundation for its work. The 1642 Bible became a large and magnificent piece of work, and very soon there was need to publish a new, smaller size version. This was carried out by individual clergymen, who produced three different revised editions in the 17th and 18th centuries. Of these, the edition by Antti Lizelius in 1776 was actually in use throughout the following century, all the way to

¹ The article is based on the paper read at the international scientific conference "Bible Translation in the Literatures of the People of Russia, the CIS and the Baltic Countries" in Moscow on 2nd December, 1999.

year 1938. In fact, some revivalist movements still use this translated version of the Bible, even though its orthography has been modernized and some other minor adjustments have been made to its language. - I will later refer to this translation as the *Lizelius* version (1776/1991), although the term is not in general use.

During the 19th century, the Finnish language underwent a radical change process. For this reason a committee was set up in the 1860s to carry out a new translation of the Bible. The new version, however, was not approved until in 1938 (OT 1933, NT 1938). This translation followed the methods of formal translation. Since the language used in this translation differs significantly from the modern standards of written Finnish, a new committee was set up as early as in the beginning of the 1970s. This new committee chose to apply dynamic translation theories in its work and published its version in 1992. - I will later refer to these two committee translations as the *formal* (1938) and the *dynamic* (1992) translation.

Besides the official Bible translations, several unofficial and revised versions have also been made by both individual persons and working groups during the 20th century in particular. The formal translation has been corrected to better reflect standard modern Finnish, or to make it more accurate in its wording; the newest of these versions is the New Testament translation by 'Raamattu Kansalle society' (1999). Two New Testaments in modern Finnish were also published recently, one using the Living Bible as the source text (translated into Finnish as *Elävä Uutinen* 1977 'The living Promise') and the second using the original text as the basis for translation (*Uusi testamentti nykysuomeksi* 'New Testament in modern Finnish', 1972).

2. BIBLICAL LANGUAGE AS THE NORM

The first centuries of standard written Finnish, from the 16th century until the beginning of the 19th century, are usually called the period of *Old written Finnish* (*vanha kirjasuomi*). The use of written Finnish was scarce, and most printed texts were spiritual and aimed for church use. Some Finnish grammars and dictionaries

written in Latin were also published, but they did not include instructions for normative language usage. The language of the 1642 Bible translation was clearly seen as the norm, and this translation was, thus, taken as a guide for written Finnish, not only in spelling but also in the selection of phonological and morphological variants. This is an obvious conclusion in that Old written Finnish texts clearly show whether they were written before 1642 or after that. The translation committee standardized Agricola's orthography and inflectional forms, reducing the number of variants, thus making the Bible more readable and easier to understand.

Antti Lizelius, who actually edited two translations of the Bible in the 18th century (1758, 1776), was a clergyman, but still wanted to develop the Finnish language also for secular purposes. He founded the first Finnish-language newspaper, *Suomenkieliset Tieto-Sanommat* (1776), and acted as its editor for a year. Lizelius made considerable changes in the orthography and expression of Finnish, making written Finnish much more accessible and closer to the present standard. There is one particularly interesting feature in his reform: secular language was more radically changed than biblical language. Even the orthography used in the newspaper was different from that of the Bible. Biblical language, however, still became the norm to be followed, and the spelling reforms apparent in the newspaper did not become a norm until in the grammar books published at the beginning of the 19th century.

3. BIBLICAL FINNISH AND STANDARD WRITTEN FINNISH: THE PARTING OF THE WAYS

At the beginning of the 19th century a debate started over the reform of standard written Finnish because of the fact that Old written Finnish had been based on western Finnish dialects, or at first even on their more local south-western variant, namely that of the Turku district. Turku was the administrative and ecclesiastical centre of Finland at the time. One grammarian of the time, in fact, referred to this standard as "the biblical dialect" as opposed

to the eastern dialects, which were the main basis for the language of folklore. For these reasons there was a debate aiming to expand - or even replace - the dialectal base of standard written Finnish to include eastern Finnish variants in it. A moderate compromise was in the end reached, and a long period of reform started. The western dialectal foundation of standard Finnish was mainly preserved, but many eastern features were also incorporated, including phonological variants, inflectional forms, derivations and dialectal words. The language was also "purified" in that foreign elements, for instance foreign sentence structures, were removed or modified. A similar trend has marked the development of the Finnish language in the 20th century.

In the 1900s the use of Finnish and Finnish literature underwent a remarkable process of diversification, and Finnish-language press, fiction, theatre, and school system were established. Theoretical and scientific study of the language was started, as well as systematic guidance and supervision in the use of Finnish. During the century a total of over 20 grammar books were published, first mostly in Swedish and later on also in Finnish. Up until that time Finnish had had the role of a vernacular, that is, it had been in the use of the common people, but in 1863 it was given an equal status with Swedish. Thus, even in terms of its structure and vocabulary, Finnish had developed into a full-fledged, cultural language, to be used in all spheres of life.

Standard written Finnish changed in the 19th century so radically and so rapidly that a new translation of the Bible also became necessary. The Lizelius version had already been slightly modified, but in many cases the changes were not made until several decades after they had been adopted in other contexts of written language use. Biblical language thus remained largely in the form established in the 18th century, and was no longer considered the norm for language use. Instead, grammar books and dictionaries replaced its status as a model for standard written Finnish.

The new situation required for the second Bible translation committee to start its work in 1861. It chose the formal translation method as its approach, aiming at as literal a translation as possible. The final form of this translation was not completed until 1938.

Although it was completely different from the Lizelius version, the language used was far from the contemporary modern Finnish used in other contexts of writing. At first the committee had actually decided to renew the biblical language, too, but because of delays new members were appointed to the committee, and towards the end a more traditional view on the language to be used was adopted. The explicit principle behind the translation was to retain the solemn, ceremonial style and the old vocabulary already labelled as “holy”.

As a consequence of this formal translation, then, the separation of spiritual language from the secular, which had started in the socio-linguistic situation of the 1900s, was formally established and sealed. A special, separate concept of *Biblical Finnish* (*pipliasuomi*) had been born, a genre which is still commonly seen as the embodiment of “religious language” in Finland. The distinctive style of Biblical Finnish is poetic, solemn, ceremonial and high-flown.

4. STYLISTIC FEATURES OF ARCHAIC BIBLICAL FINNISH

What, then, is typical of “religious Finnish”? What is this Biblical Finnish that the Bible translation of 1938 canonized and many today’s readers would not like to give up? What features made it “solemn, ceremonial and high-flown”?

In terms of its phonological and morphological structure the formal translation follows the present standard to a great degree. The distinctive features that appear in the text are mainly taken from western Finnish dialects. However, they are not considered dialectal, but, rather, archaic. One example is the plural genitive, which is formed from the singular stem as opposed to the present plural forms, as well as the 3rd person possessive ending *-nsa*, *-nsä* as opposed to the present ending *V + n*:

pl. gen.: *kät/ten*, *vet/ten*, *poika/in*, *herra/in* < sg. stem *käsi* : *kät-‘hand’*, *vesi* : *vet-‘water’*, *poika* ‘boy’, *herra* ‘lord’, cf. *käsi/en*, *vesi/en*, *poiki/en*, *herroj/en* < pl. stem *käsi-*, *vesi-*, *poiki-*, *herroi-*. For example in 1938 we have: *herrain Herra ja kuningasten Kuningas* >

1992 *herrojen Herra ja kuninkaiden Kuningas* 'Lord of lords and King of kings' (Rev. 17:14)²;

poss.: *armossa/nsa*, cf. *armossa/an* 'in his mercy'; both present forms are used in eastern dialects.

The verbal structure *pitää tekemän* 'to have to do' is also of western dialect origin, modern Finnish using another kind of infinitive form: *pitää tehdä*, as also the eastern dialects do. All these variants represent forms that standard written Finnish gradually dropped in the 19th century; they have mainly been used together with eastern dialect variants and are still mentioned in grammar books. Since the Bible translators had a choice, their preference was to adopt the older, more established variant.

The 1st person plural imperative form *menkäämme* is a form that has never been used in spoken Finnish or in the dialects. Instead, the passive present tense *mennään* 'let's go', *lähdetään* 'let's go, leave' is used to express suggestion. The formal translation of the Bible abounds however with examples of this imperative, and the old forms are also used in the liturgy of the Finnish Evangelic-Lutheran Church, e. g. *kiittäkäämme* 'let us thank', *ylistäkäämme* 'let us praise', *rukoilkaamme* 'let us pray', *tunnustakaamme syntimme* 'let us confess our sins'. In many Bible contexts they appear extremely ceremonial, and even artificial. For this reason they have been replaced by more modern variants in the dynamic translation, mostly by the passive or normal present forms (*menemme*), sometimes also by the 2nd person plural imperative forms (*menkää*). The passive forms are used especially in the dialogue, for instance in the Gospel texts with their resemblance to spoken language. The old imperative forms have been retained in the new dynamic translation only in giving spiritual guidance and in making suggestions, suggestions also including the writer:

² The English translations have been taken from *The New English Bible with the Apocryphs* (= NEB), Oxford University Press / Cambridge University Press 1970, or from *The Holy Bible, Translated out of the Original Tongues: and with the Former Translations Diligently Compared and Revised by his Majesty's Special Command* (= HB), Oxford University Press.

Mark 12:7

1938 *Tämä on perillinen; tulkaa, tappakaamme hänet, niin perintö jää meille*

1992 *Hän on perillinen. Tapetaan hänet niin perintö on meidän*
 'This is the heir; come on, let us kill him, and the property will be ours' (NEB).

Psalms 95:6

1938 *Tulkaa, kumartukaamme ja polvistukaamme, polvillemme langetkaamme Herran, meidän Luojamme, eteen*

1992 *Tulkaa, kumartukaa maahan, polvistukaamme Herran, Luojamme, eteen*

'Come! Let us throw ourselves at his feet in homage, let us kneel before the Lord who made us' (NEB)

Hebrews 13:13

1938 *Niin menkäämme siis hänen tykönsä "ulkopuolelle leirin"*

1992 *Lähtekäämme siis hänen luokseen leirin ulkopuolelle*

'Let us then go to him outside the camp' (NEB)

In the Christmas Story - St Luke's Gospel 2:15 - the shepherds say *Menkäämme nyt Betlehemiin* (1938) 'Come, we must go straight to Bethlehem' (NEB), more literally 'Let us go now even unto Bethlehem' (HB). The dynamic translation simply says *Nyt Betlehemiin!*, literally 'Now to Bethlehem'.

The syntactic structure of Old written Finnish was greatly influenced by foreign languages, which made it quite distinct from spoken Finnish. The language of the translation often followed the original text - in other words, either the original languages of the Bible or Swedish, German, and Latin. There were several un-Finnish expressions, for instance in the postpositional structures and in the use of the passive voice, agent, and the future tense. The passive voice of Finno-Ugric languages is different in nature from that of Germanic languages, and the future tense is expressed by means of the present tense and does not have a category of its own.

Ever since the 1800s there have been attempts to purify the syntax of standard written Finnish from apparent foreign effects.

Yet it is the syntax that makes the language of the formal translation so difficult. The sentences and clauses are long and complicated, particularly in the epistles of the New Testament, and they still contain many passive and future constructions. Un-Finnish elements appear in the word orders used, for instance to follow the German sentence structure of putting the verb at the end of the clause. In Finnish, word order is relatively free and does not generally affect meaning. However, it does have an effect on what is given prominence in the sentence, and more particularly, on the theme_rheme relationship. The exceptional word order use of the formal translation, thus, places peculiar emphases to the words, giving an impression that biblical style can be characterized as having a distinctive, exaggerated rhythm.

5. LEXICON AS A DISTINCTIVE CHARACTERISTIC OF BIBLICAL FINNISH

The archaisms presented above are not only typical of Biblical Finnish. Old inflectional forms can also be used in poetic or ceremonial style, and complicated sentence structures have long been connected with legal language. What distinguishes religious language and biblical style from the previous, then, is their use of special vocabulary and phraseology.

Since Agricola's times, the Finnish language has drawn its words from three main sources. The first source is spoken language, in other words, the dialects. Even biblical and liturgical words that have over time developed into theological terms may have their origin in an everyday dialect, although they might have been borrowed from other languages in the distant past. For instance *ehtoollinen*, a derivative of *ehtoo* 'evening', referred simply to the evening meal or dinner in the western Finnish dialects. Today its only meaning is Eucharist or the Holy Communion. In this way, dialectal words that were not very commonly used or had been dropped altogether from everyday use have become "religious", because they are not known any more from other contexts - in modern Finnish the eastern word *ilta* and its derivative *illallinen* 'evening meal' are used instead of the western variants *ehtoo* and *ehtoollinen*.

The second way in which the Finnish lexicon has expanded is by means of derivation or compounding from familiar words. This is easy because Finnish is an agglutinative language with great potential for noun and verb derivation. Even Agricola knew how to exploit this characteristic of the language when he needed new words for his Bible translations. The above mentioned word *ehtoollinen* was formed by using the adjective derivative *-llinen*, which refers concretely to temporality, to the time when something is happening: compare *kevällinen* 'happening in the spring' from *kevät* 'spring' and *ehtoollinen* 'happening in the evening' (as 'meal eaten in the evening'). This derivational construction was adopted by religious language at a more abstract level so that many adjectives were formed by using it, as shown below:

ajallinen 'temporal' < *aika* : *aja-* 'time'
taivaallinen 'heavenly' < *taivas* : *taivaa-* 'heaven'
maallinen 'earthly' < *maa* 'earth'
maailmallinen 'worldly' < *maailma* 'world'
hengellinen 'spiritual' < *henki* : *henge-* 'spirit'
uskollinen 'faithful' < *usko* 'faith, belief'

Derivatives and compound words make the language sound "domestic" and more understandable, as one knows the stem and the meanings of the derivations:

armo 'mercy, grace'
armollinen 'merciful'; *armollisuus* 'mercifulness, graciousness'
armoton 'merciless'; *armottomuus* 'mercilessness'
armahtaa (spiritual) 'to have mercy upon someone', (secular) 'to pardon'; *armahdus* 'the act of being merciful, pardon'

Thirdly, new words have been borrowed from foreign languages. Old written Finnish writers sometimes used direct loans or cognates in cases where there were no Finnish equivalents, as in *religio(n)* 'religion', which does not exist in the Bible, and *elementti* 'element' (2. Peter 3:10). The Finnish words *uskonto* 'religion' and *alkuaine* 'element' were first used in standard written Finnish in 1848 and

in 1829 respectively. An interesting example is the loan word *philosophy* as used by Agricola in Col. 2:8: *Philosophian ia turhan wietteluxen cautta* 'through philosophy and vain deceit' (HB, cf. NEB 'captured by hollow and delusive speculations'). This word was replaced by *järkeisoppi* in the 1938 Bible and by *viisauden oppi* 'the doctrine of wisdom' in the 1992 Bible. Although the loan word is nowadays commonly used as the normal term for the discipline, it has not been accepted in the Bible translations.

In more recent translations of the Bible direct borrowings are only used in special terminology, such as *synagoga*, *farao*, *apostoli*, *evankeliumi*. Such present-day loan words as *negatiivinen* 'negative', *sosiaalinen* 'social', *normaali* 'normal' and *idea* 'idea', on the other hand, are not part of Biblical Finnish, although in some cases are used in the translation of the Living Bible.

Foreign languages have, in fact, also influenced the Finnish lexicon in another important way, namely, through loan translations. Translating the loan word directly into Finnish has been common practice ever since Agricola's time, and many of the derivatives and compound words are actually loan translations; compare *ajallinen* 'temporal' (Latin *temporalis*), *opetuslapsi* 'disciple' (German *Lehrjunge*, Swedish *lärjunge*; *lapsi* 'child'), and *ylösousemus* 'resurrection' (German *Auferstehung*, Swedish *uppståndelse*).

When the history of a standard written language is as long as it is in Finland, there is time for many changes to take place in both word usage and meanings. After all, it is the lexicon that is the most variable element of any living language. Following this, the original meanings of many old Finnish words have become more abstract, and essentially Christian vocabulary - such as *armo* 'grace, mercy', *pelastus* 'salvation' and *pyhä* 'holy' - has changed into theological terminology. When words are no longer used in everyday life, they are easily seen as belonging to the religious genre. In the same way unused derivatives become special terminology. For instance, many verbal derivatives with the ending *-mus*, *-mys* are already theological terms:

katumus 'penitence' < *katua* 'to repent'
lankeemus 'fall' < *langeta* 'to fall'

luopumus 'apostasy' < *luopua* 'to fall away from'
paatumus 'hardness of heart' < *paatua* 'to harden one's heart'
anteeksiantamus 'forgiveness' < *antaa anteeksi* 'to forgive'
ylösnousemus 'resurrection' < *nousta ylös* 'to stand up'
Kristuksen toinen tulemus 'the Second Coming of Christ' < *tulla*
 'to come'

All these words were already used by Mikael Agricola in the 16th century. Their derivational endings *-mus*, *-mys* have been replaced in Modern Finnish - some of them also in the dynamic Bible translation - by other forms, for instance *-minen* or *-o*, as in *tuleminen* or *tulo* 'coming', *anteeksianto* 'forgiving':

Matthew 24:27

1938 *Sillä niinkuin salama leimahtaa idästä ja näkyy hamaan länteen, niin on oleva Ihmisen Pojan tulemus*

1992 *Sillä niin kuin salama leimahtaa idässä ja valaisee taivaan länteen asti, niin on oleva Ihmisen Pojan tulo*

'Like lightning from the east, flashing as far as the west will be the coming of the Son of Man' (NEB)

6. MODERN BIBLICAL FINNISH

The lexicon of Old written Finnish was not very extensive, even though it expanded along with the development of literature. However, towards the end of this period there were still many important and commonly used words missing, not to mention cultural and scientific vocabulary. As of the 19th century, standard written Finnish has adopted thousands of new words in the ways that were described above, that is by standardizing dialectal words, creating new ones through derivation, or by translating from other languages. New derivational forms have come from the eastern Finnish dialects, for instance. A good example is the reflexive form derived by adding the ending *-utu-*, *-yty-*, which has substituted the use of foreign loan translations or non-reflexive equivalents: *avautua* 'to come open', *leiriytyä* 'to encamp', *mukautua* 'to adapt oneself', *toteutua* 'to come true', *tuhoutua* 'to be destroyed'. For

instance, the verb *käyttäytyä* 'to behave', from the verb *käyttää* 'to use', had formerly as equivalence *käyttää itsensä* 'to use oneself'.
Examples:

Joshua 5:10

1776/1991 *Ja kuin Israelin lapset niin sioittivat itsensä* ['placed themselves'] *Gilgalissa, pitivät he pääsiäistä neljäntenätoistakymmenenä päivänä sinä kuukautena, ehtoon, Jerihon kedolla*

1938 *Kun israelilaiset olivat leirytyneet Gilgaliin, viettivät he sen kuukauden neljäntenätoista päivänä, ehtoolla, pääsiäistä Jerikon arolla;*

1992 *Israelilaiset leirytyivät Gilgaliin ja viettivät pääsiäistä sen kuun neljäntoista päivän iltana Jerikon tasangolla*

'And the children of Israel encamped in Gilgal, and kept the pass-over on the fourteenth day of the month at even in the plains of Jericho' (HB)

1. Cor. 13:4-5

1776/1991 *Ei rakkaus kadehdi - - Ei hän käytä itsiänsä sopimattomasti;*

1938 /1992 *rakkaus ei kadehdi - - ei käyttäydy sopimattomasti*

'charity envieth not - - Doth not behave itself unseemly' (HB).

Rom. 12:2

1776/1991 *Ja älkääät sovittako teitänne [= itseänne] tämän maailman muodon jälkeen*

1938 *Älkääkä mukautuko tämän maailmanajan mukaan*

1992 *Älkää mukautuko tämän maailman menoon*

'Adapt yourselves no longer to the pattern of this present world' (NEB)

Rom. 6:16

1776/1991 *Ettekö te tiedä, että jolle te annatte itsenne palvelioiksi kuulemaan, sen palveliat te olette, jolle te kuuliaisat olette;*

1938 *Ettekö tiedä, että kenen palvelioiksi, ketä tottelemaan, te antaudutte, sen palvelijoita te olette, jota te tottelette;*

1992 *Tehän tiedätte, että jos antaudutte orjina tottelemaan jotakuta, olette juuri sen orjia, jota tottelette*

'You know well enough that if you put yourselves at the disposal of a master, to obey him, you are slaves of the master whom you obey' (NEB).

The formal translation of the Bible was done over a period when the Finnish language was undergoing a dramatic and continuous change process (1860s -1930s). Despite its archaic style, the translators boldly introduced new vocabulary items in it. Thus, the 1938 Bible translation includes a wealth of everyday vocabulary, which is not the case in the Lizelius version, such as *henkilö* 'person', *johtaja* 'leader', *sukupolvi* 'generation', *oppilas* 'learner', *kirje* 'letter', *itseks* 'selfish', *vieraanvarainen/vieraanvaraisuus* 'hospitable, hospitality', *huolehtia* 'to take care of someone', *sitoutua* 'to commit oneself'. Similar development can be seen in the dynamic translation to appear as the outcome of the work of the new translation committee; compared to the formal translation it includes again new, contemporary vocabulary, such as *tunne* 'emotion', *myötätunto* 'sympathy', *mielikuviutus* 'imagination', *teeskentely* 'pretence', *ihmiskunta* 'mankind', *sateenkaari* 'rainbow' (1938 *kaari* 'bow'), *osallistua* 'to participate', *suhtautua* 'to have an attitude to'. What is common to these translations, however, is that the theological terminology that dates back to Agricola's times has been retained, although in somewhat adjusted form. Thus, it is in fact the words belonging to the spiritual and religious style that have been best preserved until our times.

The recent dynamic translation of 1992, however, is completely different from the formal translation in its translation principles and expression. Morphology and syntax have been fully modernized, and foreign expressions omitted. The lexicon has also been changed, and the archaic words taken out. Familiar theological words appear side by side with present-day secular words, and many concepts are referred to by several words depending on the context, as shown below:

iankaikkinen (old) ~ *ikuinen* (new) 'eternal'
vanhurskas ~ *oikeamielinen* 'righteous'
autuas 'blessed' ~ *onnellinen* 'happy'
pitkämielinen ~ *kärsivällinen* 'patient'

The disciples of Christ are still referred to by the loan translation *opetuslapsi*, but all other "learners" are referred to as *oppilas* (derivative of *oppia* 'to learn'):

Mark 8:27

1938 *Ja Jeesus lähti opetuslapsinensa Filippuksen Kesarean kyliin;*

1992 *Jeesus ja hänen opetuslapsensa lähtivät Filippoksen Kesarean ympärillä oleviin kyliin;*

Cf. NT 1972 *Jeesus ja hänen oppilaansa lähtivät Filippuksen Kesarean kyliin*

'Jesus and his disciples set out for the villages of Caesarea Philippi' (NEB).

Luke 6:40

1938 *Ei ole opetuslapsi opettajaansa parempi;*

1992 *Ei oppilas ole opettajaansa etevämpi*

'A pupil is not superior to his teacher' (NEB); cf. 'The disciple is not above his master' (HB).

The style of the dynamic translation is also affected by the fact that archaic and poetic words have been replaced by their more neutral synonyms. This is particularly apparent in the Old Testament where the figurative expressions typical of biblical language have been substituted by more neutral expression or explained verbally. Thus, the figurative style has in some places changed to resemble modern media language. Examples of the words that give the style this kind of colouring are for instance *hallinto* 'administration', *sisältö* 'content', *tavoite* 'aim', *tilanne* 'situation', *todiste* 'proof', *toiminta* 'action', *esiintyä* 'to appear', *esittää* 'to present', *suunnitella* 'to plan', *todeta* 'to state', *tarkistaa* 'to check', *toteuttaa* 'to carry out'. Some of these words have already been used in the formal translation 1938, but their number has increased in the 1992 translation. Yet the dynamic translation takes into account the features typical of literary language - historical and poetic literature and letters. The result is that the language of the dynamic translation is no longer uniform biblical language, as is the case with the previous translations.

The release of the modern Bible translation has caused particular public discussion in Finland, mainly because with the formal translation people had got used to seeing biblical language use as separate from other language use. There have been complaints

about the plainness of the expression, and some have even claimed that the image of God has changed along with the new words used to describe His qualities and actions. The younger generations, however, have welcomed the reform, because it makes the Bible content more understandable.

7. CONCLUSION

In conclusion, from the 1500s until the 1700s spiritual and secular language were, practically speaking, one and the same. Today, spiritual language is only one genre, and not even a uniform genre, because socio-linguistic developments affect all language use. Thus, even spiritual language varies according to situation and context, as well as topic and participants; young people have even developed their own religious slang. Biblical language no longer has the status it had up until the 19th century. As was mentioned above, there are several translations in official use, and many other groups than just theologians and linguists are interested in renewing and editing the language of the Bible. Dialectal translations of different texts are very popular today, and in addition to comic strips and the national epic *Kalevala* some Gospel texts and the Catechism have been published in dialectal forms.

I have not addressed the social and scientific context in which standard written Finnish developed and the Bible translations were carried out. It is obvious, of course, that standard written Finnish followed closely the development of Finnish society, for instance education, circulation of literature, folk instruction, and the status of the Finnish language. The disparity between secular and religious language in the 1800s was naturally strengthened and accelerated by the fact that state and church administration were separated from one another at that time. The theological - such as pietistic and ecumenical - movements and the liturgical reforms of different times have also affected the language used by the church (for instance at the semantic level), which in turn has caused changes in the language of the Bible. Therefore, the many different translations can be seen to reflect the variety of

theological views and spiritual needs which prevail in the pluralistic and fragmented society of today.

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BIBLE TRANSLATIONS IN FINNISH

1548. *Se Wsi Testamenti* (NT translated by Mikael Agricola).
1642. *Biblia* (translated by a committee).
1685. *Biblia* (revised by Henrik Florinus).
1758. *Biblia* (revised by Antti Lizelius).
1776. *Biblia* (revised by Antti Lizelius; new, linguistically modified editions up to the present).
1938. *Pyhä Raamattu* (OT 1933, NT 1938, a formal translation by a committee).
1992. *Pyhä Raamattu* (a dynamic translation by a committee).
1969. *Uusi Testamentti* (NT, translated by Aapeli Saarisalo, a formal translation).
1972. *Uusi testamentti nykysuomeksi* (NT in modern Finnish, a dynamic translation).
1977. *Elävä Uutinen* (NT, translated according to the Living Bible).
1999. *Uusi testamentti* (NT, a modern formal translation).

ULLA-MAIJA KULONEN - PIRJO NUMMENAHO

KAI DONNER'S THREE URALIC ETYMOLOGIES

Karl (Kai) Reinhold Donner (1888-1935) was the son of a famous professor and senator Otto Donner (the founder of the Finno-Ugrian Society).

Kai Donner was educated in Helsinki but he studied also at the universities of Budapest 1908 and Cambridge 1911. In 1921 he published his doctoral thesis on the phonetics of Samoyed and other Uralic languages. He became docent of Uralic linguistics in 1924. In addition to his linguistic interests he devoted himself actively also to patriotic movements and social organizations. Kai Donner was a great scholar and his research field was very vast. Besides the Samoyed he dealt with many other languages and peoples such as the Turks and the Tungus. He was also interested in Samoyed folklore.

He was sent on research journeys in the years 1911-1913 and 1914 among the Samoyed peoples by the Finno-Ugrian Society. His last journey was interrupted by the outbreak of the 1st World War in 1914, thus he could not carry through all his plans. During his stay with the Samoyeds he collected extremely valuable materials regarding mainly the Southern Samoyed languages: Sel'kup and Kamas. His Kamas material is of great importance for science, because it was collected among the last speakers of Kamassian. Together with Castrén he was the only researcher who became familiar with all living Samoyed languages.

He published an interesting book of his journeys in Siberia: *Siperian kansojen keskuudessa*, 1915, 1923. Anyhow, he was able to publish only a small part of all the materials he had collected during his research journeys among the Samoyeds, because of

his premature death and numerous social and patriotic activities.

Kai Donner's Kamas and Ket material has been edited and published by Aulis J. Joki.¹

The following three etymologies written by Kai Donner: Finn. *hakata* 'to hew, cut, chop', *huosia* 'to scratch, rub, chafe' and *tiiti* 'sparrow' were meant to be published in 'Virittäjä', one of the major Fennic reviews, on E. N. Setälä's 50th birthday, but for some reason this number was never issued.

We have translated this short manuscript of K. Donner's reporting here the three abovementioned etymologies. A reproduction of the original manuscript is shown in figure 1.

The phonetic transcription has been slightly simplified. In the whole manuscript Donner uses the diacritics *tš* and *dž* to point the cacuminality of the nonpalatalized affricate. To help reading, this secondary feature has been left unmarked.

THREE URALIC ETYMOLOGIES

Prof. Wichmann has shown in his work: "Zur Geschichte der finnisch-ugrischen anlautenden affrikaten" (F.U.F. XI:173-290) that the nonpalatalized *tš* and *dž* in the initial position of the word in Proto Finno-Ugric correspond to *č*, *t* and *c* in Ostyak Samoyed. He mentions seven Samoyed words in his writing, which he compares with Finno-Ugric words. Personally I do not consider them all correct, but I think that even they reveal already that in Ostyak-Samoyed to the nonpalatalized affricate in the initial position of the word correspond *č*, *t* and *c*, of which the first one must be considered original, because it is found in nearly all the dialects. Denoted with a more exact transcription it stands for *tš* which stands for *t* in some dialects by the river Tas and sometimes *ts* (= *c*) in southern dialects. Anyhow, I myself have never heard the latter one, but Castrén denotes it that way. It is not found by the river Ket, at least not now and I am inclined to believe that

¹ See Aulis J. Joki, *Kamassisches Wörterbuch nebst Sprachproben und Hauptzügen der Grammatik* (LSFU 8), 1944, and *Ketica. Materialien aus dem Ketischen oder Jenissei-ostjaken*. Aufgezeichnet von Kai Donner. Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von Aulis J. Joki. – MSFOu 108. 135 pp.

Castrén, who did not personally visit those areas, made a mistake in this respect.

I want to support Prof. Wichmann's thought and illustrate it by a couple of new comparisons. On page 238 Wichmann mentions the Finnish word *hakata, hakkaan*, 'vi tundo, caedo, violenter verbero', to which he connects according to Setälä the Lappish N (IpN) *coakket, coakam* and *čoakket, čoakam* 'leviter crepitare, palpitare (de horologio)' and as a new comparison of his own the Erzya Mordvin *tšukams*, 'anklopfen, anstossen (tr.), stampfen', *škams*, 'stampfen', Moksha Mordvin *Ý čakams* id.

The Ostyak-Samoyed word, found in the Tšaia-dialect *tšaiāη, tšak'k'²ηηη* 'clear one's throat, get out of breath' may fit here phonetically.

To the same group belongs also the Ostyak-Samoyed word *tšūtšä* (Ket) 'scratch, a bit of birch bark to clean dishes, basins', *tšūdžaldžab* (Tym) 'scratch (one's ears etc.)', which I would like to connect with the Finnish word *huosia* 'schaben, kratzen, scheuern', Cheremis KB *tšü, tšem* 'meisseln, abtragen, abnutzen (ein Kleid)', Votyak JS *tšužini*, M. *tšužni* etc, 'fegen, kehren, abfegen, abkehren' (cf. Wichmann l.c. p. 243).

To the original *dž* series belong Fi. *tiiti, tiitinen* 'Sperling, Meise', Ip N *cicce, cice* 'passer, avicula', S *cice, cicok, cicoka, cöc* 'parus circetus' etc, Ziryene UD. P *džidž* 'Vögelchen, Vöglein' etc., Ostyak (Patk) I *čiš-vöje* 'kleiner Vogel, Spatz', etc.

This Finno-Ugric word corresponds exactly to the Ostyak-Samoyed (Tym) *tšidži* 'a small bird, song-bird'; this reveals that the Finno-Ugric ^x*dž* phoneme in initial position stands for the same *tš* in Ostyak-Samoyed, which still appears as an equivalent of this group.

On the basis of the examples given by Wichmann and myself it is impossible to say whether this state goes back to Proto-Samoyed.

However, the original Ostyak-Samoyed equivalent seems to be *tš*, in spite of the fact that in certain rare dialects appear *t* and probably *ts*.

I have not treated here the question more extensively from the Samoyed point of view, because it does not really belong to Virittjä's

programme. With this little contribution I have simply wanted to join those who express their thanks and gratitude to Professor Setälä today on his 50th birthday.

Kai Donner

Kai Donner mentions the publication "Virittäjä" at the end of his article. However, there was never any special number on the occasion of Setälä's birthday. The formulation "today" in the original Finnish manuscript ("täna päivänä") may be due to a possible oral presentation of the paper in question.

The names of the languages that Donner uses correspond to the following modern names: Lapp = Saami, Cheremis = Mari, Votyak = Udmurt, Ziryene = Komi, Ostyak Samoyed = Selqup.

The paper is written in the context of Setälä's theory on historical phonology, called the gradation theory. The theory includes different series of consonants (strong and weak representation). The theory was rejected in the first half of the 20th century but it did not affect all of the lexical comparisons made by Setälä and others, because they had other motivations as well.

The verb *hakata* 'to hew' is considered as a possible Finno-Permic word and the comparison with the Mordvin verbs is still relevant. This comparison was not, anyhow, first made by Wichmann, but by Setälä in his "Yhteissuomalainen äännehistoria" (A sound history of Finnic) in 1890, and Setälä had found more equivalents in the Permic languages, still considered as possible in SSA where also another possibility is given concerning the etymology of this Finnish verb: a possible loan from Germanic. Donner never published his idea of this Selqup equivalent.

The Finnish word *huosia* 'cleaning swift' in its turn is nowadays considered as the same word as *hosia* 'horsetail (Equisetum)' which has been the most common material to this tool. Whether the verb *huosia* 'schaben, kratzen, scheuern' ever existed in Finnish, is not clear. Probably it has appeared only in Lönnrot's dictionary (1880). Donner's comparison of the Votyak (Udmurt) and Selqup words is still considered as relevant and possible. The Selqup

word appears in the Finnish etymology for the first time in SKES and it is possible that the information comes from this manuscript.

The word *tiiti* is considered as a late, onomatopoeic word in Finnish, because it has no equivalents in other Baltic Finnic languages.

The question need not, anyway, be simple as that.

The phonetic conventions in a language can be very old and it is quite possible that similar onomatopoeic words in related languages can be of common origin. This is probably hard to show with the etymological methods we have available. The situation is complicated because there are similar words also in many non-related (Indo-European) languages.

~~dr sajan~~ ~~hahlon~~ ~~maininta~~ 2
 yhäntäisiä nomen saavaan huusia „schaben, kratzen, scheuern“;
 Fischer. K13 tsü, tsēm „misseln, abkajun, abnutzen (ein Kleid)“ / oof;
 JS tsürini, M tsüräni, G tsürin? y.m. „feigen, kehren, abfeigen,
 abkehren“ (Vt. Wilhmann ^(L.C.) 243)

allgäin ^x dr sajan kuuluu s. tiiti, tütkien „zettel, zweise“, G. N.
cicce, cice „passer, arcula“, S cice, cicok, cicoka, cöc „parus
 (Lark)“
cicokus y.m., syn. Ud. P dridr „vögelehen, vögeln“ y.m., oof;
tsü-vöje „kleiner vogel, yate“; u.e. Tata s.u. sanaa vartaa ts-
kalleen OS (Tym) tsi dr „pieni lintu, laululintu“, jota käy
 selvillä, että su. sananalkuista dr äänittävät oof alkii samojedien
 edustaa sama ts, joka esiintyy edellämainitussa oof alkii samojedien
 prof. Wilhmannin ja minun yllä esittämien ei niiden ei niiden vogella on
~~maailman~~ ~~saava~~ saava palautukset tämä edustus alkusamojedien alkii
peräinen oof alkii samojedien edustajan vähyy huhtenkäin olevan
ts, mitä kuin huhtenkäin, että erittäin harvoin muissa esitety
t ja mahdollisesti ts.

En ole tässä su. lauseisiin kohitellut hyökkäystä samojedien
 laulusta kammalta, koska se asia ei oikein kuulu viittäjäsen ohjel-
 maan. Olen vain ~~puuttanut~~ puuttanut hahlon tällä pienellä lisällä
liittämällä niihin, jotta tämä parina lunnot huhtenkäin ja
~~on~~ on saanut niitä oof alkii samojedien edustajan vähyy huhtenkäin olevan
~~erittäin~~ erittäin harvoin muissa esitety ts huhtenkäin olevan 60 vuotta

Kai Donner

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ABBREVIATIONS

FUF = Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen.

LSFU = Lexica Societatis Fenno-Ugricae.

MSFOu = Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne.

SKES = Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja.

SSA = Suomen sanojen alkuperä.

ANGELA MARCANTONIO - PIRJO NUMMENHAHO

GRAMMATICALIZATION AS A 'UNIDIRECTIONAL'
PROCESS OF CHANGE:
EVIDENCE FROM SOME URALIC LANGUAGES

1. INTRODUCTION

Grammaticalisation is the phenomenon by which (using Meillet (1912: 131) words), "le passage d'un mot autonome au rôle d'élément grammatical" is accomplished. In practice, from major lexical categories, such as nouns, verbs and adjectives, minor grammatical categories are created, such as prepositions and postpositions, adverbs and auxiliaries, which in turn may be further grammaticalised to become affixes. Grammaticalisation is a common phenomenon in languages and it is accomplished through (apparently) regular, sequential, irreversible stages of development (Vincent 1980; Traugott & Heine (eds) 1991; Lass 1997):

1. progressive reduction / simplification of the phonetic shape of the original noun;
2. loss of its specific semantic content;
3. cliticisation and (eventually) agglutination.

This means that full words, with their own lexical content, may become grammatical, connective words, which simply mark a particular construction, whereby the change of category status tends to be accompanied by a reduction in phonological form and a 'bleaching' of meaning. Thus, grammaticalisation is usually a global process of change that affects the phonology, morphology, semantics, and ultimately, the syntax of the elements involved in

the change. Furthermore, the whole process suggests the existence of genuine, directional pathways in morpho-syntactic changes.

One of the most frequent processes of grammaticalisation is the one by which original, full nouns are transformed into postpositions, and eventually, through the final stage (3), into suffixed Case endings, along the pathway shown in (4) below (Givón 1971):

4. Noun > Postposition > Clitic > Case ending

As mentioned, each step along this path seems to be irreversible, in the sense that, once a noun has become a postposition, it can't become a noun again (although the noun and the postposition formed from it can co-exist in the language), and a Case ending cannot detach itself to become a postposition, or a full noun. And, in fact, thus far there do not seem to be exceptions to the uni-directionality of this process.

The Uralic (U) languages provide further evidence in support of the thesis of the uni-directional nature of grammaticalisation. In fact, several (mainly eastern) U languages have developed postpositions and /or Case endings from ordinary, full nouns through the process of grammaticalisation, whereby the various phases of development as reported in (1)-(4) above are all well represented, and always and only according to the expected order. On the other hand, those languages (mainly the western languages) which present instances of 'reversals' and therefore might appear at first to contradict the 'uni-directionality' thesis, in reality form their Case endings not through the process of grammaticalisation, but through a different process, called co-optation / exaptation. In what follows, we shall illustrate this state of affair by reporting several, crucial examples of grammaticalisation of nouns into postpositions / Case endings drawn from several U languages, as well as an example of co-optation / exaptation drawn from the Finnic languages.

2. EXAMPLES OF GRAMMATICALISATION IN SOME URALIC LANGUAGES

2.1. GRAMMATICALISATION IN KHANTY

In Khanty, the process of grammaticalisation of nouns into postpositions is still clearly between the first and second stage along the path of development as represented in (1)-(3) and (4). In fact, in this language (as well as in Samoyed and Mari) postpositions are nouns with defective paradigms and distributions, and it is often difficult to draw a clear boundary between the class of nouns and that of postpositions, since many nouns can enter into ad hoc postpositional constructions, such as *kiim* 'extent'. As Abondolo (1998c: 367) says, "postpositions are nouns with defective paradigms and distributions. Some have only one form, with fossilised, synchronically opaque Morphology, e.g. the intrinsically Lative *moč̣ð* '(to)as far as',. ..Most, however, occur with at least one, and usually two or more synchronically segmentable local suffixes attached, e.g. Lative *p̄ir-aa* 'to behind' : Locative *p̄ir-n̄ð* 'behind, after'..". Compare the following examples (example (5) is from Abondolo (1998: 367), whose transcription is reproduced); examples (6) and (7) are from Gulya (1966: 92)):

5) *tuut-eem kiim-n̄ð*
 mouth-my extent-Loc.
 'up to my mouth'.

6) *l̄σ, ̄γ kat kas-n̄ə lal'wəl, ^*
 he house space=behind-Loc. stands
 he stands behind the house

7) *l̄σ, ̄γ m̄σγ l-ð l-ä ät'ï-l j̄σ, ̄s*
 he side-his-Lat. elder=brother-his came
 instead of him his elder brother came

As shown in these examples, the noun used in a postpositional function, just like any ordinary noun, can occur without any ending

or can be inflected. In the latter case it may be inflected with a Case ending, normally a 'primary'¹, simple local Case ending, as in (5) and (6), or with a Possessive and a Case ending, as in (7). Compare also the following example from the Muzhi dialect, where the postposition *ēlti*, *ēlta* 'out, of, from, off' codify an ablative function (see Rédei 1965: 37, 75):

- 8) *kūr* *ēlti*
 village from 'from the village'

2.2 GRAMMATICALISATION IN HUNGARIAN

The Case system of Modern Hungarian, which is fully formed (although a few Case endings are still in the process of being created at present), has mostly derived from the grammaticalisation process described in (4). The process of transition from noun / postposition into Case endings has taken place in recent historical times, and it is clearly documented in the oldest Hungarian texts. The examples given below, derived from the famous text *Halotti Beszéd* 'Funeral Oration' (the first Hungarian text, dated between 1192 and 1195), speak for themselves. They show how the secondary, 'complex'² Case endings present in modern Hungarian derive from an original (spatial-type of) noun, which can be inflected with a simple, primary Case ending and (possibly) a Possessive ending (examples from the edition by Molnár & Simon (1977:27); see also Imre (1972:333-334)):

¹ In the U languages there are two types of Case endings: a) simple, 'primary' Case endings and b) complex, 'secondary' Case endings (for which see note (2) below). The primary endings, which consist indeed of simple formants (usually the most basic sounds), are held to be the modern reflexes of the original, Proto-Uralic Case endings.

² The secondary, complex Case endings are endings which consist of the combination of two elements, one of which at least is a simple, primary Case ending. These complex endings, which are formed either through grammaticalisation or through co-optation, cannot be traced back to the old, Proto-Uralic Case endings. They are in fact new (and often quite recent) creations, formed during the historical development of the individual U languages.

Old Hungarian	Modern Hungarian
9) <i>gimilc-be-n</i>	> <i>gyümölcs-ben</i> 'inside, in the fruit'
10) <i>vilag-bel-e</i>	> <i>világ-ba</i> '[movement] into [inside] the world'
11) <i>timnuce-bel-ev-l</i>	> <i>tömlök-ből</i> '[movement] out of [the inside of] prison'
12) <i>gimilcíc-tu-l</i> (~ <i>-tv-l</i>)	> <i>gyümölcs-től</i> '[movement] from the [surface of] fruit'

In examples (10) and (11) the ordinary noun *bél* 'entrails, interior' (which still exist as an independent noun in Modern Hungarian) has a postpositional function and preserves its sound shape, whilst in (9) the same noun / postposition, having lost its original sound shape through phonological reduction, has been grammaticalised and transformed into a Case ending. As a postposition, and then as a Case ending, *bél* is regularly constructed with simple, primary endings: Locative *-n* (< **-n*, with a superessive function) in (9); Lative *-e* in (10), and Ablative *-l* (**-l*) in (11). These constructions clearly shows the transition from noun / postposition into Case ending. In fact, in (9) we have already the Case ending in its current form (as shown by the comparison with Modern Hungarian). This is not yet the case in (10) and (11), where *bél* has not yet undergone any reduction or change in its phonetic shape. In other words, we find attested in this old text the intermediate stage in the formation of the modern Case ending *-ba* ~ *-be* < *-bel-e* (in (10)) and the intermediate stage in the formation of the modern Case ending *-ból* ~ *-ből* < *-bel-ev-l* (in (11)), whilst the intermediate stage in the development of the modern Case ending *-ban* ~ *-ben* is missing. It is also interesting to observe that the postposition in *vilag-bele* in (10) does not obey the rules of vowel harmony. This in turn means that this element has not yet completely lost its autonomy, although the way it is written - attached to the preceding noun - seems to suggest that the process of cliticisation has somehow started.

In (12) the form *-tu-l*, that is, the original noun / postposition + the Ablative *-l* (> Modern Hun. *-tól* ~ *-től*) is again fully a Case

ending, in the same way as *-ben* in *gimilsz-be-n* of example (9). The original noun / postposition is no longer in use in the current language, but it has been reconstructed as F-U **tiŋe* (**tūŋe*) 'root, base (of the tree), stem'. From this stem also Finn. *tyvi* and Hun. *tő* (Acc. *tőve-t*), as well as other postpositions / Case endings in Komi / Zyrian and Mordvin,³ are derived (see UEW 523 and Baker 1985).

2.3 GRAMMATICALISATION IN THE WESTERN LANGUAGES

The western U languages have developed their complex Case endings mostly through the process of co-optation (see the following paragraph). However, there are a few instances of formation of Case endings through grammaticalisation also in some western languages and dialects, such as Estonian and Ingrian. Once again, the process of grammaticalisation takes place, regularly, along the semantic, phonological and morphosyntactic pathways outlined in (1)-(3) and (4) above. Often, the two functions – postpositions and Case endings – may coexist within the same stage of language, as one would expect it to happen along the path of transition.

In Estonian, for example, we witness the gradual development of the postposition⁴ *kas ~ kaas ~ kaass* etc. 'with' (equivalent to Finn. *kanssa*) and the Comitative Case ending *-ka ~ -ga* 'with' derived from it. This process is well documented in texts since the 16th / 17th Centuries (regarding the semantic development of *-ga* see Oinas (1961)). Compare the examples (13) and (14), from Kokko (2000/2001:111), who refers to the speakers of Savakko in Estonia, and examples (15) and (16), from Laitinen-Lehtinen (1997:

³ For example, the noun /postposition derived from this stem is *-din* in Komi. In this language too, according to Baker (1985: 170), 'there is no ready-made criterion by which an element can be judged definitively a Case suffix or a postposition'.

⁴ More in detail, according to Oinas (1961), in the earliest period of the Estonian literature (16th / 17th Centuries) appeared the postpositions *kas, kaes, kaas, kaass, kahs, etc.* (which governed the Genitive case), as well as the equivalent forms in *-n*, such as *kaen, koen, kahn, gan* (the *-n* forms were, for the most part, confined to the 17th Century, with only a few examples dating from the previous and the following centuries).

7-8) – in (13) and (14) the boundary between postposition and Case ending is rather loose:

- 13) *Tämän kans puhelimme*
 this with we=talked 'we talked with this'
- 14) *minä käisin tämän kaa puhelemaa.*
 I started this with to=speak
 'I started to speak with this'
- 15) *auto-ga*
 car-with 'with the car'
- 16) *vana isa-ga*
 old father-with 'with the old father'

Similarly, in Ingrian the *-ka* elements are used both as Case endings and as postpositions (although the latter use is less frequent), the boundary between the two functions being, again, rather loose. In fact *-ka* may display Case ending type of features, such as adaptation to vowel harmony (as shown in (18a) and (18b) below), as well as postposition type of features, such as lack of casual congruence (see: *suuren työn-kä* in (20) and not **suuren-ka työn-kä*). Compare the following, western-Ingrian examples (examples (17) and (20) are from Kokko (2000/2001: 111-112); examples (18a & b) and (19) are from Oinas (1961: 49)):

- 17) *Sittem minä [menin]Akselin-kà naimisi*
 then I [went] Akseli-with marriage=into
 'then I got married to Akseli'
- 18a) *Häneŋ-kä* / 18b) *Hatuŋ-kä*
 him-with hat-with
 'with him' 'with the hat'
- 19) *Kuninkaan tüttären kans*
 king daughterwith 'with the king's daughter'
- 20) *suure-n työn-kä*
 great-Gen. work-with 'with great work'

A Comitative Case ending *-kaa* (equivalent to Est. *-ka ~ -ga* and Ing. *-ka*), can be found also in some Finnish dialects. This ending, once again, usually lacks the features typical of the Case endings (as shown in (21a & b below)), that is:

- a) it is not adapted to vowel harmony
- b) it is not added to the stem of its head-noun, as it is instead the case, for example, in Finn. *vanha-lla pöydä-llä* 'old-on table-on, on the old table'
- c) the head-noun it co-occurs with is inflected in the Genitive case, this being a feature typical of postpositions

21a) <i>Marja-n-kaa</i>	/	21b) <i>Yrjö-n-kaa.</i>
Marja-Gen.-with		Yrjö-Gen.-with
'with Maria'		'with Yrjö'

Notice, however, that adaptation to vowel harmony can be found in some very restricted dialectal areas in the Kymenlaakso region (Tytärsaari); compare for example: *kärrin-kää* 'cart-with, with the cart' (see Laitinen & Lehtinen 1997:7; see also Oinas 1961:48). This variation confirms that the element in question is indeed in a face of transition, and, therefore, of instability.

Similarly, Possessive suffixes as well as various other kinds of particles precede the element *-kaa* (Lehtinen 1997: 8). This sequence order, again, points to the fact that the *-kaa* element has not yet reached the status of Case ending, since in Finnish Possessive endings always follow Case endings, as shown in the following examples: *talo-ssa-ni* 'house-in-my, in my house', *talo-ssa-kin* 'house-in-too, in the house too', *ystävä-lle-ni* 'friend-to-my, to my friend', *ystävä-lle-kin* 'friend-to-too, to the friend too', etc. Compare the examples (22a & b) below:

22a) <i>isä-ns-kaa</i>	/	22b) <i>isä-n-ki-kaa</i>
father-his-with		father-Gen-too-with
'with his father'		'with the father too'

The following diagram by Laitinen & Lehtinen (1997: 8) shows the development of the cliticised form *-kaa* from the postposition

kanssa 'with', which, in turn, is believed to derive from *kansa-ssa*, that is, the original, independent noun *kansa* 'people'⁵ inflected in the Inessive Case:

23) *Kansa-ssa* (noun) > *kanssa* (postposition) > *-kaa* (clitic element)

At this point it is appropriate to quote Finnish forms such as *pää-llä* literally 'on the [surface of the] head', *pää-ltä* 'from the [surface of the] head', *pää-lle* 'onto the [surface of the] head', etc., which are regularly inflected forms of the ordinary noun *pää* 'head'. In addition, these forms can be in turn utilised as postpositional constructions, equivalent to the postpositional constructions of Hungarian and Khanty discussed above (the head noun being in the Genitive Case). The postpositions with the stem *pää-* appear in all the Balto-Finnic languages. Compare the following examples:

24a) *Kissa istuu pöydä-n pää-llä*
 cat sits table-Gen. head-on [surface of]
 'the cat sits on [the surface of] the table'

24b) *Kissa menee pöydä-n pää-lle*
 cat goes table-Gen. head-onto [the surface of]
 'the cat goes onto [the surface of] the table'

24c) *Kissa tulee alas pöydä-n pää-ltä*
 cat comes down table-Gen. head-from [the surface of]
 the cat comes down from [the surface of] the table

Other body parts terms which, like *pää*, can be used in a grammaticalised / postpositional function whilst still being used as ordinary nouns are the following: *käsi* 'hand', *rinta* 'chest', *kylki* 'side, flank', etc. (see Ojutkangas 2001).

⁵The word *kansa* is believed to have been borrowed from Proto-Germanic, where its meaning was '(crowd of) people'. The word is historically of the same origin as *Hansa*, the name of the medieval trade union town in Northern Germany. The meaning of '(crowd of) people' has been inherited also in Finnish.

The Estonian equivalent of the Finnish postpositions in *pää-* (as reported in (24a)-(24c)) are the postpositions derived from the noun *pea* 'head, top part of body'. Compare at this regard the local series: *pea-l* 'on', *pea-le* 'onto', *pea-lte* 'from'. Among the other postpositions (with related functions) that derive from the noun *pea* one could also quote *pea-st*, which expresses quality of state of being, whereby both the postposition *pea-st* and its head-noun are in the Elative form (except in the case of the participial form in *-nud* / *-tud*, where the head-noun is in the Nominative). The whole construction can be replaced by the Essive Case, although the two constructions may convey different semantic nuances. In other words, the Case ending and the equivalent postpositional construction are not freely interchangeable, even though both are possible from a pure grammatical point of view (see Mikone 2000: 26, 27).

25a) <i>punase-st</i> <i>pea-st</i> /	25b) <i>punase-na</i>
red-Ela. head-Ela.	red-Ess.
'as red, in a red status'	'as red, in a red status'
26a) <i>väsi-nud</i> <i>pea-st</i> /	26b) <i>väsinu-na</i>
tired-Part. head-Ela.	tired-Ess.
'as tired, in a tired status'	'as tired, in a tired status'

To conclude this line of thoughts one may observe that in Hungarian too there are a few, ordinary nouns that can also function as postpositions. We have already seen above the noun *bél* 'entrails, interior', which was used as a postposition and /or Case ending in Old Hungarian, but which has definitively turned into a Case ending in Modern Hungarian. One can now quote the lexical item *mell* 'chest, breast', which can also be used as a postposition in the current language, and which displays an interesting, coherent behaviour. If the item *mell* is used as a noun, and if it co-occurs with a Possessive and Case ending, the reciprocal order of these endings is "Possessive – Case", the normal order required in Hungarian in connection with nouns: *melle-m-ben* 'chest-my-Loc., in my chest'; compare for example *barát-om-nak* 'friend-my-Dat.,

to my friend'. If instead *mell* is used in a postpositional function then the opposite order takes place, as normally required in connection with postpositions: *melle-tt-em*⁶ 'chest-Loc.-my, beside me'; compare for example *köz-t-ük* (~ *közö-tt-ük*) 'interstice-Loc.-3rdPlu., between, among them'.

3. THE PROCESS OF CO-OPTATION / EXAPTATION

As mentioned in the Introduction, there do not seem to be exceptions to the unidirectional nature of the process of grammaticalisation, and, in particular, to the process of formation of Case endings from nouns / postpositions. More generally, the following state of affairs, as expressed by Lass (1997:258), does not appear to have been contradicted so far:

- 27a) In a given morphological environment, assuming that the phonological substance is not innovatively added to, information tends to be lost, not gained overtime
- 27b) therefore grammaticalization (in the sense of growing opacity of segments or morphs with respect to their original morpho-syntactic significance) is likely to be irreversible: all merger, no split

And, in fact, the few instances of reversals to the direction of semantic and morpho-syntactic development illustrated in (27a & b) which have been reported in the literature seem to be only apparent exceptions, due "to the addition of new (morphological or downgraded lexical) material, i.e. reanalysis", to use again Lass' (ibid.) words. In other words, these apparent 'reversals' are in reality the result of the process of 'co-optation' (also called

⁶ The other interesting phenomenon connected with the double function of this noun is the fact that different Locative endings are used in connection with one or the other function. In the nominal function the Case ending used is that secondary, complex Locative ending *-ban* ~ *-ben*, whose formation was illustrated in examples (9)-(11), whilst in the postpositional function the Case ending used is the 'primary', simple Locative *-t*, direct reflex of the (supposedly) original, P-U *-t.

'exaptation'⁷), that is the process of re-utilisation of pre-existent, non-Case material or the process of re-organisation of the original Case endings themselves in order to build new Case endings / systems. In other words, new, complex (and often coherent) sub-systems are formed through the following two stages of development:

- a) the splitting of the original, more general meaning of some of the original Cases,
- b) the combination of these old Case endings (and /or derivational and other kinds of grammatical material)

These new Case endings /systems usually are of a type which is not attributable to the Proto-language and are usually driven by quite new organisational principles.

The U languages, once again, provide a clear testimony that this is indeed the case. In fact, all the complex, secondary Case endings existing in the U area and which are not the result of grammaticalisation, appear to have been formed through the process of co-optation / exaptation, this process being still (relatively) transparent in most instances. As mentioned, this way of creating new Case endings is typical of the Western languages, including Finnish, where the type of endings re-utilised in the co-optation are mainly, but not exclusively, the primary local endings (for more details see Korhonen 1979 /1996, 1981/1996).

The following Table (taken from Marcantonio 2002: 210) shows how some new, secondary Case endings have been created in Finnish through co-optation of some pre-existing, (presumed Proto-Uralic) Case endings:

⁷ The process of co-optation is also called exaptation, from Gould & Vrba (1982), who first used this name within the field of biology and palaeontology. For more information see also Orr (1999).

**Table 1. Formation of new, 'co-optated' Case endings in Finnish
(from Marcantonio 2002: 210)**

a. Old 'primary' / simple Case endings		
Nominative	<i>kala-Ø</i>	'fish'
Essive	<i>kala-na</i>	'as a fish'
Partitive / (Ablative)	<i>kala-(t)a</i>	'some fish'
b. New 'secondary' / complex Case endings		
b.1 Interior local Cases		
Inessive	<i>kala-ssa</i> 'in [inside] the fish'	-ssa < *-s-na
Elative	<i>kala-sta</i> 'out of [the inside of] the fish'	-sta < *-s-ta
b.2 Exterior local Cases		
Adessive	<i>kala-lla</i> 'at / on the [surface of the]fish'	-lla < *-l-na
Ablative	<i>kala-lta</i> 'from [the surface of the]fish'	-lta < *-l-ta

Here, the constituent elements **-na* (Locative), **-ta* (Separative / Ablative), **-s* (Lative) and **-l* (Ablative) are all simple, primary Case endings, some of which still in use in the language in their original function, as shown in point (a.) in the Table. In addition to this, these simple endings have also been re-utilised, that is combined together with other endings and re-arranged in various (language-specific) ways, so as to create totally new Case endings, as shown in point (b.) in the Table.

To conclude, we hope to have shown that the data relating to the creation of the secondary, complex Case endings in the U languages (were they created through co-optation or through grammaticalisation) provide further evidence in favour of the widely claimed 'uni-directional' nature of the process of grammaticalisation.

ABBREVIATIONS

Dat.	Dative
Ela.	Elative
Ess.	Essive

Est.	Estonian
Finn.	Finnish
Gen.	Genitive
Hun.	Hungarian
Ing.	Ingrian
Lat.	Lative
Loc.	Locative
Part.	Partitive
Plu.	Plural
P-U	Proto-Uralic
U	Uralic

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RAIMO ANTILA

THE BALTIC-FINNIC LOANWORD SCENE
AFTER EEVA UOTILA

Recent history

In Finland, the modern comprehensive interdisciplinary surveys started in 1984 with *Suomen väestön esihistorialliset juuret* (The prehistoric roots of the population in Finland) (Gallén 1984). (Some Russian papers came out in *Finno-Ugorskij Sbornik* in 1982.) This endeavor was accompanied by various forums before and after the actual meeting at Tvärminne (on the southern coast) on 17-19 Jan 1980, so its impact in Finland was quite noticeable. Unfortunately, elsewhere it does not seem to have been noticed at all. This conference nailed down the stirrings since 1960 and launched the new era of interdisciplinary research. In the winter of 1985 I brought a copy of this book to Naples, and it fit in beautifully with Eeva Uotila's interests.¹

¹ There had been important earlier events in Estonia. An interdisciplinary conference on ethnogenesis was staged in Moscow in 1951, and from this there came out an Estonian package in Moora (1956). Moora himself points out that to date archaeologists have taken off from linguistics (41), without proper criticism (47). In prehistory archaeologists are better off than linguists, and thus they have a more reliable chronology. L. Jaanits thinks it probable that the first Stone-Age inhabitants of Estonia came from the south and pushed north when the disappearance of the ice permitted it (121). The unity in the material culture from the Baltic to the Urals need not speak for a single anthropological and linguistic unit, since contacts were likely (123), but the Finno-Ugric protolanguage can probably be placed into the Mesolithic (124). Now The Võru Institute in the south of Estonia has staged (since 1996) interdisciplinary conferences on the problems of the small Baltic-Finnic languages (for the first one, see Pajusalu & Jüvä 1997), the fourth one of which took place in Oct. 1999.)

Then there was a lull, up to the 8th International Congress of Uralic Studies which took place in the August of 1995 in Jyväskylä (At this time Eeva Uotila was to live another month, and she was no longer interested in these mundane matters). Many themes on language-and-population issues were discussed, note particularly Sammallahti (1995), and Itkonen's expanded reaction to it (1997).² Now things started to loosen up: Sammallahti suggested that Proto-Uralic (ca. 5000 BC) split into Finno-Ugric and Samoyedic about 4500 BC. The Pre-Uralians would have been the first people in the de-iced areas, giving Finland a steady population of more than 9000 years.

Excitement increased in 1997, when Unto Salo (1997a)³ starts out by saying that there is no clear method for combining archaeological and linguistic chronology, but that since 1960 the study of cultural vocabulary has given the best results (6), particularly as shown by Jorma Koivulehto. Salo assumes that the Fatyanovo culture has more Iranian admixture than others would allow (see Map A), and from there somehow he would derive the Iranian loans *vasara* 'hammer' (cf. Indra's *vajra*) (as in the cultural symbol *vasarakirves* 'battle/boat axe' [*kirves* 'axe' — of Baltic provenience]), *taivas* 'sky', and *jumala* 'god' (note that the axe butt, *hamara*, is also an Iranian loan of later times [and with some phonological problems]). A very good survey on the old Finnish religion is Salo (1997b; with an earlier shorter version in English [1990]). Of course, there were lots of Iranians further south and southeast. *Kaski* 'slash and burn plot (swidden)', *pohtaa* 'winnow', and others, would be later Pre-Germanic loans. For the latest Fatyanovo, Balanovo, and Abashevo etc. culture news, see Carpelan (1999), Parpola (1999), and Koivulehto (1999).⁴

² The Finnish Department at the University of Helsinki published a collection on Baltic Finnic topics from the areal perspective (Suhonen 1995), and for the most recent conference we have the equivalent (Laakso 2000).

³ This particular book is in Finnish only. This is why I refer to a much larger work with wider connections beyond Finland, and much more illustrations, viz. Salo (1997b). This is also in Finnish, but it does provide English and Hungarian summaries. For a roughly equivalent text in English, see Salo (1990).

⁴ Eeva was aware of the Iranian influence area (Uotila 2000, 67), but she of course could not guess how this domain would flourish so soon after her death.

Koivulehto had shown that there are Proto-Indo-European loans in Finnish and that they could have been and must have been adopted on Finnish soil. Thus, well before the Tvärminne conference, Sammallahti could also say (1977, 124):

When one considers the Comb-Ceramic culture a direct continuation of the Mesolithic Suomusjärvi culture, one has to think consequently that the Finno-Ugric or Uralic population would have lived in Finland already for about 8000 years, perhaps even longer, ever since the melting of the continental ice. That the loan-layers mentioned would have been adopted around the Gulf of Finland particularly through population movements and not through mutual interaction or areal contacts also explains in my opinion the fact that the source languages — particularly the Germanic ones — have received noticeably few loans from Early Baltic Finnic or its daughters.

The name of Suomi ‘Finland’ had seemed to be accepted as a borrowing from Baltic *žemē ‘(flat)land(s)’. This had been standard fare, and it shows in Eeva’s position on the etymology of Häme also (Uotila 2000, 10). But now Petri Kallio (1998b, 613-620) has capped the issue with incredible simplicity and finesse by going one node further back: the Indo-European Battle-Axe people (see Map A), with a uniform language during 3200-2300 BC, used their own term in and for ‘Finland’, *dheghōm > *dheghōm > ghōm ‘land’, and this would indeed regularly come out as *ćōme > *sōmi > Suomi on the Early Baltic-Finnic Comb-Ceramic side (or, better still, a derivative *ghm-ōn ‘human being’ = “groundling/earthling” ([> Lithuanian žmuō] in which the oblique stem *ghm-n- would have leveled out the ‘vocalicity’ alternation giving *ghm-ōn, and this would also go *ćōma > *sōmi > Suomi on the Baltic-Finnic side).⁵

	soome	(borrowed into Finnish)	cf. salko
[bride]	g[r]oom	(inherited in Germanic)	gallows
	humus/homo	(inherited in Latin, whence into many languages)	
	human[us]	(inherited in Latin, whence borrowed into English)	
[auto]	chthon	(inherited in Greek, whence borrowed into English)	

⁵ Other very early loans from Koivulehto (1999) are: *myydä* ‘sell’, *pelätä* ‘be afraid’, *punoa* ‘bind’, *ajaa* ‘drive’, *tuoda* ‘bring’, and so on.

	žmuõ	(inherited in Baltic [Lithuanian])
Hitt	t[e]kan	
Skt	ksam-	ETC. with the original initial consonant cluster still there

Let us echo Eeva's teaching strategy (on/around *Häme*) with the above line-up of cognates, here with an English emphasis:

*Soom*e here sports the Proto-Finnish shape, which is still the language and the country's name in Estonian (note that *suomi* was indeed the name of the person also [*suomalainen*], whereas in Estonian that is *soomlane*). The root structure here is a very unusual one (= original) in that there is an initial consonant cluster with a dental (D) and a velar (G). Generally the dental gets dropped, but in Greek the order has been reversed (and the devoicing of aspirates is quite automatic there). Thus the general pattern is: [C]C-(V-)C- = *ǵh*-(V-)m-; the V(owel) alternations (*sing~sang~sung*) not gone into here. Hittite and Sanskrit roots have been added (boxed in) for the original cluster. Hittite shows the original DG-sequence, whereas Sanskrit goes with Greek GD-. A typical historical irony is provided by the cultural metaphor of *Suomi-neito* 'the Maiden Finland' (with all those lurking threats and dangers around her) in that the *Suomi*-part is identical with the *groom* of *bridegroom* (Gothic [etc.] *guma* 'man'). It is also funny that grooming has given the *r* in here, although bridegrooms are not even supposed to see the bride before the wedding ceremony. History always wins, and we have to take it, of course. The correspondence of the borrowed PIE palatal velars **k* and *ǵh* as *s* in Finnish (as established by Koivulehto beyond any doubt) is here buttressed only with *salko* 'pole' and English *gallows*. In English, velars do not stay much put (cf. German *Galgen* for the latter), e.g., against the inherited *say/saw*, one can immediately spot *saga* as a loan.

This is how scholarly progress plods on. The best explanation of *Häme* now comes from Proto-Germanic **sǣma*- 'dark' **šämä* > **Hämä* (Koivulehto 1997, 161-162, 1998, 428-429).⁶

Back to the rich year 1997, starting with a brief mention of

⁶ Eeva would have taken great delight in Salo (2000), which depicts the gradual "Finlandization" of Häme. Salo is also well versed in the modern scene about

Julku (1997). The title of this volume is tough to translate, since it is given as a neologism on all the lands where Baltic Finnic has ever been spoken (cf. lower case *itämerensuomi* [Baltic Sea Finnish =] 'ostseefinnisch; [Baltic] Finnic' (1997, 5). This work is quite hard to understand, and the general reaction to it has been: 'why was it published at all?'. It is maintained there that Uralic was spoken all over (eastern and northern) Europe (to the Rhine). This line is given as a "breakthrough" by a small coterie (see Künnap 1998a), although it is just science-fiction speculation without any hard evidence (see Mikone 1996, 1999). It is based on the worst approach to science, viz. subjective idealism (what we do not know not to be true).⁷ There is now a cluster of scholars also in Finland who go vehemently against the family tree and in favor of (all kinds of) contact phenomena, and so it is no wonder that this is a high mass for Trubetzkoy's convergence idea (for which there are no parallels, and indeed generally no acceptance at all). The idea is that different languages living in symbiosis become one. Unfortunately there are no known cases of this. Competent linguists have always known the complementarity of isogloss maps and family trees and the problems in each (see Itkonen 1999, Anttila 2000b).

Like Tvärminne (on the southern coast), Lammi is a University of Helsinki research station (inland in Häme)⁸, the place for a follow-up symposium on the one in Tvärminne 1980, called 'The

Suomi etc. Another joy for her would have been the latest edition of *Suomen kartasto* (see bibl.), an excellent summary of Finnish geology, economy, etc. These progressive explication steps are very sobering, of course. When I carefully chose inherited Nostratic material in 1969 as good examples, I ended up with *nime-/name* and *vete-/water* (Anttila 1989:320). Both Finnish items have now been proved to be PIE loans by Koivulehto. Eeva's explanation of Finnish *sampa* (from Iranian) as closest to Sanskrit *śamba* 'column' (Uotila 2000, 49-70) seems now to be going back to the largely synonymous *stambha* (Koivulehto 1999, 230). But her cultural-mythological explication remains. This work of hers is mentioned in the newest edition of the Sanskrit etymological dictionary. Fennists usually do not get this far.

⁷ Still, as is typical in life, the president of Estonia recently bestowed medals of honor to such random "trail-blazers".

⁸ Lammi was Eeva's stomping grounds, next door to Hämeenlinna, where she collected place names (see Uotila 2000, 15).

Roots of the Population in Finland', 8-11 Oct 1997 (see Mikone [1998], Künnap [1998b]). There was an archaeological epiconference for it (in Lammi in April 1998), and open sessions about it for the general public in Helsinki, to introduce it (3 Sept 1977) and to sum the findings up (10 Dec 1997). These Lammi proceedings have come out in *Bidrag till kännedom av Finlands natur och folk*, see Fogelberg (1999). The sections were organized around the headings of the Uralic homeland, the prehistory of the Lapps (Saami), the Pre-Finns and the Indo-Europeans, and the Finns as settlers of Finland.

Both Mikone's and Künnap's accounts of the contents of this conference are detailed. There is a fair amount of overlap between this conference and the ones in Berlin 1997 and Tvärminne 1999 (listed below), both in participants and their topics. To be noted for our needs here is Koivulehto's contribution (1999). From this epoch-making article of his, which pulls the importance of Iranian loans up to par with those from Baltic and Germanic (supported also by Asko Parpola), I present only his chronology of layers:

1. Pre-Aryan loanwords: Finnish *kehrä* 'spindle', Lapp **kertte* 'bind' (i.e., unpal-atalized velars still before a retained *e*)
2. Early Proto-Aryan loanwords: *herätä* 'wake up', *voi* 'butter'
3. Early Proto-Iranian loanwords: *syntyä* 'be born', **teksa* '10' (in *kahdeksan* '8' and *yhdeksän* '9', with the palatal still as an affricate, *ts* > *ks* obligatory on the Finnish side)
4. Proto-Iranian loanwords: (earlier) *maksaa* 'pay', (later) *huhta* 'swidden'⁹

It is not only noticeable that there are so many Iranian loans, but also that most of them appear in Baltic Finnic and Lapp, and often only there. Thus the original area of occupation of the Iranian tribes cannot be put too far east.

Finnland-Institut in Deutschland staged a symposium 'Das Volk,

⁹ Other Aryan loans, here without indication of the actual layer, from Koivulehto (1999) are: *mesi* 'honey', *vene* 'boat', *arvo* 'value', *sata* '100', *orpo* 'orphan', *sarvi* 'horn', *suoli* 'gut', *vuori* 'mountain', *vuosi* 'year', and so on.

das aus der Kälte kam' — Zum Ursprung der Finnen, 6-7 November 1997 (in German). Koivulehto repeated his evidence for early Indo-European contacts with a western tilt. Esa Itkonen defended the necessity of the family-tree concept and its ontological reality through the uniformitarian principle. Juha Janhunen contemplated Eurasian homelands (as also at Lammi 1997). He goes against wide-spread original areas, and asks whether Uralic would be different from the other language families, which almost without exception came either from the Near or the Far East (in the Neolithic)? Uralic seems to be somewhat older than Indo-European and Semitic. It is also unlikely that Uralic was the first family in Fennoscandia after the ice; its center of expansion should have lain further south and east. Many papers dealt with the genetics of Finns and Lapps, and the archaeological component was strong. The most elegant Lapp solution is Carpelan's scenario (in his recent works) that Forest Finland was Lapland, and this agrees with Salo's ideas also (see now particularly Salo [2000]). Thus the current Lapps are perhaps genetically Komsa remnants, but their language comes from Finland and Karelia (Early Baltic Finnic). As for population genetics, two opposing views were presented, one with a gene spread from west to east, and the other going the other way.¹⁰

The conference on 'Contacts Between Indo-European and Uralic Speakers from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age in the Light of Linguistics and Archaeology', 8-10 January 1999, continued the line established before. This was the first of the conferences in Finland not restricted to Finns and the Finnish language — it was international and in English. This was also the first time that Indo-Europeanists and Uralists sat together.

Koivulehto continued his arguments for early Indo-European (1) loans with a wide distribution in the Finno-Ugric languages, and (2) loans attested only in the west. Curiously, the latter group bears witness on a more archaic stage, e.g., in the preservation of Indo-

¹⁰ The contributions by Carpelan (= 1998 in the bibl. below), Janhunen, Norio, and Samallahti have appeared in *Jahrbuch für finnisch-deutsche Literaturbeziehungen* (Mitteilungen aus der deutschen Bibliothek) 30, Helsinki 1998.

European **e* in Indo-Iranian material. Thus we have Lapp *gæw're* 'circular thing, ski-pole basket, shaman's drum' < **kekrä*, with an Indo-Iranian *r*, vs. *gæw'le* 'circular thing, halo', with a Proto-Indo-European *l*, which must be a Proto-Indo-European or a (Pre-)Germanic loan of the same item (= English *wheel*). In other words, the yearly cycle is considered a "wheel". Koivulehto also interprets Finnish *kekri*, the old harvest festival (modern All Saints' Day), as a loan from Pre-Aryan **kekra-* < **k^we-k^wl-o-*, and dissimilation of the initial in this gives us the Germanic *Yule*, with **k^wek^wl-* > **yek^wl-*

Proto-Indo-European mother language	Inheritance in daughter languages	Loans in Finnish	Loans in Lapp/Saami	
	population OU/L/E	+		Loan (& depth) with → and /
	column, cult L/E	+		
	colony L/E	+		
	teleology Gk/E	+		
{ <i>*k^wel(h)-</i> 'go around'	→ kulkea			+ These terms also in Finnish
	→ <i>gæw'le</i>			
{ <i>*k^wek^wlos</i> <i>*runner</i> = 'wheel'	→ <i>gæw're</i>			
	<i>*kekra-</i> Iranian	→ kekri		
	wheel, hjul, etc. Gmc			
	jul/Yule Scn/E	→ joulu		
	kuklos/cycle Gk/E/Sw	→ sykli		

(Symposium at the University of Turku, Dec. 18, 1998; see now Koivulehto 1999). PIE **yēro-* (> Gmc *year*) is the yearly cycle (in 'going [around]' terminology) as also in **yērā*, reflected in Hera and the heroes, etc.

The underlying root in this formation is **k^wel(h)-*, some of its progeny and kidnappings can be listed in the adjoining chart as a perspicuous summary of the situation (à la Uotila).

These lines agreed with the contributions of Parpola on the Iranian and Sammallahti on the Lapp side. Koivulehto's conclusion:

The very old contacts of the western branch of Uralic with Northwest Indo-European on the one hand, and with Pre-Aryan, Pre- and Early Proto-Aryan on the other, suggest that even the oldest Uralic homeland inferable from lexical contacts between Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Uralic should be located not very far (south-)east of the ancient regions of Baltic Finnic and Lapp, and the hypothesis of an Asian homeland should be rejected. In the present situation, the best alternative seems

to be Central/Western Russia. The westward spread of the westernmost Uralic languages seems to have coincided with the westward spread of the (later) Combed-Ware culture (4000-3600 BC).

Eugen Helimski defended the Indo-Uralic hypothesis according to inductive principles and the uniformity hypothesis ('Practically this means accepting only such claims and explanations which can be confirmed with exact analogies from the current experience of diachronic studies'). Direct evolution (= family trees are fully valid) and lateral kinship ("mixture" = relexification) both exist, whereas areal affinity à la Trubetzkoy is a phantom and is never attested. Of course, it is theoretically possible, but induction and the uniformity hypothesis throw it out.

Induction is when you let the hard facts guide you, like the sheriff's hand on your shoulder. The above does not seem to be the inductive principle any longer, but an a priori preference for inheritance over borrowing, a stance that has been strong among Finnish scholars also.¹¹

ADDITIONAL RECENT EXAMPLES

The best way of attaining any reasonable chronology is through loanwords connected with archaeology. That seems to be about the only way, because linguistics alone can only produce relative chronology. The best overall chronology is that we have Proto-Indo-European loans during the Battle-Axe period and (Proto-) Baltic loans during the Kiukainen phase (Kallio 1998a, 215). Witness Salo (1997a, 43):

A new culture spread into southern and western Finland during the Late Comb-Ceramic time, the Battle-Axe or Corded-Ware culture (cal. 3200-2500, conv. 2500-2100). All of its blade shapes, viz. battle axes, four-sided straight axes, and 'shoulder' axes,

¹¹ See Häkkinen (1999) and Mallory (1999) for reports on this conference. The proceedings of the conference "Contacts Between Indo-European and Uralic Speakers from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age in the Light of Linguistics and Archaeology" (8-10 January 1999) will come out (in English!) any moment now in the series *Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* (Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia) in Helsinki.

were foreign, and so was the stoneware and its production technique. Also its burial customs and grave shapes differed from those in the Comb-Ceramic culture, and it chose its dwelling sites differently from the Comb-Ceramic people: the Battle-Axe culture often avoided the open sea and lake shores, but settled on the banks of small brooks, ponds, or little lakes. And differing from the Comb-Ceramic people, the Battle-Axe tribes also preferred the inland, although they did not refuse the coast either.

From such differences one has assumed that the Battle-Axe culture was a foreign culture brought in by immigrants from the south. Indeed, Finland's Battle-Axe culture belongs to a big Battle-Axe-culture complex... (see Map A)

Eeva was aware of the demographic and archaeological background of the division between Forest and Field Finland (Uotila 2000, 15; see Map A, area 3 vs. the rest of Finland), but she could not have guessed how this domain would bloom, almost as if in her memory. In this context I cannot help mentioning two etymologies of mine, beginning with Finnish *oja* 'brook, ditch', Estonian *oja* 'brook, small river' (for the details, see Anttila 2000a, 240-242, 260-261, Anttila 2000b, 507-512), inasmuch as I did have her actual support in pursuing these cases.¹² The word *oja* had been a considerable enigma, and it was generally considered as a substratum item. On the basis of Latin *agmen* 'riverbed' and Greek *ἀγωγαί* 'aqueducts', the latter of which clearly sports **oǵā* or *ωγά*, I took *oja* likewise from that o-grade — as a derivation from the verbal base **aǵ-* 'drive'. I ran into objections by fellow scholars: 1) a VC- shape is too meagre to give us a solid hold, 2) the semantic connection is not justified or is too weak, 3) the exact source form is not attested, and 4) an o-grade is not attested for the root anyway.

1) is true, of course, but the judgement does not rest on that alone (and cf. the short pronouns). 3) is not that serious; consider the fact that everybody has accepted Finnish *aisa* 'thill' as Baltic, although the word is not attested there. 4) *ἀγωγαί* and actually

¹² In fact, Eeva actually kicked my book forward (see Anttila 2000a, 17), and so it is quite fitting that we/you could bring out her book in the same year. Furthermore, my book is dedicated to her memory (Anttila 2000a, xi).

some other forms do show o-grade. To counter 2) I amassed parallels from seven other Indo-European roots of going, driving, and moving semantics, and from three in Germanic, among them *drove* 'ditch, irrigation channel' in East Anglia. This has now helped, objections seem to have died down. One of my parallels was Lithuanian *vagà* 'furrow; riverbed' from the **weǵh*-cluster (way/vehicle), although it contains centum phonetics. Now Orr (2000) has come to my aid by providing evidence for a centum **ag-* 'drive' in Slavic. Even if one would not believe in *oǵā* in Tyrolian *āche* 'brook', the matter seems to be so obvious that one really wonders why this has not been seen before. Brugmann's phonetics has been available for over a century, and it matches *oja* perfectly. Maybe we do not like perfection. The Salo quote above justifies the general context quite nicely. When the earlier Comb-Ceramic population absorbed the Battle-Axe speakers, the former would no doubt have noticed place names like *oja this* and *oja that* associated with that kind of terrain and habitation. It is interesting, and reassuring, that Nuutinen, another combattant of Eeva's (Uotila 2000, 16), had come to the same position (1992, 133):

It is worth noticing that among the Baltic loan words there are some very central and important words denoting nature elements: *järvi* 'lake', *lahti* 'bay', *malo* 'shore', *salu* 'a big forest' (< 'island'), *virta* 'stream'. It might be suggested that these originally have come to the language as components of place names (*Ilmajärvi*, *Hattelmala*, *Lammassalo* etc.).

Eeva was a gentle and cautious etymologist, not prone for wild speculation, but when the material required it, she could make a bold move. It is no wonder that she supported my *oja*-etymology, when one considers her own *hinta* 'price' from the Baltic '100' (Lithuanian *šimtas*) (Uotila 2000, 129-132, 139-140). She bridged this semantic gap with the money of Forest Finland, viz. pelts. Squirrel pelts were small coin, a bundle of about a hundred of them corresponded to the bigger furry notes like bear or fox skins. The shape of *hinta* obviously betrayed a loan, and Koivulehto has smiled in admiration for her solution, because he had not seen the semantic justification. I probably go beyond her allowance in some of my semantic justifications in the driving

domain, e.g., in Anttila (2000a, 209-217, 228-238).

The Finnish etymological dictionaries generally shun loan etymologies and rather go for anything else, most notably for onomatopoeitic or descriptive explanations, maybe in about 20% of the entries (cf. Rytkönen's *vihä*; Uotila 2000, 124). Just dropping in such an assessment is supposed to solve the issue with scholarly acumen and elegance. One family that falls under such a sentence is Finnish (and Estonian) *ahav(a)*, *aho* (wind and meadow). In more detail (from Anttila 2000a, 244-245, in selection):

Finnish *aho* 'meadow, clearing' (slash-and-burn land left unsown and wild to grow over, a field left fallow, good forested high ground, low wet ground, swamp). Dial. Estonian *ahu* and Votic *aho* 'barren useless field' extend the ground meanings to the southern side of the Gulf of Finland.

Finnish *ahava* 'dry sunny spring wind, and the chapped skin or tan it produces; hot dry summer time; haste, hurry' (also *ahva* and various derivatives; Est.*ahav* 'dry cold piercing wind').

Estonian *ahhe* 'dry cold chapping wind', *aho*, *ahatuul* 'dry cold wind (tuul)', *kõue aha*, *ahapilv* 'thunder cloud', reminds one of Finnish *ukkonen ajaa* (and *taivaan äijä ajaa* "the old man of the sky drives"), which matches Swedish *åskan går*, *Torn går* "the thunder goes", *åsen kör*, *Torn åker* "Thor drives", not to mention Fi *ajopilvi* 'drift cloud'. In fact, *thoråk* "Thor-drive" is 'thunder', and *åska* itself hails from a structure seen in Old Icelandic *ásekja* "god-carting" (god = Thor) (in the 1600s still Sw. *åsekia*, *åskja*, etc.). Tuule *ahad* 'thin clouds drifting in wind' provides solid evidence for the base *aha*, without a suffix.

Since the Icelandic carting is clearly driving, as are Swedish *köra* and *åka*, one gets a natural suggestion that also *aha* would be driving (the suffix *-va* is no problem). This now looks a parallel to the Finnish *aisa*-case, since there is no **āžā* attested. But consider the following wind names (Anttila 2000a, 245-249):

Lithuanian *pietinis* (*laūnagis*) 'S wind'—*ožinis* 'SE wind'—*šakšinis* 'SW wind'

Latvian *laūnadzīš*—*āzinis*—*saksinis*

Over half of these are borrowed from Baltic Finnic, e.g., from Estonian/Livian. The SW wind as a Baltic-Finnic wind from *Saksa* 'Germany' makes perfect sense.

Both language communities on the Kuronian peninsula (Kuršių nerija) distinguish between the south and east winds as long (*ilgas/garaiš*) or short (*trumpas/īsaiš*) *ožinis/āzinis*: Kurschat's Lithuanian dictionary gives these as SSE and ESE winds respectively, and here the latter would hit the exact terrain situation (as would SSW for *ilgas/garaiš*), but of course such precision is not necessary (see Map B). The most favorable wind for casting off into the wide Baltic or reaching the openings of the "lagoons" (Haffe) was indeed the SE wind. On its home wavy wet turf, *ožinis* is exactly such a favorable carrying/driving wind. Its opposite in the Gulf of Riga is *sāmenis* (Lith. *sómenis*) 'NW wind', i.e., wind from *Sāmu sala* (*zeme*) 'The isle (land) of the *Sāma* (literally the island of the Suomi) = Saaremaa/Ösel', but also N wind, which would fit the Kurland peninsula (Kurzemes augustiene) experience. Going straight out to sea is indeed easiest with the SE wind in this corner of the Baltic, and it becomes understandable why the wind along the peninsula would be more southerly and long, and why across the strip the wind would be short, and from a more easterly direction. (For the wind terms and their directions, see Map B. West of the thick broken line we have the grounds of the earliest [*]Soome/Suomi.)

I am not able to provide ten parallels from a driving wind, but there are good parallels from a carrying wind and a wafting wind, and since **bher-* 'carry' and **weġh-* 'move along' are intimate kissing cousins of **aġ-* 'drive', the matter is about settled (Anttila 2000a, 241, 248). Most important is the following evidence from Russian (Anttila 2000a, 249): The basic *výgon* "drive-away" roughly covers the casting-off situation, in usages connected with wind and water. Here *výgon* designates 'subsidence of water driven away from the coast by winds, subsidence of water in river mouths falling into the sea or a lake, high driving wind, rise of water caused by winds'. On the Volga we get 'north(ern)' and on the Severnaja Dvina 'south(ern)', which add driving terms as orientation terms. It is the adjective *výgonnyj* pertaining to the "watery" *výgon*

that is almost startling, meaning ‘productive (proizvodjáščij)’, i.e., favorable in this context: *výgonnyj véter* ‘wind blowing from the shore and driving water from the shore to the sea’. This typological parallel makes one more confident about the possibility that *ožinis* was built on an **āžā*, **ažà*, or **ožà* ‘drive’ and ‘driving wind’ in Baltic, reflecting PIE **agā* or **ogā* — the suggested source of *oja*.

HOW DOES IT ALL ADD UP?

The above examples were chosen to celebrate Eeva Uotila’s memory and her life’s work and worth (as represented in Uotila 2000). My treatment intimates that she used proper historical and philological methods that have not become antiquated or superseded (cf. her reaction to Mäkeläinen; Uotila 2000, 71). The material shows that the line continues and keeps on getting very rich results. Thus it was quite surprising that at the memorial at the Istituto Universitario Orientale on 6 Dec (the Finnish Independence Day) 2000 Nullo Minissi expressed the opinion that Eeva’s work was/is badly antiquated. Such a position is utterly false and a glaring and embarrassing faux pas; thus a few words on how ‘modern is not necessarily better’ seem to be in order:

The reaction to her book (Uotila 2000) has been very good indeed, in just the couple of months after its appearance. The number-one linguist in Finland and Eeva’s friend, Esa Itkonen, told that he had not known that Eeva had treated syntax, because he was only aware of her loanword studies. In the current fashion of serial-verb investigations the new generation treads partially on old ground, as it were. Taking along also the nominal phrases Eeva had treated the same in her 1980 article (Uotila 2000, 246-252), with a wider sweep in that Indo-European was included. This “richer” perspective might shed some cold water on the serial-verb ecstasy. She showed that both in Lithuanian and Finnish the asyndetic paratagms occur predominantly with nouns, and in Finnish with the instrumental and object cases. Even here she finds the field/forest items as fossilized remnants. The general situation seems to point to original parataxis, although in verbal constructions the first verb is often ‘to go’ or ‘to take’, and these

would indeed come close to future and inchoative meanings/structures. Hers is still a valuable contribution and shows that some of the modern claims might be premature. Here we have concrete support for Terho Itkonen's plea for the need of putting Eeva's work within single covers (cf. Uotila 2000, 18). Esa Itkonen's comment properly points out that we were negligent in not commenting on her work on syntax in our introduction. We overlooked it by concentrating on her much stronger thrust in loanwords.

There is a faction among the Finnish young(er) generation of language scholars (and of course elsewhere in the world as well) that anything done by the oldies is bad and without value, and anything produced by the new age-set is the absolute glory of scientific achievement (then there are some of the banished age like Minissi who join the youthful "revolution" of nonsense). This is of course utterly absurd, but most practitioners want to be "modern" — belonging is more important than being right — and that is fashion. Another contributing factor is the fact that previous work is not known any longer, there is no time for that because one has to keep up with modern "theory".¹³ Perhaps because of these attitudes etymological research in Finland is in the pits (exceptions here and there do not essentially change the scene). The situation agrees wonderfully with the deconstructionist idea of "anything goes", but it is still wrong, of course — and, in a way, a national shame. Further, there is in Finland a sentiment that one does not take issue with one's colleagues' work, although that is the very maxim in international scholarship.¹⁴ This stance does not nip out nonsense in the bud, but lets it mushroom and

¹³ This slant is quite prevalent in the world today, e.g., take as a recent example Gildea (2000). This book carries quite seasoned and good linguists, but the editor's preface lets it be understood that only now can we understand things and make progress. This is easy, when one decrees the past inoperative. Only that way.

¹⁴ One contributing factor to this attitude is the fact that the scholars take turns in sitting in the committees that deal out research money. I have been told by more than one colleague that "Of course I can't or won't say anything because she deals out the money!" Revenge-taking through denial of grants is common in America also, but here it is more through (theoretical) school attachment, not so bluntly personal affront.

build up younger egos in the wrong way. But one can tolerate this travesty only so far. Koivulehto (2001) now takes up the voice of reason against the degeneration of etymology in Finland.¹⁵ He concentrates on two books that have recently appeared in the reputable series *Suomalais-Ugrilaisen Seuran Toimituksia / Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* — one by Eino Koponen, who pushes onomatopoeic-descriptive solutions at any cost, and the other by Kari Liukkonen, who wants to find Baltic loan sources everywhere. The sensible principles of our field are happily thrown out as old-fashioned baggage, and total arbitrariness is glorified as new science. E.g., Koponen wants the solid Iranian suggestion for *kehrä* (above) to be ousted by his onomatopoeic-descriptive root **keä-* and stem vowel *-ä*, and the semantic justification of **keä* > *kehä* would be ‘the sound of a rotating disk-like thing’. The free association method used by Liukkonen produces gems like *hinta* as an original Baltic participle ‘known’, because prices are known (in my experience prices are more often not known). *Suomi* allegedly comes from Baltic ‘stature’ (Lithuanian *stuomen-*), because it might have meant ‘tribe’ (as in German *Stamm*). *Lucus a non lucendo?*

Koivulehto would not be too alarmed, if this kind of random juggling would be restricted to just two persons. Unfortunately this practice also permeates the new *Suomen sanojen alkuperä: etymologinen sanakirja* (The origin of Finnish words: etymological dictionary; alias *SSA*) (Finnish Literature Society 1992, 1995, and 2000), in that some of this nonsense is at least listed as a viable alternative, as is e.g. true of *Suomi*. The main daily in Finland, *Helsingin Sanomat*, had a big spread on the completion of this dictionary (11 Dec 2000, page B8). There was a proud announcement that almost 10,000 words had been explained, and further that the committee mastered all the languages of Europe, old and new! (the book contains startling elementary language defects). It was also mentioned that all the workers involved had landed their jobs accidentally, in other words, they had no training for

¹⁵ The journal here, as well as for Mikone (1999) is *Tieteessä Tapahtuu* (It happens in science), which is to be commented for being one of the rare ones courageous enough to publish criticism.

the task.¹⁶ But once you land a job you are also competent in re. Also the national TV news reported the completion (30 Dec 2000): the editor-in-chief pointed out that there are more loans than they had thought (this can now be interpreted in the vein that Koivulehto was right after all). The editors have said that what is not included in the book has been truly appreciated and found rejectable. The unevenness is furthered by the fact that there has not been joint polishing of the entries, rather, each “expert” has worked independently on entries assigned to her. How can this lead to true appreciation?¹⁷

Another curious development comes out: The meaning of the word *etymologist* (etymologi) has drastically changed in Finland. It now means somebody who compiles etymologies from literature and from those scholars who actually work them out. Such people prefer to call themselves etymologists. In other words, a typical Finnish etymologist has not necessarily worked out a single etymology herself. Now one sees why one does not need training, because one just picks out items from the shelves¹⁸ These people pass out random judgement on the actual, creative, innovative researchers, and only the former are considered experts (and get the grants). And indeed, what proves that the above assessment is right is that Ulla-Maija Kulonen, the editor-in-chief of the *SSA*, has responded to Koivulehto in *Tieteessä Tapahtuu* 2/2001, the very next issue. She calls her piece “Etymologin älähdys”, ‘a yelp by an/the etymologist’, because she has lately been particularly practicing

¹⁶ It is further told that the old boys hand-led the young ones into their tasks. This seems to be wishful thinking, active forgetting, or worse.

¹⁷ I reviewed (Anttila 1993) Koivulehto’s epoch-making book (1991) (which makes Uralic evidence about more important than Hittite for the Proto-Indo-European laryngeals) by also looking at how his etymologies fared in the first volume of the new etymological dictionary. I found a rather random unjustified four-tier grid for them. I was chastised by the editor-in-chief to the effect that when one reviews a book one is not supposed to refer beyond it at all. The etymological editors are the alleged *arbitri elegantiae*, but, in a way, it is a secret tribunal whose decisions should not be made public, because people who mention them get chastised, or worse.

¹⁸ This is how they have explained almost 10,000 words, mostly from the shelves, where they allegedly did not exist, until they were picked up for this dance.

the evaluation of etymological research. In other fields nobody should be, or can be, a judge unless she has worked in the subject to a certain level herself (an exception are of course American judges who generally are failed lawyers in one sense or another, and music critics fare about the same— but should they be a model for anything?). The upshot is that the ones who do the real work are somehow always pushed aside. It has been said that philologists are harmless drudges, so the addition of “real” etymologists as faithful drones for queen bees does not add a noticeable surprise. There is also a strong sentiment that this kind of parasitic etymologizing will continue, and it is mentioned (*HS*) that Kulonen will train the next generation of etymologists.¹⁹

Paired with Kulonen’s yelp is Juha Janhunen’s “About the methods of etymology” (the exchanges are labeled hereafter JK, UMK, and JJ). UMK points out that Koponen’s work must be excellent, because it got such a high mark at the university screening. Without taking issue with this case one must point out that such an in-house evaluation is not necessarily reliable; times have changed. And since the Finno-Ugric Society has wanted to further discussion it has actively prompted Liukkonen, because the community of etymologists eagerly waited for these new ideas (One would indeed like to know what this community is). Anyway, we are told that we can now be happy that there is more reason to discuss, although, one feels, JK’s ideas should not be allowed. It is not necessary to point out that there is no one single method, because that is what competent philologists have always maintained, and JK said it also. And of course sometimes etymological alternatives are equal (UMK). JJ points out that the situation is not as dismal as how JK

¹⁹ That clerks rule over scholars is, alas, too often true in state bureaucracies. The important unit that produces these dictionaries, the Research Centre for the Languages of Finland (Kotimaisten kielten tutkimuskeskus) in its various earlier other shapes and names was originally a network of archives with clerical workers — then and now a real national treasure. To varying percentages these were promoted into researchers; thus apparently came their power to pass judgement, although they strongly continue the clerical aspects, e.g., mainly in tracing bibliographies. They are secure in their positions, and there is hardly any hurry to produce results, and quality controls are lacking. One (non-Finnish) scholar has likened this structure and behavior to a Soviet bureaucracy in that a huge number of workers produces rather meager results.

sees it, because etymological research is dialectic (note that JK admitted that the results are always relative). He insinuates that only etymologists would follow the famous Drunkard's Search (= it is easier to seek for the lost key under the street light, because it is lighter there), all people tend to use their best knowledge, if they can. The good thing is that Liukkonen produces a maximal paradigm for Baltic loans which others can whittle down (but of course not JK). JJ finds it obvious that JK takes the other extremity by pruning out correct etymologies (says who?). In reality Liukkonen and JK are as etymologists allegedly rather equal, because Liukkonen's wilder semantic leaps are matched by JK's complicated sound developments (no one else has seen these), and when these scholars clash, credibility resides rather with Liukkonen. Baltic loans are a fact, whereas Pre-Germanic ones are just a hypothesis, because their chronological, areal, and typological problems have to date not been credibly solved

This has been a typical ploy: others have theories, JK just hypotheses. Apparently the hint at JK's bad sound laws would be his original *Suomi*-suggestion. Note that this is one case only, and in fact given up in favor of Kallio's solution (not mentioned by JJ at all). Characteristic of JK's work are meticulous sound laws and semantic developments, and this makes him superior to others. JJ concludes about *Suomi* that Liukkonen's solution is the simplest, but most obviously all the etymologies presented are wrong, because we do not know the birth context of the word. A wise etymologist recognizes her helplessness in front of an overwhelming task. Drudges sow, judges know. It is utterly false to accuse JK of using so-called root etymologies, because he has always been adamantly against them, although Indo-European cannot operate without them (Anttila 2000a, 257-258). Some of my Indo-Uralic connections are said to exemplify the most extreme form of root etymologies, although I do not know where I would have presented Indo-Uralic equations at all (later Baltic loans, though, without roots). JK has in fact blamed my *oja*-case as a bad root etymology, but I do not think it is one (see above), and even my *aha*-cluster is not a root equation (see above). In any case, the presentation of my stuff as worse than Koponen's and

Liukkonen's does not pull down JK's work — in fact, it should lift it up!

A common ploy in polemics is putting up a straw man, and then tearing it down. There is much of that in the repartees. In a way both UMK and JJ are pulling rank, and that is indeed handy with the general public. Mentioning (actually non-existing) problems sounds so ominous — it is a tactic like *praeteritio*. What would JK's areal problems be? One must assume that they clash with JJ's own *Drunkard's Search in Siberia*. A wise etymologist just gives up? If Aharon Dolgopolsky were right in that all Iranian loans in Finnish had been found out by about 25 years ago (by Aulis Joki and himself; see Anttila 2000b, 505) and JK had wisely given up, would we be better off? I have not noticed that competent etymologists generally think that all words can be explained (JJ), and does JK really think that there are no uncovered substratum words in Finnish? In fact, competent philologists have to accept historical evidence and results as full of gaps. But one tries to do the best one can.

If JK's sound correspondences are so shaky, why would the SSA go way beyond them in arbitrariness? *Paljon* 'much' from Germanic **felu* is quite impossible, and should not be there even with its label ?. And then the same mark goes to JK's admirable solution for *vakka* '(sowing) basket' from Baltic — as certain a connection as any in the field. Further, *aja-* ~ **ag-* 'drive' is allegedly uncertain because of its consonant, whereas this very correspondence is one of the best things JK has established (see above). Apparently a palatal velar corresponding with a yod is one of the phonetic difficulties JK's critics face. And so it goes.

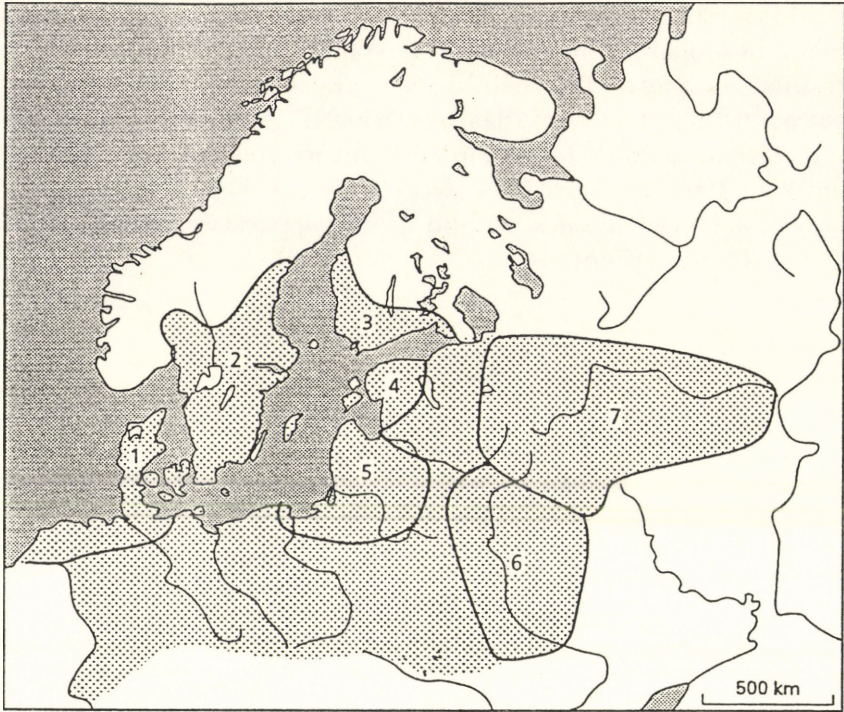
In conclusion, **felu* comes in handy after all: viel Feind, viel Ehre! The honor goes to JK, and not to his sparrers and parriers. He is well above yelping bitches and Siberian huskies. But generally, though, it's a dog's life!

* * *

How indeed does it all add up? In this kind of atmosphere and situation one can say that Eeva Uotila was not "modern" — and she was proud of it. She saw only the first volume of the

dictionary (1992), and found it rather high-handed. Better than being fashionably modern is to do solid work with more lasting results. As one of the shelf-stockers (rather than a mere shelf-extractor) also her work has occasionally gotten short shrift in the dictionary. Eeva loved Finland, but maybe she was lucky to work in Italy, to escape the worst fashion webs in her native land²⁰, although she needed and greatly appreciated the facilities at the Research Centre.

²⁰ The Finnish Literature Society, into whose membership she was invited, was not interested in publishing her selected/collected works, because "they might not sell as a book". At the same time they did publish Olli Nuutinen's memoirs about his life as a gay man, although his book does not have any perceptible deserving literary value. Nuutinen was a good scholar and a good person(ality), cherished by us all, particularly by Eeva — and not only a linguist, but a polyglot. The Istituto Universitario Orientale deserves our warmest thanks for actually supporting scholarship in her case.

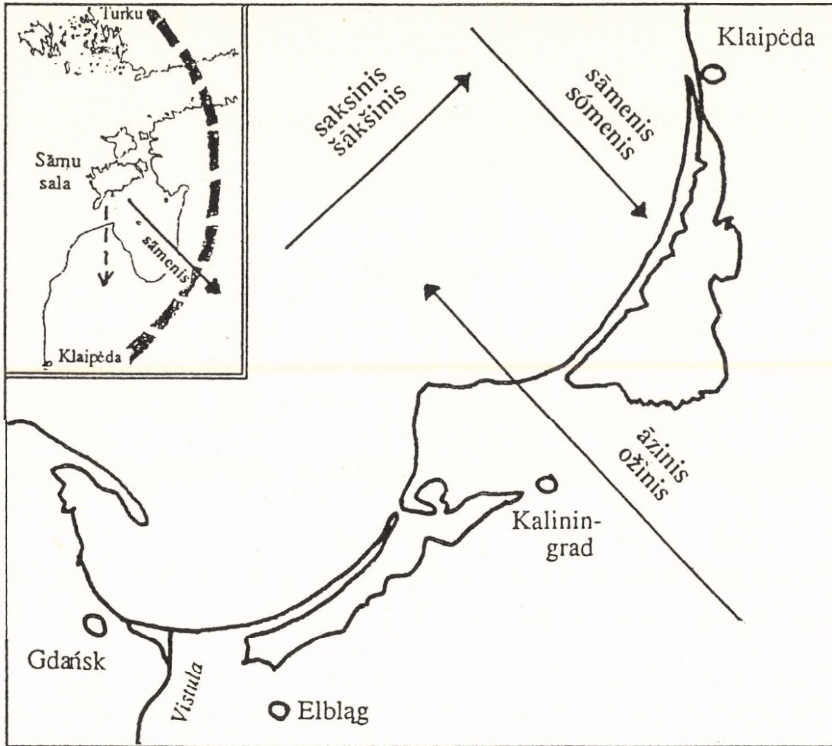


Map A

Salo (1997a, 44 [and 1997b, 189])

The distribution of Battle-Axe or Corded-Ware cultures in Europe toward the end of the fourth millennium BC, according to L. Jaanits, from the year 1982 (shaded area).

1) Single-grave culture, 2) Scandinavian Battle-Axe culture, 3) Finnish Boat-Axe culture, 4) Estonian Battle-Axe culture, 5) Vistula-Nemen culture, 6) Mid-Dnieper culture, 7) Fatyanovo culture, whose core area stretched from the Upper and Middle Volga to east and southeast of the Oka. It can be considered Aryan in its language because of its eastern distribution. Jaanits sets its western boundary at Lake Ilmen and the Volkhov, and almost up to the southeastern shore of Lake Ladoga. There are others who put the western boundary at Lake Pskov, which would considerably strengthen Jaanits's and Salo's interpretations.



Map B

Anttila (2000a, 250)

Some basic wind names in the southeastern corner of the Baltic. The inset delineates the original coastal regions of the westernmost Baltic Finns, the Soome (> Suomi).

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EVE MIKONE

METAPHORS, IDIOMS, AND GRAMMATICALIZATION

An important part of Eeva Uotila's work deals with the origin of Finnish vocabulary. As an etymologist she found many aspects of linguistics self-evident, aspects that are now being touted as new achievements. Cognitive linguistics and grammaticalization have been very popular during the past decades. Cognitive linguistics sports theories about conceptual metaphors (e.g. Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Lakoff 1987) in which the researchers believe to have found the essence of human language and thinking process. There are likewise theories about *zoomorphic* and *anthropomorphic* models used in explaining the grammaticalization process (Heine 1997).

Etymology deals with the origin, meaning, and form of a linguistic item. Grammaticalization belongs within etymology, but it is narrower in that it surveys only such changes as end up as bound morphemes. Eeva Uotila did not use the term *grammaticalization*, but as an etymologist she was quite familiar with the notion. She shared this with all competent historical linguists. In her study on *hinta* 'price' and *suhta* 'relation' (1990) she writes:

"The preposition cannot have come from nowhere, and neither straight from the base *suhta*-. Most of the Finnish postpositions remain transparent inflected forms of nouns, and *suhteen* 'in relation to smth' is the totally regular genitive of the word *suhde* 'relation'." (Uotila 1990:273; 2000:137).

Another example of Eeva's of grammaticalization, without the name, is the derivatory suffix *-la* meaning 'place' as in *ovelana* 'at the place at the door' has given *ovella* the adessiv in *-lla* (Anttila & Uotila 1984:121-128; Uotila 2000:149-156).

In short, grammaticalization is the evolution of grammatical forms (functional words, affixes, case markers etc.) out of earlier lexical forms.

Grammaticalization is a process of change that produces a grammatical unit (adposition, affixes, etc.), or a weak grammatical meaning gets strengthened (e.g., a derivatory suffix changes into an inflectional one) (Meillet 1948; Traugott & Heine 1991).

Thus grammaticalization means changes in the categorization and semantic coding of words, as when free lexemes change their functions into bound morphosyntactic units. An example from Italian is the original participle *durante* of the verb *durare* 'to last' in giving the preposition *durante* 'during'. Original Pre-Latin noun **touto-* 'people' has ultimately given Italian pronoun *tutto* 'all'.

Pre-Latin **touto-* 'people' > Latin *totus* 'all' > Italian *tutto* 'all'

The Baltic Finnic noun *kansa* 'people' has given the Finnish postposition 'with' *kanssa* and the Estonian Comitative case ending *-ga*.

Baltic Finnic **kansa* 'people' (still Finnish *kansa*) > *kansa-ssa* Iness 'in/among people' > Finnish postposition *kanssa* 'with' > Estonian case ending *-ga* 'with'

The change of lexical into grammatical meaning is a process usually accompanied by the following features:

- 1) certain meaning fields are prone for grammaticalization;
- 2) lexical meaning gets weakened;
- 3) a free lexeme gets bound in its form and/or function;
- 4) the process is gradual (no abrupt changes);
- 5) the resulting grammatical meaning is frequent in use (Anttila 1989 [1972]:149-153; Traugott & Heine 1991:7-9).

The grammatical meaning does not come out of any random lexical base, rather, certain meaning fields favor it. These meaning fields are about the same the world over, usually independent of

any particular culture. Such changing units are concrete words belonging to the central vocabulary of the language and unlikely to be replaced by borrowing. They are frequent in use. A good example are body parts, particularly the following concepts: 'head', 'brest', 'back', 'stomach', 'hand', 'foot'; nature words as orientation terms: 'ground', 'sky'; people: 'person', 'father', 'mother', 'child'. (Swadesh 1951; Gudschinsky 1956; Heine 1991:151-152; Traugott & Heine 1991:7-8.)

The development of a grammatical meaning causes bleaching (*desemantization, emptying*) of lexical meaning and ultimately its loss. One thinks the following mechanisms essential in grammaticalization: metaphoric transfer, metonymic transfer, reanalysis, and analogy. The process often starts with a narrowing of the lexical meaning. At the same time the syntactic bonds of the word get strengthened. The change thus has two sides. Meaning weakens, syntactic bonds strengthen – original meaning has now changed. Next phase is that a speaker reanalyzes the structure and gives it a new function. The word is not reanalyzed as an individual lexeme, but as part of a larger structural frame.

Metaphor and metonymy are considered the most common forces in grammaticalization. At the same time one has emphasized the importance of syntactic links. Metaphor and metonymy are the momenta of semantic change, but these do not necessarily strengthen syntactic bondage. In its essence the metaphor is the same as a simple comparison (e.g., *the girl is beautiful like a rose*), but the difference between them resides in the fact that the metaphor does not tell point blank which feature has been foregrounded. E.g., when the girl has been likened to a rose, the bases for similarity can be all the possible characteristics of the rose — its beauty, color, thorniness, etc. In a simple metaphor the identity of the compared items has been expressed, but in a new metaphoric expression the context tells the identity of the compared items. Without the context a genuine metaphor cannot be understood.

It is different with the so-called dead metaphors (known in the culture) - for them one does not need the context, e.g., when

a person is called an ass, one immediately understands that the stupidity of that person is meant. On the other hand, if another feature is meant, one needs the/a context to understand it. This is why metaphor and metonymy handle images from which many semantic changes originate, but metaphor and metonymy are not yet established expressions so that one could speak of the syntactic bondage of their parts (i.e., words).

Syntactic bondage is a central feature in idioms, but to my knowledge, idioms have been totally neglected in the study of grammaticalization.

The term *idiom* has a very wide content in the English tradition, it covers generally all standard expressions the meanings of whose parts have somehow merged. At one extreme end of the gradience of idioms lie the pure idioms and at the other restricted and unrestricted collocations. In the German and Russian traditions *phraseologism* gives the cover term and the term *idiom* refers only to *pure idioms*. More on idioms and their subgrouping can be found in Makkai (1972) and Fernando (1996).

The essential role of idioms in the grammaticalization process is supported by the fact that the central theoretical claims for the two (idioms and grammaticalization) are about the same.

1) GRAMMATICAL MEANING DOES NOT DEVELOP FROM ANY LEXICAL MEANING

Neither do the idioms spawn in any field. Also here the concreteness of meaning, its generality, and its ties to man are central prerequisites (Vakk 1970). Somatic idioms (which relate to the body) are known as the oldest layer of standard expressions. One can assume that no language lacks them. Why somatic idioms are so general finds its explanation in that one's own body with its actions and feelings is the most immediate sensory frame, and thus provides an excellent launching pad for lively metaphor. A good example for this are measure expressions from body parts, e.g. the meaning 'in a flash'

Estonian	<i>silmapilksest</i> 'eye'-Gen + 'glance'-Abl
Finnish	<i>silmänräpäyksessä</i> 'eye'-Gen + 'blink'-Iness
German	<i>im Augenblick</i>

Body parts with clear and central function give most somatic idioms, all over the world. The same tendency lurks in grammaticalization: e.g. notions like 'head', 'hand', etc., but not innards like 'kidney' and 'spleen/milt' (Heine 1997).

The Baltic Finnic languages display an abundance of postpositions out of body parts. For instance, from the word *head* one has gotten postpositions indicating location, from the word *hand* postpositions indicating possession, and from the words *breast* and *side* postpositions for location. For example:

Finnish	<i>päälle</i> 'on, upon' 'head' - Allat
	<i>päällä</i> 'on, on top of' 'head' - Adess
	<i>päältä</i> 'from, off' 'head' - Ablat

2) THE WEAKENING OF LEXICAL MEANING

Idioms are set phrases composed of many words, as simple conceptual units. The joint meaning of the phrase is different from those of the parts freely taken together. An example from Italian:

andare in capo al mondo 'to go to the end of the world'

The conceptual unity of idioms is more important than formal (grammatical) structure. Most of the time the new meaning develops from weakening or blurring of the literal lexical and semantic relations in the phrasal compound.

In learning a foreign language we have all had this experience that in translating an idiom word by word we end up with jibberish.

3) THE CHANGE OF A FREE LEXEME INTO A BOUND UNIT IN EITHER FORM OR FUNCTION OR BOTH

The next central step in grammaticalization - the development of a syntactically tight whole – works also in idioms. But in different subgroups of idioms the weakening of the original lexical meaning is rather different.

Pure/frozen idioms have almost totally lost their the original meanings of lexemes, in *semi-idioms* the meanings of the parts have blurred, and the parts in *idiomatic expressions* the independent meanings have bleached.

All idioms display structural bondage of parts, and this leads to lexical shifts from original word meanings to bound syntactic and morphological items. This structure is strictest in pure idioms, loosest in idiomatic expressions. The inner boundness of the whole is the criterion with which one distinguishes idioms from free connections of words – in particular, idiomatic expressions are difficult to spot.

From the three subgroups mentioned, I think only the semi-idioms and idiomatic expressions are connected with grammaticalization. Pure idioms are very stiff / frozen, and they do not allow any switch between lexemes. Their essence is unique, specific, and thus their frequency is not high. In semi-idioms the changeability of words is looser. Idiomatic compounds can be taken as models of the structure. E.g. the structural model of the Estonian idiomatic expression *mustades värvides nägema*, literally: 'to see in black colors', but meaning 'to see something gloomier than reality' would be the following:

THE COLOR WORD IN THE ESSIVE PLURAL
+ A VERB OF EXPERIENCING

Such an idiomatic phrasal compound can vary in the following way:
 mustades värvides ette kujutama roosades värvides ette kujutama
 ('imagine')
 mustades värvides tõlgendama roosades värvides tõlgendama
 ('interpret')

However, the concept designating color has its limits, since only so-called lexicalized dead metaphors about good and bad are allowed, as well as the colors black, pink, and the intensities light and dark.

4) THE GENERALITY OF THE RESULTING GRAMMATICAL MEANING (IN IDIOMS:
OF THE IDIOMATIC STRUCTURE)

Idioms are conventionalized structures. The frequency of use of some idioms is so great that they wear down whereby even their stylistic value gets neutralized. When an idiomatic expression has become general and handy in many stylistically different contexts its domain of use widens. The earlier typical inflexibility of the expression is preserved only in part. The whole divides into a part following strictly the conditions of grammaticalization (the skeleton of the idiom) and into a part varying more freely. The part varying freely is a word that cannot be chosen any way one likes, rather, the alternatives have their semantic restrictions. The skeleton is the unvarying part of the expression and through grammaticalization it has fossilized in its semantics so that it acts as a new grammatical unit.

The process goes through the following steps:

LEXEME > METAPHOR > IDIOM > FREQUENT IDIOM >
GRAMMATICAL MORPHEME

Heine has presented an *anthropocentric* and a *zoomorphic* model as explanations of the grammaticalization process. These models,

however, illuminate only the functioning of figurative language and not how metaphors and metonyms develop into grammatical units. One must further point out that Heine's models serve only to explain proportional analogy, similarity of relation, e.g.:

HEAD 'BODY PART ON TOP' > CONCEPT 'OVER' AS
POSTPOSITION

Heine's models are of no use for explaining more complicated semantic meaning contents. In the following I will present an example from Estonian to illustrate the connection between a standard expression and grammaticalization.

Estonian *pea* 'head, top part of body' has grammaticalized into various adpositions, the most common of which is the local series *peal*, *peale*, *pealt* 'on, onto, from'. The Estonian postposition *peast* renders also quality of state of being, e.g.

väsinud peast 'in a tired state'
punasest peast 'as red'

Both the adposition *peast* and its head are in the elative. The structure can be replaced by the essive, e.g.

väsinuna 'in a tired state'
punasena 'as red'

Both cases designate being in a state: the elative covers a change in the state of the subject, the essive existing and continuing state. The postpositional structure

NOUN + *PEAST*

acts as a combination of the said meanings and designates such existing state as also implies change.

Meanings rendered through adpositions and case endings are similar, but adpositions make meaning nuances more precise. Case

semantics is much more indeterminate, and this is why case ending and adposition are not freely interchangeable, although both might be possible as far as grammaticality is concerned.

Peast –idioms depicting change of state are so common in Estonian that they allow all nouns expressing quality of being – without restrictions – as their heads. The language has undergone a change in which the whole structural frame (or earlier idiom) has acquired a grammatical meaning. There are also a few idiomatic expressions difficult to classify whether they would be postpositional structures or idioms, e.g.:

pimedast peast '[from a dark head] = as blind'

There are also obvious idioms with the structure

NOUN + ELATIVE+ *PEAST*

pimedast peast 'without checking, in blind faith'

heast peast '[from good head] without reason, suddenly'

omast peast '[from own head] on one's own, without asking for advice'

All three patterns exist side by side in the language, but the linguist has to see how they connect and interact. Curiously, linguists intoxicated with grammaticalization just keep explicating the starting point of the process with metaphor, and ignore the rest (cf. Heine & Traugott 1991; Heine 1997).

Etymological research was and still is the basis for studying the processes of language change. Thus also when one studies grammaticalized features, and before one presents models etc., one has to find out whether one has to do with inheritance or borrowing. Eeva Uotila's work on the origin of Finnish vocabulary solidly supports the study of grammaticalization, which today is becoming a stronger and stronger fashion. In addition to the examples given above I want to refer to Eeva's study of young

Germanic loans in Finnish dialects, in which, among other things, she has suggested a loan source for the preposition *turki* 'through' (Uotila 1974:128-133; 2000:73-78). One can learn so much from her work - how much one can see depends on the seer herself.

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ISTVÁN BITSKEY

PIETAS, ARS, SCIENTIA

(Il mecenatismo all'italiana di Károly Eszterházy, vescovo di Eger)

Károly Eszterházy, vescovo di Eger, nel suo testamento preparato nel 1797, due anni prima della sua morte, lasciò alla sua diocesi l'edificio del Liceo di Eger con tutte le attrezzature, poiché "la cosiddetta casa dell'università o Liceo, in cui funzionano anche scuole elementari secondo la mia volontà, è stata eretta fino allo stato in cui si trova, per mia volontà e con il mio denaro, insieme alla specola e agli strumenti provenienti dall'Inghilterra e alla libreria da non disprezzare"¹.

L'accento posto sulla propria volontà e sulle proprie spese (specie nel caso di un'istituzione adibita a scopi non propriamente ecclesiastici) rispecchia puntualmente il duplice carattere dell'attività di mecenatismo svolto da Eszterházy. È noto che il vescovo della diocesi di Eger era, contemporaneamente, il castaldo dei comitati Heves e Külső-Szolnok, e in questo caso era discendente di una famiglia di feudatari aristocratici: la sua attività di mecenatismo poggia, quindi, sulla tradizione della rappresentanza aristocratica, da una parte, e sull'orizzonte culturale e intellettuale tipico di un arciprete post-tridentino attento all'opera organizzativa, dall'altra. L'esame di tale mecenatismo di doppia

¹ „Cum domum sic dictam universitatis seu Lyceum, in quo etiam normales scholae ad beneplacitum meum habentur ad statum hunc in quo modo est, una cum turri astronomica industria mea et a potiori pecuniis meis erexim instrumentim astronomicis etiam ex Anglia allatis, bibliotheca item non contemnenda instruxerim circa hanc ordino sequentia...” ERZSÉBET KONDORNÉ LÁTKÓCZKI, *Eszterházy Károly végrendelete*, in *Eszterházy Károly Emlékkönyve*, a cura di BÉLA KOVÁCS, Eger, 1999, p. 375 (in seguito abbreviato: EKE).

radice è argomento di ricerche proficue, oggetto di vari studi dedicati all'analisi dettagliata dei suoi esiti, specialmente dell'arte barocca della città di Eger in piena fioritura proprio all'epoca di Eszterházy. Per primo Miklós Szmeccsányi, poi Pál Voit studiarono l'attività urbanistica del vescovo (quest'ultimo lavoro rappresenta tuttora l'esame più dettagliato dell'argomento). I risultati delle ricerche sono stati riassunti da István Sugár e sviluppati ulteriormente da altri contributi sull'immagine del vescovo, sostenitore dell'arte; altri studi sono stati fatti sul suo mecenatismo letterario e musicale.² I risultati conservati dell'attività poliedrica, di quasi quarant'anni, di organizzatore della vita scientifica e di sostenitore dell'arte sono stati registrati dai ricercatori; nonché la stessa fisionomia urbanistica di Eger, formata per opera della fortunata attività di conservazione dei monumenti, è la prova visibile dell'inventiva e del gusto del patrono di alto rango. Non è dunque necessario elencare in questo breve saggio le opere eseguite con l'appoggio di Eszterházy: tentiamo piuttosto di dare un abbozzo dei principi del mecenatismo, che finora sono stati oggetto di scarsa attenzione. Mettendo in conto anche i risultati pratici di tali principi, speriamo di arricchire il quadro del mecenatismo in Ungheria nei primi secoli dell'Era nuova.

Trattando le motivazioni del mecenatismo artistico nel Rinascimento Peter Burke indica tre tipi fondamentali, e poiché questi tipi permangono anche nell'Era barocca, sembra utile esaminare l'attività di Eszterházy nello stesso quadro concettuale. Il primo di essi consiste nel suscitare o aumentare la devozione religiosa; il secondo, nel rappresentare e illustrare con la maggiore efficacia possibile il prestigio e il potere del patrono ricor-

² MIKLÓS SZMECCSÁNYI, *Eger művészetről*, Budapest, 1937; PÁL VOIT, *Eger és Heves megye művészettörténete (XVI.-XIX. század)*, in *Heves megye műemlékei*, vol. I, a cura di DEZSŐ DERCSENYI e PÁL VOIT, Budapest, 1969, 184-227; ISTVÁN SUGÁR, *Az egri püspökök története*, Budapest, 1984, pp. 425-447; GABRIELLA LUDÁNYI, *Gróf Eszterházy Károly és a líceumi freskók programja*, Acta Academiae Paedagogicae Agriensis, Nova Series, tom. XXI, Eger, 1993, pp. 67-81; ERZSÉBET LÖFFLER, *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam. Eszterházy Károly művészpártoló tevékenysége*, in EKE, pp. 189-207; KORNÉL BÁRDOS, *Eger zenéje 1687-1887*, Budapest, 1987, pp. 22-40; ISTVÁN BITSKEY, *Püspökök, írók, könyvtárak. Egri főpapok irodalmi mecenatúrája a barokk korban*, Eger, 1997 (Studia Agriensia 16).

rendo alle pompe e ai fasti; infine il terzo tipo di motivazione del mecenatismo è il piacere estetico insito nell'arte.³ Lasciando a parte altre motivazioni possibili nell'Era nuova (ad esempio l'investimento dei beni, affari, ecc.), poniamo la domanda su quali delle motivazioni menzionate e in quale misura ebbero un ruolo nell'attività di mecenatismo del vescovo di Eger. In altre parole: che cosa lo ha motivato ad assumere oneri economici tanto cospicui e a ricercare gli artisti migliori; quale funzione assegnava alla totalità delle opere alla realizzazione delle quali offrì il suo appoggio?

Negli studi precedenti è stato debitamente sottolineato il fatto che i progetti del vescovo per il mecenatismo furono elaborati all'insegna del rafforzamento delle posizioni dell'*Ecclesia Triumphans* in fase di conquista dopo il concilio di Trento, dell'attivazione della sensibilità religiosa e del mantenimento del controllo ecclesiastico sulla vita intellettuale e morale. Il pensiero ecclesiastico dell'era barocca intendeva mettere l'arte e la scienza al servizio della dottrina sacra e della pietà, entrambi dovevano contribuire all'affinamento della vita religiosa. Questo era il bagaglio spirituale che il vescovo di Eger portò da Roma, dove per quattro anni come allievo del Collegio Germanico Ungarico sperimentò personalmente l'*ars sacra* rappresentante lo spirito della chiesa cattolica e la *scientia sacra*, la scienza barocca abbracciante tutte le sfere della vita intellettuale.⁴ La questione è, naturalmente, in quale modo e in quali particolari si manifesta tutto ciò nel suo caso, quali risultati ebbe la sua istruzione a Roma nello sviluppo della cultura ecclesiastica e secolare dell'Ungheria.

DOCTRINA E DEVOTIO

È noto che l'idea di fondare l'università di Eger fu di Ferenc Barkóczy, predecessore di Eszterházy. Entrambi i vescovi intendevano costruire a Eger la roccaforte della scienza cattolica: l'ini-

³ PETER BURKE, *The Italian Renaissance*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1988, Part II/5.

⁴ ISTVÁN BITSKEY, *Il Collegio Germanico Ungarico di Roma. Contributo alla storia della cultura ungherese in età barocca*, Roma, Viella, 1996, pp.148-149 (Studi e Fonti per la storia dell'Università di Roma, Nuova serie, 3).

ziativa fu merito del primo, la realizzazione spettò all'ultimo. Per quanto riguarda le condizioni materiali, Eszterházy le costituì con successo: l'edificio che rispondeva a tutte le esigenze dell'istruzione dell'epoca, con la sua aula magna, cappella, biblioteca, specula e con la sua raccolta di oggetti della natura, gettò le basi degli studi superiori; dipese dalla situazione politica del paese se nella sede vescovile non fu costituita un'università.⁵

Dal punto di vista del mecenatismo invece sono tipici del ponderoso edificio la complessità, il praticismo e l'adattamento allo spirito del concilio di Trento. Si potrebbe dire: è la dottrina cattolica canonizzata nel concilio e la serie dei decreti ivi formulati che in esso s'incarna artisticamente. La costituzione delle sedi vescovili e arcivescovili, delle relative residenze e seminari e delle istituzioni dell'insegnamento della teologia, l'adozione dei risultati più recenti delle scienze della natura facevano tutti parte delle aspirazioni post-tridentine nella funzione delle quali fu costruito l'edificio in tutti i suoi particolari. È tipico dei principi del committente che il solenne affresco della sala della biblioteca rappresenta il concilio di Trento, e le scene dipinte negli angoli i temi legati alle singole sedute (ossequio di reliquie e di dipinti sacri, consacrazione di preti, censura ecclesiastica, estrema unzione). Similmente alla retorica, la pittura veniva applicata come una forma del convincimento, dell'educazione e del fascino, e spesso veniva commissionata, in tutta l'Europa, la rappresentazione propagandistica delle tesi cattoliche messe in discussione dalla Riforma protestante, proprio per contrastare quest'ultima.⁶ A tali tendenze aderì Eszterházy, che fu notoriamente l'ispiratore e il committente dell'esecuzione dell'edificio e degli affreschi. Come afferma Pál Voit "costruire era la passione vitale del vescovo. Come uno dei mecenati più colti della sua epoca, oltre alla sua attività programmatica influì sulle opere commissionate da lui stesso non solo stabilendone i modelli, ma anche nella fase della

⁵ IMRE SOÓS, *Az egri egyetem felállításának terve (1754-1777)*, Eger, 1967 (Az Egri Tanárképző Főiskola Füzetei, 431); ISTVÁN MÉSZÁROS, *Egyetemszervezési tervek Egerben 1754-1948*, Eger, 1993, pp.25-41 (Acta Academiae Paedagogicae Agriensis, Nova series, tom. XXI.)

⁶ EMILE MALE, *L'art religieux après le Concile de Trente*, Paris, 1951, p.25 sgg.

progettazione e della costruzione, con tale cura dei particolari e con tale grandiosità nell'ordinare il tutto che in molti casi dobbiamo considerarlo il coautore dell'opera."⁷

Il contributo del mecenate è particolarmente significativo nel caso dell'affresco raffigurante le quattro facoltà, nell'aula magna. L'opera di Sigrist, raffigurazione del programma dell'organizzazione delle università durante l'epoca della restaurazione cattolica per mezzo della scintillante tecnica pittorica classicizzante tardo-barocca, è considerata dagli storici dell'arte addirittura concepita dal vescovo.⁸ La rappresentazione fantasiosa dei tratti caratteristici delle varie discipline fu concepita con la ferma convinzione che la città sarebbe diventata sede universitaria offrendo la gamma completa degli studi.

L'affresco sulla volta della terza grande aula del Liceo aggiunge un ulteriore messaggio al programma esposto negli altri due. Franz Anton Maulbertsch, con il titolo *I santi del Paradiso*, raffigurò con i soliti schemi della dogmatica cattolica la gerarchia celeste delle anime beate, illustrando così un dogma, nonché aspirando all'approfondimento della devozione dei fedeli. Con la rappresentazione del Concilio risalta programmaticamente la tradizione storicistica della Chiesa, con quella delle facoltà universitarie la potenza delle scienze, in questo caso invece è accentuata l'irradiazione spirituale e il monito alla pietà nella rappresentazione della felicità dell'aldilà. Gli affreschi dunque incidono nella mente dello spettatore tre diversi pensieri, i quali però, in ultima analisi, costituiscono un'unità: il concetto della tradizione, della scienza e della pietà appaiono nella forma, realizzata ad alto livello estetico, dell'arte, costituendo un complesso senza dubbio secondo la chiara intenzione e il progetto, elaborato fino ai minimi particolari, dell'inventore-committente.

Oltre alla formulazione artistica di alto livello, non priva di finalità propagandistiche, il nucleo dei principi del mecenatismo di Eszterházy fu l'approfondimento della pietà e della devozione. Citiamo, a titolo di esempio, le sue istruzioni sulla musica e

⁷ Voit, op. cit., p. 236.

⁸ Voit, op. cit., p. 221 e LUDÁNYI, op. cit., p. 75.

sul canto nelle basiliche, che riecheggia l'armonia dell'arte e della devozione. Nel 1769 scrisse al suo canonico cantore: "Non vorremmo fare a meno, nel coro della nostra chiesa, della musica strumentale e del canto polifonico..., ma richiamiamo la Sua attenzione sul curare che ciò che dovrebbe mirare all'arricchimento della devozione non diventi invece strumento di un piacere vuoto. La musica quindi deve essere tale che non rapisca l'anima nel piacere, la indirizzi invece alla comprensione di quanto viene cantato e lasci uno spazio maggiore al sentimento della devozione. Perciò le parole cantate e comprese siano di aiuto agli ascoltatori nella lode d'Iddio con la pronuncia chiara piuttosto che con le melodie insolite."⁹

La musica da chiesa, quindi, doveva assumere una funzione non tanto estetica, quanto piuttosto educativa, trasmettendo, con la forza dell'arte, verità dogmatiche. Ciò coincide quasi letteralmente con la relativa dichiarazione del decreto di Trento, condannando l'improvvisazione, il contrappunto troppo complicato, le sottigliezze melodiche che offuscano il testo e servono solamente al "vano piacere dell'orecchio".¹⁰ La terza delle motivazioni elencate da Burke, come citato sopra, il puro piacere dell'arte, quindi, non aveva un ruolo fondamentale per Eszterházy; aveva invece un'importanza di gran lunga maggiore lo scopo di rafforzare la devozione, l'educazione spirituale e l'approfondimento dell'esperienza religiosa. Questa intenzione si osserva nell'ordinamento della compilazione di un nuovo corale. Il vescovo controllò scrupolosamente che nella raccolta, la cui edizione fu appoggiata da lui stesso, fossero inclusi solo i canti censurati e corretti dalle autorità ecclesiastiche, capaci di trasmettere i dogmi fedelmente e in un modo comprensibile a tutti. La raccolta fu curata dal parroco Mihály Szentmihályi e stampata nel 1797 nella tipografia vescovile.¹¹

⁹ MIKLÓS SZMRECSÁNYI, *Eszterházy rendelete az egyházi zenéről*, Egri Egyházmegyei Közlöny, 1928. márc. 15, e BÁRDOS, op. cit., p. 22.

¹⁰ ANTHONY BLUNT, *Artistic Theory in Italy 1450-1600*, Oxford, 1956, pp. 92-93.

¹¹ BENJÁMIN RAJECZKY, *Szentmihályi Mihály "Egyházi Énekeskönyv"-ének (1797-98) hangjegyes tervezete*, Vigilia, 1984, No. 3.

Una simile tendenza è presente nel mecenatismo letterario di Eszterházy. La cerchia degli scrittori da lui appoggiati, fra i quali anche protestanti (ad esempio Báji Patay Sámuel), era piuttosto larga. Allo stesso tempo, la tipografia rifiutò di pubblicare le opere aspramente polemiche di Leó Szaicz che attaccavano il giosefinismo e le "fantasticherie illuministiche"; esse vennero pubblicate in parte a Pest, a Buda o a Pozsony (Pressburgo), in parte in luoghi fittizi (Mohiló) sotto il pseudonimo Máriafi.¹² La strategia della tipografia vescovile ottenne le parole di riconoscimento di Kazinczy, di cui abbiamo parlato dettagliatamente in altra sede.¹³ Seguì con attenzione l'istruzione dei seminaristi di talento: già nel 1762 mandò Máté Balajthy a Vienna perché studiasse l'astronomia con Miksa Hell, il che sarebbe servito dopo la costruzione della torre astronomica di Eger.¹⁴

Il principio del suo mecenatismo editoriale era l'utilità morale e l'aumento del livello dell'erudizione cattolica; teneva presente soprattutto le esigenze pratiche dell'insegnamento seminariale. Le sue disposizioni erano caratterizzate dal consolidamento della disciplina ecclesiastica e dei valori etici del cattolicesimo, dall'applicazione dei risultati della scienza e della cultura nella vita della Chiesa, dalla difesa della dottrina tradizionale, tuttavia in base a orientamenti moderni. Il suo mecenatismo si sviluppò all'insegna dell'associazione della salvaguardia delle tradizioni e del modernismo.

CONTINUITÀ E ATTIVITÀ POLIEDRICA

La volontà di costruzione e l'impeto nell'organizzare la vita culturale era manifestazione non solo del gusto personale di Eszterházy, ma s'inseriva nella mentalità dell'epoca, nella tendenza della restaurazione cattolica, come il suo assetto e il suo po-

¹² JUDIT V. ECSÉDY, *Titkos nyomdahelyű régi magyar könyvek 1539-1800*, Budapest, 1996, 143; ILONA PAVERCSEK, *Szaicz Leó a felvilágosodás irodalmáról*, Magyar Könyvszemle, 1997, pp. 167-185.

¹³ BITSKEY, 1997, op. cit., pp. 122-124.

¹⁴ Soós, op. cit., p. 307.

tere nella formazione della mentalità si presentava nel XVIII secolo. Egli sviluppò i risultati dei suoi predecessori non solo con la fondazione dell'università, ma anche in altri programmi fra i quali l'editoria, in cui contribuì all'ulteriore sviluppo della tipografia fondata da Ferenc Barkóczy. Nel corso di un mezzo secolo uscirono dalla stamperia di Eger circa 800 pubblicazioni, un numero cospicuo anche se fra esse si trovavano degli incunaboli di poche pagine. La monografia di recente edizione sulla storia dell'editoria in Ungheria sottolinea il funzionamento continuato della *Typographia Agriensis* aggiungendo che essa "con i suoi stampati variamente ornati, prodotti con ottimi tipi e dotati di una veste tipografica curata la annoverano fra le officine meglio gestite della seconda metà del secolo."¹⁵ Eszterházy ne aveva un ruolo importante: il suo appoggio materiale e la sua guida intellettuale determinò l'attività della tipografia, come è stato ripetutamente segnalato dalle relative ricerche.¹⁶

Insieme all'incremento dell'editoria, il vescovo mirava ad aumentare il numero e soprattutto il livello di istruzione dei preti della sua diocesi. Nel corso dei quarant'anni del suo vescovato, in conseguenza del potenziamento del seminario, il numero dei parroci della diocesi raddoppiò (da 286 a 542). Nel 1772 con l'introduzione di un anno preparatorio nel curriculum aumentarono a cinque gli anni di studio della teologia; introdusse inoltre l'insegnamento della storia della Chiesa e della retorica, e dal 1774 fece trasferire il seminario nell'edificio del Liceo. Le dispute solenni e gli esami si svolgevano nell'aula magna, l'edizione dei *liber gradualis* era a carico della tipografia locale e la biblioteca del seminario si allargò grazie ai nuovi acquisti.¹⁷ Non a caso, nel necrologio del vescovo viene accentuato che ciò che dai suoi predecessori "fu iniziato, introdotto e innalzato per promuovere

¹⁵ JUDIT V. ECSEDY, *A könyvnyomtatás Magyarországon a kézsajtó korában 1473-1800*, Budapest, 1999, p. 191.

¹⁶ SÁNDOR IVÁNYI, *Az egri püspöki nyomda a 18. században*, in *Kétszáz éves az Egri Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár* (in seguito: *Emlékkönyv*), Eger, 1993, pp. 251-259.

¹⁷ NÁNDOR BOSÁK, *Teológiai oktatás Egerben a 18. században*, in *Emlékkönyv*, op. cit., p. 163.

le scienze, da Eszterházy venne, con dedizione inestimabile, salvaguardato, diffuso e ingrandito.”¹⁸

L’istruzione dei preti richiedeva la fondazione di una biblioteca cospicua e moderna, alla quale Eszterházy diede un contributo eccellente senza badare a sacrifici economici nel procurarsi i libri più pregiati. Facevano parte delle attività da lui personalmente dirette e controllate la redazione degli elenchi di acquisto, l’informazione degli agenti librari, la definizione delle esigenze dell’insegnamento di teologia e la segnalazione dei manuali utili. Tale attività è stata studiata recentemente; in questa sede accenniamo a due tratti della bibliofilia del vescovo. La fondazione della biblioteca di Eger è sostanzialmente il culmine di un processo avviato all’inizio del Settecento che aveva lo scopo di trasformare la città in un centro culturale. La raccolta dei libri era stata in corso già al tempo dei vescovi Telekesy, Erdődy, Barkóczy, e anche i canonici disponevano di un corpus pregevole, ma l’iniziativa di unire il materiale è senza dubbio di Eszterházy: fu egli a ordinare che il lascito dei canonici confluisse automaticamente nella biblioteca.¹⁹ Si formò così una biblioteca pubblica al servizio, innanzi tutto, dell’insegnamento e dell’attività scientifica, oltre che della rappresentanza.

Oltre a quanto detto, l’attività di Eszterházy fu caratterizzata dall’attenzione per tutte le discipline scientifiche nell’acquisizione dei libri tramite i suoi agenti viennesi e italiani. Il corpus della biblioteca si arricchì di opere relative alle moderne scienze della natura, soprattutto astronomia, di libri di viaggio e di atlanti, nonché di trattati di teologia, e non solo di autori cattolici, ma anche di teologi protestanti. L’acquisizione di libri, quindi, dimostrava una mentalità aperta e poliedrica, e solo le opere di spirito giansenista e giosefinista venivano tenute lontane dai seminaristi, data la situazione politica.

¹⁸ JÓZSEF NOVÁKY, *Halotti dícséret*, Eger, 1799, p. 19.

¹⁹ BITSKEY, 1997, op. cit., pp. 95-101; SÁNDOR IVÁNYI, *Az Egri Főegyházmegyei Könyvtár kéziratkatalógusa*, con un saggio introduttivo di Lajos ANTALÓCZY, Budapest, 1986, p. 18 sgg.

Non era estranea ad Eszterházy la solennità barocca, anche se i contemporanei lo ritenevano puritano rispetto al suo predecessore, Barkóczy. Il suo cinquantesimo compleanno fu tuttavia festeggiato dalla città e dalla diocesi con grande fasto, e altre festività pompose facevano parte della vita della corte vescovile. Le rappresentazioni teatrali scolastiche raggiunsero un alto livello a Eger soprattutto nel periodo dell'attività del ginnasio dei gesuiti; dopo il 1773 furono invece i seminaristi a eseguire delle rappresentazioni religiose. Nel Carnevale del 1786 il vescovo assistette a due rappresentazioni di un atto scenico che "furono eseguite sì degnamente per l'egregio e piacevole contegno dei personaggi che meritano l'applauso anche degli uomini di scienza", sebbene il cronista aggiunga con rammarico che "Sua Eccellenza il Vescovo... non poté essere presente agli altri per i grandi dolori causati dalla sciatica."²⁰

Senza enumerare ulteriori dati, si vede che il mecenatismo di Eszterházy consisteva nella realizzazione di un programma complesso e poliedrico. Una serie continua di costruzioni, commissioni di statue e di pitture, esecuzione di progetti urbanistici, la fondazione della cultura balneare e dell'arte del giardinaggio a Eger, la promozione dell'editoria e della biblioteca, l'aumento del livello dell'istruzione di ogni tipo, l'incentivazione delle rappresentazioni teatrali e dell'attività musicale - tutto questo faceva parte delle attività abbracciate dall'attenzione del vescovo. In tutte le sue misure lasciò traccia la mentalità razionale dell'epoca, l'aspirazione all'armonia grandiosa della tradizione e delle nuove idee. Era questa l'epoca in cui il tradizionalismo cattolico affrontava le correnti ideologiche contrassegnate dall'Illuminismo, e tale dualismo presente in tutta l'Europa, talvolta amplificato in un confronto, si fece sentire anche a Eger nell'arte e nel pensiero teologico.

²⁰ *A magyarországi katolikus tanintézmények színjátszásának forrásai és irodalma 1800-ig*, a cura di IMRE VARGA, Budapest, 1992, p. 216.

RAGIONE E ARTE

La costruzione materiale e intellettuale sistematica, naturalmente, poteva realizzarsi solo se poggiava su una solida base economica. I beni familiari ed episcopali, del resto notevoli, non sarebbero bastati per svolgere tale attività pur essendo disponibili per coprire le spese, le quali però ammontavano a una somma ingente nelle numerose costruzioni effettuate nella diocesi di vaste dimensioni. Péter Bán in tempi recenti ha dimostrato, in base alla puntuale analisi della gestione della diocesi, che il vescovo conduceva un'economia parsimoniosa e accuratamente progettata esigendo dai suoi amministratori, che stimava e piegava alle sue idee, rendiconti precisi, il che gli permetteva di sfruttare al massimo le risorse economiche della sua diocesi. Alla sua morte l'ufficio finanziario del dominio episcopale lasciò un inventario modello, chiarissimo, dal quale risulta che i beni erano addirittura cresciuti.²¹

L'organizzazione delle costruzioni era compito di un apposito ufficio diretto dall'*aedilium inspector*, uno degli impiegati meglio retribuiti (con una media di 500 fiorini renani annui, rispetto ai 1500 fiorini del castaldo). Fra il 1764-1786 l'incarico era coperto da Giovanni Mundi, di origini italiane, affiancato da uno scriba incaricato di procurarsi il materiale, di coordinare il lavoro dei muratori, dei fabbri, dei carpentieri, dei ferrai, dei vetrai e di altri artigiani, facendogli rispettare i tempi prestabiliti e, infine, di rifornire i depositi di materiale da costruzione e di preparare gli inventari.²² Senza competenza economica e un'ottima organizzazione non si sarebbe potuto svolgere un lavoro di costruzione tanto esteso né a Eger né nel territorio della diocesi, e le condizioni personali e materiali ne erano assicurate dal vescovo.

Il mecenatismo era determinato, quindi, dal razionalismo: le costruzioni venivano eseguite su una solida base finanziaria in modo che quasi nessuna di esse doveva essere interrotta per

²¹ PÉTER BÁN, *Az egri püspöki uradalom igazgatása Eszterházy Károly idején*, in EKE, p. 339.

²² *Ibid.* pp. 314-315.

mancanza di fondi. Pagava bene gli artigiani, stringeva contratti con capomastri, pittori, scultori di marmo, stufai, fabbri o tipografi e musicisti e li rispettava. Pretendeva lavori di alta qualità, e se il risultato non lo soddisfaceva, lo faceva rifare. È tipico il caso di quando fece tornare Sigríst anche un anno dopo la realizzazione degli affreschi per ulteriori correzioni e completamenti, e il pittore non protestò. L'inventario dettagliato degli artigiani operanti a Eger, compilato da Pál Voit, dimostra chiaramente che egli invitò dall'estero solo maestri affidabili e di fama consolidata i quali spesso eseguivano le migliori opere proprio a Eger, come i due pittori Kracker e Sigríst.²³

Eger è nota giustamente come una città barocca, ma occorre aggiungere che le ricerche hanno da tempo messo in evidenza i tratti di stampo classicista negli affreschi della volta della scuola episcopale e in altri particolari architettonici. Il realismo delle figure di sfondo degli affreschi, suggerita da Eszterházy, il chiaro simbolismo della composizione raffigurante il Concilio, le decorazioni classicizzanti della pittura murale, gli ornamenti a forma di ghirlanda e altri motivi sull'esterno dell'edificio e altri elementi dimostrano l'allontanamento dall'ideale barocco e segnano un mutamento di stile che Voit chiama "l'addio del barocco". Va aggiunto che è un addio dignitoso, frutto del mecenatismo di un arciprete di grande cultura e, al contempo, lo specchio dello spirito dell'epoca, un grandioso tentativo di conciliare ragione e fede, religione e scienza. Non sembra giusto chiamare tale tentativo, come fa Voigt, "un errore ingenuo": in esso è presente la contraddizione dell'epoca nelle moderne forme dell'arte.

Sarebbe evidente allora etichettare tutto ciò, insieme al mecenatismo del vescovo, come esempio di "cattolicesimo riformatore illuminato", termine usato dalla critica tedesca e austriaca a proposito di fenomeni simili nella cultura centroeuropea.²⁴

²³ VOIT, op. cit., pp. 220-222.

²⁴ EDUARD WINTER, *Der Josephinismus. Die Geschichte des Österreichischen Reformkatholizismus 1740-1848*, Berlin, 1962. BERNARD PLONGERON, *Was ist Katolische Aufklärung?*, in *Katholische Aufklärung und Josephinismus*, hrsg. ELISABETH KOVÁCS, Wien, 1979, pp. 11-56.

Tale concetto è stato, tuttavia, oggetto di discussioni. È dubbio se sia possibile mettere in relazione le tendenze riformistiche all'interno della Chiesa cattolica, ad esempio le idee di papa Benedetto XIV, con il pensiero illuministico o piuttosto si tratta dell'intenzione dell'apologetica cattolica tradizionale di conservare le sue posizioni nell'ambito di idee più moderne. L'influenza della curia papale all'epoca di Eszterházy s'irradiava, senza dubbio, su tutti i campi della cultura: il papa era un grande sostenitore della biblioteca vaticana, appoggiava generosamente gli artisti e intendeva convincere i suoi stessi avversari inclini alla teologia giansenista piuttosto tramite discussioni, che con la scomunica.²⁵

Sebbene in studi recenti sia presente l'esigenza di difendere e di reinterpretare il concetto discusso dell'"illuminismo cattolico"²⁶, noi riteniamo corretto parlare di tendenze di rinnovamento cattolico nell'era illuministica, fra le quali possiamo annoverare le manifestazioni del razionalismo teologico ed etico, soprattutto il movimento segnato dal nome di Muratori, l'idea della *caritas christiana*. Preferiamo collocare in tale contesto intellettuale la mentalità e l'attività episcopale e il mecenatismo di Eszterházy: la sua concezione del mondo è determinata dalle idee e dai risultati scientifici e artistici della Roma cattolica tardobarocca, ma il razionalismo illuministico già faceva sentire il suo effetto in tutti i settori della vita.²⁷ L'arciprete di Eger naturalmente teneva presente in primo luogo gli interessi della sua Chiesa, ma utilizzava tutto quanto era offerto dall'erudizione e dall'arte contemporanea, all'insegna delle quali costituì la sua diocesi e organizzò la vita culturale della sede vescovile, il che non fu poca cosa. I valori da lui creati risultarono duraturi; la sua città ancora oggi, a due secoli di distanza dalla conclusione dell'opera del patrono, rap-

²⁵ HANNES GROSS, *Rome in the Age of Enlightenment. The post-Tridentine syndrome and the ancient regime*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 276.

²⁶ BERNHARD SCHNEIDER, "Katholische Aufklärung": zum Werden und Wert eines Forschungsbegriff, in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique* (Université Catholique de Louvain), vol. XCIII, 1998, pp. 354-397.

²⁷ István Bitskey, *Giansenismo ed ortodossia (Il materiale italiano della biblioteca vescovile di Eger nell'epoca dell'illuminismo)*, in *Venezia, Italia, Ungheria fra Arcadia e Illuminismo*, a cura di BÉLA KÓPECZI e PÉTER SÁRKÖZY, Budapest, 1982, pp. 225-234.

presenta uno degli esiti più rilevanti dell'arte barocca nell'Europa centrale e, allo stesso tempo, uno degli esempi più qualificati del mecenatismo vescovile di ispirazione romana in Ungheria.

ANSSI HALMESVIRTA

IDENTITY IN DIFFERENCE:
ANTTI JALAVA'S HUNGARY OF 1875 REVISITED

This article tackles Antti Jalava's¹ idea of the Finno-Ugric cultural and Finnish-Hungarian political identity found in his travel book on Hungary: *Unkarin maa ja kansa* (1875). Jalava's career as the pioneer of the cultural and scientific relations between Finland and Hungary has been carefully studied by Viljo Tervonen², but surprisingly the central notions and the message of his travel book have not yet been analyzed in depth. To accomplish this task, the methodological approach chosen here is that of the history of ideas. It combines a self-consciously contextual reading and the exposition of the conceptual structure and meaning of the text.³ In the process it is necessary to follow the logic of Jalava's argument as well as to reveal the nuances of his thought in order not to lose the feeling for history in all its variety.

In dealing with Finnish (Fennoman) nationalism, a movement with which Jalava intimately associated himself, it is appropriate to begin by pointing out that in the 19th century the building of national identities was the primary goal for a nation's intellectuals.⁴ 'National identity' gave them answers to the questions of who the people think they are and where they think they come from.

¹ 1846-1909; until 1906 known as Almborg. In Hungary he introduced himself as Jalava Antál since 1875.

² TERVONEN 1939; TERVONEN 1996: 20-23.

³ LA CAPRA 1983: 36-61.

⁴ SMITH 1991: Ch. 2; HROCH 1985.

Identities could be single or dual (e.g. the Scottish one); the Finnish one was single, and this can also be discovered in Jalava's work. Although he presents Hungarians as different from the Finns, at the bottom there remains a basic, common identity. This is particularly apparent in Jalava's analysis of Hungarian national characteristics and nationality policy. His text can be read both as a weapon in the Fennomen's struggle for rule in Finland and a medium to ease anxiety for survival and awaken battling spirit in the 'originally' Finno-Ugric culture in Finland and Hungary. Difficulties and obstacles as well as successes faced by Finns and Hungarians are projected by him onto each other and analogies and parallels used to politically teach them both. A tradition was growing along these lines in Finland. For instance, Jalava's predecessor at the University of Helsinki, Oskar Blomstedt (1833-91), who visited Hungary in 1866, had seen how the "Turanian"⁵ - a concept indicating a common origin for Finns and Hungarians - Hungarians had had to struggle against "Germanization" ("stifling the life-force of Hungarians") in the same way as the Fennomen exerted themselves against the Swedish ("Germanic") hegemony in Finland. In assessing their chances for survival, Blomstedt took into account different historical conditions and the transforming Finno-Ugric mentality. His hopefully tolerant message was: both nations were destined to live on but they had to be fair towards national minorities for the sake of common 'progress'⁶.

For Jalava Hungary was a space for self-reflection, self-vindication and affiliation (gestures toward the familiar). His travel generated narratives that were acutely concerned with self-realization in the country of the supposedly Familiar. However, it was Hungary's dissimilarity that created narrative tensions and contrasts (disjunctive and wild figures).⁷ In Jalava's book identity and 'alterity' (Gikandi's term) were written as mutually operating, complementary entities. Having set off with a feeling of wonder and instant familiarity

⁵ Cf. HALMESVIRTA 1993: ch. 4.

⁶ BLOMSTEDT 1866a: 166; BLOMSTEDT 1866b: 215; BLOMSTEDT 1868: 207.

⁷ Cf. GIKANDI 1996: 8, 39.

he soon encountered unfamiliarity but ended up with sentiments of familiarity. Thus, Jalava was reinventing himself, Fennoman ideology and reinforcing modern, bourgeois national identity and civil values.

1. FENNOMAN MOVEMENT AND JALAVA'S HUNGARY

Finnish national awakening can be traced back to the Herderian tradition of *cultural nationalism*: every nation expresses its 'soul' through its language, manifesting the capacity for 'racial' and cultural 'progress'. Cultural nationalism is the aspect of nationalism which creates national mythology, imaginary pasts and lays the basis for national identity.

The first generation of the Finnish nationalist, Fennoman movement had built the foundations for the cultural advancement of the Finnish language, collected the *Kalevala* (Lönnrot) and had put forward the idea of common descent (Castrén, Sjögren, Ahlqvist et al.) in the 1830-40s. The Finnish identity was differentiated from the Swedish and the Russian ones. The Hungarian scholar, Antál Reguly, who worked in Finland, had realized these developments with enthusiasm. Later, in the 1850-60s, some Fennomen, notably E.A. Ingman and the aforementioned Blomstedt, initiated soundings in Hungary. Following in their footsteps, Jalava set himself to make Hungary really known and understood to the Finns. His enterprise was also emotionally, romantically laden, the sense of belonging to the same 'family' was for him an inspiration for identity-searching. He belonged to the second generation of Fennomen who combined idealistic post-romanticism with ideas of political companionship in order to build Finnish civil society. They channelled the achievements of their predecessors into the use of attacking *political nationalism* which strived for furthering the nation's opportunities vis-à-vis the Swedish nationality to decide over its life, and education in particular.⁸

⁸ ROMMI & POHLS 1989.

Since the reconvoation of the Finnish Diet in 1863 some progress had been made: the language law of 1865 allowed civil servants to use Finnish in their dealings with the people. However, the Finnish Senate was not willing to pressurize them; Finnish remained official but not compulsory. Seeing the obstacle, the Fennomen aimed at Finnicization of the administration and enlightening the Finns in order to secure Finnish-speaking administration in the future.

The question of school language became critical from the end of the 1860s onwards. The bureaucracy was loath to learn Finnish. What more, the only Finnish-teaching lyceum was removed from Helsinki to the countryside and, as Jalava complained, Finnish schools and the printing of Finnish school-books did not receive any financial support from the state.⁹ The opponents of the Fennomen, the newly regrouped Svecomen, rallied around A.O. Freudenthal and their paper *Vikingen*. To them, "finnicization" of the culture was a grave danger to Western civilization in Finland. They regarded the Finnish language as incapable of carrying higher culture forward. For their part, Finnish Liberals regarded the language question as a secondary one and stressed constitutional issues. As the Diet proved powerless against the Senate and officials in St. Petersburg, the Fennomen were again at pains to raise Finnish to an equal level with the dominant Swedish education and culture.

In 1872 the Fennomen launched a collection of money among citizens for the upkeep of Finnish schools, theatre and newspapers. It was a great success and boost to the politization of the Fennoman movement as a language 'party' in the Diet. However, there were discordant factions in it and the group was quite unstructured in its organization. During the heat of the language strife its activists founded the Finnish Club (*Suomalainen Klubi*, 1876) to present a united front. Their ideology became radically anti-Swedish: 'nationality' was defined as a unilingual unit. The cry was: one

⁹ Jalava to Hunfalvy 30th of July, 1878. TERVONEN 1987: 331.

nation, one language. Jalava joined the club but it is remarkable that he dared to propose bilingualism. He was assured that it was only desirable that a "civilized" Finnish intelligentsia could speak both Swedish and Finnish. This was the peaceful and long-term solution to language strife.¹⁰ For the time being, the Fennomen insisted on civil servants use of the local language in their dealings with ordinary people. They, however, did not yet undertake a full-scale attack on the Swedish-speakers' fortresses, although even Jalava mentioned that "the whole nation" was "dissatisfied" at the "irresponsible" Senate. In 1879, three years after the publication of his travel-book, Jalava complained of how the Fennomen still had to find private money to finance Finnish cultural institutions, a fact which made him also unable to travel to his beloved Hungary again. However, he was hopeful that time was on their side.¹¹ One of Jalava's hopes came true in 1881 when it was determined that Finnish-speakers should be given official documents in their mother-tongue¹².

As long as the Swedish-speakers stood in power in Finland, the language question was, as Jalava put it to his Hungarian friend, "the Gordian knot", a formidable obstacle to the "finnicization" of higher education in the country.¹³ Keen on working for the Finnish theatre and literature and teaching Hungarian at the University rather than taking part in bitter political disputes, Jalava maintained close contact with Fennomen's inner-circles led by the prominent politician-historian Yrjö Sakari Yrjö-Koskinen (1830-1903), who played the Russian card against the Swedish-speakers in order to get pro-Finnish legislation through. Jalava became the editor of the main organ of the Fennomen, *Uusi Suometar*, for which he contributed forty articles on Hungary in the years 1879-1909. He was the most prolific writer of the literary magazine,

¹⁰ JALAVA 1876a: 186-187.

¹¹ Jalava to Hunfalvy 25th of June, 1879. TERVONEN 1987: 336.

¹² ROMMI & POHLS 1989: 108-109.

¹³ Jalava to Hunfalvy 11th of November, 1875. TERVONEN 1987: 327-28.

the *Kirjallinen Kuukausilehti* which continually published his articles on Hungarian literature and cultural politics.¹⁴

As Tervonen has shown¹⁵, Hungary was not, thanks to the Older Fennomen, altogether unknown in Finland when Jalava took the lead. In the years of Revolution (1848-49), the sympathies of their paper, *Suometar*, were with the suppressed nationalities, among them the Hungarians who were struggling to get rid of the Austrian (German) power. It could not, however, agree with the Hungarians who would not understand the same urge of the Croats to freedom from Hungary and the right to use their own language.¹⁶ The "affairs of Austria and Hungary" was a regular column in the paper thereafter, and it was in the restarted *Uusi Suometar* in 1875 that Jalava's travel letters from Hungary were originally published. For the book he revised quite a few of them and wrote some twenty new ones.

During the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78) Finnish sympathies were on the Russian side, and the Fennomen tried to be cautious not to irritate the Russian authorities. The fate of the Poles frightened them but sometimes they just could not restrain themselves, as the Russian criticism of Yrjö-Koskinen's *Oppikirja Suomen historiasta* (1869-73), in which he wrote of the "independent Finnish state", proved.¹⁷ Jalava calculated that when the Russians were preoccupied with the Turks, Finland could 'progress' without "disturbance". Fennomen, who collected money and sent men to support the Serbians against the Turks, realized that they were endangering the friendship with the Hungarians who sided with the Turks.¹⁸

¹⁴ ROMMI & POHLS: 104. The works of Jalava are listed in *Suomalais-unkarilaisten kulttuurisuhteitten bibliografia vuoteen 1981*, Helsinki, 1982: 40-42.

¹⁵ See e.g. TERVONEN 1996: 7-8.

¹⁶ *Suometar* 38/1848; 40/1849.

¹⁷ Jalava to Hunfalvy 12th of Sept., 1875 and 30th of July, 1878. TERVONEN 1987: 322, 332-33.

¹⁸ Jalava to Budenz 16th of Dec., 1876. TERVONEN 1995: 28-29.

Jalava persisted in demonstrating - now that the linguistic affinity of Finnish to other Finno-Ugric languages spoken in Russia was well-founded - the importance of the Hungarian connection, the only other Finno-Ugric nation capable of nation-building, and capable of understanding the Finnish 'brothers'. He dedicated his efforts to overcoming the barriers of relative foreignness with his travel book in times when the kinship or common 'racial' origin of the Finns and Hungarians was a moot question, not only in Finnic-Ugric language studies, but also in assessing current theories and the evidency of anthropology, philology and ethnology in general. The 'Mongolian theory' of Finnish origins, supported, for example, by the Hungarian János Fogarasi, was gradually discarded, also because some Hungarians took Finnish wives, who, they realized, did not at all resemble a typical Mongol.¹⁹ Jalava had gathered evidence which helped him to assess its political potential and stage of development in civilization of the Finns and Hungarians. Hence Jalava's stress on the Hungarian 'national character', a fitting and up-to-date tool²⁰ to study how those features were manifested in contemporary political life.

Jalava's main task had originally been to report to the Finnish Educational Society on the condition of higher education in Germany and Austria-Hungary.²¹ However, he soon concentrated on Hungary, where he had for a long time "eagerly" wanted to go and where he stayed for eight months (4th of January - 28th of August). In his book Jalava touched on almost every aspect of Hungarian life and, in fact, it became the most comprehensive one written on a foreign

¹⁹ TERVONEN 1996: 17.

²⁰ It was used in Finnish commentary as late as in 1956. See HALMESVIRTA 1998: 132.

²¹ Jalava visited institutions for higher education in Dresden, Prague and Vienna, and in Hungary he attended lessons and examinations, collected data and had discussions with teachers especially in Budapest, Debrecen and Eger. He noted Hungarians' patriotic fervour in teaching, which he recommended to his Finnish colleagues. Unfortunately, in Hungary it also caused unequal treatment of the minority schools. In view of this, Jalava did not approve of building Swedish teaching schools in Finnish-speaking districts because they would only turn people against the Swedish-speakers ([JALAVA] 1876a: 186-188).

country, its culture and politics in Finland so far.²² It was a combination of travel book and encyclopaedia of nearly 400 pages.

Jalava approached his readers with customary but unnecessary modesty: although he wanted to convey only "some information" on Hungary, he nevertheless not only wanted to arouse "affection" to its circumstances and the political aspirations of his countrymen but insisted on giving political object-lessons from which they could learn.²³ His sources of information ranged from history and ethnography books²⁴, recent statistics and official reports, newspaper articles and political speeches to poems, literary fragments, personal information and experience.

2. NATURAL-POLITICAL HISTORY AND HUNGARIAN NATIONAL CHARACTER

Jalava's national-romantic presentiments of kinship were confirmed on his arrival in Budapest (4th of January, 1875) where he sensed an immediate familiarity with "everything" and especially with the Hungarian language which, at first hearing "sounded" like "sweet" Finnish, even though he could not say whether this feeling was of "imagination" or of "reality". To write in Swedish, which had been his language in childhood, was now like "gargling". However, quite soon he realized how difficult it really was to learn Hungarian.²⁵ First impressions of the capital's environs were quite rosy²⁶, but gradually Jalava noticed that Hungary had its darker sides. The presumed familiarity begun to creak.

²² VARPIO 1997: 88. In Hungary it has been praised as a "valóságos magyar enciclopédia". LAKÓ 1978: 869.

²³ JALAVA 1876: iii.

²⁴ He was sorry for not having been able to consult PÁL HUNFALVY'S *Magyarország Ethnografiája* for his book.

²⁵ JALAVA 1876b: 1; Jalava to his fiancée 1st and 8th of March, 1875. JALAVA 1948: 155, 157.

²⁶ His apartment appeared "beautiful", view from there "most charming", palaces "splendid" etc. Hungarian women made instantly a great impression on Jalava but he, engaged to marry soon, hinted at their 'Southern' "inchastity" and "dangerousness". See JALAVA 1876b: 176, 257, 331-332, 328.

'Alterity' was already detected by Jalava in the natural conditions of Hungary. Hungarians had occupied richer and more fertile soils of the 'South' than the Finns but the harvest was often - 22 times in the last 75 years - ruined by drought. There were magnificent hot fountains and baths but a serious lack of proper drinking water. Drastic changes of weather from dry to wet, hot to cold, heavy rainfall and "poisonous" fogs caused feverish diseases. Infant mortality rates were exceptionally high (33%).²⁷ Evidently Hungary was an unhealthier country than Finland of the 'North'. This could not but affect the national character of Hungarians which teemed with contradictions not found in the sturdier Finns.

Shortly Jalava moved on to compare Finland and Hungary historically. There were some parallels, some of them invented by Jalava in order to bring Hungary closer to his compatriots: for instance, Mathias Corvinus's rule somewhat resembled the times of Peter Brahe in Finland and the "saddest and most miserable" period of Hungarian history, the Turkish rule, was like the Great Hatred (Russian occupation) of the 1720s in Finland. Landlordism in Hungary differentiated its history from the Finnish one. In Hungary the nobles had fought against each other at the expense of the peasantry, the lot of which had been very poor in comparison to the 'freedom' of Finnish peasants. In all, the history of the Hungarian nation was ridden with "uprisings, persecution, murder and destruction". The Finns had had, under the Swedish rule, their share of misery, too. Here, these long separated nations met again: neither of them had given up, both had risen to realize their own nationality. That the Hungarians could arise after such disasters testified to their "Finnish perseverance".²⁸ In the 19th century these 'nations' encountered the same enemy: the "germanization" of Hungary, begun during Maria Theresa's rule, continued by Joseph II and resumed in the 1850-60s, was parallel to the Swedish hegemony in Finland, an interpretation exaggerating the Swedish 'oppression'. These 'foreign' forces had, fortunately

²⁷ JALAVA 1876b: 4-5, 9.

²⁸ JALAVA 1876b: 31.

for Jalava, produced a formidable renaissance: they “awakened the dying national feeling” which characterized the Reform period in Hungary and the Older Fennoman movement in Finland.

From Jalava’s Fennoman point of view modern Hungarian history revealed the differences between the Finnish and Hungarian national character and temperament generated by separation and living in different climatic zones. From the period of Revolution and its aftermath (1848-67) Jalava picked out as exemplary those Hungarian leaders who had promoted more ‘rational’, i.e. Fennoman-type of solutions to the Austro-Hungarian crisis, namely Széchenyi, Görgei (whom Jalava met personally)²⁹ and Deák. Here was a lesson for Hungarians to learn. By following the conservative policies of Széchenyi, by agreeing with hostile nationalities and by quelling nationalities’ rebellions, Hungarians could have prevented the disaster brought on them by Kossuth whose declaration to end the Habsburg rule had proved a grave “political mistake”. This argument, culled by Jalava from Széchenyi’s diary, had escaped the Hungarian reading public which “idolized” Kossuth and castigated Görgei as a traitor. Jalava spotted this as yet another example of Hungarian “national pride” - a vice the Fennoman politicians had averted - which made one person a scapegoat and ignored historical facts for the sake of saving national honour.³⁰ It was as if Jalava had been congratulating the Finns who worshipped more commonsensical and less French-type heroes than Kossuth, the “political jester”. Thanks to the “wiser” Deák, Hungarians had regained the bulk of their former “independence” in the Compromise of 1867, the results of which reminded Jalava of the autonomous relation of Finland to Russia.³¹ National revival was well on its way both in Hungary and in Finland, though in Hungary in more tumultuous circumstances.

²⁹ JALAVA 1876b: 289-298.

³⁰ JALAVA 1876b: 40-55.

³¹ JALAVA 1876b: 59.

However much Jalava admired the 'stubborn Finnishness' of the Hungarians, he often more than redressed the balance by pointing out the peculiarities of the Hungarian national character which did not always bring credit to its carriers. Even if the Hungarians had been favoured by Nature, which had made them "honest, open- and noble-minded, enthusiastically patriotic, careless of sorrows and misfortunes, valiant in war, chivalrous in manners, sharp-minded and splendid speakers", they were usually also "ambitious [in Finnish the word also carries a negative connotation], proud, boastful and ostentatious". Most striking to Jalava's Finnish eye was Hungarian jingoism: "*Extra Hungariam non est vita, et si est vita, non est ita*".³² On the positive side, it egged them on to sacrifice their fortunes and lives for their country. This was Jalava's favourite characterization of Hungarians. He urged the usually rather sullen Fennomen to develop it in themselves and turn it against the Svecomen. On the negative side, national pride made Hungarians scornful of others, most notably towards the Slav minorities ("*tót nem ember*"³³), Rumanians and Jews. In politics it offended the principles of modern statesmanship; the leader of the Slovak opposition in parliament, who had lawfully defended the equality of nationalities in Hungary ("we pay taxes, too!"), had been accused of treason by the Hungarian majority. Jalava was embarrassed to realize that even Görgei, whom he respected, considered the Slav minorities too uneducated for government.³⁴ In his mind Hungary was constitutionally a federal state. The constitution, however, remained a dead letter. Hungarian administration ignored minorities' lawful rights, and in the parliament the Hungarians gave vent to their chauvinist feelings. "Hot" as they were, they exaggerated everything bad in Others and good in themselves and their politics was often spoiled by too much talking and quarrelling.³⁵ It was sad that the Hungarians had lapsed into a despotism untypical of the Finno-Ugric peoples. The Fennomen's 'romantically' tolerant policy towards minorities was advisable: to love oneself did not mean that one should hate others.

³² JALAVA 1876b: 324.

³³ JALAVA 1876b: 326.

It was exactly the Hungarians' scorn and dismissiveness of the Others that Jalava singled out as their main "weakness". He could not be as excited and uplifted in Budapest as he had been in Prague because the Hungarians acted as "the tyrants" in Hungary whereas the Czechs were "the oppressed" in Bohemia.³⁶ Jalava's dilemma was this: the Hungarians, with whom he had initially identified himself so closely, were actually as 'oppressive' as the main opponents of the Fennomen, the Swedish-speakers of Finland. How to love a 'brother' who had been blinded by his own pride and glory to the degree that he could not see the value of Others in civilization? Although Jalava did not express this lament explicitly in his book, but in his intimate correspondence³⁷, he hesitated to send it to Hungary. He criticized Hungarians on moral grounds for their inhuman nationality policy, a sensitive point of *noli me tangere* for the Hungarians themselves.³⁸ Nevertheless, Jalava had his own axe to grind: Hungarian "patriotism" and "national self-esteem" could arouse the sleepy Fennoman spirit to action in Finland. His warning was that it should not be carried to the extremes met in Hungary.

In surveying the modern, post-1867 Compromise Hungary Jalava realized that the less favourable traits of the Hungarian national character prevailed in political thinking and economy. With the admirable exceptions of Deák and Tisza, Hungarians, "hot-blooded, irresponsible and extravagant" as they were, had begun to live in a very grand way. Jalava learned that they imagined that their country could become "one of the great powers of Europe", ready to fulfill its leading historical mission in Central Eastern Europe.³⁹ At the same time, the Hungarian economy was in dire straits in

³⁴ JALAVA 1876b: 295.

³⁵ JALAVA 1876b: 217-224.

³⁶ JALAVA took a two weeks holiday in Venice to have a rest from Hungarian 'madness'.

³⁷ Jalava to his fiancée 22nd of March, 1875. JALAVA 1948: 164.

³⁸ Jalava to Budenz 16th of Dec., 1876. TERVONEN 1995: 28.

³⁹ JALAVA 1876b: 60, 65. Cf. JALAVA 1883a: 42-43.

1875: huge public building projects, railway-mania ("family-railways"), and associated bribery and corruption had caused formidable state debts. National revival had not encouraged industrial development, which had fallen behind that of the West. Illusions of rapid 'progress' had evaporated.⁴⁰ On the verge of economic ruin, it remained in the hands of "liberals", led by Tisza, to save the country. Not being liberal himself, Jalava nevertheless sympathized with their moderate policy and was cautiously optimistic about the future of Hungary.

Less charming traits of the Hungarian national character surfaced in various areas of life. Jalava paid special attention to the work ethic of the Hungarian peasant, a subject that would surely interest his Finnish readers. In spite of the fact that the status of the Hungarian peasant had recently changed for the better - Jalava thought it fitting to mention that formerly it had resembled that of the peasant in the Viborg county in Finland - he was no Finnish Paavo from Saarijärvi, the hard-working and persevering backwoods hero of Runeberg.⁴¹ His Hungarian cousin had remained "lazy" as ever, working only for minimal subsistence. He was a "careless" cultivator because the soil was so fertile that it gave a good yield almost by itself. No work was done in the fields during the winter, no manure was needed. After a day's work, peasants gathered in the local pub where they would read newspapers and chat about the affairs of the state. For 'progressive' Jalava, who supported the Fennomans' idea of relieving pauperism with hard work, this kind of inactivity could be found also among higher social classes who, although living beyond their means amused themselves as best as they could and enjoyed ease and comfort.⁴² Jalava gathered that the Hungarian countryside was in a state of stagnation. He relied on peoples' enlightenment, which was at the time a popular method for civilizing the relatively ignorant and 'backward' Finnish and Hungarian countryfolk.

⁴⁰ JALAVA 1876b: 62-63.

⁴¹ JALAVA 1876b: 144.

⁴² JALAVA 1876b: 118, 261-262, 326.

The modest results of the application science in Hungary was also explained by Jalava by the inborn "hot-bloodedness and passion" of the Hungarian, who was "not amenable" to painstaking scientific work. In saying this, Jalava ascribed "patience and diligence" not only to the "hard-working" Germans but also to the "detested, selfish and cunning" Jews who were silently and effectively assimilating to the Hungarians.⁴³ They owned the largest businesses and controlled the flow of capital in Hungary, an economic fact that had made Hungarians regret that they had given them citizen's rights. Using alarmist, antisemitic language Jalava warned his hosts against the growing influence of international Jewry ("greedy blood-suckers"⁴⁴) of whom the Finns did not have to be afraid.⁴⁵ His advice to Hungarians was to take on hard work, otherwise they would stay poor and could not join the forces of 'progress' in Europe.⁴⁶

Having presented the 'dark side' of the Hungarian Jalava changed his tune and introduced the qualified better side of the Hungarian to his readers. Politics was a Hungarian's passion; he was, in striking contrast with the taciturn Finn, a splendid orator and political propagator. Quite straightforwardly Jalava stated that Hungarians loved politics because it would lead them to high positions in the civil service, a career which demanded less work than, for example, science but paid better.⁴⁷ Jalava also took the opportunity to observe the electoral campaign of 1875 and listen to the writer Jókai Mór's (nationalist-populist) electoral speech which he cited in full on pages 198-208. And again, he did not shy away from criticism. Hungarians loved "formalities and ostentatiousness" related to political activities not favoured by

⁴³ Yrjö-Koskinen, who promoted the 'one nation, one language' ideology realized that Jews and Germans rapidly assimilated into Hungarians and they were already Magyar-minded. Thus, there was no danger to Hungary from others. See 'Y.K.' 1868: 218.

⁴⁴ JALAVA 1883a: 10.

⁴⁵ JALAVA 1876b: 327.

⁴⁶ JALAVA 1876b: 335.

⁴⁷ JALAVA 1876b: 96-97.

Finns: rallies, crowd-meetings, flags, portraits, national colours, all "light-minded waste of time and money". Competing parties behaved like "angry dogs". A mood of hatred and vengeance had caused deaths. Most repugnant for Jalava was that candidates provided free amusements, *palinka* and *szalonna* to the voters while canvassing. Jalava turned away from the people who were in state of "intoxication and gluttony" and committed "vices connected to them".⁴⁸ For him the Finn, unaccustomed to such campaigning and bedlam in Finland, the mental difference of the 'brother' Hungarian was sharpest in the political sphere. In Finland there were no political parties at that time, and the political fight tended to be carried on more in newspapers than on any other political platform.

Jalava toyed with gestures of distancing and rapprochement in his book. Politics had distanced Hungarians from the Finns, literature drew them closer to each other. Fragments and the shorter works of Petőfi, Jókai and Vörösmarty were being translated into Finnish by Jalava. Of these Petőfi was "distinctly magyar", his tragic fate resembling that of the "truly" Finn writer, Aleksis Kivi. Petőfi's efforts to elevate the Hungarian theatre were typical of "Finnish stubbornness"⁴⁹ by which the Finns were themselves struggling to run a Finnish-speaking theatre in the 1870s.

It was in Debrecen, "the real capital of full-blooded" Hungarians, where Jalava experienced his happiest days. Though the town itself appeared physically repugnant ("ugly, muddy, dirty"), its social life was highly rewarding, the citizens there civilized, cordial and entertaining. There were only a few hundred Jews who were "dirty" in contrast to the Hungarians who wore national costume.⁵⁰ Jalava's company was unforgettably "hilarious, talkative, polite and sociable", they had independent opinions and firm convictions and they despised pettiness. Their generosity was

⁴⁸ Jalava 1876b: 209-210.

⁴⁹ Jalava 1876b: 125, 128.

⁵⁰ Jalava 1876b: 263-264, 272.

overflowing; wines, food, amusements were well-served. Jalava became to them "a dear Finnish brother". He drank a lot, day after day, and in the process all distinctions started to disappear: they were all old friends together. They shouted: "Long live Finland and Hungary!". Intimacy was now rooted in prehistory: toasts were proposed to a "common mother of the Finns and Hungarians". Common causes united them: the *Hakkapeliitat* had fought for the Reformation and freedom of religion as valiantly as the Calvinists of Debrecen.⁵¹ Afterwards Jalava sighed in relief: after all, Hungarians, like any other nation, had their weaknesses and good sides, and in normal times good inclinations came to the fore.⁵² With his sociable manners and vivid 'Finnish' imagination Jalava fit easily in with the Hungarian society and thus consolidated the common Finno-Ugric identity. It elevated his own Fennoman national consciousness.

COMMON ANCESTRY

Jalava travelled to Hungary to find difference in familiarity and familiarity in difference. In the end, he found out that the Hungarians were unquestionably a "Finnic" (in Finnish: *suomiheimoinen*) nation. This identification was based on an imagined common descent, a certain linguistic affinity and affirmative experiences in Hungary. The Finnish and Hungarian languages were not mutually intelligible, but Jalava knew of the structural similarities in grammar, especially of the so called "word-roots".⁵³ Based on ideas of the Hungarian scholars Sajnovits and Reguly, the studies of Budenz and lately of Pál Hunfalvy (1810-1890), who visited Finland in 1869⁵⁴ and of the Finnish scholars O. Donner, A. Ahlqvist and O. Blomstedt, Jalava took it for granted that the linguistic affinities also proved a common "national" origin. Hunfalvy had carried the family-resemblance further: the "original seat" of Hungarians and Finns had resided on both

⁵¹ JALAVA 1876b: 267-270.

⁵² JALAVA 1876b: 324-326; Jalava to his fiancée 15th of August, 1875. Jalava 1948: 180.

⁵³ JALAVA 1876b: 176, 184.

⁵⁴ See his *Utazás a Balttenger Vidékein*.

sides of the Ural mountains whence the Hungarians had migrated towards the Black Sea and finally to Hungary.⁵⁵ This much seemed scientifically corroborated to Jalava.

In Hungary, a Finno-Ugric origin of Hungarians had been considered "degrading" to the prestige of the progeny of the glorious Huns, and it was difficult to dispel the classical, Tacitean idea that Finns were "semi-wild humans wearing animal-leathers" from the minds of Hungarians.⁵⁶ In dealing with these misconceptions, Jalava referred to Kossuth's *Gesammelte Werke* (Leipzig, 1850) edited by the obscure von Zerffy, who posed as Kossuth's private secretary. In an essay "On the Origin of Hungarians", mistakenly attributed to Kossuth by Jalava⁵⁷, the identification of Hungarians with Finns by German and Slav historians was rejected as a Habsburgian political plot meant to ridicule Hungarians. This was one of the ways Finns were politically abused and it was supported by the teachings of philology and anthropology in the 1870s. Likewise the French had 'found out' that German 'Aryans' actually craniologically resembled the 'half-savage' Finns.⁵⁸ For their part, German scholars had 'shown' that "civilized words" in Hungarian did not originate in Finnish and that Finns were "sly and avaricious", the "ugliest race on

⁵⁵ JALAVA 1876b: 7, 315.

⁵⁶ JALAVA 1876b: 275, 315.

⁵⁷ The infuriated Kossuth denied the work and showed that it was a fabrication. He pointed out that he had "never said a word on the 'racial' relations of Hungarians and Finns", and what he knew of Finns was all against von Zerffy's "insults". He understood that a Finnish scholar could make such a blunder, but it was unforgivable of Hunfalvy, who reviewed Jalava's book for the Hungarians. It was he who should pay "moral compensation" to the Finns. In general, Kossuth rejected the idea of associating a nation's origin to that of others, since every nation should stick to its own "type" in order to be able to survive and form a state in Europe. Jalava took back all that he had said of Kossuth and his opinions in his book and also made it known to him that he had done this. Hunfalvy was sorry for the mistake and rejected the "Habsburg-connection" but remarked that Kossuth could have had anti-Finnish prejudices since they would not have harmed his prestige. He regarded Jalava's book as the best and "irritatingly" truthful in most points. A Finnish reader found it extremely timely because in Finland information concerning Hungary, "the other civilized nation among Ugric peoples", was so scarce. See KOSSUTH 1877; HUNFALVY 1877a, 1877b; JALAVA 1877; GODENHJELM 1877.

⁵⁸ HALMESVIRTA 1990: 176.

earth", with whom the Hungarians had better have nothing to do.⁵⁹ Jalava attributed these disparaging statements to Kossuth's national prejudice and superficial political style. He rested his arguments on recent philological studies: when analyzed more thoroughly from the developmental point of view both the Finnish and Hungarian languages were "progressive", but Hungarian, though sounding "grand and manly", was not as "beautiful and sonorous" as Finnish.⁶⁰ Jalava was eager to dispel distrust in scientific circles towards Finno-Ugric studies and to show to his Swedish-speaking opponents the value of Finnish as a cultural language.

Jalava wrote as if the debate had already been resolved in favour of the common Ugric origin, but it was reopened by the Hungarian philologist Herman Vambéry who made the claims that the Hungarian language was closer to 'civilized' Turkish and that Hungarians belonged to the Turkish 'race' rather than to the Ugric one.⁶¹ In Hungary this was a welcome message: the link Hun-Turk-Hungarian had been reestablished and the Hungarians could again boast of having a worthier ancestors than the lowly Finns. In Finland the Swecomen were more than happy to learn that the Finns were cut off from the main stream of civilization.

In 1883 Jalava replied with a series of articles to refute Vambéry's findings. Both classified Finnish and Hungarian with the Uralo-Altaic family of languages, but Vambéry placed them among the Turkish, Jalava among the Finno-Ugric languages. Jalava agreed that Hungarian contained many Turkish loan-words but claimed that the "roots" of Hungarian were planted before the Hungarians had made contact with the Turks, in the pre-nomadic period of Finno-Ugric ancestry which Vambéry had passed over.⁶² Vambéry had been cautious enough not to locate the "cradle" of

⁵⁹ JALAVA 1876b: 315-318.

⁶⁰ JALAVA 1876b: 313-314.

⁶¹ *A magyarok eredete* (1882).

⁶² JALAVA 1883b; JALAVA 1883c.

the Hungarians in any particular area. In a triumphant mood Jalava declared that Hungarians remained "Ugric to the root", at least for the time being. The Finnicists had won the argument in Hungary and Vambéry admitted it⁶³. Jalava put Vambéry's "twistings" of the philological evidence down to his national "vanity", the "sick Hunnic prejudice", so dear to Hungarian public opinion. He insinuated that the misplaced identity depicted by Vambéry was politically motivated: his "Fennophobia" and its reverse side, "Turkophilia" stemmed from Hungarian illusions to become the heirs of the "sick man" in the Balkans.⁶⁴ Jalava made no allusions to what the government in Vienna might think of these Hungarian national dreams. His Hungary of future - a barrier against Eastern intrusions - appeared more defensive than the one the Hungarians depicted for themselves.

4. NATIONALITY QUESTION

In his analysis of the nationality question in Hungary Jalava made use of the vocabulary of the current comparative politics. Before political science based on sociology was born, this was a much tried tool of analysis by Western political observers before the First World War and it was also applied in an attempt to grasp Finnish politics and Finland's position in the Russian Empire.⁶⁵ Young Fennomen, interested in the status of small nationalities and languages of Europe since the uprisings of 1848-49, compared their demands for 'freedom' with the Finnish hopes for wider autonomy. In this setting, Hungary provided a preconceived political equivalent and cultural affinity for Jalava also in this sense. He approached the Hungarian nationality problem from the point of view of Finnish language strife in order to provide instruction and criticism that could enlighten his Finnish colleagues and provide them with encouragement and ammunition in their own nationality policy. Hungarian history was teaching Fennoman politicians⁶⁶,

⁶³ TERVONEN 1939: 84-85.

⁶⁴ JALAVA 1883d.

⁶⁵ SEE HALMESVIRTA 1990: ch. 5.

but Jalava ventured to also give advice to Hungarian statesmen in dealing with their minority subjects.

In principle, Jalava envisaged the Hungary of 1875 as a national state having "natural territory and borders". That the Hungarians could not, for example, have their own foreign policy did not affect his reasoning. Without harking back to any specific philosophy of state, he rather glibly entertained the current nationalistic-idealistic dogma of the Young Fennomen: full equality of nationalities in a state was dismissed, and in the end one state could be ruled by one nation only. Minorities should not be oppressed or tyrannized, but they had to gradually accommodate or die out. In Hungary, the assimilation process had been prolonged, for historical Hungary had been a battlefield of nations, and still remained so. Among them the Hungarians had historically been and had presently become the "masters".⁶⁷ What had aroused bitterness in subdued nationalities was that the law of 1868 gave them equal rights, but it was not adhered to in practise. Citing various sources, among them the German paper, *Pester Lloyd*, Jalava accused Hungarian bureaucracy of despotism and injustice against other nationalities. Hungary was turning out to be a police state and its administrators irresponsible legislators.

⁶⁶ In reviewing Jalava's book, B.F. Godenhjelm picked up the *social* aspect of the nationality problem of Finland and Hungary which Jalava had largely omitted. He stressed that in Hungary the nobility had become patriotic and begun to promote national issues whereas in Finland officialdom and the aristocracy upheld a "foreign" culture to further their own interests in society. In Hungary the nobles defended the Hungarian nation against foreign (German) pressure, in Finland 'Finnishness' was never popular in the high society. The middle-classes and commoners did not have to fight against foreigners in order to defend the rights of their language but they had to persuade their own ruling classes to side with the 'progress' of the fatherland. See GODENHJELM 1877: 206-207.

⁶⁷ Jalava listed Hungarians (6,156 million), Rumanians (2,470), Germans (1,820), Slovaks (1,817), Serbians and Croats (473), Ruthenians (469) and Jews (incorporated into Hungarians). JALAVA 1876b: 337; JALAVA 1907: 3. Depending on available statistics, these numbers varied among different Finnish writers on Hungarians affairs. Cf. GODENHJELM 1877: 206-207; HANNIKAINEN 1901: 13.

The crux of the nationality question for Jalava was the language struggle. He demonstrated great differences between the statuses of the Hungarian language in Hungary and Finnish in Finland. Hungarians already enjoyed what the Finns were desperately yearning for. The Hungarian language had (again) become the official language after the Compromise of 1867. Jalava approved of the solution since a "babylonian" amalgam of numerous languages did not suit the needs of national modernization, but it was obvious that the Hungarians had gone too far in trying to eradicate the use of other languages by neglect or harsh measures. Although the constitution allowed other languages and their literature to be taught in schools, the Ministry of Education did not financially support a single non-Magyar one.⁶⁸ Compared with this, the situation of Finnish in Finland was a paradox. There the language of the Finnish majority was treated in the way that a minority language was treated in Hungary. Swedish-speakers, a tiny minority of one eighth of the population obstructed the rise of Finnish to the equality prescribed by the language law of 1865. Finnish students were forbidden to take Finno-Ugric languages as majors at the University of Helsinki⁶⁹, and as Jalava later explained to Hunfalvy, the Swedish-speakers obstructed the founding of schools for Finnish-speakers.⁷⁰ Swedish-speakers clung to their cultural and political hegemony showing "lust for power and thirst for suppression". To Jalava this was a violation of the "natural rights"⁷¹ of languages.

In Hungary the language issue was a part of the complex nationality problem, whereas in Finland the language question was the moot one. Jalava duly mentioned that in Hungary the ruling nation had to "discipline" fifteen different nationalities who were twice as populous as the Hungarians themselves, whereas in Finland there were only two competing nationalities, Finnish- and Swedish-speakers - Lapps, Jews, Gipsies and others were

⁶⁸ JALAVA 1876b: 345-346.

⁶⁹ JALAVA 1876b: 303-304.

⁷⁰ JALAVA to Hunfalvy 12th of September 1875. TERVONEN 1987: 321-322.

⁷¹ JALAVA 1876b: 349; JALAVA 1876a: 198.

marginalized by him.⁷² In Finland language strife was reaching its peak in the 1870s when the Young Fennomen's party suffered from fractions, while in Hungary oppressed nationalities, especially the Slav ones, had developed "hatred" of everything Hungarian. Slav historians, for instance, Czech Palacky, whom Jalava met in Prague regarded Slavic peoples as "the original owners of the [Hungarian] territory", the unity of which Hungarians had destroyed.⁷³ Jalava found such nationalist political history harmful but he also criticized the Hungarian authorities for reacting too severely to alleged expressions of panslavism. That, for example, the Slovaks hoisted their own flags in schools and wrote of the origins of their people in history school-books did not necessarily mean 'revolutionary', anti-state agitation. It was injudicious to abolish non-Hungarian societies and close down minority-schools, which did not in the first place get any financial backing from the government.⁷⁴ It could be suspected that the peaceful 'progress' of Hungary was greatly hampered by such conflicts. When visiting Prague before reaching Hungary, Jalava's blood "had boiled" for the Czechs who suffered from injustice in the Austro-Hungarian state.⁷⁵ Consequently, Slav nationalities under Hungarian rule should have been left alone because they would have been healthiest without Hungarian bureaucratic clothing.

Jalava was wary of the Hungarian policy of building a "true *Magyar-ország*", which aimed at forceful "magyarization" of its minorities. Such a forceful nation-building was against his principles: any nation, as populous as the biggest 'minorities' of Hungary were, was entitled to cultivate its language and culture. Jalava rather relied on 'natural' growth in that it would do its work in the future if supported by smooth "guiding" by the Hungarian state. What he exactly meant by this remains unclear, but in the

⁷² JALAVA 1876b: 6.

⁷³ JALAVA 1876b: 17-18, 32-33, 35.

⁷⁴ JALAVA 1876b: 237-238

⁷⁵ Jalava to his fiancée 1st of October, 1874. JALAVA 1948: 131.

long run, it would in any case have been better if "national caricatures" were silently assimilated into Hungarians so that the state need not take "absolutist" measures which did not suit the spirit of modern statesmanship. In that way the "happiness" of all nationalities would match the paramount interests of the unified national state. After all, Hungary was destined primarily for Hungarians, Finland for the Finns. "Germanization" would not save either of them, they had to stand on their own, and the Hungarians nearly did. "A glorious origin" (cf. the Greeks) did not count much in the modern world.⁷⁶ More important was a nation's *élan vital* or fitness for life. In Hungary unification was more difficult to realize than in Finland because the minorities were so strong and strengthened by the support from their respective 'fatherlands'. Leaning on Professor Greguss's analysis⁷⁷, Jalava rejected "Hungarian Darwinism"⁷⁸ - a war or any other form of unnatural coercion against the minor nationalities - and recommended 'free competition' in economy and culture.

For Jalava, as well as for most of the Fennomen of the 1870s⁷⁹, 'democracy' did not mean the liberal idea of changing the constitution for wider representation of the nation, but equalizing the status of the Finnish and Swedish languages in Finland. In view of this, 'progressive' Hungarian statesmen should have let reason and 'freedom', not force, decide which nationality was "strongest". Accordingly, a more "democratic", federal state ruled by Hungarians seemed the best political solution in the future. This would also have been acceptable for the Western great powers because it would keep panslavist movements at bay in Central-Eastern Europe.⁸⁰ For Jalava 'the balance of powers' of West and East appeared favourable to the 'progress' of smaller nationalities within Europe.

⁷⁶ JALAVA 1876b: 319-321, 348-350.

⁷⁷ *Tanulmányai*, vol. I, Pest, 1872: 30.

⁷⁸ Jalava had already disposed of what he thought was the Darwinian idea of man on philological grounds: Man was the crown of Nature because only he could talk and think. See ALMBERG 1872: 164.

⁷⁹ ROMMI & POHLS 1989: 89, 103.

⁸⁰ JALAVA 1876b: 352-362. Cf. KOSSUTH 1877: 767.

By way of conclusion Jalava combined the arguments of common "Turanian" (note how he used this term to recall the label of the lately despised nations) identity and origin, his assessment of the stage of civilization of the Hungarian offshoot and his findings of comparative politics. In all, there was no doubt that both Hungarians and Finns had reached as high a level of development as the much-praised "Aryans".⁸¹ However, if Hungarians had, at the cost of much bloodshed, risen to hegemony, the Finns were still down-trodden by the Swedish-speakers. Jalava's message was: it was shameful that the Finns, the producers of the *Kalevala* - in his opinion not surpassed by any Hungarian literary achievement - let the "foreigners" violate their "natural rights". Enthusiastically Jalava now designated Finns and Hungarians as "brothers of the same flesh and blood", separated in prehistory but brought together again by Finno-Ugric studies in modern Europe. They had performed their missions in the service of civilization: the Finns had prepared their Northern periphery for Western culture, the Hungarians had protected the West from the onslaughts of Eastern "barbarians".⁸² Jalava surmised that these rather formidable tasks they were destined to perform in the future, too, constitute a challenge that would bind these nations into a common 'fatal connection'.

CONCLUSION

In a short time after his visit to Hungary Jalava established close relations with a few Hungarian scholars, mostly literary people, philologists and grammarians. He was appointed to the post of supernumary lecturer (1880-1909) in Hungarian at the University of Helsinki. In the beginning, he had a handful of students studying the language yearly. He visited Hungary five more times, in 1881, 1886, 1895, 1899 and in 1903, and expanded and solidified his literary and scientific relations. He continuously translated Hungarian literature into Finnish. His favourite was Jókai Mór, but he also translated Hungarian plays, staged for the

⁸¹ Cf. POLIAKOV 1977: passim.

⁸² JALAVA 1876b: 365-367.

first time in Finland. He soon published the first *Unkarin kielen oppikirja* (1880), with his best Hungarian friend József Szinnyei (1857-1945), who visited Finland 1879-1881. "Magyaromania" had not caught the Finns⁸³, but at the beginning of the 1880s preconditions for wider co-operation were there. An opportunity for common celebrations arose in 1881 when both the *Suomen Kirjallisuuden Seura* and the *Magyar Tudományos Akadémia* had their 50th anniversary. On this occasion, Jalava hurried to remind them that "the kinship of Finns and Hungarians has been for a long time a well-known fact". This was confirmed by Szinnyei who bluntly stated that when the Finns and Hungarians had lived together in their original seat, they had spoken a common "original language".⁸⁴ It was a great moment of mutual identity-building. No wonder that some Finnish liberal observers were less enthusiastic; in their view magyarophiles neglected the cultivation of English and German literature in Finland and forgot that the Finns had 'relatives', Estonians, nearby.

In the 1880s the Fennoman movement gained victories. Its members, Jalava among them, rejoiced at the end of "reaction" when their leader, Yrjö Koskinen, was nominated to the Senate and many new Finnish-speaking schools gained support from the government.⁸⁵ Tsar Alexander III granted the Finnish Diet the right of initiative. Economic conditions in the country were improving. In spite of the 'progress', Jalava was impatient: Hungary had already been reborn as a nation, Finland was still in "labour pains".⁸⁶ Worried about a possible new 'reaction' from the centres of imperial power (St. Petersburg, Vienna), Jalava urged the Hungarians, unfortunately inflamed by "pernicious passion of discord", to concentrate on internal conciliation, on alleviating social grievances, and on securing legitimate, equal rights for their minorities. Every nation had to be strong in the inside: showing

⁸³ Jalava Hunfalvyille 10th of April, 1881. TERVONEN 1987: 340.

⁸⁴ SZINNYEI 1882: 192-193; JALAVA 1882: 6-7.

⁸⁵ Jalava to Hunfalvy 12th of June, 1882. TERVONEN 1987: 343.

⁸⁶ JALAVA 1881: v, vii.

off historical greatness would not do in times of international rivalry and territorial claims. The so called Eastern Question had not yet been solved for good.⁸⁷ It did not take long for imperialism, or imperial integration, so dangerous to the identities of smaller nations, to set in. A tide of new "tyranny", as Jalava privately coined its Russian version, panslavism, shook him in 1909: "Cold spell in Spring, in nature and in state".⁸⁸ Most disquieting was that the Finnish élite still clung to its "comfort", lucrative positions in the administration, and remained indifferent to furthering the cause of the Finnish language, this time especially at the University, the last fortress of the Swedish-speakers' dominion.⁸⁹ Jalava's dream, that Finns would be masters in higher education in Finland, did not come true in his life-time.

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⁸⁷ JALAVA 1881: 147-148. Cf. HANNIKAINEN 1901: 37-38.

⁸⁸ Jalava to Szinnyei 27th of May, 1909. TERVONEN 1996: 397.

⁸⁹ JALAVA 1907: 21.

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ANDRÁS JOÓ

“PERFIDIOUS ALBION” VS “AUSTRIA-GERMANY”*.
AEHRENTHAL, CARTWRIGHT AND THE DUAL MONARCHY:
GREAT POWER POLICY THROUGH THE EYES OF DIPLOMATS

1. THE HABSBURG MONARCHY’S POSITION AND THE NEED FOR CHANGE

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Habsburg Monarchy experienced repeated internal crises and its leaders found it extremely difficult to establish the international role of this multiethnic state among the Great Powers. By the end of the nineteenth century the idea of an “Austrian question” had already been emerging. Besides, the “fluid element” of international politics – as Bismarck had referred to the tricky and unpredictable world of imperialist diplomacy – was undergoing changes at an unprecedented rate. This period of diplomatic realignments presented a number of challenges to the Dual Monarchy. By the turn of the century it was more than evident for many Western European politicians of the day that the future of Austria-Hungary was in serious doubt, and it could easily happen that this state prove to be incapable of surviving the following decade. While it became generally accepted that an “Austrian question” existed, the strong belief that problems could still be properly dealt with and internal tensions soothed by finding adequate solutions to the various

* The term was used by E. J. DILLON, *Daily Telegraph* correspondent in Russia in December 1910. See Dillon’s articles in the *Daily Telegraph*, 31st December 1910, and in the *Contemporary Review*, January 1911, esp. in *Contemporary Review* under the headings: “Germanisation of the Continent” and “The Price of an Anglo-German Understanding”. See also as enclosures to: HHS^tA PA VIII. England, K. 146. [Berichte], Nr. 1 F., *Bericht von Tarnowski*, 6th January 1911.

challenges without endangering the very existence of the Empire, nevertheless continued to be held.¹ As early as 1898 there was ominous talk in the British press of “a dissolving empire” and “a general break-up”.² In 1900 André Chéradame’s book *L’Autriche au seuil du vingtième siècle* became a bestseller of political literature in Europe. Chéradame listed all the reasons for what he believed to be the unavoidable decline of the Habsburg Monarchy.³ In 1899 the first indication appeared in a diplomatic document relating to the possible partition of Austria-Hungary; France and Russia discussed the situation that would be created by the break-up of the Monarchy, and exchanged views on the issue.⁴ However, the overwhelming majority of statesmen and political analysts still held the opinion that the Danubian Power could be preserved, and, furthermore, that its existence was a necessity to prevent a great clash between the two military giants of Europe, Germany and Russia.⁵ Even Henry Wickham Steed⁶, who later became one of the most ardent critics of the Dual Monarchy, admitted that “he had been unable to perceive (...) any sufficient reason why, with moderate foresight on the part of the Dynasty, the Habsburg Monarchy should not retain its rightful place in the European community”. Steed went even further suggesting that “the internal crises are often crises of growth rather than of decay”.⁷

¹ EUROF WALTERS, *Franco-Russian Discussions on the Partition of Austria-Hungary, 1899*, in: *The Slavonic and East European Review* 28. (1949), pp. 184-185.

² IRWIN ABRAMS, *The Austrian Question at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*, in: *Journal of Central European Affairs*, vol.4., Nr.2., June 1944., p. 186. Article cited: F. HIRST, “A Dissolving Empire”, *Fortnightly Review*, LXX. (1898), pp. 56-71, also in: *National Review*, XXX (1898), pp. 679-680.

³ ABRAMS, *op. cit.*, p. 189. See also: FRANCIS ROY BRIDGE – R. BULLEN, *The Great Powers and the European States System 1815-1914*. London, New York: Longman, 1980, p. 152.

⁴ WALTERS, *Franco-Russian Discussions*, pp. 184 –197.

⁵ ABRAMS: *The Austrian Question*, p. 187.

⁶ Henry Wickham Steed, (1871-1956), journalist, from 1902 to 1914 *Times* Correspondent in Vienna.

⁷ H. WICKHAM STEED, *The Hapsburg Monarchy*. London: Constable & Co. Ltd, 1913, Preface.

A closer look at British policy towards Vienna during the period preceding the First World War reveals that it was largely determined by two factors: on the one hand, a certain fear of the fall of the Danubian Empire, with all its undesirable consequences to the balance of power on the Continent, and on the other hand, the firm intention to oppose German ambitions in the Near East, as well as to prevent the latter Power from seizing hegemony over Europe. What was difficult to decide was whether the Monarchy as a strong and stable European power would support Germany in her "*Drang nach Osten*", or whether it would play a moderating role by establishing itself as an independent Central European empire which would be more likely to direct its policies in accordance with the *Entente* Powers. However, once Austria-Hungary became exclusively dependent on Germany because of her military and economic weaknesses, it could hardly oppose German influence on her foreign policy and would only act as a forerunner of aggressive political-economic infiltration of the German Empire into the Balkans, Turkey, the Near East and ultimately into the Persian Gulf.

Lord Salisbury was convinced by the turn of the century that the downfall of the Habsburg Empire was imminent, which was to a certain extent responsible for Britain's rejection of a closer cooperation, or even a defensive alliance with the Central Powers, notwithstanding that London in any case was wholly unable to offer any kind of help other than neutrality, in the case where Austria was attacked by Russia.⁸ The process of diplomatic realignment around 1900 also presented further challenges to the *Ballhausplatz*. The arising Anglo-German antagonism in connection with traditional rivalries and enmities, just like the fairly tense antagonism between France and England, and the Central Asian problems between Great Britain and Russia. The value of the Dual Alliance became questionable for Germany herself, since

⁸ FRIEDRICH MEINECKE, *Geschichte des deutsch-englischen Bündnisproblems*. München: Oldenbourg, 1927, p. 210, pp. 219-220, pp. 242-243. Even the Germans admitted that it was the strong belief of the British Prime Minister, not just a part of the verbal maneuvers used for changing the direction of the alliance negotiations talks with Berlin, see: *GP XVII.*, Nr. 5008, pp. 63-64, *Hatzfeldt an das Auswärtige Amt*.

there seemed to be promising opportunities for more effective Continental cooperation with France and Russia.⁹ The Great Powers were looking for new combinations, and the Monarchy did not seem to be able to find a new, independent role for itself. The *Ballhausplatz*¹⁰ was fairly successful in maintaining good relations with Russia, yet Berlin's influence was stronger than ever, so observers in England thought, and Goluchowski¹¹ found it very difficult to convince the British that Vienna could still bring up suggestions which had not been originally initiated by Berlin. The Austrian Foreign Minister was eager to explain Sir Edward Goschen¹² that Austro-Hungarian suggestions at the Algeciras Conference were not created in the German capital, and that the Monarchy acted completely on its own, and not as a subservient agent of the *Wilhelmstraße* (German Foreign Ministry).¹³

Baron Aloys Lexa Aehrenthal wanted to improve the international position of the Monarchy by strengthening its internal political structure and making the two ruling nations, the Austrian Germans and Hungarians, more aware of the benefits of the maintenance of the Empire. Aehrenthal was one of the most experienced diplomats in Austro-Hungarian foreign service – from 1888 he spent almost two decades (with just a relatively short interruption) in the Russian capital, rising to the post of Ambassador of Austria-Hungary in St. Petersburg.¹⁴ When Count Goluchowski was forced to resign

⁹ ISTVÁN DIÓSZEGI: *Einige Bemerkungen zur Frage der österreichisch-ungarischen Ostpolitik*. In: *Österreich -Ungarn in der Weltpolitik, 1900 bis 1918*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1965, pp. 246-247.

¹⁰ Austrian Foreign Ministry.

¹¹ GOLUCHOWSKI, AGENOR COUNT (1849-1921), Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs (1895-1906).

¹² GOSCHEN, SIR W. EDWARD (1847-1924), British diplomat, from 1905 to 1908 Ambassador in Vienna.

¹³ EVA WOLF: *Die Beziehungen Österreich-Ungarns zu Deutschland unter Goluchowski (1895-1906)*. Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Vienna, *Universitätsbibliothek Wien* { Hungarian National Library Microfilms, *Országos Széchényi Könyvtár*}, 1967, p. 356.

¹⁴ Aehrenthal started his diplomatic career as ambassadorial attaché in Paris. Later he became Cabinet Chief of Gustav von Kálnoky, also being in charge of the department responsible for Russian and Balkan affairs (see source in the next footnote).

from his office in 1906, Francis Joseph appointed Aehrenthal as his successor. As Foreign Minister he started his so-called "active policy" which he had formerly tried to persuade Goluchowski to follow, though without any success. The central core of his political concept was the restoration of the internal and external stability of the Dual Monarchy. To guard against the most dangerous challenge to the Habsburg Empire, Serbia's aspiration to unite the Southern Slavs, he intended to win the support of both the Hungarian and Austrian leading circles to lay the constitutional foundations for a separate Southern Slav entity within the Empire. He had no time to achieve this, since he died before starting any of these grandiose plans.¹⁵

In Britain a rather sinister character portrait was formed of the Austrian Foreign Minister. This negative picture was to a large extent due to Henry Wickham Steed's sharp criticism and personal dislike of Aehrenthal. The Vienna correspondent of the *Times* characterised him as a man not at all trustworthy, whose nature was sly and underhand, and no other behavior was to be expected from him than treachery:

Baron von Aehrenthal, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador at St. Petersburg, who succeeded Count Goluchowski at the Vienna Foreign Office, was a man of very different stamp. Goluchowski had been jovial, loquacious, lightliving but withal a diplomatist whose word was his bond, and in whom no ambassador had ever detected the shadow of deceit. Aehrenthal was a Bohemian-German with a strain of Jewish blood¹⁶ who had been brought up in the clerical and bureaucratic school of Kálnoky.¹⁷ A man of few words, to each of which he gave a special meaning – a meaning not always identical with that understood or intended

¹⁵ *Aus dem Nachlaß Aehrenthal. Briefe und Dokumente zur österreichisch-ungarischen Innen- und Außenpolitik 1885-1912.* Part I-II, ed. SOLOMON WANK (assist. ed. CH. M. GRAFINGER and F. ADLGASSER), Graz: Wolfgang Neugebauer Verlag GmbH, [Quellen zur Geschichte des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts 6.], 1994, *Kurzbiographie*, pp. XVIII-XXI.

¹⁶ An absolutely false statement lacking any historical evidence, see : SOLOMON WANK, *Note on the Genealogy of a Fact: Aehrenthal's Jewish Ancestry*, in: *Journal of Modern History* 31 (1969), pp. 319-326.; also: *Nachlaß Aehrenthal I., Kurzbiographie*, p. XVIII.; H. JÄGER-SUNSTENAU, *Minister Aehrenthal und der Semi-Gotha*, in: *Genealogie* 1970, pp. 47-48.

¹⁷ Kálnoky, Gustav von (1832-1898), Austro-Hungarian politician and diplomat, from 1881 to 1895 Minister of Foreign Affairs.

to be understood – secretive, ambitious and hardworking, he brought with him to the Ballplatz new methods and new spirit. Ambassadors who have welcomed his appointment ... complained within a few months ... He came from St. Petersburg with a reputation for Russophilism – a reputation valuable to a diplomatist on the Neva, embarrassing to a statesman on the Danube. Before he had been a year in office he was accused of servility towards Germany – an accusation not damaging to a Minister whose position could not have been consolidated without the goodwill of Berlin. Whether he was ever sincerely Russophile may be doubted. A shrewd English observer who knew him well at St. Petersburg averred that, in his heart of hearts, Aehrenthal despised the Russians. His friends in Russia belonged to a small coterie of ultra-conservative Grand Dukes and politicians whose ideas on Russia and on principles of government were in harmony with his own. He surveyed European politics from a Russian reactionary angle of vision, distrusting Liberal States and constitutional tendencies. Towards England his original attitude was one of distrustful contempt qualified by ignorance. Germany he respected for her attachment to *Realpolitik*, her indifference towards ethical considerations and her readiness to employ any means for the attainment of her ends¹⁸

According to Steed's subjective portrayal, the era of Count Goluchowski was meant to be much more positive. While Aehrenthal was accused of perfidious pro-German attitudes, Goluchowski's policies were seen to be more preferable to the cause of peace. It is true, however, that the Monarchy had become more dependent on Germany than ever before in this era hallmarked by Goluchowski. Some observers even made the ironic remark that under Goluchowski the Monarchy was in so great a need of German support just as the "night-walker" cannot dispense without "leaning against the wall".¹⁹ No matter what area of external or internal policy is considered, this period can be characterised to a large extent by stagnation and general decline. All branches of government were

¹⁸ STEED, *The Habsburg Monarchy*, pp. 227-228.

¹⁹ HEINRICH KANNER, *Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik. Ein Stück zeitgenössischer Geschichte*. Leipzig, Wien, Zürich: E. P. Tal, p. 17, quoted in: ISABEL F. PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes. Probleme österreichisch-ungarischer Bündnispolitik 1897-1908*. Wien, Köln, Weimar: Verlag Böhlau [Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für neuere Geschichte Österreichs 86], 1996, pp. 364-365.

in need of reform, and fresh dynamism with new ideas was expected everywhere. Though the "*Minister des angenehmen Äußeren*"²⁰ possessed a winning type of personality with considerable charm, his leadership seemed to be far from perfect. The numerous organizational problems and the various inefficiencies in the operation of the political machinery had all caused much disappointment among the members of the élite. Aehrenthal's becoming head of the *Ballhausplatz* was more than welcome by most officials in the diplomatic corps, since negligence and lack of consistent leadership had already made many diplomats dissatisfied with Goluchowski.²¹ Dóczy²², the former head of the press bureau at the *Ballhausplatz* could only speak of Aehrenthal with appreciation, yet he added: "I have respect for his [Goluchowski's] successor as an official and man, but I fear him as a politician".²³ It is to be mentioned here that his fears were completely different from that of Steed's, since Dóczy's greatest concern was Aehrenthal's allegedly too strong Russophilism, whereas Steed gradually established a solid belief that the Austrian statesman was more subservient to Berlin. We must also note that a positive judgement of Goluchowski's foreign policy was only formed after the First World War, when in the light of the events following 1914, Aehrenthal's role seemed rather more negative than it probably was. Even the British ambassador to Vienna, Goschen, who could by no means be accused of being a friend of Aehrenthal, admitted that he was "half sorry only" when Goluchowski resigned, because "it was not easy to do serious business with him".²⁴

²⁰ This indulging label was used by Francis Joseph with reference to Goluchowski whom he liked very much. See HEINRICH GRAF VON LÜTZOW, *Im diplomatischen Dienst der königlichen und kaiserlichen Monarchie*. Ed. P. Hohenbalken, München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 1971, p. 90.

²¹ PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes*, pp. 364-365.

²² Lajos (Ludwig) Dóczy (1845-1919), politician, government official, journalist and man of letters; from 1895 to 1902 he was head of the press bureau. He became Section Chief (*Sektionschef*) in 1896.

²³ Dóczy an Mérey, 27th October 1906 {HHStA, *Nachlaß Mérey 1*}, quoted in: PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes*, p. 365, Notes.

²⁴ EDWARD GOSCHEN, *The Diary of Sir Edward Goschen 1900-1914*. Ed. CHRISTOPHER H. D. HOWARD, London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society {*Camden Fourth Series 25.*}, 1980, p.128. *Diary entry 23rd October 1906.*

Concerning other political issues, Aehrenthal also tried to urge Goluchowski to start a more active policy. He suggested that all efforts be made in order to achieve the full restoration of the "Three Emperors' League" based on the traditional values of conservative solidarity and the monarchical principle. According to Aehrenthal, the sooner the three emperors could achieve a more concrete form to their conservative cooperation, the easier it would be to prevent other Powers from creating a split among them.²⁵ He found it urgent that the three conservative Powers sign a treaty before the Hague Peace Conference started the following year. Aehrenthal feared a German diplomatic defeat at the conference, which would create a situation least favorable for the restoration of the League of the Three Emperors:

It seems to me that the policy of England, which is assuming a more and more obvious line, compels the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin – especially the latter – to take sides ... I have just recently read the report of Count Mensdorff with vivid interest. Our ambassador in London made some comments on the plans which the present English government ... is about to prepare for the Hague Peace Conference ... Mensdorff's remark is very appropriate that the Hague Peace Conference takes place in an especially noteworthy, but at the same time very delicate situation for ... Germany, for in case the three Empires [*Drei-Kaiser-Mächte*] cannot manage to agree on a common attitude towards the question of disarmament, the conference can only end with the diplomatic victory of England over Germany...²⁶

Aehrenthal thought that a further weakening of the international position of Germany could only result in a situation which would force the Monarchy to choose between loyalty to the German Alliance or the Powers of the *entente cordiale*. His idea was that the three conservative Powers could present a unified front against England. He noticed in his ambassadorial position in St. Petersburg that a crucial change was ahead in the course of Russian policy, as the Tsar's government seemed more inclined to accept British

²⁵ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal*, I, pp. 390-391, Nr. 300, *Aehrenthal an Goluchowski*, 25th July 1906.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 393-394, Nr. 303, *Aehrenthal an Goluchowski*, 10th / 23rd August 1906.

suggestions in the Balkans and elsewhere.²⁷ Goluchowski, however, was convinced that the Russian Empire was on the verge of total collapse, and in the long run it could not be counted on as a stable ally.²⁸ Neither did Goluchowski see any opportunities in supporting ultra-conservative forces in Russia, because he was afraid of fierce opposition from the radical liberals in Austria as well as in Hungary.²⁹

Hardinge³⁰ and Grey³¹ were eager to maintain the *balance of power*, so it is obvious that they would not have favoured any political cooperation reminding them of the nineteenth century "League of the Conservative Emperors" (*Dreikaiserbund*). The Müritzsteg cooperation was undoubtedly one which gave cause for serious concern as to the possible restoration of the *Dreikaiserbund*. The Foreign Office was afraid of the Monarchy becoming too influential at the Porte³², while Russia was occupied with troubles in the Far East. They thought the Germans could take the prime initiative in all matters, political or economic, through their ally's strong position which had been secured by the Müritzsteg program and the temporary weakness of Russia.³³ The Germans, however, were of a fairly different opinion, because they feared that Austro-Hungarian initiatives might in the long run even damage their interests in the Near East.³⁴ Hardinge and the Foreign Office found that the German attitude might change within a short time, thereby

²⁷ GP XXII, p. 32, Nr. 7360, *Miquel an Bülow*, 1st September 1906. See also PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes*, p. 370.

²⁸ STEPHAN VEROSTA, *Theorie und Realität von Bündnissen. Heinrich Lammasch, Karl Renner und der Zweibund (1897-1914)*. Wien: Europa Verlag, 1971, pp. 307-308.

²⁹ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal I*, pp.403-405, Nr. 306, *Goluchowski an Aehrenthal*, 15th September 1906.

³⁰ Hardinge, Charles Lord of Penshurst (1858-1944), British diplomat and politician, from 1904 to 1906 Ambassador to St. Petersburg, Permanent Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office (1906-1910).

³¹ Grey, Sir Edward (1862-1933), British politician, from 1905 to 1916 Foreign Secretary.

³² Ottoman Turkish Government.

³³ PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes*, p. 351, pp. 345-356.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

opening the way for Aehrenthal's ambitions to create a conservative alliance. It was in the very interest of British policy to keep a watchful eye on the diplomatic moves of the *Ballhausplatz* in the Balkans. Thus the cause of Macedonia had become especially important for London primarily because, through an increased intervention in the reform process, they could loosen the bond of the Austro-Russian entente and put obstacles in the way of German *Orientpolitik*.³⁵

Aehrenthal felt the urgency of adequate diplomatic moves to tie Russia to the Austro-German Alliance within the shortest time possible, because he believed that the ambitions of Tsarist Russia would switch from the Far East to the Balkans more quickly than most would expect, and this was certainly not coinciding with the interests of the Monarchy. He thought he would try to do his best to keep Russia occupied in Asia, and in his plans he even designated a certain role to the United States in exercising influence upon the policies of St. Petersburg. He encouraged Berchtold³⁶, his successor in the Russian capital, to make an effort in order to create better relations between Russia and the United States. Subsequently, so he thought at least, the American banks would have offered credits to meet Russian demands, which would ultimately have contributed to the emancipation of the Tsarist Empire from the financial markets in France. All this could have resulted in the breakup of the Franco-Russian Alliance in the long run.³⁷ It is obvious that both Aehrenthal and the Foreign Office wanted to influence the course of Russian policy, with opposing intentions, though. Austria-Hungary wanted to keep Russia in Asia, while England intended to direct the attention of the Russians to the Balkans and was looking for the support of St. Petersburg in checking the German advance towards the Near

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 356. See also: GP XXII, p. 348, Nr. 7611, *Bodman an das Auswärtige Amt*, 13th July 1906.

³⁶ Berchtold, Leopold Count (1863-1942), Austro-Hungarian diplomat, Ambassador to St. Petersburg from 1906 to 1911, then Minister of Foreign Affairs (1912-1915).

³⁷ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal II*, pp. 467-470, Nr. 342, *Instruktion an Berchtold*, 6th March 1907; PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes*, p. 381.

East. In a broader perspective we must note, however, that there was no direct conflict of interest between the Monarchy and Britain. On the contrary, they both had a general interest in maintaining the status quo, since they were "saturated" Powers that were very unlikely to gain anything from a vast international conflict. It was consequently important for Aehrenthal to show cooperation towards the British as well.³⁸ In 1907 when relations between Vienna and Berlin had temporarily cooled again, Aehrenthal declared that German diplomacy was "rhapsodic" while the English were consistent and "*realistisch*" in their efforts at the Hague Peace Conference, and he also thought it more advisable to join the Power which was the "more clever."³⁹ The Dual Monarchy had better opportunities for independent diplomatic manoeuvres until the last months of 1908, when the Bosnian crisis again showed how indispensable it was for Vienna to receive support from their closest ally in a critical situation.

2. A NEW ROLE FOR AUSTRIA-HUNGARY - SIDING WITH THE TRIPLE ENTENTE?

In London the potential role the Monarchy could play in maintaining the European balance of power was also reconsidered. In July 1908 Sir Fairfax Cartwright,⁴⁰ British Minister Resident at Munich and Stuttgart was back home for discussions with his superiors, among other things a decision had to be passed on his next appointment. While in London, he received a note from Sir Edward Grey's Private Secretary, William Tyrrell.⁴¹ Tyrrell wrote the following as instructions for Cartwright's meeting with Sir Edward the next day:

³⁸ FRANCIS ROY BRIDGE, *Österreich (-Ungarn) unter den Grossmächten*. In: A. WANDRUSZKA – P. URBANITSCH, *Die Habsburgermonarchie VI: Die Habsburgermonarchie im System der internationalen Beziehungen*, Part 1, Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1989, p. 312.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, cited from: *HHStA, Nachlaß Berchtold, Aehrenthal an Berchtold*, 7th July 1907.

⁴⁰ Cartwright, Sir Fairfax L. (†1928), British diplomat, from 1908 to 1913 Ambassador in Vienna.

⁴¹ KEITH WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator. Cartwright, Grey and the Seduction of Austria-Hungary 1908-1912*, in: *Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs* 35 (1982), ed. Generaldirektion, Wien, p. 169.

I wish you would make an opening, if necessary, with Edward Grey tomorrow and develop to him the idea how unwilling Austria's support of Germany is in certain contingencies and this support may become still more unwilling under Franz Ferdinand and this makes it important that we should not get tarred with the brush the Germans would like to see us tarred with. I think we should not drift into a position of antagonism to Austria owing to the vagaries and stupidities of Aehrenthal who after all is not eternal. I should like the idea to sink into Sir Edward ⁴²

Cartwright prepared a long despatch for Grey dealing with all aspects of the "Austrian question." In his despatch, which was given the title of *The Position of Austria-Hungary in International Politics*, Cartwright argued that a certain "force of habit" had been determining Austro-Hungarian foreign policy since the death of Count Andrassy. According to Cartwright this policy driven by the force of habit could be changed, provided there would be enough resoluteness both in Vienna and London. He saw absolutely no reason why the Monarchy should not be treated as a separate, independent Power whose emancipation from Berlin could just as easily be achieved, since it had been forced to be more subservient from an outmoded tradition.⁴³ His initial argument was that the balance of power in Europe had already been gravely disturbed by the battles of Sadowa and Sedan, which meant a catastrophic defeat for the "Catholic" Powers. Protestant Prussia had been able to gain an unusually strong position on the Continent, while Catholic influence started to decline. Austria-Hungary became more and more dependent on Berlin, instead of trying to consolidate its position and starting to represent the "Catholic tradition" in European politics. The Dual Monarchy had lost her "confidence in her possibilities and in her future," and with Austria's "withdrawal into herself" had caused "the weak successors of Andrassy at the Ballhauseplatz" to allow their country "to drift into the arms of Germany." Cartwright

⁴² Tyrrell to Cartwright, 21st July 1908, {Cartwright Manuscripts =MSS} quoted in: WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, p. 169.

⁴³ WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, p. 172.

found it "astounding" that a powerful empire "composed of nearly 50 million inhabitants" could only exert such a minor influence upon "the destinies of Central Europe." The "effaced" position of the Danubian Empire was according to Cartwright by no means an "inevitable necessity." The chief cause of Austro-Hungarian adherence to the German Alliance was in his opinion the Austrian fear of Russia's "freezing out" of Vienna's ambitions in the Balkans. For him it seemed inevitable and reasonable that the two neighboring empires should come to terms and "adjust their differences and aspirations" in that region of Europe.⁴⁴ He thought Russia and Austria-Hungary could just as easily settle their disputes over issues concerning the Balkan Peninsula as Great Britain and Russia had recently been able to accomplish the settlement of their Central Asian differences. One of the major obstacles in the way to a general Austro-Russian compromise he saw again in German policy in the Near East:

One of the impediments in the way of an understanding between the Czar and the Austro-Hungarian government is the belief that the preponderance of German influence at Constantinople is so strongly established that nothing can be brought about in that part of Europe without Germany's consent...⁴⁵

Another important impediment which lay in the way of the Monarchy's emancipation from German tutelage was also mentioned in the above-cited document. This other great obstacle was to be found in Britain. The radical wing of the Liberals developed hostile views on the Balkan aspirations of Austria-Hungary and their opposition to any such clear ambitions was also strengthened by the traditions of that party. Cartwright emphasised the importance of changing this attitude, "for Germany's exertions in Vienna" were "concentrated on making Austria believe that England is at heart hostile to her". It would be, he continues, worth making an effort to convince people in Vienna that "neither Conservative nor Liberal governments in

⁴⁴ *Cartwright to Grey*, 1st August 1908, published in: WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, Appendix Nr.1, pp. 182-183.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 183-184.

England have now any intention of opposing legitimate Austrian aspirations in the Near East".⁴⁶

Again he considered it unfortunate that Austria-Hungary had to fear Italy, and Germany again made use of another security worry concerning her multi-ethnic ally. Berlin succeeded in "making Austrian public opinion believe that but for the Triple Alliance Austria would be in continual danger from Italy". Cartwright perfectly agreed with some Italian opinions that Austria-Hungary and Italy would be able to "come to terms without the intervention of Germany, but at the moment a real rapprochement is imminent between the two former countries Germany begins to create difficulties". The German government and the *Wilhelmstraße* then tried to play the role of a mediator pretending "alone to be able to hold back Italy" from attacking the Monarchy.⁴⁷ This latter opinion is concordant with that of Wickham Steed, who claimed that Austro-Hungarian military manoeuvres at the beginning of 1905 right along the Italian border were encouraged by Berlin. The situation was rather tense, but the meeting of Goluchowski and Tittoni⁴⁸ finally contributed to the restoration of good relations between the two restless allies. Nevertheless, Goluchowski found it important to underline in a conversation with Sir Francis Plunkett⁴⁹ that Germany had absolutely nothing to do with the whole case.⁵⁰

The final conclusion of Sir Fairfax Cartwright's despatch was that the time had come for British politicians to re-evaluate the European role of the Habsburg Monarchy. Britain, he claimed, could "initiate a new policy with regard to Austria-Hungary", if not earlier then after the accession of Francis Ferdinand to the throne. The British diplomat depicted the somewhat illusory view of a "great Catholic Sovereign" under whose reign "Slav and

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Tittoni, Tomaso (1849-1931), Italian politician and diplomat, 1903-1905, in 1906 and 1909-1917 Minister of Foreign Affairs.

⁴⁹ Plunkett, Sir Francis (1835-1907), British diplomat, from 1900 to 1905 Ambassador to Vienna.

⁵⁰ HENRY WICKHAM STEED, *Through Thirty Years 1892-1922. A Personal Narrative*, vol. I, London: Heinemann Ltd, 1924, p. 231.

Hungarian influences" would increase together with the simultaneous decline of German power. Knowing that the Archduke felt an inveterate hatred against Hungarians, and that he was far from being a friend of England, not restraining himself from occasional manifestations of his Anglophobia⁵¹, and later being on very good terms with Kaiser Wilhelm, we may rightfully doubt that he could ever play the supposed role attributed to him. We still did not mention Francis Ferdinand's hostile attitude towards Italy and his enthusiastic support of navalism. His accession would have certainly created a series of acute problems in Austria's relations with her southern neighbor. The Monarchy may have become more independent under its new sovereign, but there might also have been serious doubts about her internal stability. The Archduke's naval bias would have rendered Cartwright's concept of "an independent but non-maritime Austria" open to a full rapprochement with Italy,⁵² a completely vague hope.

Cartwright must have been less well-informed about the political views of leading Austrians when he completed his despatch on the international position of Austria-Hungary, so he must have even seen himself later that some of his earlier views were not tenable. He stuck to most of his opinions spelt out in the despatch, being convinced that a more consistent British policy towards the Monarchy would not only result in the obvious advantage of having another dependable partner in Europe, but Germany would see herself that she could no longer count on the support of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in a crisis situation. Britain's aim according to Cartwright was by no means to "crush" Germany, but to force her into the framework of "a genuine league of peace", thus Berlin would observe the status quo "by land or by sea".⁵³

The despatch was received in the Foreign Office with mixed feelings. Besides emphasising the great values of it, Grey and other officials pointed out that the suggested policy was "fraught"

⁵¹ ELEONORE JENICEK, *Albert Graf Mensdorff-Pouilly-Dietrichstein*. Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Vienna, Wien, 1965, p. 31.

⁵² *Cartwright to Grey*, 1st August 1908, published in: WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, Appendix Nr. 1, p. 184.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

with danger. Although many observations of Cartwright were found useful and interesting, the kind of policy he recommended did not fit into the “balance of power logic”, the most important orthodoxy in the Foreign Office. One of the junior clerks stressed that this policy would “completely upset the balance of power” and that Germany would be “left without even her nominal allies,” the strong military Power would not tolerate this “humiliation” and in defense of her “honour” would “drag” Europe “into what would be the most terrible war in all history”.⁵⁴ These anxious views were also shared by Sir Edward Grey, although he agreed with some of Cartwright’s arguments:

It is quite true...that an attempt to isolate Germany by setting Austria against her might precipitate a conflict. On the other hand it is also true that if Germany dominated Europe the result would also be war. We have to steer between these two dangers. At present there is a fair equilibrium and we should not try to make a breach between Germany and Austria. But Austria should not be too servile to Germany; at any rate not to the extent of going out of her way to oppose us in such matters as Macedonian Reform⁵⁵

3. FEAR OF “ENCIRCLEMENT” - EXPLANATIONS FOR MUTUAL DISTRUST CREATED BY UNCHANGING ATTITUDES AND NOTIONS

Cartwright’s predecessor in Vienna, Sir Edward Goschen had a completely different view of the position of Austria-Hungary. He thought the Monarchy was “under the thumb of Germany”,⁵⁶ and Aehrenthal “buttons himself up tightly when he is waiting for instructions from Berlin”.⁵⁷ The personal relations between him and Aehrenthal were so bad during the Bosnian crisis that it was an utter relief for both of them when Goschen was finally succeeded by Cartwright in November 1908. Once they were even

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 186, *Minute by R. H. Collier, Junior Clerk.*

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, *Minute by Sir E. Grey.*

⁵⁶ *Goschen to Grey*, 13th December 1905 [Grey of Fallodon Papers, Foreign Office 800/40] cited in: *GOSCHEN, Diary*, Introduction, p. 22.

⁵⁷ *GOSCHEN, Diary*, Introduction, p. 22.

involved in a fierce quarrel at a state banquet to the honor of the King of Greece, who was on an official visit in Vienna. At the banquet Aehrenthal "lost his temper dreadfully" and he said that England was "incurring great responsibility by encouraging Serbs":

...I said that he was always talking of the responsibility of others whereas he was entirely responsible for the whole situation and the general unrest. He was furious and began to talk about the Boers and our treatment of them – for which I gave him snuff. He said 'If Russia wants war she shall have it!' and was white with rage. I was glad to have had it out with him for once⁵⁸

Goschen's opinion of Aehrenthal was very bad, and he had no doubts that his political motives were dishonest and inspired by the Germans. However, events during the years following his departure from the imperial capital did not confirm the correctness of his assumptions.⁵⁹ Aehrenthal called Goschen "incompetent" (*unfähig*), saying that he was entirely accountable for the opinion widespread in London that the Monarchy started the Uvač-Mitrovica railway project following a previous "order" from Berlin. People at the *Ballhausplatz* could not understand why Britain was striving after political goals which would surely damage the traditional good relations between London and Vienna.⁶⁰ Conversations of Goschen and Aehrenthal were dominated by mutual incomprehension, and they had rather passionate quarrels on the issue, especially concerning Grey's condemnation of the railway project in the House of Commons.⁶¹ Goschen passed scathing remarks about the head of the *Ballhausplatz*:

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-177, Diary entry 4th November 1908.

⁵⁹ FRANCIS R. BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary 1906-1914. A Diplomatic History*. London: London School of Economics and Political Science – Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1972, p. 18.

⁶⁰ ÖU. *Aussen*. I, pp. 627-630, Nr. 768, *Privatschreiben nach London*, 17th December 1908.

⁶¹ GOSCHEN, *Diary*, p. 162, Diary entry 29th February 1908.

Then he [Aehrenthal] turned to Germany and said that in England we had Germany on the brain and thought that Germany had egged him on in this business. He assured me that the idea had been entirely his own – and that Germany had not been informed a minute before the other powers! That is as may be – he has a loopholey mind – and is a quibbler of the deepest dye: he may not have informed Germany – but I bet that Germany knew – advised the S. Porte to issue the Irade – and perhaps even put d’ . [Aehrenthal] in a hole! That is quite possible. D’ . Evidently feels shaky and is beginning to be criticised for his unskillful and untimely handling of a project quite harmless in itself and within Austria’s rights. ⁶²

We mentioned that Goluchowski was also heavily criticized by Goschen, being considered equally subservient to Berlin, besides being incapable of doing “serious business”, and already in 1905 he thought that Goluchowski’s “arguments were made in Germany”.⁶³ Goschen had a deep-rooted hatred against Germany, which he barely concealed. In 1901 he wrote in his diary: “...I hate the Germans and dislike being descended from one”.⁶⁴ Goschen was prone to make thoughtless remarks and draw premature conclusions and his attitude might have contributed largely to an unnecessarily sinister view established in the Foreign Office about the Monarchy’s Balkan policies. We may even risk saying that his person was a very bad choice for what was probably the most important diplomatic position, that of Ambassador to Berlin.

Originally it was Cartwright who had been designated to succeed Sir Francis Lascelles⁶⁵ in Berlin, but the Germans rejected him.⁶⁶ Cartwright also shared the anti-German attitudes prevalent in the British foreign service, although both his mother and grandmother were Germans. He was a “boyhood playfellow” of the future Emperor Wilhelm II. Later Cartwright became attached to the

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 95, p. 128.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

⁶⁵ Lascelles, Sir F. Cavendish (1841-1920), British diplomat, from 1896 to 1908 Ambassador to Berlin.

⁶⁶ GOSCHEN, *Diary*, Introduction, p. 22.

British Embassy in Berlin.⁶⁷ According to Alfred F. Pribram "differences arose" between the Kaiser and Cartwright's parents, the British diplomat taking his parents' side, and he also wrote a book containing some "caustic" reflections on Berlin society. All this became widely known, "aroused resentment," and was not forgotten. The German Emperor would have been happier to see some respected public figure of the "calibre" of Curzon or Rosebery in charge of the Berlin Embassy, and, though finally giving his consent to the appointment of Goschen, he long resented the reluctance of the British to send a well-known personality as Ambassador.⁶⁸

Cartwright was different from Goschen, in that he achieved much better relations with the Austrian Foreign Minister. He was a very talented man with quick understanding and considerable farsightedness. Edward VII looked upon him as an unusually able diplomat.⁶⁹ Although he started his mission in Vienna when the Balkan crisis was about to culminate, in a couple of months he already used the most positive "epithets" when describing Aehrenthal's policies, heaping praise on him: "Aehrenthal completely altered his attitude towards Great Britain"; "...what Baron von Aehrenthal really desired was the friendship of England", "...[he] is resolved to do his utmost to give Austro-Hungarian foreign policy an independent colour of its own". He went even further by claiming that Aehrenthal was "feeling his way to see what combinations" he could make "for the advantage of his country should the Triple Alliance be wound up by the common consent of its contracting parties".⁷⁰ The last remark may only be viewed as a supposition without any real foundation. Still, Cartwright's praise of Aehrenthal is remarkable in itself, and it was far from being naive or exaggerated, since the Ambassador was one of the

⁶⁷ ALFRED FRANCIS PRIBRAM, *Austria-Hungary and Great Britain 1908-1914*. London, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951, p. 89.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* See also: GOSCHEN, *Diary*, Introduction, pp. 22-23.

⁶⁹ PRIBRAM, *Austria-Hungary and Great Britain*, p. 89.

⁷⁰ WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, Appendix Nr. 2, p. 187, *Cartwright to Grey*, 5th February 1909.

most experienced officials in the British diplomatic corps. Minutes added to his despatch in the Foreign Office also prove that it did not remain without effect.⁷¹ The head of the Foreign Office, however, did not see any reason for changing the policy being followed. Grey and most of his colleagues at Whitehall maintained that should Britain show herself open to Austrian initiatives to “cement” relations with the *Entente* Powers, a very dangerous situation could be brought about, since Germany would be “quite certain to regard this as a final link in the *Einkreisung* policy”, and be “seriously tempted to resort to the fortunes of war to burst through the iron ring encircling her”⁷².

Goschen’s concept, according to which Austria-Hungary was a mere tool in the hands of German leaders pursuing a “world policy” (*Weltpolitik*), was too deeply entrenched in the thinking of Whitehall circles to make it an easy job for Cartwright to convince Hardinge and Grey to the contrary. Aehrenthal had no doubt that the Monarchy had got into the cross-fire of the Anglo-German antagonism. He complained once to Count Mensdorff⁷³ that it had been absolutely no use following a policy of restraint and being straightforward towards the British Cabinet. It seemed to him that he had made vague efforts to restore the traditional cordial trust between the two countries, while Grey was reprimanding the *Ballhausplatz* before the European public. The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister found it absolutely beyond all reason why only the Monarchy was sharply criticized in London when St. Petersburg and Vienna were unanimous in rejecting British proposals for legislative and other reforms in the small Ottoman province of Macedonia.⁷⁴ Aehrenthal wrote the following:

⁷¹ R. H. Collier wrote the following minute: “This interesting despatch tends to show that the Triple Alliance is rapidly becoming little more than a name and that Baron d’Aehrenthal is at last turning to England and France”. See Wilson, *op. cit.*, Appendix Nr. 2, p. 188.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Minute by G. S. Spicer, 8th February 1909.

⁷³ Mensdorff-Pouilly–Dietrichstein, Albert Count (1861-1945), Austro-Hungarian diplomat, Ambassador to London from 1904 to 1914.

⁷⁴ PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes*, p. 445.

We are looked upon as the vassals of Germany [*in Deutschland infeodiert*], and – following an almost psychopathic line – they see in each event, that is what we do, or just let happen a covert, diabolic intrigue of machiavellian German policy⁷⁵

That Aehrenthal's remark was by no means exaggerated can also be supported by an entry in Goschen's diary written on 26th March 1908.⁷⁶ Both Goschen and Grey were concentrating on Germany as the chief potential enemy of Great Britain. They became slightly paranoid over Balkan issues, and were not ready to consider that there might be motives behind the moves of the Dual Monarchy other than Germany "egging" the *Ballhausplatz* on adventures in the Balkans. Grey was even convinced that Bülow's visit to Vienna at the end of March 1908 was aimed at coordinating joint Austro-German action against England and Russia. Britain's Ambassador in Berlin, Lascelles, tried to refute to this view, notwithstanding he did not see a chance for the acceptance of his arguments in London.⁷⁷

Grey was also very much concerned that progress was achieved in the Macedonian reforms. He severely criticized Sultan Abdul-Hamid's tyranny, yet he was in no position of criticizing Russia if he had an intention to count on the goodwill of the Tsar, while he had to face serious opposition in his own party to Anglo-Russian cooperation⁷⁸, primarily because of Russia's oppressive state machinery and anti-democratic methods. So instead he had to satisfy all his moralizing inclinations by protesting against Aehrenthal's allegedly crooked policies in the Balkans, especially the Uvać-Mitovica project:

...Austria had played the mean game of driving a bargain with the Porte in favour of her railway scheme at the expense of Macedonian Reform. It seems, now, that we are to be in the position of having all the odium at Constantinople of pressing

⁷⁵ Aehrenthal an Mensdorff, 23rd April 1908, cited in: PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes*, p. 445.

⁷⁶ GOSCHEN, *Diary*, p. 166.

⁷⁷ PANTENBURG, *Im Schatten des Zweibundes*, p. 445, Footnotes.

⁷⁸ BD V, pp. 319-320, Nr. 219, *Grey to Lowther*, 30th April 1909.

reforms, while other members of the Concert curry favour with the Porte by obstructing them. I regard this as making me free to say whatever I please on the subject. If there was any prospect of improving matters in Macedonia by holding my peace, there would be a reason for my doing so: but there is none⁷⁹

Grey held Aehrenthal responsible for the slow progress of the Macedonian reforms, which was according to his opinion due to the intolerable “negligence of the Austrian government”, making the “European concert” a mere “farce.” He wrote, commenting Aehrenthal’s indignation resulting from his parliamentary speeches, that the *Ballhausplatz* had better be more willing to back British reform proposals so that they had more chance to be accepted by the Sublime Porte, which would all largely contribute to people having better impressions of Vienna’s policies.⁸⁰ The Bosnian crisis made Grey even more suspicious of Aehrenthal, and his indisposed attitudes towards Austrian diplomacy remained steadfast in spite of Cartwright’s efforts to convince him of the ultimate goodwill of Aehrenthal. During the Bosnian crisis Cartwright reported that he “went so far as to regret and wash his hands of recent outbursts of Anglophobia in the Austrian papers”, Grey answered in his minute: “Baron d’Aehrenthal let his hands go unwashed for a long time”.⁸¹ On the other hand, it was also quite typical that Mensdorff would go to Grey and complain about the so-called “travellers”, British journalists and public figures, who were busily agitating against the Monarchy in the Balkans writing articles as well as supporting anti-Austrian press organs. After listening to Mensdorff, the British Foreign Secretary expressed his deepest regret, but simultaneously pointed out to him that there was no way His Majesty’s Government could limit either the freedom of the press or any British subject’s rights to independent opinion. Equally, Grey said he could do nothing against the publication of

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 228, Nr. 184, *Grey to O’Conor*, 10th February 1908.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 234, Nr. 191, *Grey to Goschen*, 11th March 1908. See also: MARGARET BOVERI, *Sir Edward Grey und das Foreign Office*. Berlin-Grunewald: Dr. W. Rothschild, 1933, p. 181.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 563, Nr. 512, *Minute by Grey*, 11th January 1909. See also: BOVERI, *Sir Edward Grey*, p. 182.

the Kaiser's interview in the *Daily Telegraph*, which caused a great political turmoil in Berlin. The Austrian ambassador still kept besieging leading officials to use their influence in order to moderate the tone of the press.⁸² Mensdorff even told Tyrrell, the Private Secretary of Grey: "The feeling is becoming ever more preponderant with us that England is supporting the forces working against us everywhere".⁸³ Aehrenthal resented it deeply that there was not even a sign given from London that the British were in any way ready to respect Austrian interests in the Balkan region. Leaders in the *Ballhausplatz* felt justified in their convictions that the new British policy in the Balkans was mainly directed against Germany and the Triple Alliance, that it was unscrupulous when it came to find the ways and means to do harm to the Central Powers. This was again mentioned after the end of the Balkan crisis in a conversation between Count Karl Kinsky⁸⁴ and the British Monarch in Marienbad. Kinsky said that according to prevalent opinion the English tried "to play off the Slavs" against the Monarchy in order to weaken the Triple Alliance.⁸⁵ King Edward rejected these allegations, but was more than reluctant to go into a further discussion of the problem, which he found less important than talking about horses and derby races.⁸⁶

Aehrenthal was not less suspicious of England than the Foreign Office was distrustful of him. He wrote to Mensdorff that he was only able to understand English policy so far as it was primarily determined by the concept of an "indirect fight against Germany".⁸⁷ According to Aehrenthal all political activities of England were determined by a strict "division of labour", there were three important factors worth paying attention to: the government, the press and

⁸² ÖU. Aussen. I, pp. 583-586, Nr. 725, *Bericht aus London*, 11th December 1908.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ Kinsky, Count Karl (1858-1919), Austrian diplomat, Counsellor of Legation in St. Petersburg from 1898 to 1903, then in Paris.

⁸⁵ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal* II, p. 708, Nr. 543, *Kinsky an Aehrenthal*, 19th August 1909.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ ÖU. Aussen. I, pp. 627-630, Nr. 768, *Privatschreiben nach London*, 17th December 1908.

the so-called “travellers”; by the notion “English policy” he meant the role of these “three elements”. He thought the British attitude was hypocritical, and that while leading politicians were distancing themselves, “adopting a cool, gently aristocratic” posture, the press, which was not expected so much to “put restraint upon itself”, was using all means “to spread misrepresentations and fabrications”. The “semi-official agents” and the “travellers” would do the rest of the job in the Balkans. Aehrenthal felt reinforced by secret reports from his various agents that British policy, including that of the King, was perfidious, and it was “striving to attack Germany” through “our body”. The policy of England awakened anxiety in Vienna, which seemed either inexplicable or, on the contrary, very easy to understand, but then it was subsequently to bring about the most serious concerns.⁸⁸ One of the “travellers” Aehrenthal mentioned was Noël Buxton,⁸⁹ Chairman of the Balkan Committee in London, and he considered him extremely harmful. The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister described English diplomacy as “unscrupulous”. The only thing he could bring up in Britain’s defense was that English statesmen were not always well-informed on particular matters. British policy presented a certain paradox for Aehrenthal, just like it did for the Germans. Sometimes they could not decide whether they should deal with it as something entirely irrational and reckon with permanent inconsistency in London’s policy or regard it wholly Machiavellian by rendering full credit to the widespread prejudice against the “perfidious Albion”.

Initially Aehrenthal found Cartwright untrustworthy, and it was only later that he realised that good relations with the British Ambassador could be beneficial for the Dual Monarchy, especially considering his readiness to respect the Austrian point of view much more than his superiors in the Foreign Office. First news

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Noel-Buxton, Noël Edward (1869-1948), politician and philanthropist, founder of the Balkan Committee with James Bryce in 1903, with the object of liberating the peoples under the Turkish yoke and promoting Balkan unity. He had good contacts to kings and statesmen in the Balkans (see more: L. G. WICKHAM LEGG / E. T. WILLIAMS: *Dictionary of National Biography 1941-1950*, London, 1959).

arriving to him on Cartwright aroused his suspicion, Szögyény's confidential report from Berlin reaffirmed Aehrenthal's strong prejudices against England. The Monarchy's Ambassador in Berlin drew his information from German diplomats who pointed out that Cartwright was "Germany's enemy". Szögyény took the opportunity to express his strong disfavor of British policy which he considered to be determined by the selfish attitudes of the "perfidious Albion":

Regarding the present attitudes of Great Britain, the emphatic talk on the traditional friendship between Austria-Hungary and Great Britain must sound explicitly ironic [*geradezu ironisch klingen müsse*]. The history of the last fifty years has made it evident that this so-called historical friendship of England towards our Monarchy left much to be desired at decisive moments [*in entscheidenden Augenblicken sehr viel zu wünschen übrig gelassen hat*].

In the recently published diary (known to Your Excellency) of Imperial Regent Johann [*Reichsverweser*], who had been elected in Frankfurt, which dates back to the year 1848, the following passage can be found concerning England: "The foreign policy of Great Britain is perfidious with the cold mercenary spirit of smugglers [*kalten, kaufmännischen Schmugglersinnes*], supercilious, tyrannical under the guise of liberalism, not at all squeamish when it comes to find her ways and means [*wenig gewissenhaft in seinen Mitteln*], disturbingly creating unrest everywhere, granting protection to the wicked as well, either to use or sacrifice them as it is determined by the circumstances [*und nach Umstaenden zu unterstützen oder aufzuopfern*]"⁹⁰

Hermann Kantorowicz⁹¹ devoted a whole chapter to the problem of "perfidious Albion" in his book *Der Geist der englischen Politik und das Gespenst der Einkreisung Deutschlands*, citing a number of relevant remarks made by key figures of the pre-World-War I era.⁹² He strongly denies that England could have been motivated

⁹⁰ HHSIA PA VIII, K. 142. [London, Varia], (*streng vertrauliche Privatschrift*) Szögyény an Aehrenthal, 22nd December 1908.

⁹¹ Kantorowicz, Hermann (1877-1940), German historian.

⁹² HERMANN KANTOROWICZ, *Der Geist der englischen Politik und das Gespenst der Einkreisung Deutschlands*. Berlin: Ernst Rowohlt Verlag, 1929, pp. 262-335.

by machiavellian goals, which was the *fixa idea* of Wilhelm II. The British were generally of the opinion that their own policy was lacking all definite long-term purpose, and was only focusing on short-term aims, eventually "muddling through" and achieving some success.⁹³ T. H. Sanderson even declared to the German Ambassador that it was pointless to seek for rationality in British policy, since decisions were made "from hand to mouth," and Salisbury added that parliamentarianism made it impossible anyway to "pledge the Government as to the course it will take in case of some future emergency".⁹⁴ According to Steed no logic could provide a proper explanation to the policies of England, which he said were of the experimental type, having the *solvitur ambulando* as their guiding principle.⁹⁵ However, at the *Ballhausplatz*, people were convinced that England followed Machiavellian policy. At the end of September 1908, a few days before the declaration of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and hardly more than a month after the famous Bad Ischl *entrevue* of King Edward and the Emperor Francis Joseph, Aehrenthal already passed an extremely sharp judgement on British policy, claiming that the Brits were "constantly playing off the continental Powers against one another".⁹⁶ During the Balkan crisis, anti-British attitudes were further strengthened by London's supporting Serbia in her compensation claims, while various reports were coming in concerning alleged intrigues of Britain in Constantinople.⁹⁷ There was even a secret report which suggested that influential circles in London had been working on the destruction of Austro-Hungarian commerce in the Ottoman Empire, thereby also causing harm to Germany. This latter report was made by an Irish nationalist, though, who had formerly called at the German Embassy as well, so his

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 274-275. See original source: *BD II*, pp. 87-88, Nr. 98, *Draft to Chirol*, 21st January 1902.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

⁹⁶ HEINRICH FRIEDJUNG, *Geschichte in Gesprächen. Aufzeichnungen 1898-1919*. Ed. F. ADLGASSER-M. FRIEDRICH, Wien, Köln, Weimar: Verlag Böhlau, 1997, II, p. 95.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.

information could not be treated as one without considerable bias, still it probably contributed to a general mistrust against any diplomatic moves of Britain in the Near East.⁹⁸ Concerning Cartwright's memorandum on the international position of the Habsburg Empire, though, we must admit that the Austrian information service did a fairly good job. Kálmán Kánya⁹⁹, the Deputy Chief of the *Literarisches Bureau* in Vienna definitely knew about it by December 1908, but (contrary to the cherished expectations of Cartwright) it was received with a negative attitude, and as being part of King Edward's efforts to isolate Germany. According to Kánya this provided enough reason to send "this intriguer" (Cartwright) to Vienna to carry out the King's policy directed against Germany.¹⁰⁰

4. CARTWRIGHT AND AEHRENTHAL'S EFFORTS TO FIND NEW WAYS IN INTERNATIONAL POLICY

What made Sir Fairfax Cartwright and his political ideas so special in this period of growing distrust was perhaps that he had more farsightedness and preferred long term planning. It was mainly due to his numerous efforts that Britain and Austria-Hungary came to terms again, even if the former cordial relations could not be fully restored. Within a very short time he managed to establish the best relations with Aehrenthal.¹⁰¹ Cartwright was himself an ardent supporter of the anti-German line of policy. In connection with the Monarchy, however, he formulated a dissenting opinion. For years he and the head of the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry were on the best terms and were always ready to coo-

⁹⁸ *HHSStA PA VIII, K. 141. [Berichte], Nr. 61. N, Mensdorff an Aehrenthal, 27th November 1908.*

⁹⁹ Kánya, Kálmán (1869-1945), Austro-Hungarian diplomat, from 1905 official in the Foreign Ministry, 1910-1913 head of the *Literarisches Bureau*, 1913-1918 Ambassador to Mexico.

¹⁰⁰ FRIEDJUNG, *Geschichte in Gesprächen*, II, p. 171.

¹⁰¹ P. SCHUSTER, *Henry Wickham Steed und die Habsburgermonarchie*. Wien, Köln, Graz: Verlag Böhlau, 1970, p. 87.

perate. Count Mensdorff gave the following description of Cartwright's personality and attitudes:

A fervent admirer of Your Excellency, who emphatically advocated Your policy, since it was unfortunately misunderstood and attacked...Sir Arthur Nicolson¹⁰², who is out and out Russophile¹⁰³, reproached Cartwright with being entirely under Your Excellency's influence¹⁰⁴

After a few months in Vienna, and especially after the Balkan crisis came to an end, Cartwright was able to formulate a clear view of what the basic goals of Austro-Hungarian foreign policy were. Meanwhile, he had the impression that the German Ambassador to Vienna, von Tschirschky¹⁰⁵ did his best to create discord between England and the Monarchy, and was more than unhappy about improving Anglo-Austrian relations after the Bosnian Crisis. One aspect of unfavorable German influence to which Cartwright drew the attention of Whitehall was that the anti-British attitudes of the German press had found an easy way to infiltrate into the articles of the prominent Austrian newspapers. He suspected the intrigues of Tschirschky behind the hostile attitudes of Austrian government circles towards his country, and he wrote the following about the Vienna press:

These extracts are generally culled from German newspapers, and it is evident to me that the current which is at present running against us here has been largely started from Berlin. My impression is that Germany with one hand is holding Austria-Hungary back from proceeding too far in the direction of a possible war, but at the same time she is doing her utmost to bring about a breach between this country and ourselves. Austria-Hungary has to be made more and more dependent upon Germany, now that Italy seems to be definitely drifting away from the Triple Alliance¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Nicolson, Sir Arthur (1849-1928), British diplomat, Ambassador to St. Petersburg, from 1910 to 1916 Permanent Under-Secretary in the Foreign Office.

¹⁰³ "von dem ganz im russischen Fahrwasser stehenden Sir Arthur Nicolson".

¹⁰⁴ ÖU. Aussen. II, pp. 722-723, Nr. 2020, *Privatschreiben aus London*, 4th March 1910.

¹⁰⁵ Tschirschky, Heinrich von (1858-1916), German diplomat, 1906-1907 State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, fom 1907 to 1916 Ambassador in Vienna.

¹⁰⁶ *BD V*, p. 537, Nr. 490, *Cartwright to Grey*, 24th December 1908.

Tschirschky was indeed always paying frequent visits to Aehrenthal, and no doubt he tried to make him understand that "without the help of Germany Austria-Hungary would have been in a tight place during the recent crisis". According to Cartwright the German Ambassador was very jealous of foreign representatives to whom Aehrenthal showed "any marks of friendship". He also pointed out the possible aims cherished by the German Ambassador:

...and the German Embassy here is evidently working the Austrian press very vigorously of late to make believe that Russia is coming round to Germany and is abandoning France and England who have shown that they can be but of little value to her in a crisis. I hear that in the last few days a rumour has been started, probably emanating from the German Embassy, that I had said that England is about to pursue an active policy in Macedonia: the rumour is unfounded but its purpose is clear: it is intended to annoy Austrians who do not want any further complications just now in the Balkans¹⁰⁷

He reported several of his observations to his superiors in London, who did not always show interest in the detailed analyses of the Vienna Ambassador.¹⁰⁸ Only Tyrrell was more encouraging and agreed that Berlin was seeking further estrangement between Russia and the Monarchy. Another aim of Germany was according to Tyrrell's assumption that friction between Britain and Austria-Hungary could lead to "further dependence of Vienna upon Berlin", and Berlin intended to use permanent antagonism between Russia and the Monarchy to play the role of a mediator between the two.¹⁰⁹

Events following the Bosnian crisis did show that Baron von Holstein's persuading Bülow into an almost unconditional support of Vienna (in order to bind Austria-Hungary to the German Empire more closely than ever before), had only short term effects. Regarding Berlin's hope that the Monarchy could be rendered entirely servile, the policy followed by Aehrenthal failed to fit into the German

¹⁰⁷ *BD IX /1, p. 3, Nr. 3, Cartwright to Hardinge, 15th April, 1909.*

¹⁰⁸ *WILSON, Isolating the Isolator, p. 173.*

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid., p. 174.*

scheme. To the outside world the Austro-German Alliance seemed to be more solid, but still there were numerous hidden antagonisms between the two allies, not to mention the occasional personal conflicts, like the one between Aehrenthal and Tschirschky. As early as the first month of 1910 Aehrenthal gave an interview to Wesselitsky,¹¹⁰ the London Correspondent of the Russian newspaper *Novoye Vremya*, who was well-known for his anti-German feelings and Pan-Slavic bias. In their conversation the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister hinted at the necessity of improving Austro-Russian relations and achieving a possible rapprochement between the two countries. All this would not have caused any serious resentment at the *Wilhelmstraße*, but Aehrenthal also declared that Germany had absolutely no influence upon Austro-Hungarian policy in this respect. He did not forget to emphasise that it was solely the St. Petersburg government that was authorized to initiate such a rapprochement, and one could understand from his words that there was no need for a third Power as mediator. All in all it was quite unambiguous that Aehrenthal was ready to distance himself from Germany.¹¹¹ A series of press articles appeared within a few weeks about Aehrenthal's endeavour to emancipate the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy from the tutelage of Germany and the numerous intrigues against him.¹¹² Aehrenthal's particular dislike of the German Ambassador, von Tschirschky, was a well-known fact,¹¹³ yet what

¹¹⁰ Wesselitsky, Bosidarevich; from 1908 to 1911 he was the London Correspondent of the *Novoye Vremya*, his articles appearing under the pseudonym "Argus" or "Argos".

¹¹¹ GP XXVII, pp. 447-448, Nr. 9898, *Bethmann an Tschirschky*, 24th January 1910, see also OSWALD HENRY WEDEL, *Austro-German Diplomatic Relations 1908-1914*. California: Stanford University Press, 1932, p. 114.

¹¹² The French daily *Le Temps* in its January 24th issue: *Une Interview du Comte d'Aehrenthal*, about alleged intrigues of Goluchowski and Tschirschky against Aehrenthal. See also: GP XXVII, pp. 449-450, Nr. 9900, *Tschirschky an das Ausw. Amt*, 24th January 1910, pp. 450-452, Nr. 9901, *Tschirschky an Bethmann Hollweg*, 27th January 1910. According to the *Neue Freie Presse* Aehrenthal considered an Austro-Russian rapprochement possible without German mediation (20th January 1910).

¹¹³ ÖU. *Aussen*. III, p. 720, Nr. 3161, *Tel. aus Berlin*, 24th December 1911; even the Germans admitted that Tschirschky "made himself entirely impossible in Vienna" (*sich in Wien ganz unmöglich gemacht habe*).

made the latter even more furious with the Foreign Minister was that the whole thing had been aired in the press, the ultimate purpose of which could be the loosening of the Alliance to Germany.¹¹⁴

Another example for Aehrenthal's intention to start a new independent and initiative policy was the attitude shown concerning the problem of Crete. After a revolt broke out among the Greek population of the island against the Turkish rule, England and France were determined to exercise strong pressure on the Turks. They would also have liked to see Germany joining "the European Concert". Berlin rejected this effort in line with its politics in the Near East, being more concerned about her own interests. Aehrenthal, on the contrary, saw a chance for taking the lead by playing the role of mediator. Berlin did not want to play second fiddle, so all Austro-Hungarian proposals were turned down.¹¹⁵ Aehrenthal's new policy was initiated immediately after the Annexation crisis, and Bethmann-Hollweg felt it necessary to provide more definite instruction for Tschirschky on the matter:

For your personal and private information I may add that in view of the continued series of suggestions made by Aehrenthal on the Crete question, with which we are thoroughly familiar, I cannot escape the conclusion that he is attempting to guide our foreign policy and in this matter seize the leadership in the Triple Alliance. There is no need to bring up proofs that the development of such a relationship between Vienna and Berlin would not be in accordance with Germany's position as a Great Power, nor with my personal inclinations. For this reason we will have to be on our guard against these aims of Baron Aehrenthal¹¹⁶

Later in November 1910 Aehrenthal was confronted with the fact that it was not only he who considered mutually unconditional solidarity between Austria-Hungary and Germany as belonging

¹¹⁴ WEDEL, *Austro-German Diplomatic Relations*, p. 115.

¹¹⁵ GP XXVII, p. 108, Nr. 9674, *Schoen an Marschall*, 11th November 1909. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110, Nr. 9675, *Marshall an das Auswärtige Amt*, 12th November 1909.

¹¹⁶ GP XXVII, pp. 91-92, Nr. 9658, *Bethmann Hollweg an Brockdorff-Rantzau*, 13th August 1909, cited in: WEDEL, *Austro-German Diplomatic Relations*, p. 120 (the translation is identical with that of Wedel's).

to the past, but also Berlin had the opinion that for an agreement with Russia they did not need to consult their ally in advance. Baron Szilassy¹¹⁷ reported from St. Petersburg that his German colleague was unwilling to take him into his confidence concerning the Russo-German negotiations.¹¹⁸ The *Wilhelmstraße* was becoming more and more irritated because of Aehrenthal's striving for independence, and many began to think that they had had enough of Aehrenthal and wished him to disappear from the scene. Sir George Buchanan reported to Nicolson that Tschirschky made an attempt to draw Giers, the Russian Ambassador in Vienna, into some covert cooperation to bring about the fall of Aehrenthal. It seems Russian antipathy against him had been fading already since Giers gave him a clear-cut rejection.¹¹⁹ It was not only Cartwright who experienced that there was a growing discord between Berlin and Vienna.

Simultaneously, the Potsdam talks between Russia and Germany were making the British suspicious. They did not really trust Sazonov, the new Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, whose diplomatic manoeuvres were not greeted with a total applause in London. Prime Minister Asquith even mentioned to Mensdorff how worried he was that Sazonov might have been "given the short end" (*den kürzeren zog*) in his negotiations with the Germans.¹²⁰ The following year again brought substantial changes in the attitudes of the Russian government. Russia was recovering from a deep crisis and by early 1912 she seemed to regain her powers, starting a more active policy in Central Asia, which created new tensions in Anglo-Russian relations.¹²¹ There were many indications that showed how unstable the Triple *Entente* could still be when the

¹¹⁷ Szilassy, Gyula (Julius von) Baron (1870- ?), Austro-Hungarian diplomat, Councillor in St. Petersburg.

¹¹⁸ *ÖU. Aussen.* III, pp. 24-25, *Tel. des Legationsrates J. von Szilassy*, 24th Oct. 1910, Nr. 2280, Nr. 2286, Nr. 2287, *Bericht v. Szilassy*, 15th/28th Oct. 1910.

¹¹⁹ *BD IX/1*, pp. 247-248, Nr. 209, *Sir G. Buchanan to Nicolson*, 12th January 1911.

¹²⁰ *ÖU. Aussen.* III, pp. 181-182, Nr. 2452, *Bericht aus London*, 17th February 1911.

¹²¹ G. MACAULAY TREVELYAN, *Sir Edward Grey. Sein Leben und Werk. Eine Grundlegung englischer Politik.* Transl. G. Schilde, Essen: Essener Verlagsanstalt, 1938, pp. 241-242.

international environment changed. This gave many, in Germany and Austria, the hope that a new grouping of the European Powers was possible, though opinions were divided over what kind of constellation could succeed the one already existing. Marquis Pallavicini¹²² feared that the Central Powers might lose some of their position due to concessions following the Russo-German Agreement on Persia concluded early 1911, but he pointed out that some sacrifice was well worth it if the Triple *Entente* was to be put out of order.¹²³ Meanwhile, Aehrenthal was under pressure from the side of the Slav representatives in the Delegations to change the direction of Austro-Hungarian foreign policy, since Germany showed no "respect towards Austria" anymore. Kramar_ and his circle were demanding a new orientation to the Western Powers, because the importance of the Monarchy as a Great Power was rapidly decreasing, becoming hardly more than a satellite of Germany. Aehrenthal defended his policy emphasising that he wished to maintain the Monarchy's independence, but it was limited by the Monarchy's special alignment to Germany.¹²⁴ Thus it was beyond all doubt that Aehrenthal had no intention of breaking away from Austria-Hungary's traditional ally, and he remained, like his predecessors, steadily convinced that German support was indispensable for the Habsburg Empire.

Cartwright was in favor of the idea of a strong and independent Austria-Hungary.¹²⁵ The Foreign Office, however, disagreed with the ideas of the Ambassador. Hardinge thought much earlier that it was no trouble if the Monarchy was further weakened by internal conflicts and political dissonance, since "she has been too exuberant of her strength of late".¹²⁶ Cartwright's recommendation, that the

¹²² Pallavicini, Johann Marquis (1848-1941), one of the most prominent Austro-Hungarian diplomats, from 1899 to 1906 Ambassador to Bucharest, then from 1906 to the end of the First World War Ambassador to the Sublime Porte. For a shorter period he was directing the Austrian Foreign Office in 1911, while Aehrenthal was away for cure.

¹²³ *ÖU. Aussen.* III, pp. 175-176, Nr. 2444, *Erlaß nach Berlin*, 4th February 1911.

¹²⁴ *BD IX./1*, pp. 250-251, Nr. 211, *Cartwright to Grey*, 31st January 1911.

¹²⁵ Wilson, *Isolating the Isolator*, pp. 169-182.

¹²⁶ *Hardinge to Cartwright*, 4th May 1909, [Cartwright MSS] cited in: WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, p. 175.

Monarchy made efforts to strengthen its navy as well as its military force in order to retain its position among “the first rank of the European Powers”, backfired completely.¹²⁷ Hardinge considered that the Austro-Hungarian fleet would in the end “be simply another division of the German fleet”.¹²⁸ He feared that more British dreadnoughts would have to be stationed in the Mediterranean due to the imbalance in maritime power. This would all have brought about serious problems in the field of finance and taxation in England.¹²⁹ When in the summer 1909 the Austro-Hungarian government was considering the construction of four dreadnoughts, the British had no doubts that the project was the Dual Monarchy’s effort to repay Germany for its support during the Annexation crisis. Aehrenthal thought these accusations were unfair and without foundation.¹³⁰

All Aehrenthal’s initiatives were viewed with the utmost suspicion in the Foreign Office. In London the officials were also worried, because the building of dreadnoughts was gaining more and more public support even in Hungary. The press charged England with inciting hostile feelings against the Monarchy in the Balkan countries, and London was made responsible for the whole crisis following the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹³¹ While Cartwright was congratulating Aehrenthal on his successful efforts to appease Turkey by economic compensations for the loss of her two provinces, the Foreign Office tried to urge the Porte to provide guarantees that the huge sums of money would not be used for the realization of the Baghdad railway project.¹³² Hardinge would not have been particularly happy to see growing international prestige of the

¹²⁷ WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, Appendix Nr. 2., *Cartwright to Grey*, 5th February 1909. See also: *ibid.*, p. 175.

¹²⁸ *Hardinge to Cartwright*, 18th May 1909, {Cartwright MSS} cited in: WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, p. 175.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

¹³⁰ FRANCIS ROY BRIDGE, *From Sadowa to Sarajevo. The Foreign Policy of Austria-Hungary, 1866-1914*. London, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972, p. 330.

¹³¹ GÉZA JESZENSZKY, *Az elveszett presztízs. Magyarország megítélésének megváltozása Nagy-Britanniában (1894-1918)*. Budapest: Magyar Szemle Könyvek, 1994, p. 245.

¹³² BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 124.

Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and he had information from reliable sources that there were many in Vienna who wished the fall of Aehrenthal. He hoped that concessions to the Turks and the vast amount of money paid by the Vienna State Treasury would ultimately "be another nail in his coffin, and that we shall not see him long... at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs".¹³³

However, events failed to justify those views which forecast a failure of Aehrenthal's policy and his imminent resignation. Seeing that the final outcome of the Bosnian crisis was a success rather than a diplomatic defeat for the Dual Monarchy, the Foreign Office was more willing to accept the arguments of Sir Fairfax Cartwright.¹³⁴ People began to trust his abilities of treating "difficult" persons like Aehrenthal, and some hopes were also cherished that the Ambassador would eventually succeed in modifying the direction of Austro-Hungarian foreign policy more in accordance with British interests.¹³⁵ With the gradual advent of a period of political detente, Cartwright again saw a slight chance of his views becoming part of the official line in the Foreign Office. He presented Aehrenthal to Hardinge, as the "strong man" in the Dual Monarchy who was "showing less and less fear of Berlin". He also put forward the following argument:

Knowledge of this must act as a drag on any aggressive policy of Germany in a direction which does not interest Austria-Hungary.

The way lies open to a rapid emancipation of Austria-Hungary from her long tutelage to Germany, and it seems to me that so long as the Austro-German alliance lasts, it is better for France and England that its external policy should be directed from Vienna rather than from Berlin¹³⁶

¹³³ *Hardinge to Goschen*, 20th January 1909, cited in: BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 124.

¹³⁴ BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 124.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Cartwright to Hardinge*, 22nd June 1910, {Hardinge MSS vol. 19} quoted in: WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, p. 176.

Interestingly enough, Hardinge changed his mind and seemed to heed to Cartwright's words. He thought it better if no change occurred in the leadership of the *Ballhausplatz*, since the line of policy represented by the Viennese diplomacy at the time could be advantageous to Great Britain, especially "as a drag on German policy in Europe and Asia".¹³⁷ The change of opinion concerning Aehrenthal's policy can again be well illustrated by the following quotation:

I think there is no doubt that it is to the advantage of France and England that Aehrenthal should remain in office. He is evidently growing day by day more independent of Germany, and he did us a good turn the other day when he poured cold water on German policy in Persia¹³⁸

Hardinge's remarks proved to be a little bit too optimistic, since Aehrenthal decided to move closer to Germany again in the summer of 1910, having no other reliable support in the Balkans than that of Berlin.¹³⁹ However, in the long run it turned out that there were severe limitations to Aehrenthal's loyalty to the German alliance. He was particularly reluctant to provide any backing for Berlin's *Weltpolitik*. The Potsdam *entrevue* made Aehrenthal indignant, and his resentment that Germany ignored the Monarchy while negotiating with Russia explains why Berlin received such lukewarm support from the Vienna during the Agadir crisis.¹⁴⁰ Maintaining his attitude during the crisis he managed to infuriate

¹³⁷ *Hardinge to Cartwright*, 28th June 1910, {Cartwright MSS } quoted in: WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, p. 177.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, quoted in: BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 153. In May 1910 both Britain and Russia were interfering in Persian affairs rather intensively, and the Germans declared that they would not tolerate this. Aehrenthal did not want to take the side of any of the Powers involved, he told the Council of Ministers that he wanted to keep out of this "new Moroccan affair". He also intended to avoid quarrels with either Britain or Russia for the sake of German interests (see: BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 152.)

¹³⁹ BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 153.

¹⁴⁰ DÖRTE LÖDING, *Deutschlands und Österreich-Ungarns Balkanpolitik von 1912-1914 unter besonderer Berücksichtigung ihrer Wirtschaftsinteressen*, Ph.D. dissertation at the University of Hamburg, 1969, p. 2.

the Pan-German circles. The Pan-Germans claimed that Aehrenthal was treacherous and regarding the expected diplomatic support needed by the Monarchy's chief ally, he remained "as silent as a fish". This was a deliberately exaggerated view which did not respect the fact that the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister had tried to intervene in favor of Germany, in both Paris and London, without much success, though.¹⁴¹

Cartwright became a representative of dissenting views, even associating himself with some of the politico-strategic ideas of leading circles in Vienna. He even went so far to say that he thought it more beneficial to the cause of peace in the Balkans if Austria-Hungary used her military force to put an end to her troublesome controversies with Serbia, meaning he was not opposing the idea of a preventive war *à la* Conrad von Hötzendorf.¹⁴² He anticipated that Aehrenthal would not be ready to return German support during the Balkan crisis and he would be more unwilling to consult Berlin upon his proposed policies:

Persons who are well acquainted with Baron von Aehrenthal all seem to agree that the governing idea of his policy is to emancipate the Dual Monarchy from dependence upon Germany. That does not mean that he wants to have Germany as an enemy, but that he wishes to bring things to pass in such a way that Austria-Hungary will always be able to count upon the support of Germany in case of dire necessity, and that the dual Monarchy will not be involved in danger should Germany's aggressive policy bring her into collision with other powers. Baron von Aehrenthal is a man who feels oppressed by the weight of Germany on the flanks of Austria-Hungary. I think he still hopes to come to a better understanding with Russia, and he will certainly do everything he can to maintain good relations with England and France. Probably he would prefer to go to St. Petersburg by way of Paris and London rather than by way of Berlin¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ BRIDGE, *From Sadowa to Sarajevo*, p. 334; KANNER, *Kaiserliche Katastrophenpolitik*, p. 75.

¹⁴² SCHUSTER, *Henry Wickham Steed und die Habsburgermonarchie*, p. 88. Conrad, Franz v. Hötzendorf (1852-1925), Austrian general, Chief of Staff.

¹⁴³ WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, Appendix Nr. 3, p. 189, *Cartwright to Grey*, 14th April 1909.

The last sentence of the above quotation reminded the author of this article of an interesting remark made by the late “grey eminence” of the *Wilhelmstraße*, Baron von Holstein, many years earlier. Holstein pointed out that the relations of Russia and the Monarchy “from both the geographic and the ethnographic point of view are so substantially artificial (*so hochgradig künstliche*) that these could not easily mean a danger to Germany”. He believed that it would “remain an eternal truth” (*bleibt eine ewige Wahrheit*) that “the way from Berlin to Petersburg is shorter than the way from Petersburg to Vienna”.¹⁴⁴ Holstein described the position of the Dual Monarchy quite appropriately. Although Aehrenthal was determined to change this situation,¹⁴⁵ it was still evident that Austria-Hungary could only conclude a successful diplomatic effort if she relied on outside support, primarily that of Germany, and this was equally true regarding the attempt made to improve Austro-Russian relations. Nevertheless, some German diplomats did not exclude the possibility of a separate understanding between Russia and Austria-Hungary behind Germany’s back.¹⁴⁶ In the middle of 1910 the French offered their good services in paving the way to an Austro-Russian rapprochement. Paris attached hopes to an understanding between Vienna and St. Petersburg, and when negotiations had finally come to nothing Cambon¹⁴⁷ put all the blame on Aehrenthal. Cambon attacked Aehrenthal’s attitude severely, making some sharp remarks using anti-Semitic clichés upon which Cartwright made a few comments in defense of the Austro-Hungarian

¹⁴⁴ GP XVIII.k /1, p. 236, Nr. 5512, *Aufzeichnung von Holstein*, 2nd February 1903.

¹⁴⁵ The Austrian Foreign Minister did not have a high opinion of Holstein and German policy in general. In 1907 Aehrenthal’s great fear was the possibility of the revival of Baron Holstein’s influence, who had been responsible for the appearance of Emperor Wilhelm at Tangier and for the disastrous policy of Germany in Morocco, and whom he knew to have “*the petite entrée*” of Prince Bülow’s house in Berlin. Yet later the “grey eminent” did good services to him by persuading Bülow into the unconditional support of the Dual Empire in the Bosnian Crisis (see: *BD V*, p. 211, Nr. 165, *Extract from Memorandum by Hardinge*, 1907. aug. 19).

¹⁴⁶ GP XXVII/2, pp. 530-532, Nr. 9946, *Pourtalès an B.Hollweg*, 2nd April 1910.

¹⁴⁷ Cambon, Pierre-Paul (1843-1924), from 1898 French Ambassador to Great Britain.

¹⁴⁸ WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, Appendix Nr. 4, p. 191, *Cartwright to Grey*, 4th June

Foreign Minister.¹⁴⁸ He again confirmed his positive opinion about Aehrenthal, and he thought that the main problem was that the Monarchy had been "reduced to a state of absolute subserviency to Germany" by Goluchowski, whose "weakness of character" did not help the Habsburg Empire to take an independent line of policy. Thus Aehrenthal inherited a state of affairs which made it particularly difficult for him to break away from the force of habit and restore the full independence of Austria-Hungary in international affairs. He had to cope with numerous difficulties and he often "disregarded the susceptibilities of the German government" which, Cartwright argued, "explains perhaps the wrath shown by the Pan-German press against him." According to Cartwright the "German political world" had become chaotic, and the Chancellor was "weak and nervous" lacking persevering political forces behind his policies.¹⁴⁹ This "state of things" he believed could provide Aehrenthal "an opportunity to assert himself":

It is now Berlin which has to consult Vienna quite as much, and perhaps more, than Vienna which has to consult Berlin on international questions, and if matters continue as they are doing at present, we may expect in a few years to see Austria-Hungary raised to a position of real equality with Germany in the Dual Alliance. To reach this point seems to me to be Count Aehrenthal's real aim. ... It need hardly be said that Count Aehrenthal realises the many advantages which Austria-Hungary can derive from the continuance of her alliance with Germany, but according to him the alliance is perhaps of still more importance to Germany than it is to Austria-Hungary, for Germany without Austrian support would find herself placed in a very awkward position, whereas if Germany were to let Austria-Hungary go, the latter would immediately find many friends among continental powers ... To me this emancipation from the tutelage of Berlin is the primary factor in Count Aehrenthal's policy, and this creates the necessity for him to maintain the best relations with France and England, and, when more favourable circumstances shall set in, with Russia¹⁵⁰

Cartwright's judgement was certainly too optimistic, especially

1910.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 192-193.

as regards the Monarchy's opportunities to change its orientation radically and being able to leave the German alliance for better alignments. Eyre Crowe¹⁵¹ and other competent authorities in the Foreign Office did not put any trust in an "independent" Austria-Hungary. They believed that the ties between Germany and the Dual Monarchy were so strong that Austria-Hungary might find herself "*nolens volens*" at war against the *Entente* Powers.¹⁵² Grey once made reference to the eventual decline of the Habsburg Empire by characterising her as "a star that may dissolve".¹⁵³ Hardinge was more interested in preserving the balance of power on the Continent, and he thought it was better if no significant changes occurred in the existing system of alliances. Moreover, his primary concern was to prevent any of the Central European Powers from initiating a new Three Emperors' League.¹⁵⁴

Indeed, Aehrenthal wanted more independence for the Monarchy, but had no intention of leaving the Triple Alliance. Cartwright exaggerated the occasional discord between Berlin and Vienna.¹⁵⁵ In September 1910 the British Ambassador reported to the Foreign Office that Aehrenthal seemed to intend to apply for British as well as French help to bring about a rapprochement with Russia.¹⁵⁶ Aehrenthal, however, did not really want Britain to interfere, while Izvolsky declared that he would only negotiate

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 193-194.

¹⁵¹ Crowe, Sir Eyre (1864-1925), British foreign policy expert and diplomat who strongly urged anti-German policy. In January 1907 he wrote a "Memorandum on the Present State of British Relations with France and Germany", that made a strong impression on Grey. Crowe stated that Germany aimed at the domination of Europe, and that concessions would only increase the German appetite for power. In 1912 he became Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. He even opposed financial maneuvers that could be in any way beneficial to Germany's allies. For example, when the Hungarian Government intended to establish a bank syndicate with the help of Sir W. Blennerhasset, he raised the most severe objections supported by both Hardinge and Grey. See more in: JESZENSZKY, *Az elveszett presztizs*, pp. 260-261.

¹⁵² *BD VI*, p. 270, Nr. 178, *Minute by Crowe*, 3rd May 1909.

¹⁵³ WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, p. 180.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* See also: *DDF 2^e Série 10*, 1948, p. 361, Nr. 241, *Cambon à Bourgeois*, 24th October 1906.

¹⁵⁵ BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 149.

¹⁵⁶ *BD IX/1*, pp. 103-105, Nr. 94, *Cartwright to Grey*, 15th January 1910.

if other powers are also involved in the efforts to create better relations between the two countries, and he showed no interest in the *Ballhausplatz* initiatives for confidential talks.¹⁵⁷ Cartwright also tried to play the role of mediator without any success, and his approaches were turned down immediately.¹⁵⁸ Izvolsky was not even deterred from circulating copies of his confidential exchanges with Vienna. This had the effect that London took the side of the Vienna government, the injured party in the affair. Izvolsky's action, which formed "a reprehensible precedent", created much indignation in the Foreign Office, while it was thought that Aehrenthal "behaved extremely well".¹⁵⁹ At the same time Mensdorff reported from the British capital that there were clear indications of a "diminishing" sympathy towards the Balkan states in "responsible quarters" (*in maßgebenden Kreisen*). Aehrenthal was very satisfied with this situation,¹⁶⁰ and he felt himself reinforced in his optimism concerning Russia, exclaiming with utter sharpness in January 1910: "They will go down on their knees before us" (*Auf den Knien rutschen sie vor uns*).¹⁶¹ He was convinced that Russia "needed" Germany and Austria-Hungary,¹⁶² and he was right when he reckoned that Conservative forces gained the upper hand in St. Petersburg. General Kuropatkin¹⁶³ thought that Germany, the Monarchy and Russia could cooperate in order to get the bigger share from the spoil

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110, Nr. 98, p.112, Nr. 100, *Nicolson to Grey*, 30th January/ 2nd February 1910. See reference: BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 150.

¹⁵⁸ BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 150, *ÖU. Aussen II*, pp. 688-689, Nr. 1981; *BD IX/1*, p. 113, Nr.101, *Cartwright to Grey*, 3rd February 1910.

¹⁵⁹ *BD IX/1*, p. 149, Nr. 141, *Nicolson to Grey*, 20th March 1910, pp. 150-151, Nr.143; *Nicolson to Grey*, 21st March 1910; *ÖU. Aussen II*, pp. 762-763, Nr. 2060; *Tel. aus St. Petersburg*, 21st March 1910; BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, pp. 150-151.

¹⁶⁰ *HHStA PA VIII England*, K. 146, *Abschrift an Mensdorff*, 22nd March 1910.

¹⁶¹ JOSEPH REDLICH, *Das politische Tagebuch Joseph Redlichs 1908-1919*. Ed. FRITZ FELLNER, Graz, Köln: Verlag H. Böhlau Nachf. Ges. M. B. H, 1953, I, p. 47.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ Kuropatkin, A. Nicolayevich (1848-1925), Russian general, former Minister of Defense.

¹⁶⁴ *GP XXVII/2*, pp. 530-532, Nr. 9946, *Pourtalès an B. Hollweg*, 2nd April 1910.

following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁶⁴ There were two options the Russian leaders had to consider concerning Near Eastern issues; working together with the two other emperors of Europe on the basis of traditional monarchic solidarity, or to come to an agreement with the British. In 1909 when the Annexation crisis was finally over, Aehrenthal himself began to believe that "there might be some truth" in Marschall von Bieberstein's¹⁶⁵ theory that Britain and Russia had already agreed to partition Turkey.¹⁶⁶ The British diplomats, on the other hand, were rather worried about the possible restoration of the Three Emperors' League. This would enable Russia to seize Constantinople and the Straits, while Austria-Hungary advanced to Salonica. They were also afraid of the breakup of the Triple Entente, which the Germans could let happen by starting a very active and flexible policy towards Russia, after the resignation of Izvolsky.¹⁶⁷ Aehrenthal was encouraging Austrian diplomats to demonstrate the strong goodwill of the Austro-Hungarian Empire towards their Russian colleagues in the various diplomatic missions all over the world.¹⁶⁸ Serious attempts, though, were not to be expected from the St. Petersburg government with Izvolsky¹⁶⁹ still in office, since, as Aehrenthal wrote in one of his private letters, the "Nicolson-Izvolsky syndicate" (*das Konsortium Nicolson-Iswolski*) was "working against" Count Berchtold.¹⁷⁰ The *Ballhausplatz* had a vested interest

¹⁶⁵ Marschall von Bieberstein, Adolf (1842-1912), German diplomat, from 1897 to 1912 Ambassador to Constantinople.

¹⁶⁶ BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, p. 156.

¹⁶⁷ GOSCHEN, *Diary*, p. 192; Goschen pointed out as early as April 1909 how easily it could happen that German diplomacy succeed in detaching Russia from her western partners; Izvolsky, however, retained his office for more than a year after the Balkan crisis had come to an end.

¹⁶⁸ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal II*, p. 726, Nr. 556, *Khevenhüller an Aehrenthal*, 13th November 1909.

¹⁶⁹ Izvolsky, A. Petrovich (1856-1919), Russian diplomat, Foreign Minister from 1906 to 1910.

¹⁷⁰ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal II*, pp. 726-727, Nr. 557, *Aehrenthal an Khevenhüller*, 18th November, 1909.

¹⁷¹ HUGO HANTSCH, *Leopold Graf Berchtold. Grandseigneur und Staatsmann*. Graz, Wien, Köln: Verlag Styria, 1963, I, pp. 208-209.

in the break-up of this "syndicate", and Izvolsky was about to resign due to pressure from the conservative side.¹⁷¹ There was other news, however, that politicians in Vienna were surely less happy to hear. Sir Arthur Nicolson was appointed Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, which meant that a strong Russophile current at Whitehall would remain dominant. Izvolsky seemed to be sad, if not desperate, as he learned that he was "going to lose Nicolson"¹⁷² and broke the news to Berchtold with "a deep sigh".¹⁷³ According to Berchtold the British Ambassador and would-be Permanent Under-Secretary had no other objective than to "weaken Germany through Continental complications".¹⁷⁴

5. ATTEMPTS TO BENEFIT FROM ANGLO-GERMAN DETENTE AND THE FAILURE TO REMOVE THE DISTRUST: STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL ASPECTS

Aehrenthal did everything to assure the Great Powers of his being interested in the maintenance of the status quo, and he even used the press to convince the public in Russia.¹⁷⁵ He believed that with the start of an Anglo-German detente Austro-British relations would also be improving, though admitting that there were still worries as regards the unpredictable nature of German policy.¹⁷⁶ He believed that the commercial and economic rivalry between England and Germany could be wrapped up, and this would do much good to relations between Vienna and London.¹⁷⁷ The British at the time, however, were more interested in security as well as strategic issues, especially those concerning the so-called Dreadnought-race. They were not happy to see that cordial relations were about to begin between Francis Ferdinand¹⁷⁸ and

¹⁷² "Nous allons perdre Nicolson".

¹⁷³ ÖU. Aussen. II, pp. 912-913, Nr. 2214, *Bericht aus St. Petersburg*, 25th June 1910.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁵ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal* II, pp. 732-733, Nr. 562, *Aehrenthal an Berchtold*, 7th December 1909.

¹⁷⁶ ÖU. Aussen II, pp. 724-729, Nr. 2024, *Aufzeichnung – Aehrenthal*, 6th March 1910.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁸ Francis Ferdinand, Archduke (1863-1914), Habsburg heir to the throne.

¹⁷⁹ BD V, pp. 812-813, Nr. 873, *Russel to Grey*, 11th November 1909.

the Kaiser,¹⁷⁹ because they knew that both were devoted supporters of naval expansion and the development of maritime armaments.¹⁸⁰ Cartwright brought up arguments in favor of the Archduke's plans to strengthen the Austro-Hungarian Navy.¹⁸¹ The Admiralty was convinced that Austro-Hungarian developments were inspired by Germany, and the British intelligence was also following the course of events with watchful eyes.¹⁸² British anxieties were further aroused when they learned that the Delegations seemed to be ready to put through the Dreadnought project. Even Kramář,¹⁸³ the otherwise anti-German representative of Czech Neo-Slavism, gave his consent.¹⁸⁴ Berlin gave encouragement to Austrian maritime development, and the arms race again accelerated because the British were also extending their contingent by four new dreadnoughts.¹⁸⁵ The British press devoted considerable attention to Austro-Hungarian developments. The *Ballhausplatz* became worried that the public mind in England was becoming too obsessed with the naval project of the Monarchy, and that the issue might be played off in England's internal struggles.¹⁸⁶ The Anglo-German naval race thus again put obstacles in the way of improving Anglo-Aus-

¹⁸⁰ LAWRENCE SONDHIAUS, *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary 1867-1918: Navalism, Industrial Development, and the Politics of Dualism*. West Lafayette (Indiana): Purdue University Press, 1994, pp. 170-184.

¹⁸¹ WILSON, *Isolating the Isolator*, Appendix Nr. 3, p. 190, *Cartwright to Grey*, 14th April 1909.

¹⁸² SONDHIAUS, *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary*, pp. 193.

¹⁸³ Kramář, Karel (1860-1937), Czech politician, prominent member of the 'Young Czechs'.

¹⁸⁴ SONDHIAUS, *The Naval Policy of Austria-Hungary*, pp. 194-195. Formerly Kramář was a person whose opinion people listened to at Whitehall; Redlich mentions in his 'Political Diary' that only after Wickham Steed had sent a telegraphic message to London with the news of Kramář's acknowledgement of Aehrenthal's diplomatic victory, as a quasi Slav opinion, was Grey ready to change the tone of the Foreign Office towards Vienna decisively. See: REDLICH, *Das politische Tagebuch*, I, p. 11, Diary entry, 6th April 1909.

¹⁸⁵ E. L. WOODWARD, *Great Britain and the German Navy*. London, Edinburgh: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1964, pp. 244-249. This provides interesting information on the interdependence of maritime developments of the Great Powers.

¹⁸⁶ ÖU. Aussen II, pp. 850-851, Nr. 2148, *Bericht des Legationsrates Gr.A.Tarnowski*,

trian relations. Aehrenthal complained to Cartwright that a "more composed" line of policy was not able to "gain the upper hand" in England concerning the naval issue, and that he could not "understand" why the British public was so much interested in the maritime project which was "within the narrowest limits".¹⁸⁷ The suspicion of the British was not without reason, since the Italians passed them information on two additional dreadnoughts being under construction in Trieste. The construction of the two dreadnoughts was part of a speculative venture, and the British felt they had been tricked. They believed this was again part of an "Austro-German conspiracy", and they were not ready to accept the explanations of Vienna that the dreadnoughts were necessary because of Italy's naval program was endangering the balance of power in the Mediterranean.¹⁸⁸

The naval issue again proved that in spite of all the efforts made by Cartwright to present Aehrenthal as a potentially reliable partner for Britain in European politics, mutual trust between England and the Monarchy could not be fully restored after the Bosnian crisis. The primacy of the Anglo-German antagonism also rendered most of the various attempts to establish a new Anglo-Austrian cooperation unsuccessful. The suspicion, already deeply engraved in the thinking of the Foreign Office, could not be dispelled. Aehrenthal and the *Ballhausplatz* were always judged with respect to Anglo-German relations, and some distrust appeared in all controversial issues.

Aehrenthal made several attempts, especially through Cartwright, to restore Britain's trust in the Austro-Hungarian government. In his conversations with Cartwright, he tried to avoid remarks which might have been interpreted as Anglophobic, still he was not always successful in concealing his real emotions, particularly during the Annexation crisis. Cartwright once reported to London:

To me, personally, Aehrenthal is very civil, and he takes care not to accuse in my presence the British Government of harbouring hostile feelings against Austria-Hungary, but he

^{30*} April 1910.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 866-867, Nr. 2168, *Erlaß nach London*, 13th May 1910.

frequently alludes in a vague manner to what I may term the 'mauvais vouloir' of His Majesty's Government in not using their utmost influence to stop the boycott, and so on. To others he is more outspoken, and Sir Thomas Barclay, who saw him yesterday, received Baron von Aehrenthal's full fury against England. He launched out against us in the terms of the article in the *Neue Freie Presse* yesterday...¹⁸⁹

Aehrenthal did not like Cartwright's strong anti-German attitude, either. Nevertheless, all in all, the two men worked together quite well, while they were determined to defend the interests of their own country. Early September 1909 Count Kinsky approached King Edward and "*pour la bonne cause*" had even somewhat exaggerated the friendly relationship between Cartwright and Aehrenthal. Kinsky did his best to convince the King that Aehrenthal's most important goal was to get rid of German tutelage, and he asked "His Majesty" to use His influence that people in London "let Cartwright work".¹⁹⁰ From Kinsky's report it was clear for Aehrenthal that the British feared that their Ambassador in Vienna might totally come under his influence.¹⁹¹ This was an attitude which was due to Cartwright's unwavering endeavor to defend the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, a behaviour Wickham Steed warned him of, drawing his attention to the dangers of it.¹⁹² Kinsky wrote to Aehrenthal that the British did not trust him, that they thought something was always "lurking" behind his statements, that is, "just the opposite" of what could actually be understood by his words.¹⁹³ Sir Edward Grey's moral concern was well-known, and he never trusted Aehrenthal, still from the moral point of view Cartwright tried to defend him again. Concerning

¹⁸⁸ BRIDGE, *Great Britain and Austria-Hungary*, pp. 158-159.

¹⁸⁹ BD V, pp. 559-561, Nr. 508, *Cartwright to Grey*, 7th January 1909.

¹⁹⁰ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal II*, p. 714, Nr. 546, *Kinsky an Aehrenthal*, 2nd September 1909.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² SCHUSTER, *Wickham Steed und die Habsburgermonarchie*, p. 90.

¹⁹³ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal II*, p. 714, Nr. 546, *Kinsky an Aehrenthal*, 2nd September 1909.

¹⁹⁴ In March 1909 an article appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*, written by Heinrich Friedjung. It was a severe assault against the Serbo-Croatian Coalition, the politi-

the 'Friedjung-process'¹⁹⁴ he brought up the following arguments in defense of Aehrenthal's policies:

...the moral atmosphere which prevails in the Dual Monarchy is entirely different from that which exists in Anglo-Saxon countries: there the only question which interests the public is the technical guilt or innocence of an accused person; here no one cares anything about this, at least in political trials, when all sane judgement is warped by racial hatreds. Moderate men here recognize that Aehrenthal has committed errors of judgement, but that on the main issues he has acted rightly and for the advantage and glory of the Dual Monarchy. The services he has rendered to his country efface his errors in matters of detail¹⁹⁵

It is not likely that the above words changed the opinion of the British Foreign Secretary. On one occasion King Edward was even more outspoken, saying that he considered Aehrenthal "a very dangerous man" who "identifies himself with Germany on all issues".¹⁹⁶ At the same time we cannot say Aehrenthal was totally unsuccessful in his various efforts to create a better judgement of the Monarchy's foreign policy in England. He managed to persuade Steed, with whom he was not always on best terms, to write some articles in the *Times* defending the policies of Vienna concerning the Annexation. The articles were suggesting that it

cal grouping of the Southern Slavs in Hungary. The author of the article claimed that a treacherous plot had been organised with the full backing of Belgrade against Austria-Hungary. He also wrote he had authentic evidence to support the accusations. Friedjung was taken to court for libel by the Southern Slav leaders. It turned out later that the papers, which were supposed to prove the statements of Friedjung, were sheer forgery. There were numerous hints that Aehrenthal knew about it, so the whole situation was very embarrassing and it scandalised Europe. (See more: J. MARIA BAERNREITHER, *Fragmente eines politischen Tagebuches. Die südslawische Frage und Österreich-Ungarn vor dem Weltkrieg*, ed. Prof. JOSEPH REDLICH, Berlin: Verlag für Kulturpolitik, 1928, pp. 133-145. SCHUSTER, *WickhamSteed und die Habsburgermonarchie*, pp. 79-85). In the end a compromise out of court put an end to the whole controversy. Grey was up in arms against Aehrenthal.

¹⁹⁵ BD IX./1, p. 244, Nr. 207, *Cartwright to Grey*, 4th January 1911.

¹⁹⁶ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal II*, p. 713, Nr. 546, *Kinsky an Aehrenthal*, 2nd September 1909.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 712, *Footnotes*. See information on contents of the articles: *Nachlaß Aehrenthal II*, pp. 710-712, Nr. 545, *Kinsky an Aehrenthal*, 30th August 1909. See also: *The Times* 30th Aug. 1909: "Great Britain and Austria-Hungary", 4th Sept. 1909:

was not all that important what happened in the past, but that the Dual Monarchy would take the side of England in various controversial affairs in the future.¹⁹⁷

To the King, Kinsky tried to describe the position of the Monarchy with more dramatic words, presenting Austria-Hungary as a victim of the Anglo-German enmity. England, he argued, "had driven" the Monarchy into forming a separate bloc together with Germany:

...this I told Charlie Hardinge three years ago and warned him. For God's sake do not fall on us [*hammern Sie auf uns nicht los*] like this! – meaning the press and the Government – thereby you will not separate us from Germany – on the contrary. If you want to launch an offensive, strike down on Germany only, but leave us alone. - This could have no good effect – all round¹⁹⁸

After the death of King Edward VII the Central Powers again cherished hopes that that their relations with Great Britain could radically improve. In a friendly conversation the Kaiser even suggested in a relaxed manner that "England" should perhaps do the same as Austria-Hungary and "simply declare the annexation" of Egypt. King George pointed out to him that this would create trouble and "the Powers would have objections". Mensdorff was not happy to hear this, and it seems he did not like the Kaiser reminding the British of the Annexation problem. He thought if Britain took such steps, it would only make the European situation worse.¹⁹⁹ Later in September, Mensdorff reported that "leading circles" were demanding Grey to provide explanations for his "abortive policies" especially concerning the Bosnian crisis.²⁰⁰ In the press, Dillon,²⁰¹ the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, drew the public's attention in a lengthy article to the close cooperation

"Anglo-Austrian Relations".

¹⁹⁸ *Nachlaß Aehrenthal* II, p. 714, Nr. 546, *Kinsky an Aehrenthal*, 2nd September 1909.

¹⁹⁹ *HHStA PA VIII*. England, K. 146. [London Varia], Nr. 2. *Mensdorff an Aehrenthal*, 10th June 1910.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, *Mensdorff an Aehrenthal*, 2nd September 1910.

²⁰¹ Dillon, Emil Joseph (1854-1933), British journalist and expert of the Orient,

between Germany and Austria-Hungary. He held Grey's unsuccessful policy following the Annexation responsible for the formation of the Central European bloc which he even called "Austria-Germany." He thought it had been a mistake to "humour" Russia "at all costs." As a result of this policy, he continued, "Austria and Germany" had become "indivisible" as the "necessary consequence of a sudden anti-Austrian line of policy".²⁰² Thus it is clear that Grey was on one hand severely criticized for driving the Monarchy into one separate and "indivisible" bloc with Germany, but at the same time the Dual Monarchy's quasi "unity" with Germany in international affairs was treated as *fait accompli*.

Cartwright saw new opportunities arising in 1910, and he wanted to use the approaching visit of Lord Rosebery²⁰³ to bring about a rapprochement between the two countries. He planned to publish a press release on the occasion in the *Fremdenblatt*, which would have appeared to suggest that the British went to Canossa. Steed severely criticized Cartwright, not seeing any serious reason for granting credit to Aehrenthal's alleged intentions to emancipate the Monarchy from Germany. He pointed out to Valentine Chirol²⁰⁴ that an obvious approach of Britain towards Austria-Hungary would carry the danger of a deterioration of Anglo-Russian relations — ultimately, the Dual Monarchy was going to continue its policy to restore the cooperation of the "Three Emperors." He believed that Aehrenthal was again playing the mean game and wanted to compromise London in the eyes of the Russians.²⁰⁵ He thought anyway that Cartwright was pursuing an illusion concerning the

from 1887 to 1914 correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Russia.

²⁰² SEE DILLON's articles in the *Daily Telegraph*, 31st December 1910, and in the *Contemporary Review*, January 1911. See in *Contemporary Review* under the headings: "Germanisation of the Continent" and "The Price of an Anglo-German Understanding". See also as enclosures to: HHStA PA VIII. England, K. 146 [Berichte], Nr. 1 F., Bericht von Tarnowski, 6th January 1911.

²⁰³ Rosebery arrived in Vienna to officially announce the accession of George V.

²⁰⁴ Chirol, Valentine (1852-1929), British journalist, from 1872 to 1876 he worked in the *Foreign Office*; in 1892 he was appointed the Berlin correspondent of the *Times*.

²⁰⁵ Steed to Chirol, 9th September 1910, cited in: SCHUSTER, Wickham Steed und die

Monarchy's role.

Surely there was a strong intention on Aehrenthal's side to follow an independent line of policy, and this could have provided an opportunity for Britain to treat the Monarchy as a partner in international politics rather than just a subservient satellite of Germany. Austria-Hungary's position was made especially difficult, because she had found herself in the crossfire of the Anglo-German antagonism, and this left her only a narrow path. Cartwright's views proved to be illusions, not because of Aehrenthal's alleged perfidity boosted by Steed, but because the two Powers had different concepts prevailing in their diplomacy. Aehrenthal never gave up the plan to restore the 'League of the Three Emperors', while the British were primarily interested in maintaining the balance of power in Europe,²⁰⁶ which they thought was endangered by an alliance of the 'Three Emperors' in which Germany could easily gain dominance. The British feared a great "Teutonic" advance in Europe, as well as in the Balkans and the near East, and it is obvious they tried to hold it up. Besides, they were also interested in Russia being primarily occupied in Europe and not creating troubles in Central Asia any more. To achieve these political aims the Monarchy did not seem a reliable partner, at least according to the prevailing current in the Foreign Office. Aehrenthal was determined to continue the alliance with Germany, and the "encirclement theories"²⁰⁷ of the Berlin politicians had also exercised some influence upon his thinking.²⁰⁸

Lack of mutual trust was a serious obstacle in the way of Anglo-Austrian cooperation. Aehrenthal was viewed in the Foreign

Habsburgermonarchie, p. 92.

²⁰⁶ Goschen on Germany and the 'balance of power' problem: *BD VI*, pp. 265-266, Nr. 174, *Goschen to Grey*, 16th April 1909. See Austro-Hungarian view on the same: *ÖU. Aussen I*, pp. 716-720, Nr. 863, *Bericht aus London*, 8th January 1909.

²⁰⁷ See more about "encirclement" (*Einkreisung*) in: KANTOROWICZ, *Der Geist der englischen Politik*, pp. 337-436.

²⁰⁸ *ÖU. Aussen. II*, pp. 462-465, Nr. 1735, *Protokoll des Ministerrathes für gemeinsame Angelegenheiten*, 18th September 1909. Aehrenthal spoke highly of the successful annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina as the "repelling of the English encirclement policy".

Office with suspicion, while he held Cartwright "notoriously hostile against Germany" and thought that the Ambassador "did his best to alienate Austria-Hungary from Germany's side".²⁰⁹ In the end, the *Ballhausplatz* became furious with Cartwright because of an article published in the *Neue Freie Presse* which was based on an interview with him.²¹⁰ The article created a press controversy and the *Wilhelmstraße* was scandalized.²¹¹ This was too much for Aehrenthal, since Cartwright was by then looked upon as his "friend and admirer".²¹² Cartwright created a situation not wished by anyone in Vienna, and there were severe attacks on him in the *Reichsrat*. Aehrenthal asked the Austrian Premier to defend the British Ambassador against attack from the *Deutscher Nationalverband*, but later he only made a few scornful remarks to *Kiderlen-Waechter* on Cartwright's clumsy and indiscrete businesses with the press.²¹³

Cartwright's attempts to convince the Foreign Office failed to bring any success, and in the end he lost the trust of Aehrenthal as a result of his officiousness. Aehrenthal died in 1912 leaving his plans unfinished; he was succeeded by Berchtold, about whom Cartwright thought very little. As he said: "He seems overburdened by his office".²¹⁴ Under Berchtold Austria-Hungary could not free herself anymore from Berlin's tutelage. Nevertheless, the concepts of Aehrenthal and Cartwright represented clear alternatives of European history, which if they had been followed and realized in a consistent manner, would have probably led to a different situation in 1914. However, when we try to draw conclusions from the information found in various documents, there remain certain obscure points to think about - for example, whether

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, pp. 742-744, Nr. 2040, *Privatschreiben nach Berlin*, 15th March 1910.

²¹⁰ *Neue Freie Presse*, 25th August 1911.

²¹¹ For the Cartwright Interview see: *BD VII*, Appendix V, pp.837-845.

²¹² ÖU. *Aussen III*, pp. 396-398, Nr. 2712, *Privatschreiben aus London*, 5th October 1911.

²¹³ *GP XXX /2*, pp. 501-502, Nr. 11221, *Aehrenthal an Kiderlen*, 7th September 1911.

²¹⁴ REDLICH, *Das politische Tagebuch*, I, p. 138, *Diary entry*, 26th June 1912.

²¹⁵ It is still a question of debate to what extent Cartwright's initiatives to find a way out of the crisis contributed to bring about Russia's surrender to the German diplomatic ultimatum at the end of March 1909; see: D. W. SWEET, *The Bosnian Crisis*. In: *British Foreign Policy under Sir Edward Grey*. Ed. F. H. HINSLEY, London,

Cartwright was trying to further his own initiatives in Vienna during and after the Bosnian Crisis, or whether he gained approval from London as well.²¹⁵ Anyway, it seems he did not manage to win the real trust of the Austrian leaders, while on certain occasions his good relations with Aehrenthal contributed a great deal to facilitating cooperation between the two Powers in spite of being members of two opposing alliances. British policy was, nevertheless, determined by the solid principles of "the balance of power logic", which was gaining more and more importance as regards its strategic and military aspects after 1909. Especially after the death of Aehrenthal, very few politicians in London thought that a militarily strong Austria-Hungary (as Cartwright would have loved to have seen the Dual Monarchy) could have been better freed from German tutelage. On the contrary, they thought that the Monarchy as a strong Power would only contribute to German strategic strength. This was later shown by growing British anxiety over the issue of Austro-Hungarian naval developments. Balfour once said openly that he did not think Austria needed a larger fleet, and that she must have been inspired from Berlin to carry out her naval plans.²¹⁶ The naval balance was the sacred cow for the British and Vienna failed to respect that - no wonder, since her ally (but Britain's friend) Italy had also launched a Dreadnought program. By September 1910 Hardinge, who was by then to become Vice-Roy of India, was firmly convinced that Germany and Austria-Hungary were determined to upset the balance of power. He even pointed out that France and Britain should not facilitate loans for countries "who show any inclination to be absorbed into the orbit of the Central Powers of Europe". Moreover Britain should maintain her naval supremacy and have the British fleet "in an absolutely prepondering position by 1913",

New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1977, pp. 190-191.

²¹⁶ *HHStA PA VIII*, K. 148 [*Berichte*], Nr. 36, *Mensdorff an Berchtold*, 26th July 1912.

²¹⁷ *BD VIII*, p. 441, Nr. 341, *Enclosure, Minute by Hardinge*, 17th September 1910.

²¹⁸ *ÖU. Aussen III*, pp. 366-369, Nr. 2669, *Privatschreiben aus London*, 29th September 1911.

when, according to the Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office, "the crucial moment may come".²¹⁷ It seems that the "genuine league of peace" Cartwright hoped for finally gave way to the inevitability of war, a widespread opinion in Europe shared even by monarchs with the most peaceful intentions, like George V.²¹⁸

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BALÁZS NYILASY

LA POESIA EPICA DI JÁNOS ARANY

La poesia epica del poeta ottocentesco è uno dei fenomeni più originali e complessi della letteratura ungherese. Si rivolge al passato con tanto accanimento che, a prima vista, può sembrare un'incorreggibile esuberanza di conservatorismo. Lo scrittore di Nagyszalonta, a metà del secolo, all'epoca di Baudelaire, gira sempre intorno alla grande forma della poesia epica, vuole sperimentare i generi di maggiore importanza della letteratura europea. L'epopea classica di Omero, la poesia eroica, la ballata, l'epopea comica e il romanzo in versi sono quell'insieme di possibilità a lui offerte, fra le quali scopre le sue capacità e delle quali adopererà caratteristiche e mentalità. Ma nello stesso tempo questo conservativismo, nelle sue opere più importanti, rappresenta anche una forza altamente creativa e innovatrice. Arany riesce ad assimilare il patrimonio dei generi letterari con raffinato genio, arricchendolo di significati nuovi, pieni di contenuti, relativi alla problematica dell'età moderna. Nei suoi generi letterari prende la parola l'uomo moderno che vede in pericolo la possibilità di interpretare il futuro con prospettive rassicuranti. Nella sua "grande epica" ha due possibilità artistiche fondamentali per presentare situazioni e trattare problemi. Nelle opere arcaico-olistiche crea un contro-mondo artistico. Contro il dubbio, la frammentarietà del mondo moderno e contro l'erosione che avanza trionfale, queste opere, con il loro modo di vedere arcaico-olistico, rassicurante e omogeneo, creano un mondo di visioni a parte (*Toldi*, *Keveháza*). Le poesie di carattere antierico invece si collocano all'altra estremità possibile nel presentare la crisi: riconoscono, rappresentano, "illustrano" la crisi con l'insieme dei gesti metapoetici della narra-

zione (*La Costituzione perduta, Istók il pazzo, Gli zingari di Nagyida*). Questa duplicità - la disposizione a creare un contro-mondo artistico che visiona la totalità da una parte e l'attitudine a rappresentare il senso di crisi - è presente nell'opera letteraria di Arany come una bipolarità fondamentale e come due elementi quasi ugualmente importanti. Potremmo anche dire che il poeta non può rinunciare alla visione di un'esistenza in cui l'assoluto incontestabile pone un limite alla relatività dei valori e delle verità, ma nello stesso tempo non può non percepire la forza e la verità della cultura critica nell'età moderna, della percezione riflessiva dell'esistenza e del dubbio liberato da un'attitudine che si pone problemi, domande, dubbi.

Dell'insieme di opere arcaico-elementari-olistiche, è il *Toldi* del 1846 che più nettamente crea la visione di un'esistenza omogenea non divisa da spaccature. Alla base della storia vi è un canto storico del XVI secolo ed è collocato nell'ambiente del re trecentesco Luigi il Grande d'Angiò. Miklós Toldi, il giovanotto di nobile famiglia e dalla forza enorme, è costretto a vivere in casa e lavorare indegnamente lontano dalla corte reale, per volontà di suo fratello György, invidioso e geloso. Sta lavorando sui campi quando arrivano i fieri soldati del re, lo prendono per un contadino e gli parlano a mezza bocca. L'offesa lo sconvolge ancor più gravemente perché i suoi desideri lo porterebbero proprio in questo esercito valoroso, è qui che vorrebbe diventare un eroe, procurarsi fama. Con ira impotente va a casa dove trova il fratello, appena tornato da una visita alla corte reale, che lo insulta gravemente, anzi lo colpisce anche con uno schiaffo. Miklós potrebbe ammazzare con un solo colpo il fratello György, ma trattenendo l'ira, si ritira e piange tutto solo. Il fratello invece non si dà pace, istiga i suoi vassalli, questi cominciano a lanciare giavellotti intorno al ragazzo. Con grande pazienza, Toldi consentirebbe loro anche questo, ma quando un giavellotto lo colpisce alla spalla, prende una pietra di macina che trova a portata di mano e nell'ira improvvisa la scaraventa contro di loro. Un vassallo muore e Miklós deve fuggire. György vuole catturarlo con i suoi uomini. Il giovanotto per un po' si nasconde nel canneto vicino, ma non riesce a staccarsi da casa, alla fine però, una lunga caccia

all'uomo - Toldi una notte torna di nascosto a casa per prendere congedo dalla madre e per mettere accanto al letto del fratello i corpi di una coppia di lupi uccisi nel canneto svegliando tutti quanti in casa - lo spinge tanto lontano da casa che ormai non può tornare. Va a piedi fino a Buda, con la vaga intenzione di compiere qualche atto eroico davanti al re. E l'occasione si presenta: una vedova gli parla di un campione straniero che nessuno ancora è riuscito a vincere e che mette in gioco l'onore del popolo ungherese. Il ragazzo però, partito da casa senza niente, non ha né soldi né l'armatura, non trova neanche alloggio in città, nonostante avesse appena salvato la vita di molte persone avendo fermato a mani nude un toro imbrozzarrito che si era liberato dal mattatoio. In solitudine e senza speranza sta per addormentarsi nel cimitero quando all'improvviso arriva Bence, il vecchio servo mandato dalla madre, che gli porta 100 ducati d'oro. La possibilità di partecipare al combattimento diventa così raggiungibile e Toldi e il servo festeggiano la fortuna facendo baldoria in un'osteria. Il giorno dopo il giovanotto, vestito con l'armatura, sfida e vince lo straniero, raggiungendo il suo scopo: il re che assiste al combattimento - e che comunque aveva già scoperto gli intrighi di György - gli offre la possibilità di ottenere fama e gloria sotto le armi.

Questa descrizione della favola eroica naturalmente non può rendere tutta la ricchezza, la fiducia nella vita, la serenità, il mondo compatto senza spaccature che vi si presenta, la freschezza e la forza di cui il poema è imbevuto. Si considera quest'opera, e non senza ragione, come una creazione che continua la spontaneità e l'ingenuità di Omero. Ma la "continuazione" è assimilazione e ricreazione a tutti gli effetti. Lo scrittore da una parte si stacca totalmente dal patrimonio comune dell'epopea, dall'insieme stereotipo di strumenti che nell'epopea cristiana avevano ancora un ruolo così importante, e dall'altra parte lo trasforma fino a renderlo irricognoscibile.

Nel *Toldi* non c'è "macchinazione" ma un doppio mondo, mancano stereotipi, oracoli, elementi semi-prodigiosi, invocazioni, enumerazioni; elementi di paragone importanti in Omero ma estranei al colore locale della Grande Pianura Ungherese - leone, mare,

altura, tempesta in montagna e in mare, nave - non vi si trovano. Il prologo locale, rustico, allude finemente alla proposizione epica, la descrizione della morte del soldato, ucciso dalla pietra da macina, è suggestiva e funzionale, il diverbio che precede il combattimento è breve e convincente, la narrazione omerica tranquilla, graduale e dettagliata viene inframmezzata da interventi empatici che caratterizzano le forme popolari, da consigli a difesa del protagonista, da esclamazioni e formule interiettive.

L'epopea per Arany non è un insieme di convenzioni letterarie obbligatorie, ma un'oggettivazione di generi artistici, un archetipo importantissimo in cui l'esigenza olistico-trascendente dell'immaginazione umana e il desiderio di sacralità si manifestano attraverso l'eroismo che supera ogni prova, attraverso la forza fisica donata dalla natura e con la fama tanto desiderata e alla fine ottenuta. La poesia eroica per il poeta ungherese è il grande rifugio, l'Elisio per la mentalità moderna priva ormai di solide garanzie per la vita, dove esistenza e destino, avventura e compimento sono ancora concetti identici, il mondo esterno e quello interiore non si separano, la tradizione non è problematica, riesce a guidare ancora quelli che appartengono alla comunità. Il mondo religioso, il sistema istituzionale, il modo di vita, i costumi, l'insieme dei rituali della società non presentano dubbi o alternative, sono sempre fermi e solidi: con l'espressione di György Lukács "servono da recipienti naturali per l'intimità esuberante dell'anima". Il contro-mondo artistico del *Toldi* annulla le grandi rotture della modernità: fra uomo e natura, uomo e modo di vita, uomo e costumi, ambiente materiale, attività quotidiane, uomo e uomo, non si è creato ancora un abisso. Le azioni degli eroi, con ricchissimi paragoni, vengono subito rappresentate anche come fenomeni della natura, momenti della vita. La figura di Miklós si eleva dal passato davanti al cronista come il fuoco dei pastori nelle notti d'autunno, il pozzo a mazzacavallo succhia la terra come un'enorme zanzara, il giovanotto offeso gravemente è infuriato come un cinghiale ferito, i soldati di György ascoltano il discorso istigante come cani che si trovano davanti un coniglio, la speranza svanisce dal cuore del protagonista come vola via un uccello, il sangue sgorga dal dito del boemo come ghiaccioli in

primavera nelle gronde delle case, madre e figlio piangono insieme come una nuvola carica che sfoga la rabbia. Le formule idiomatiche della comunità come un sistema d'attrezzi sono a disposizione dell'individuo. Miklós è offeso gravemente dal fratello, eppure nonostante la rabbia improvvisa riesce ad articolare i suoi sentimenti con una vera e propria raccolta di locuzioni, riesce ad argomentare, difendersi, smentire. Le caratteristiche idilliche del *Toldi* possono essere considerate come gesti della mentalità moderna che, sperimentando la perdita delle certezze e delle garanzie di un'esistenza ferma e solida, sono atte a creare un genere nuovo. Il microcosmo protetto, isolato dal mondo esterno, con le proprie regole solide, la visione del piccolo mondo guidato dalla calda intimità è marcatamente presente - in modo più accentuato che nella poesia eroica - nell'opera del 1846. I preparativi per la mangiata nella casa di Nagylak, l'agitazione e il via vai sono autenticati dalla dettagliata descrizione tecnica del lavoro in cucina, e colorati dall'ironia allegra e giocosa verso la parte sofferente: il popolo di agnelli, e il pollame. Per il fuggiasco il canneto offre un piccolo mondo protettivo: le canne si trasformano in letto, la giuncaia in cuscino, il blu del cielo è la coperta e la tela della tenda viene tessuta dalla notte. Miklós e il vecchio servo possono incontrarsi dovunque, la calda fiducia che dal vecchio arriva rende accogliente e familiare ogni ambiente che li circonda. La bisaccia vuota si offre da tavolo, le due mele sono la decorazione, il cimitero in confronto alla rigidità del mattatoio diventa luogo accogliente per dormirci. La calda atmosfera dell'interpersonalità, l'intimità, l'accordo umano nel *Toldi* si delineno più nettamente che in qualsiasi altra opera anche perché i gesti comunicativi, i mezzi con i quali riesce a destare comprensione e crea collegamenti sono articolati abbondantemente, rappresentati in modo straordinariamente preciso. Bence, il vecchio servo, muove le labbra anche lui mentre il protagonista mangia con gusto e disegna crocette con le unghie sulla ciocia mentre ascolta piangente il progetto del vagabondaggio. La rappresentazione precisa e plastica di quest'azione motorica nel *Toldi* non è un'eccezione. I sentimenti e le emozioni si manifestano spesso in segni fisici, gesti, atteggiamenti, alterazioni. Miklós è così attento a guardare

lo splendido esercito che arriva dalla nuvola di polvere che la vista gli provoca dolore agli occhi, alle parole arroganti del comandante reagisce senza aprire bocca alzando l'enorme asta per indicargli la strada verso Buda, per la gioia improvvisa fa grandi salti, quando gli viene da piangere si sente trafitto il naso da un ago; il fratello György, sentendo la brutta notizia, diventa più rosso d'un gambero. E questi segni, gesti, atteggiamenti che esprimono stati d'animo non si presentano mai separati e statici, ma come punti importanti della rete di interazioni sono in stretto rapporto con l'ambiente che trasmette sempre stimoli, emozioni. Abbiamo a che fare qui con una caratteristica che è nettamente differente dal romanticismo, è sicuramente un fenomeno che fa parte del realismo. Per il carattere incondizionato del rendimento fisico e psichico, e per le azioni concentrate sull'eroismo, è un'opera appartenente senza dubbio alla grande famiglia delle romanze, degli idilli eroici. Ma questo poema è intrecciato con gesti complementari del realismo analitico moderno. Il nucleo dell'azione, il desiderio d'un atto eroico è piantato in un terreno psicologicamente bene elaborato. Le sofferenze emotive del protagonista incerto, sensibile, agitato, vengono delineate in modo preciso e plastico. Gli elementi d'azione dell'opera sono motivati, razionali, collegati a processi psichici. I soldati che appaiono all'inizio del poema ridestano desideri nascosti in Miklós. L'impossibilità di agire prima lo rendono furibondo, ma dopo quest'ira si placa, si trasforma in rassegnazione. La spalla dolente all'improvviso però lo accende d'ira e amareggiato lancia la pietra uccidendo, con quest'atto involontario, uno dei soldati di György. Fugge, ma senza sapere ancora che fare. Ha solo vaghi progetti, non riesce a staccarsi lontano da casa: si sfoga con il vecchio servo. La prima prova, quella dell'uccisione dei lupi, è un atto sostitutivo, serve in parte per scaricare la rabbia contro il fratello, e d'altra parte servirà come motivo importante per lo sviluppo delle azioni future, perché saranno proprio le salme dei lupi che Miklós con un'idea-lampo porterà a casa: da quest'atto scaturirà poi la caccia all'uomo che lo porterà tanto lontano da casa che non avrà più modo di pensare al ritorno. Arrivato a Pest-Buda gli si offre per un attimo la possibilità, ma in mancanza dei mezzi necessari svanisce subito,

e il giovanotto, nel cimitero dove trova riposo - tra l'altro questo è il momento più triste di tutta l'opera - resta di nuovo senza ogni speranza. Secondo la visione calda e provvidenziale del *Toldi* il bisognoso però trova aiuto. Arriva il vecchio servitore con i soldi mandati dalla madre e la speranza che sembrava svanire ritorna in modo definitivo. La grandiosa baldoria rustica nell'osteria, i festeggiamenti per questo ritorno di speranza, il duello e il perdono del re hanno solo il ruolo di compimento dell'opera.

Si pone la domanda se quest'opera, fatta di tanti elementi e di tanti generi letterari e in cui si intrecciano tanti modi di pensare, possa trovare un posto nella letteratura europea e se può averlo in che modo? La risposta positiva è giustificata proprio dalla straordinarietà dell'opera. Arany, come un suo critico giustamente afferma, è l'ultimo seguace di Omero a metà del XIX secolo. L'opera - come avevo menzionato - è quel ritorno indietro, che significa una sosta nel mondo delle spaccature, e per cui la tradizione del poema e la visione dell'incondizionalità non sono fonti esaurite ma continuano a dare vita offrendo e facendo risplendere la visione di un contro-mondo come gesto artistico possibile e pieno di contenuto.

Se il *Toldi* adopera generi come l'idillio e il canto eroico, il *Keveháza*, del 1853, costituito da 40 strofe di otto versi, è costruito sulla base della "poesia d'azione". Al centro dell'opera vi è una doppia battaglia, rappresentata nelle cronache ungheresi e che risale all'epoca della migrazione dei popoli, la battaglia di Tárnokvölgy e quella di Cezumor, nelle quali combattono da una parte l'armata che difende la provincia della Pannonia sulla riva destra del Danubio e dall'altra i conquistatori, gli unni - predecessori di Attila. "L'epopea piccola" è dominata da gigantesche prospettive, da una monumentalità e forza gloriosa, e da freschezza. Nell'opera combattono grandi masse, si scontrano due mondi, l'Oriente e l'Occidente e il narratore durante tutta l'opera, dalla posizione di chi vede tutto, presenta quest'ondata di monumentalità in ogni suo dettaglio. Si mescolano popoli, lingue, armi, per la rappresentazione della moltitudine il narratore adopera tutta una serie di metafore, la riva si piega come ghiaccio

sotto i piedi della folla, il fiume inonda per l'eccesso di sangue dei caduti, e per le lacrime disperate delle madri la valle, luogo della battaglia, diventa l'impronta d'un piede, gigantesca traccia dell'armata, e un unico rimbombo cancella ogni traccia di vita per un'intera generazione. István Vas, l'illustre poeta ungherese del XX secolo, intenditore affezionato della poesia di Arany, paragona il *Keveháza* al *Salambò* di Flaubert. Ma l'"impassibilità" del grande scrittore francese ha la visione di un tumulto senza punto centrale e ragione mentre la retorica letteraria del *Keveháza* si rivela evidente. Il narratore disegna con cura i costumi, i culti, la disciplina militare degli unni, la loro grande massa rappresenta la forza, la freschezza e l'impeto contro l'Occidente che sembra essere più stanco. E intanto riesce a creare un mondo e una mitologia, fa nascere un ambiente geografico carico d'energia magica: il fumo di sacrificio turbinava fino al cielo, streghe sinistre volano in aria sopra la battaglia, il dio "Hadúr" (della guerra) della fede dualista guarda protettivo gli unni, Ármány e Manó portano sventura. Questo mondo creato può essere collegato anche con le intenzioni del "Parnasse", nonostante l'opera di Arany preceda di 9 anni le *Poemes Barbares* di Leconte de Lisle e di 40 *Les trophées* del grande volume di Hérédia. La visione tumultuosa e monumentale del *Keveháza* vuole dare risposta a modo suo, di nuovo, ai dubbi dell'individuo moderno. I membri di quella moltitudine formicolante entrano in contatto viscerale tra loro, il respiro di centinaia di migliaia di persone crea un campo magnetico comune, l'indubbia autorità dei capi carismatici, l'automatismo della disciplina di guerra rende l'uomo parte integrante di un'unità grande dalla volontà unica, gli toglie il peso dell'essere solo, dell'essere condannato a scegliere e decidere, lo libera dal peso dell'individualità. Il tumulto monumentale di questa poesia di Arany del 1853 è il Paradiso arcaico, quella visione di una ipercomunità in cui l'uomo moderno invano desidera tornare e che solo una visione artistica riesce a far balenare.

Accanto ai tentativi di creare un mondo arcaico vi è un'altra tendenza di base nell'epica poetica di Arany, quella dominata da gesti distruttivi, decostruttivi. *La Costituzione perduta*, *Gli zingari*

di Nagyida e i due canti di *Istók il pazzo* hanno le caratteristiche dell'epopea comica e del romanzo in versi. Ma l'epopea comica di Arany - a differenza della tradizione europea, ma secondo la tradizione della letteratura ungherese del Settecento e dell'Ottocento con le poesie di Mihály Csokonai Vitéz e Sándor Petőfi - si allarga notevolmente e comprende anche l'*ethos* e il sistema metapoetico di gesti del romanzo in versi di Byron. Il narratore de *La Costituzione perduta* si presenta di tanto in tanto come autore che sta dietro l'azione e che ne conduce l'intreccio rendendo insicuro lo stato dell'"autore attendibile". Con interventi ironici allontana l'apparenza d'essere in possesso di tutte le conoscenze che riguardano gli avvenimenti, non potendo creare così un'immagine precisa e fedele alla realtà. Una degna descrizione della bella sera d'estate - dice - non è possibile, perché i suoi occhi da miope non riescono a individuare i particolari dello spettacolo dopo il tramonto, il mezzo volto che appare a lume di candela può essere arrotondato e completato con altre parti del corpo e identificato nella figura della protagonista strega-fata, a seconda delle condizioni di luce. Non posso sapere quanto tempo abbia dormito perché non ho l'orologio - dice di un suo personaggio per puntualizzare di nuovo che non dispone del dominio di tutti i particolari della storia raccontata. Un'altra volta - nell'ultimo terzo del IV canto - osserva che lui stesso è al corrente dei particolari avvolti nelle tenebre ed è anche disposto a darne informazioni dettagliate fuori dall'opera, ma naturalmente solo se il lettore interessato si accolla le spese postali. In un'altra parte dell'opera scredita le operazioni del poetare e del condurre l'intreccio, ne smaschera la natura artificiosa. Dell'aggettivo *bella*, usato per caratterizzare la protagonista, confessa d'averlo preso per riempire il metro-esametro e in un'altra parte, quando usa un suffisso con un ruolo simile, chiede scusa al letterato, suo contemporaneo, svelando la creazione artistica come conformità subordinata al genere letterario: le vicende dell'epopea antica vengono ricordate con molta ironia come fondamenti che regolano la poesia, e quando una situazione pericolosa viene a formarsi intorno a una figura secondaria assicura il lettore che tutto si risolverà perché anche nei romanzi, in situazioni analoghe, arri-

va sempre l'aiuto desiderato. All'inizio del VI canto confessa senza vergogna di essere stufo delle sue figure create e della storia, e che per il momento non sa come continuare gli esametri, come raggiungere un qualsiasi scioglimento delle vicende.

Rendere incerta la narrazione spontanea e naturale è una caratteristica fondamentale anche della gran parte del primo canto di *Istók il pazzo*. Le prime 15 strofe vengono dedicate interamente alla ricerca di vicenda ed eroi. Dalla 16^a strofa finalmente prende inizio il racconto, ma ancora a lungo il terreno è dominato da cambiamenti giocosi e titubanti di piani d'azione. Il mondo della realtà si mescola con quello del fantastico e il narratore rimescola nella storia originale il punto di vista dell'autore-narratore, le sue storie, le sue prese di posizione: si lambicca il cervello su monumenti come su oggetti che ricordano per sempre l'essere mortale, inserisce la storia di Giobbe, il funerale presente nella storia gli ricorda la morte della madre e la perdita della vista del padre, associa l'immagine della fronte bassa del piccolo protagonista alla frenologia e ne mette in dubbio la validità, il rosso dell'alba lo porta a Omero, da Omero arriva al diletterismo poetico che imperversa nel suo paese. Accanto alle parentesi, alle allusioni letterarie e gli intertesti che segnano i cambiamenti di piani e i continui passaggi da una parte all'altra anche la ricerca di tropi, il commento delle rime, le confessioni che si riferiscono alla condizione dell'intreccio e all'intento dell'autore di affrettare o rallentare i fatti da comunicare, sono caratteristiche importanti di *Istók il pazzo*. Nella sesta strofa il narratore fa riferimento ai precedenti e rievoca le parole chiave della prima strofa. Nella 71^a strofa constata che il modo narrativo finora adoperato era lento, nella 15^a e nella 5^a parte s'incoraggia a seguire una linea più retta senza evasioni, nella 22^a parte si stufa di descrivere in modo poetico, il cielo d'aurora, e finisce in breve la descrizione della natura. Nella 66^a parte il paragone rimane nelle tenebre e nella 117^a viene smascherato come mezzo per far rima.

Forse ancora più interessante e più complessa della precedente è l'opera intitolata *Gli zingari di Nagyida*. La favola di questa

strana poesia eroica è la seguente: Márton Gerendi, il capitano di Nagyida, una città attaccata dalle truppe degli imperiali, giudicando impossibile resistere alle forze nemiche, scappa dalla fortezza e incarica di difenderla gli zingari che vi si trovano. Gli zingari, sotto la guida del loro voivoda, sentendosi onorati, si mettono a festeggiare alla grande, mangiano e bevono, tirano cannonate con grande gioia. L'insensato cannoneggiamento dà del filo da torcere al condottiero tedesco che arriva alla conclusione che si tratta di un astuto stratagemma. Riunisce il consiglio di guerra e ai capi confusi viene in aiuto una mappa. Sulla carta vedono la segnalazione di un monte vicino alla fortezza e l'altura sembra essere adatta per salirci e per scrutare dietro le mura, per sapere che cosa si sta complottando dentro e per collocarci cannoni. È vero che nessuno ha mai visto il monte con i propri occhi, ma questa cosa da poco - la verità è sempre nei libri - non può allontanare il condottiero dal suo progetto. Col favore della notte cominciano a trasportare i cannoni e si perdono tutti quanti nella palude, in quella che in verità sta al posto del monte sperato. Un altro consiglio di guerra, dopo alcuni litigi, prende due sagge decisioni. Si mettono d'accordo sul fatto che, da una parte il vero colpevole è stata la mappa, l'avrà tanto lei sulla coscienza, perché se la teoria fosse risultata giusta - se il monte ci fosse stato - anche il progetto avrebbe avuto l'esito desiderato; d'altra parte, data la situazione attuale, la soluzione migliore è sparire il più presto possibile. Il canto III della poesia eroica descrive la grande battaglia, il tumulto enorme in cui gli zingari alla fine sconfiggono eroicamente il nemico, fondano uno stato, fanno baldoria, celebrano nozze, litigano e contendono. Tutta la gloria però, la battaglia vittoriosa, come si scopre nella seconda parte del quarto canto, è solo il sogno del voivoda Csóri. È vero che quando lui si sveglia dal sogno il nemico sta scappando e gli zingari trionfanti si mettono a urlare, minacciare il nemico, dicendo che se avessero ancora polvere da sparo li ucciderebbero fino all'ultimo, ma i tedeschi sentendoli finalmente, si riprendono, tornano indietro, occupano in quattro e quattr'otto la fortezza e si pone fine alla gloria degli zingari che poveretti vengono cacciati via.

Il narratore cronista de *Gli zingari di Nagyida* non mescola nella storia il piano d'autore e non fa molte riflessioni sull'intreccio delle vicende. Sfrutta però ogni possibilità per travisare le caratteristiche comuni dell'epopea: invoca l'aiuto della musa rubiconda dal volto bruciato dal sole, al posto di Pegaso ci mette la penna d'oca che gli serve per scrivere, profana con leggerezza i paragoni omerici: gli zingari si riversano a mangiare e bere come si riunisce un gregge, accorrono caoticamente come la folla alla fiera di Tur quando qualcuno grida chiedendo aiuto contro un cane rabbioso, i cannoni giacciono nella palude come l'uomo ubriaco che caduto si mette a russare ed è impossibile tirarlo fuori con belle parole come è impossibile far muovere un bufalo cocciuto, il condottiero va contro il nemico come quando con un colpo di scure si fanno tremare due enormi querce, anche se – come confessa il cronista – lui a un abbattimento d'alberi di questo genere non aveva mai assistito. Le descrizioni dei combattimenti sono allegre, fanno ridere, l'ironia, la beffa, il burlesco, lo scherzo il grottesco fantastico sono ugualmente presenti nell'opera. Nella discordia scoppiata all'interno della comunità prendono parte a fianco dei mariti anche le mogli, adoperando denti e unghie forti, i marmocchi urlano come pappagalli, nella lotta contro i tedeschi gli zingari, per difendersi dal fumo e dai fulmini delle cannonate, galoppano a occhi bendati contro il nemico. Le teste decapitate fanno capriole, il petto dell'amazzone-zingara è eretto come un bastione mentre lei fa strage nelle file del popolo maschile del nemico. Lo zingaro Laboda e il suo vecchio avversario ce la mettono tutta lottando; Laboda è guercio da un occhio e così è impossibile indovinare le sue intenzioni, il vecchio tedesco invece ha la testa tremante per cui è proprio in gamba chi riesce a prenderla di mira. Il narratore de *Gli zingari di Nagyida* adopera il mezzo dell'ironia artefatta come elemento più importante della giocosità beffarda. I combattenti zingari sono definiti eroici e valorosi, le azioni burlesche di guerra vengono trattate con gesti caratteristici dell'eroismo vero e proprio, gli elementi della tradizione mitica scritta e storica vengono continuamente mescolati nella storia come allusioni degne e convenienti, l'insufficienza del narratore viene sempre sottolineata rispetto alla forza preponderante del

maestoso soggetto. Il narratore invoca aiuto per l'enumerazione degli zingari, per poter elencare degnamente tutti, come spetta a un popolo nobile e fiero, poi con grande pathos presenta a uno a uno le figure e gli atti eroici: gli zingarelli pelosi, strabici, corpacciuti, zoppi, ladri di cavalli, ciechi d'un occhio o quelli che con l'edera riescono ad aprire serrature. Nei grandiosi quadri del secondo canto vengono enumerate in enorme quantità le variazioni delle caratteristiche fisiche grottesche. Il narratore elenca le posizioni in cui gli zingari dopo la grande baldoria si concedono al sonno: i bimbi si addormentano lasciando uscire la mammella dalla bocca e il latte bianco dipinge il loro lurido volto, uno degli zingari pende a testa calva in giù come un cotechino appeso, un altro cade in terra sollevando una nuvola di polvere, un giovanotto lungo s'attorciglia in cerchio, un suo compagno dal corpo gigantesco s'allunga indietro e russa come fosse assalito dall'anima di un porco che grugnisce.

Naturalmente non è questo l'unico esempio in cui lo scrittore mette con piacere, al posto dell'ideale sofisticato del corpo, caratteristiche fisiche grottesche. Diridongo, un valoroso zingaro, per la rabbia boccheggia, diventa tutto rosso in faccia e gli si gonfiano il collo e gli occhi, il condottiero tedesco si tappa la bocca, si tiene la pancia e balbetta forte per le risa, i movimenti graziosi diventano saltellamenti impulsivi o passi lenti e pesanti (gli zingari aspettando il cibo camminano battendosi le caviglie, corrono a destra e a sinistra, la formosa signora Dundi balla e scivola come la pesante stufa rustica di terracotta), gli stimoli sensitivi e tattili sono forti ed essenziali. Quando al voivoda Csóri prudono tutte le dita, vuol dire che trova un tesoro, e quando vuole cacciare via l'ex moglie, la vecchia Eva liberatasi dal ventre della balena, lo fa perché non sopporta la puzza di pesce che viene da essa. L'inquietudine spirituale della ricerca cede il posto alla materialità felice e rassicurante della realtà, all'esigenza unificante del metabolismo. La grande abbuffata si presenta nell'opera come attività dominata dal sommo intelletto, ogni tanto appare il motivo del fare un peto o dell'espellere escrementi. La corporalità che si manifesta liberamente priva di ogni scrupolo

culturale, la vitalità brulicante, il chiasso, la vivacità passionale, la varietà stridente, la spontaneità sono presenti in quest'opera in una ricchezza infinita. Ne *Gli zingari di Nagyida* nonostante il carattere beffardo si crea un mondo di visioni positivo e molto interessante. La corporalità, il glorioso principio materiale, le qualità che dall'alta estetica vengono definite brutte e grottesche, le locuzioni carnevalesche, i giuramenti, le ingiurie, le barzellette, gli scherzi che prendono il posto dei maestosi concetti astratti e idealizzati e di un'esistenza isolata, fanno parte di una cultura nel suo genere valida e completa. *Gli zingari di Nagyida* di Arany crea forse quella visione verso la quale aspirava sempre il genere del poema comico ma di cui aveva creato finora solo frammenti: crea una completa visione alternativa, il contrappunto fresco e veemente dell'alta cultura, qualcosa che Mihail Bahtyin nella visione concettuale della cultura popolare del ridere riesce a rappresentare con tanta inventiva.

Il poeta ungherese riceve in eredità dal Romanticismo il suo interessamento verso la ballata – il terzo grande gruppo di generi. Ma questo genere viene da lui rivestito di significato poetico universale. Le convenzioni obbligatorie della ballata vengono trasformate, riempite di senso poetico, fa valere il principio dell'individualità della forma. Il contenuto della forma in ogni sua opera viene costruito in modo singolare individuale, la struttura diventa semanticamente diversa, simbolicamente sottintesa. Nella *Signora Rozgonyi* le ripetizioni scherzose, pedantesche delle domande-risposte fra marito e moglie e fra la bella Cicelle e re Sigismondo suggeriscono un mondo ingenuo, sincero, sistemato in modo armonico. La visione dialogica ne *I due paggi di Szondi* rappresenta l'incompatibilità fra l'umanità sorta dall'anima, la devota fedeltà da una parte e il conformismo automatico, l'azione strumentale dall'altra. I paggi del capitano, caduto in battaglia, cantano accanto al tumulto l'eroismo del padrone e un messaggero del pascià turco vincitore li interrompe ogni volta volendo compiere la sua missione: deve convincere i giovanotti a lasciare la tomba e ad aderire al suo padrone, al pascià turco, per servirlo con i loro canti. I giovanotti lo sentono, devono sentire

i tentativi del messaggero, le ragioni minacciose, le lusinghe protettive, eppure fanno finta di non sentirlo, ma continuano a raccontare la loro storia insistendo sul loro tema, parlando sempre nella loro lingua. L'oscurità della ballata *Zács Klára*, le perifrasi, il carattere musicale, riescono ad addolcire l'orrore mitico, irrazionale. Il rapporto fra il narratore e l'ascoltatore può essere definito come un rapporto caratterizzato dal tatto: il cronista-narratore non riversa sull'ascoltatore i fatti in tutta la loro crudeltà devastante, li avvolge nelle tenebre, parafrasandoli, li rende sopportabili con eufemismi metrico-ritmici.

D'altra parte le ballate concise, concentrate, dimostrano in modo suggestivo anche la dinamicità della forma. Nel trasformare la fabula in soggetto le tre convenzioni obbligatorie (il dialogo, la scena e la dissimulazione) avranno un'importanza profonda, un ruolo significativo nel creare maggiore libertà di fantasia, dinamismo e un campo di forze carico di impulsi e d'energia. Come avevo menzionato prima, la visione de *I due paggi di Szondi* viene creata dallo pseudo-dialogo, dall'incompatibilità fondamentale delle due parti, nella *Signora Rozgonyi* le repliche pronte e giocosamente precise dimostrano la forza spontanea vitale e funzionale delle norme, la chiarezza e la trasparenza delle leggi universali. Concentrando le vicende in scene, nelle sue ballate Arany crea dei punti fermi da cui può avere una prospettiva sulle azioni precedenti e su quelle a venire e che gli permettono di impregnare le azioni di suggerimenti sensati e spesso fanno balenare anche intenzioni di significati più profondi e "finali". Ne *I due paggi di Szondi*, i paggi descrivono l'intera battaglia concentrandosi su tre scene rappresentative: il capitano riceve i messaggeri che gli intimano la resa del fortilizio, incendia il suo patrimonio preparandosi alla morte, affronta l'assedio dell'enorme esercito turco in ginocchio, da solo come bastione. Ne *I bardi del Galles*, la grande mangiata durante la quale viene provocata la prova di forze può essere considerata come una situazione di base che vale per tutta l'opera: vi si concentra l'orgoglio del re-oppressore che vuole dimostrare il suo potere e l'assoggettamento della regione sottomessa. Il sovrano pretende un canto d'elogio da parte dei bardi ma dall'enorme tensione alla fine scaturisce una disperata resi-

stenza. Donna Agnese che aveva aiutato l'uccisione del marito, nella sua pazzia ripete meccanicamente e senza sosta gli stessi movimenti: d'inverno e d'estate continua a lavare nel ruscello il lenzuolo macchiato di sangue. Contribuisce alla dinamicità delle ballate il modo sicuro con cui Arany adopera il gioco del dire e tacere. Il padre robusto dai capelli bianchi sollecita la figlia a raccontargli l'accaduto, ma lei - *Zács Klára* -, presa in trappola e deflorata resiste disperatamente. La confessione non viene rappresentata dal narratore, dopo la scena dell'incitamento-resistenza si cambia scena, si rivede il capofamiglia, nel tentativo di vendetta, scaraventarsi come furia con una sciabola contro la famiglia del re. Cosa sarà avvenuto fra le due persone? Il padre avrà accolto la confessione con comprensione paterna o l'avrà rifiutata inesorabilmente? Non lo sapremo mai, la fantasia potrà completare la scena ugualmente nel primo e nel secondo modo.

Infine dobbiamo menzionare l'iperoggettività delle poesie di Arany, che è ugualmente importante dal punto di vista del significato poetico. Infatti mancano completamente dalle ballate dello scrittore di Nagyida il retorismo e la concettualità, il mondo concreto prende nuovi significati, trasmette emozioni, prese di posizione, atmosfere, allusioni, si assume completamente il compito di creare significati e visioni. In *László V* il grande spettacolo della natura, il vento violento, il buio che annuncia la tempesta, la nuvola che si apre, la pioggia a catinelle e il cielo sereno stellato dopo, sono in stretto contatto con la tensione, l'exasperata rabbia, la calma temporanea e l'acquietamento finale nell'anima del re. La prova inconfutabile del miracolo avvenuto nella leggenda di San Ladislao è il ritrovamento nella bara del corpo tutto sudato tre giorni dopo essere stato in altro luogo - il re morto esce dalla tomba per prestare aiuto agli ungheresi della Transilvania che combattono contro i tartari. Donna Rozgonyi si assume un ruolo maschile indossando una veste da combattimento e partendo per la battaglia. Non perde però la sua femminilità: un copricapo perlato che fa capolino da sotto l'elmo, o la sciabola legata alla cintura di velluto, gli speroni degli stivaletti rossi o il vestito verde-mare svolazzante sono i motivi, equivalenti in oggetti, che

permettono di collegare i due ruoli, il rifiuto della loro separazione.

Similmente alla sintesi poetica, possiamo trovare nelle ballate di Arany modi d'interpretazione e di formazione del mondo universali che scavalcano secoli. In verità, in questo insieme di poesie di un unico genere si concentrano molte possibilità di interpretare la realtà. Adoperando la concettualizzazione di Northrop Frye, il poema, l'alta mimesi e l'ironia come modi d'interpretazioni del mondo sono ugualmente presenti in modo accentuato nelle ballate di Arany e il poeta in ognuno di questi *modi* crea capolavori. Gli eroi del poema dal grande letterato canadese vengono paragonati a quelli del mito. Questi eroi, se non per la qualità per il grado, superano gli altri esseri umani e il mondo circostante, superano prove prodigiose di eroismo e di coraggio e neanche le leggi della natura rappresentano per loro una fitta rete insuperabile. In questo grande genere letterario il desiderio non è costretto a cercare compromessi, la fantasia dà diritto naturale di esistenza al prodigio e tutto è dominato dalla realizzazione di desideri individuali, sessuali, sociali. Il primo grande insieme di ballate di Arany dunque considera e divide in categorie il mondo con operazioni immaginarie dell'innocenza e le opere appartenenti a questo gruppo (*Signora Rozgonyi, Il cavaliere Pázmán, San Ladislao, Szibinyáni Jank, La madre di Mattia, Leggenda del cervo miracoloso*) presentano affinità al canto eroico, all'idillio, al racconto mitico o alla leggenda. L'atto eroico e la fama congiunta anche qui, come nell'epopea, è il punto sicuro dell'esistenza, la prova dell'integrazione sociale dell'eroe e una possibilità di forza trascendente per l'essere terrestre. L'uomo bisognoso può sempre contare su un aiuto, o di un re morto che esce dalla sua tomba e inverte l'esito della battaglia, o di un animale totemico raffigurato nello stemma nobiliare che arriva dal cielo per portare la lettera al futuro grande re e per tornare con la risposta dalla madre ancora lo stesso giorno. Il potere superiore che gestisce le sorti alla fine risulta sempre saggio e buono. Il cervo miracoloso conduce i giovani principi per terre spaventose e sconosciute, "per una selva oscura e triste", attirandoli sempre più lontano dalla casa paterna. I

giovanotti ogni sera decidono di tornare la mattina a casa, di smettere di seguire l'animale così fatalmente attraente ma la determinazione svanisce all'alba, alla vista dello spettacolo offerto dal cervo, e continuano l'inseguimento finché non avranno più nessuna possibilità di tornare. Per una volontà misteriosa, però, il male si trasforma in bene e la terra ritrovata, con erba e acqua e buona e abbondante selvaggina, diventerà la nuova patria dove la doppia tribù fondata dai due giovanotti si moltiplicherà, potrà prosperare e ne scaturiranno i popoli degli unni e dei magiari.

In questo tipo di opere, come è richiesto dal poema in cui il desiderio viene soddisfatto in modo ingenuo, la società è priva di alienazione ed è rappresentata come un ambiente libero, accogliente. Le istituzioni sono familiari, dirette, a disposizione dell'uomo; la reificazione, la cerimonialità, i rituali sono cose completamente estranee a esse. Il costume ereditato risulta saggio e giusto, al rango corrisponde un merito e una convinzione consapevole dei doveri, il capo, il re rappresentano il centro dell'integrazione sociale. Le capacità psichiche dell'uomo sembrano infinite, i sentimenti sono freschi e intensi, non esposti a logoramento, deperimento, l'ego e il superego formano un'intera totalità in armonia, l'anima è dominata da impulsi aspiranti in alto, collegati con entità superiori e non da meccanismi di autodifesa. Le formule d'intestazione o quelle atte per determinare delle posizioni di figure sono selezionate con una genialità eccellente e hanno lo stesso ruolo che hanno le segnalazioni con le quali viene disegnata la posizione di un capo o di un corpo nella pittura graziosamente didattica di Giotto o Frate Angelico, illustrano sempre il carattere ordinato dei rapporti del mondo dominato da una ragione sicura.

Il secondo gruppo delle ballate di Arany può essere descritto con i concetti letterari per l'interpretazione dell'universo che Frye definisce "l'alta mimesi". Gli eroi sono importanti, aspirano in alto, ma prevale la forza dell'universo e vengono sconfitti, calpestati dall'ambiente dominato dalla violenza e dall'oppressione. La loro condotta tuttavia porta ragione e ordine nell'esistenza, il valore riesce a manifestarsi, la morale diventa viva e prende forza.

Gli eroi che rifiutano l'azione strumentale, guidati da forze interiori, creano situazioni catartiche. Il re-oppresore manda invano i menestrelli al rogo, questi non esalteranno il tiranno neanche dovendo morire (*I bardi del Galles*). I paggi, ben sapendo di dover subire violenze e prigionia se non cedono alla tentazione, continuano a cantare la loro poesia, rappresentando la fedeltà per il paterno capitano (rapporto che ha le sue radici nell'affetto personale, rapporto fra me e te), per l'eroismo (grande valore morale) e per quell'argomento poetico così profondamente individuale, insostituibile, "maniacale" che è il portare ostinatamente a termine la storia prescelta, usando il linguaggio puritano dell'Antico Testamento in netto contrasto con quello orientale (*I due paggi di Szondi*).

Il terzo gruppo delle ballate di Arany tende ad avvicinarsi alla cosiddetta *bassa mimesi*. I personaggi ormai sono uomini "quotidiani" guidati da interessi e da meccanismi di autodifesa che cadono nel peccato. I peccati che sono alla base dei conflitti di queste poesie non sono piccolezze: falso giuramento, delitto per gelosia d'amore, brutalità, inumanità materna, durezza di cuore, complicità in omicidio. Eppure l'ordine del mondo non è del tutto distrutto neanche in questo gruppo di opere. Il delitto è evidente, indiscutibile, la coscienza punitrice fa giustizia, inesorabilmente infligge una dura penitenza. Donna Agnese impazzisce per il senso di colpa, con i capelli scarmigliati lava ossessionata la macchia di sangue che mai vuole scomparire dal lenzuolo. La coscienza in queste ballate non è terrestre, non è un divieto che arriva dall'esterno o un complesso, ma un segno lasciato dalla divinità allontanatasi dalla Terra che indica un'entità superiore e non permette all'esistenza di affogare in un deformato caos finale.

E infine ci sono delle ballate in cui sulle certezze prevale il dubbio. La chiarezza e l'evidenza del delitto in queste opere sbiadiscono, diventano offuscate. Eszter e Ferkó devono subire la pena di morte per un rapporto extraconiugale (*Tengeri-hántás*). I suicidi esiliati dalla metropoli sono circondati da un caos deva-

stante (*L'inaugurazione del ponte*); Pörge Dani, spinto all'omicidio e finito nella morte, viene ammaliato dalla strega e indotto a fare il primo passo sul gradino di quella scala che lo porterà alla forca (*Vörös Rébék*). La bella figlia aristocratica e la famiglia sterminata degli Zács sono vittime innocenti dell'avidità, dell'orgoglio, del potere, del desiderio di vendetta (*Zács Klára*). Qui siamo già sul terreno del *modo ironico* della fantasia demoniaca. Secondo le testimonianze di queste poesie, è fallito ogni tentativo dell'uomo di trasformare il mondo caotico, per creare una società umana libera. Nel mondo mitico pieno di superstizioni del *Vörös Rébék* regnano il male, la malvagità senza ragione e fine, incomprendibile e inspiegabile per l'uomo, l'intento devastante e la malevolanza. E il narratore ripete invano alla fine di ogni strofa il ritornello che dovrebbe allontanare, scacciare e che dovrebbe proteggere dalla strega-cornacchia.

MARINELLA D'ALESSANDRO

LA SOGLIA E LA PORTA
IL SOGGIORNO PARTENOPEO DI SÁNDOR MÁRAI

Sándor Márai si stabilì a Napoli nel novembre 1948, due mesi dopo il suo espatrio dall'Ungheria. Nel 1952 si trasferì negli Stati Uniti, ma nel 1968 tornò ancora una volta in Campania, a Salerno, dove abitò fino al 1979, quando - ormai vecchio, spinto da necessità materiali - si vide costretto ad abbandonare per sempre le sponde del Mediterraneo, che egli considerava come la patria ideale di tutti gli uomini nati in Europa.

Nel pensiero di Márai l'Europa aveva sempre rappresentato una specie di idea-guida, un concetto di importanza centrale, un punto fermo nello spaesamento progressivo e irreversibile che segnò il suo percorso esistenziale. L'Europa, l'aveva già percorsa in lungo e in largo nel corso degli anni venti, fermandosi anzitutto nei grandi centri della cultura occidentale - a Berlino, a Parigi, a Londra - dopo aver perduto, in un primo momento, la sua città natale, Kassa, entrata a far parte del nuovo Stato cecoslovacco alla fine della prima guerra mondiale, e dopo aver scelto, in un secondo momento, di vivere all'estero per sottrarsi all'atmosfera asfittica del regime autoritario di Horthy. A questo primo periodo di esilio volontario seguirono, a partire dal 1930, quasi due decenni di emigrazione interna - i suoi anni più fecondi sotto l'aspetto creativo - in cui visse appartato sulle colline di Buda, nella capitale ungherese, dedicandosi interamente al lavoro letterario.

Dopo la fine della seconda guerra - che lo scrittore, feroce-mente avverso al nazismo, giudicò una catastrofe immane che rischiava di frantumare per sempre l'intera civiltà europea - Márai

assistette per alcuni anni, prima allarmato, poi sempre più impotente, all'insediamento, nel suo paese, di un regime totalitario di segno opposto a quello precedente. Infine si decise a partire. Come scrisse all'inizio del suo soggiorno partenopeo: "Un processo di decomposizione è sempre logico. Negli ultimi anni ho perso prima il lavoro e poi la casa; è scomparso lo strato sociale per il quale scrivevo; quindi ho perso la patria, la lingua materna, la mia personalità giuridica. Ormai non possiedo più nulla (...) Ma in questi processi logici si nasconde sempre una specie di vigorosa spinta propulsiva. I poeti dell'antichità non possedevano né una patria né una personalità in senso giuridico; non sapevano neanche scrivere... Si limitavano a camminare nel vento sulla riva del mare, reggevano l'arpa sotto il gomito e intonavano il loro canto. È una possibilità anche questa, sebbene io non l'abbia mai considerata nel corso dei cinquant'anni passati."¹ E a questo punto aggiunge: "Finora abbiamo vissuto in Europa come se fossimo tutti in attesa della pensione. Adesso alcuni di noi hanno compreso che anche da queste parti si può condurre un'esistenza simile a quella dei pionieri che vivono in mezzo alla giungla"².

Per lo scrittore ungherese, divenuto ormai un apolide dal futuro incerto, inizialmente Napoli si identifica in un certo senso con questa giungla. Ma sin dal primo istante Napoli è anche un luogo legato alla memoria dei poeti di tutti i tempi, da Omero a Virgilio a Dante a Goethe a Stendhal. Napoli e la Campania sono al tempo stesso il noto e l'ignoto, l'affine e il diverso.

Il primo contatto con l'ignoto è sempre di natura epidermica. Ci affidiamo prima di tutto ai nostri sensi per fare conoscenza di ciò che è diverso da noi. Anche nel caso di Márai, le prime impressioni partenopee annotate nel *Diario* sono dovute a percezioni sensoriali particolarmente acute e suggestive. Per esempio agli odori: dal profumo di vaniglia che sale dai giardini circostanti la sua casa di Posillipo³ all'alito misterioso del mare in cui si anni-

¹ S. MÁRAI, *Napló 1945-1957* (Diario 1945-1957), Akadémiai Kiadó e Helikon Kiadó, Budapest 1990. (La traduzione dei testi citati è mia. M. D'A.)

² Ibid.

³ Ivi, p. 83.

da il lezzo della putrefazione⁴. Poi ci sono i sapori: gli aromi freschi del rosmarino e del basilico e qualli violenti dell'aglio e del peperoncino, il gusto frizzante del vino di Gragnano e quello familiare del pane casareccio⁵. E i colori: il verde dei castagneti sopra Sorrento e il rosso dei melograni, lo scintillio delle luci notturne nel golfo, i riflessi cangianti dell'acqua di mare in cui egli non esita a immergersi subito nonostante la stagione avanzata, le ombre color seppia che avvolgono il Vesuvio durante un tramonto invernale⁶. E tutti quei suoni inconsueti che invadono le sue orecchie durante le lunghe passeggiate quotidiane alla scoperta della città: le cantilene degli accattoni, i richiami modulati dei venditori ambulanti, schiamazzi e lamenti che esplodono e si placano in un batter d'occhio, il mormorio della folla che sciamava per i Decumani e che l'ospite – come Márai si definisce volentieri in quegli anni – non avverte mai come una presenza invasiva o minacciosa, ma al contrario: "Ieri sera" annota nel *Diario* " mentre percorrevo i vicoli della città vecchia confuso tra la gente, nel brulichio dei bassi e delle botteghe che si affacciano sulla strada, il tocco di questa comunità umana mi ha investito come un'ondata improvvisa di aria calda. Qui a Napoli, in mezzo a questa folla lacera, ho avuto la sensazione di essere protetto... Il senso di sicurezza che provo emana dalla solidarietà della povera gente, dalla miseria"⁷. Tra le pieghe di una diversità che Márai esplora avidamente e con pazienza si cela insomma, sin dall'inizio, il seme di un'affinità che lo stupisce e lo appassiona.

E alle esperienze immediate dei sensi si aggiungono quelle di un approccio emotivo altrettanto spontaneo e rassicurante. L'ospite si sente profondamente attratto dai suoi padroni di casa, i napoletani, che egli identifica soprattutto con le persone di umili condizioni. Il popolo dei vicoli gli sembra allegro e malinconico, ottimista e desolato, autoironico, portato al gioco, amante dei riti e delle cerimonie, dignitoso e dotato di una cortesia innata. A

⁴ Ivi, p. 84.

⁵ Ivi, p. 116.

⁶ Ivi, p. 88.

⁷ Ivi, p. 169.

Napoli, osserva lo scrittore ungherese, ricchi e poveri si distinguono per livello di conoscenza, non per grado di civiltà⁸. I poveri vivono in miseria, ma non vivono mai da miserabili e quando sono costretti a servire, riescono a farlo senza mai essere servili⁹. E soprattutto sono tutti depositari e partecipi di una grande cultura comune che si perpetua sin dai tempi più remoti e si esprime nei minimi gesti, in tutte le attività quotidiane. Ecco come Márai descrive i giardinieri che osserva quotidianamente dal terrazzo di casa: "Da tremila anni coltivano tutti i giorni, in tutte le stagioni, i loro minuscoli appezzamenti terrazzati (...) Non si limitano a coltivare la terra ma la stimolano, la riscaldano, la vivificano con l'alito per poi toccare con dita sporche di fango, ma attente e sensibili, tutto ciò che essa offre loro in dono: i fiori, gli ortaggi, ma anche le erbacce. Soltanto un artista è capace di amare la materia di cui è fatta la sua opera – il marmo, la tela, o la Melodia e il Pensiero – così come i poveri giardinieri di Posillipo vezzeggiano e accarezzano la terra nei loro piccoli giardini"¹⁰.

Queste esperienze vivide e tangibili confluiscono nell'esperienza culturale che le accompagna e unifica ogni cosa. Márai ripercorre la città, i dintorni, la Campania intera sulle orme di Ulisse e di Enea, rivisita le sirene, Circe, la Sibilla cumana, indugia sulla soglia degli inferi nei pressi del lago di Averno, si emoziona evocando "i tempi di Tasso, Ariosto, Sannazzaro, quando la letteratura e la cultura erano ancora parte organica di una civiltà viva, non ancora estraniata e commercializzata"¹¹. Di notte legge il *Viaggio in Italia* di Goethe, di primo mattino sfoglia le pagine di Stendhal dedicate all'Italia. E studia ininterrottamente, un giorno dopo l'altro, l'Odissea, considerandola quasi una guida che lo aiuti a penetrare nei risvolti più intimi, nella memoria più occulta dei luoghi in cui si è stabilito e dove spera, in quegli anni, di fermarsi per sempre: "Leggo l'undicesimo canto dell'Odissea"

⁸ Ivi, p. 84.

⁹ Ivi, p. 89.

¹⁰ S. MÁRAI, *San Gennaro vére* (Il sangue di San Gennaro), edizione dell'autore, New York 1965.

¹¹ S. MÁRAI, *Napló 1945-1957*, op.cit., p. 99.

annota nel 1949 “la descrizione della regione dei Cimмери, l’evocazione dei morti. È una strana sensazione leggere questi versi nei luoghi in cui si sono svolti gli eventi: all’improvviso il mito diventa tangibile come una meta turistica segnalata dal Baedeker”¹².

Ed è proprio questo: l’incontro armonioso e la fusione tra la realtà quotidiana e il mito, a far sì che Márai giunga a considerare quasi subito la Campania come un rifugio ospitale, anzi come una patria elettiva. Il Belvedere del Parco virgiliano dove si reca a piedi, quasi in pellegrinaggio, tutte le mattine, per sostare a lungo in ammirazione del paesaggio e dei segnali che esso gli trasmette, è la soglia ideale sulla quale l’esule può riposare, distendersi, ritrovare la pace con se stesso e con il mondo: “Qui ha avuto inizio qualcosa, su questa soglia lambita da schiume candide e ricoperta di muschio verdastro. Qui ha avuto inizio l’Europa”¹³. Tuttavia lo scrittore si rende conto che questa soglia – come egli la definisce – è un rifugio fragile, accidentato, forse più che altro immaginario: “Qui si presentò sulla scena l’Uomo Europeo, giunto dal mare per avviare su queste sponde una specie di impresa. Un’impresa che ebbe come risultato la Civiltà Occidentale. Essa resistette per tremila anni. Oggi rimangono soltanto le sue rovine, sia a Cuma che altrove; anche nei nostri nervi”¹⁴.

Eppure questa soglia, pur essendo per definizione un punto di transizione, ovvero un luogo precario, gli appare – a lui che dice di aver perso tutto e di vivere ormai protesosi verso il nulla e l’infinito – come l’unico punto fermo in un mondo in cui non si riconosce più e che lo lascia disorientato e sgomento, come all’epoca va ripetendo ormai da anni. È una soglia che gli appare anzi come un punto di arrivo e di non ritorno, sul quale confessa nel *Diario* di aver già fantasticato in precedenza: “Nel decennio trascorso, durante la mia reclusione in patria ai tempi della guerra e della rivoluzione, ho cercato spesso di immaginare che fine avrei fatto quando mi sarei avvicinato ai cinquant’anni. Immagi-

¹² S. MÁRAI, *Ami a Naplóból kimaradt - 1949* (Quel che non è stato incluso nel Diario - 1949), Vörösváry, Toronto 1998, p. 39.

¹³ S. MÁRAI, *Napló 1945-1957*, op. cit., p. 97.

¹⁴ Ivi, p. 118.

navo che avrei lasciato il mio paese, mi sarei messo in viaggio e mi sarei stabilito da qualche parte sulle sponde occidentali del Mediterraneo. Il resto del tempo lo avrei trascorso lì in riva al mare, in un giardino, sotto il sole, scrivendo il mio diario e componendo un poema epico, leggendo, andando per mare di tanto in tanto, bevendo vino e fumando la pipa. Erano fantasticherie nostalgiche e sembrava estremamente improbabile che potessero mai realizzarsi. E tuttavia adesso ho cinquant'anni, ho abbandonato effettivamente il mio paese natale e vivo qui, sulle sponde occidentali del Mediterraneo, in riva al mare, in un giardino, scrivo il mio diario, bevo vino e di tanto in tanto vado per mare..."¹⁵

Ma questa pace, questa semplice dolcezza di vivere, non erano destinate a durare. Dopo quattro anni di permanenza a Napoli, vista l'impossibilità di ottenere la cittadinanza italiana, Márai si rassegnò a emigrare negli Stati Uniti in compagnia della moglie, decidendo così di varcare quella soglia emblematica, tanto tangibile e sicura sul piano ideale quanto illusoria e malferma sul piano della realtà, sulla quale aveva sognato di potersi fermare per sempre.

Nel romanzo di chiara ispirazione autobiografica *Il sangue di San Gennaro*, pubblicato a New York nel 1965 a proprie spese e dedicato interamente all'esperienza partenopea, all'immagine della soglia – che riaffiora di continuo nel *Diario* degli anni napoletani – se ne sostituisce un'altra, anch'essa di natura simbolica e imparentata con quella precedente, ma - contrariamente alla prima - carica di sottintesi inquietanti. La nuova immagine, che cancella quella della soglia, rappresenta una porta chiusa.

Il sangue di San Gennaro è uno strano libro composto di due parti assai diverse, difficilmente inquadrabile in un genere preciso. I primi due capitoli formano una sorta di lungo racconto di viaggio costellato di notazioni sociografiche; qui l'autore si annulla dietro la voce narrante, e l'unico protagonista è il microcosmo brulicante di vita della Napoli del dopoguerra, ricco di umori vitali e soffuso di malinconia. Questa prima parte offre un qua-

¹⁵ Ivi, p. 125.

dro vivacissimo, sensibile e puntuale della città che Márai aveva conosciuto e amato. Il vero protagonista del romanzo, d'altra parte, è un esule proveniente da una zona imprecisata dell'Europa orientale che l'autore ha modellato su se stesso. Questo personaggio viene delineato – in terza persona – solo nella seconda parte del libro, quando è già morto dopo essersi gettato in basso dal Belvedere del Parco virgiliano – cioè dalla soglia ideale dove per Márai iniziava e terminava l'Europa – nell'ultimo giorno della sua permanenza in Italia, alla vigilia della sua partenza per l'Australia. Negli ultimi due capitoli, questo esule senza nome e dall'identità sfocata viene rievocato dall'agente di polizia che conduce le indagini relative al suo decesso, dal frate del convento francescano di Sorrento al quale aveva confidato le sue angosce di fuoriuscito destinato a continuare le sue peregrinazioni senza più vedere nessuna meta davanti a sé, e infine dalla sua compagna, una donna con cui aveva condiviso gli anni sereni del suo soggiorno partenopeo.

Questi racconti paralleli narrati da prospettive diverse compongono un ritratto che si configura come una minuziosa indagine psicologica su un tipo umano particolare, ugualmente diffuso in quegli anni e ai nostri giorni: l'emigrante, il rifugiato, colui che in gergo si definisce *displaced person*. È un ritratto individuale che si dilata fino a diventare collettivo, fino a comprendere tutti coloro che alla fine della seconda guerra mondiale "non hanno più una casa, (...) si sono messi in viaggio, e in cuor loro non credono che riusciranno mai più a sentirsi a casa da qualche parte. Sono persone che ormai si limitano a soggiornare nei luoghi in cui si trovano di volta in volta – con o senza permesso di soggiorno. E anche se un giorno dovessero tornare a casa loro, per esse la patria non sarà più nient'altro che un luogo di soggiorno più familiare. Perché una patria bisogna viverla come si vive un sentimento, un amore, e una volta che questo circuito di esperienza vitale si sia interrotto, diventa impossibile ricominciare ancora una volta da capo".¹⁶

¹⁶ S. MÁRAI, *Il sangue di San Gennaro*, op. cit., p. 138.

E nel caso che uno di questi spiriti irrequieti arrivi a riconquistare un certo equilibrio esistenziale, così come accade al protagonista del libro che sostiene, esattamente come il suo autore, di aver individuato un'altra patria sulle sponde occidentali del Mediterraneo, in luoghi in cui vivono tuttora persone fatte a misura d'uomo¹⁷ - ebbene, in questo caso il distacco forzato dalla terra in cui una persona simile abbia trovato una nuova dimora rischia di provocare traumi irreversibili. Márai, si è già detto, considerava Napoli uno dei luoghi eletti della civiltà europea. Come dice il frate nel romanzo: "Sebbene negli ultimi decenni l'Europa si sia trasformata in un ammasso sterminato di campi di battaglia e di campi di concentramento, sebbene sia stata divisa da una cortina di ferro (...) sembra che le persone nate da queste parti abbiano ricevuto comunque qualcosa in dono"¹⁸. Qualcosa che in determinate circostanze può rivelarsi di importanza vitale. L'esule del romanzo, infatti, sceglie il suicidio nell'attimo in cui è costretto ad abbandonare l'Europa. Il discorso che tiene alla sua compagna nella notte che precede la sua morte volontaria si può anche leggere come un disperato testamento spirituale valido sia per il protagonista del libro sia per il suo autore. Nel caso di entrambi, l'immagine trepida e rincuorante della soglia è stata ormai cancellata per sempre dall'immagine infausta della porta chiusa.

"A quei tempi" racconta la donna nelle pagine conclusive del libro "tra me e lui, tra noi due e il mondo vi era una specie di porta chiusa. Questa porta era il presente, la realtà quotidiana della nostra vita. E da una parte della porta vi era il passato. E dall'altra il futuro. E ormai non sapevamo più da quale parte ci trovavamo noi. Se eravamo rivolti verso il passato, i ricordi, la nostra personalità di un tempo, o se invece eravamo rivolti verso il futuro, verso l'inquietante spersonalizzazione cui stavamo andando incontro in questo universo massificato, da qualsiasi parte al mondo (...) Egli disse che ciò che io definivo una porta non era un'idea fissa ma il nostro destino. Ecco cosa ci era capitato: il nostro

¹⁷ Ivi, p. 158.

¹⁸ Ivi, p. 127.

destino aveva subito un'accelerazione e si era trasformato in qualcosa di fatale. In tempi di pace il destino è lento e segue gli stessi ritmi di una vita sana e felice. Ma i nostri non sono tempi di pace, sono tempi in cui il destino viene sospinto in avanti dall'energia atomica: sono tempi fatali. E noi ci troviamo ormai tutti i giorni, un istante dopo l'altro, a dover fronteggiare il fato. In ogni frazione infinitesimale della nostra vita, noi ci troviamo a vivere in forma concentrata il destino umano in tutta la sua estensione. Questo è l'istante che io percepisco come una porta chiusa, senza mai sapere da quale parte mi trovo"¹⁹.

Un quarto di secolo più tardi, all'età di 89 anni, rimasto completamente solo dopo la morte della moglie e del figlio adottivo, Márai pose fine alla sua vita nel suo ultimo eremo californiano di San Diego, sparandosi un colpo di rivoltella, pochi mesi prima della svolta democratica nei paesi dell'Est. Ovviamente non ha senso chiedersi se il suo destino avrebbe potuto compiersi in maniera diversa se egli fosse riuscito a stabilirsi definitivamente in Italia. Ma una cosa è certa: fu nel momento del suo distacco da Napoli che la soglia invitante della civiltà europea si trasformò per lui in una porta sbarrata.

¹⁹ Ivi, p. 167.

GEORGE BISZTRAY

HIDDEN MEANINGS IN HUNGARIAN LITERARY TITLES

A literary title can be as intriguing as a proper name – as a matter of fact, grammatically speaking, it is a proper name. An intriguing title is not enough to make a great work of a mediocre one, but it certainly enhances the literary experience. Pun, paradox, irony, allusion and symbolism are some of the stylistic devices found in literary titles. Interestingly enough, Hungarian literary criticism has rarely considered this aspect of literature.

The genre in which titles are the least important is poetry. A poem speaks for itself, it does not need a sophisticated title. In fact, it may need no title at all – hence indices of poems the first lines of which serve as titles. Occasionally, certain mannerisms of poets catch the attention of the reading public. Notable is Endre Ady's consistency in using three-word titles. Even though this phenomenon is striking, no one has tried to interpret it. Perhaps there is no valid interpretation and the three-word titles are just a sign of Ady's poetic mannerism.

The more challenging are the titles of numerous Hungarian novels and plays. Few of these, if any, were written before the 1850s. While it is always risky to deem a literary occurrence as the first one of its kind, it seems that the belated but great Romantic novelist Mór Jókai was the first one to stimulate his readers' intellectual curiosity with intricate titles. Some of these are oxymorons (*Szegény gazdagok*, 'The poor rich' (1860), or *Gazdag szegények*, 'The rich poor' (1890), the latter also being a playful antithesis of the former). Other titles are paradoxical, such as *Öreg ember nem vén*

ember 'An old man is not old' (1900).¹ *Mire megvénülünk* 'By the time we get old' (1865) is an ironically misleading title for a novel in which one searches in vain for a representation of old age. Perhaps Jókai's polysemic titles are the most fascinating ones. Among these, *A kőszívű ember fiai* 'Sons of the stone-hearted man' (1869) makes reference to a Hungarian saying which sees rigid, cold-hearted people as stonehearted ones. Such a person is Kázmér Baradlay, the father of the three young Hungarians who are the "sons" of the title. The father dies in the first chapter of arteriosclerosis, a condition that makes the heart arteries brittle, that is (figuratively speaking) stony. The most sophisticated polysemy, which is combined with symbolism, can be found in the title *Fekete gyémántok* 'Black diamonds' (1870): a reference both to coal, the treasure of Hungarian mines that international investors greedily covet, and to the eyes of Éva (Evila), the hero's (Iván Berend's) secret love. The title of *Asszonyt kísér – Istent kísért* 'Escorting a woman, tempting God' (1889) is based on an untranslatable paronymy which functions as a pun, with the verbs *kísér* meaning 'accompanying' (or, more precisely, 'accompanies') or 'escorting' ('escorts'), and *kísért* 'tempting' ('tempts') in Hungarian.

While we find fewer interesting titles in Hungarian drama than in the novel, Madách's *Az ember tragédiája* 'The tragedy of man' (1862) is a philosophical enigma, and critics recognized it as such since its first printing. A whole series of interpretations unfolds from this title and its possible variations. The most familiar among these is János Erdélyi's view that a more appropriate title would have been 'The comedy of the devil'.² József Gulyás found that the 'Tragedy of Lucifer' (the devil) would have been an even better title.³ Arguing about the title, Aladár Bodor thought that

¹ A more exact translation of the Hungarian original is impossible. As is well known, there are no perfectly interchangeable synonyms: a dog is not the same as a hound, a puppy is not the same as a whelp. The connotation of *öreg* in Hungarian is one who entered old age, whereas a *vén* person is one who is no longer in possession of his basic mental and physical faculties.

² JÁNOS ERDÉLYI: "Madách Imre". In *Pályák és pálmák* 1886: 465. Originally published in the periodical *Magyarország*, 1862.

³ JÓZSEF GULYÁS: "Lucifer tragédiája". In *Sárospataki Református Lapok* 9, 1914: 76.

the play showed not mankind's but the individual's tragedy.⁴ True enough, the title is somewhat vague, but philosophy has not been known for the clarity of its terms and axioms, and "a tragédia" or 'the tragedy' (as Hungarians call it) is very philosophical in its inspiration. Modern-day critics may even speculate whether 'man' refers only to Adam (as Géza Laczkó suggested⁵), or also includes Eve. The nebulousness of the title may have been intentional, however, and definitely enriches the drama's interpretability.

Using titles to convey hidden messages took the most fascinating forms at the turn of the twentieth century. While Jókai's novel titles are witty, even brilliant, they do not contribute significantly to an understanding of the complexity of plot, message, psychology or artistic quality. Their only function is to catch the reader's attention. Not so the literary titles of the next generation of writers, spearheaded by Kálmán Mikszáth, the great reviver of late nineteenth-century Hungarian prose.

Most critics regard *Beszterce ostroma* 'The siege of Beszterce' (1895) as Mikszáth's best novel. If so, the irony of the title greatly contributes to the overall effect of the novel. That is, the siege of Beszterce never took place – it remained a plan which was foiled by an astutely devised preventive measure, demonstrating the essential 'irony of fate', better known in modern literary terminology as 'classical irony': the conflict between intention and outcome. Besides other versions of irony, this one was a rewarding device used in titles. In 1930 Gyula Krúdy, Mikszáth's junior by thirty-three years, utilized a title and a narrative situation very similar to that of 'The siege of Beszterce' in his short novel *Etel király kincse* 'King Attila's treasure'. Somewhat like the outraged count Pongrácz, who set off to take the town of Beszterce, a group of middle-aged country gentlemen take the road to find Attila's legendary treasure. Their motivation is a mixture of belief and make-belief. One thing is certain: they are broke. They arrive in Budapest where they sojourn for some length of time, thanks to the patronage of a rich and eccentric aristocrat. By the end of the

⁴ ALADÁR BODOR: *Az ember tragédiája mint az egyén tragédiája*. Budapest, 1905. p. 54.

⁵ GÉZA LACZKÓ: "A XIX. századi férfi tragédiája". In *Nyugat* 3, 1923: 135-39.

novel they still have not got around to looking for the treasure, but at least they are having a good time in the capital and its environs.

Impressionism, art nouveau and symbolism were the first movements that consciously explored the potential of literary titles. In Margit Kaffka's *Színek és évek* 'Colours and years' (1912), the passing of time can be followed through most chapters. It would be a vain effort, however, to look for dominating or regularly recurring colours in the main character's life. It is questionable whether impressionist paintings can be interpreted analytically, because it is the total effect that counts. The same is true of Kaffka's novel. Light and colour give purpose to the heroine's life – when they disappear, she falls into an emotional abyss.

The allegorical title of Kaffka's short novel *Hangyaboly* 'The ant heap' [sic] (1917) refers to the small community of teachers (nuns) and pupils in a small town convent. Events which this community regards as decisive – such as the election of a new mother superior or two scandals rocking the foundations of the institution's quiet conservatism – are actually as unimportant for the wider society as the excited bustling of tiny insects in an ant hill.

More eclectic than Kaffka was her contemporary Gyula Krúdy, whose preference for symbolic titles is evident in two of his most famous works: the Sinbad cycle (a series of short stories published under the title *Szindbád*) and *A vörös postakocsi* 'The red stagecoach' (1914). The hero of the former is an aging turn-of-the-century idler with a vaguely middle-class background and strong inclination towards daydreaming and life's humble pleasures. Nobody questions his identity or inquires about his more plausible name. The character is indeed timeless, sailing the sea of memories. These obvious observations appear in most Hungarian interpretations of this unusual prose work.

The case is different with *A vörös postakocsi*, which is a more complex and ambiguous title than *Szindbád*. The colour red and its shades, turning into pink at one end of the scale and reddish brown at the other, dominate the novel. Colours that can be placed on this scale occur fifteen times in chapter 1, ten times in chapter 2, and twenty-one times in chapter 3. Although other colours,

too, appear in the novel and their number actually surpasses the variations of red, none of these colours appears more frequently than the pink to reddish-brown scale. The connotations of this group are as ambivalent as the traditional ones of the colour red: from life and passion to death, from the erotic to the grotesque. At least three women who play central roles as erotic symbols have hair with a touch of red: Klára (reddish brown), Clarence/Lotti (reddish gold) and Estella (red).

Another symbolic reference in the title to a stagecoach enhances the importance of the colour red. This coach is only one of the means of travel mentioned – we also find references to trains, ships and the exotic Russian *troika*. Passages of life, changes of fortune, escapism, and the expectation of new experiences are central themes of the novel, closely connected to the motif of traveling. Only one critic, Imre Bori, mentioned briefly the significance of the stagecoach in his monograph on Krúdy.⁶ The symbolic meaning is much richer, however. Since stagecoaches were no longer used by the fictional time of the novel (about 1910), this anachronistic vehicle of the rich adventurer Alvinczy symbolizes, primarily, its owner's eccentricity. The six harnessed horses gallop like some classical symbols of Fate, possibly also recalling the image of the horses of the Apocalypse. The large wheels keep turning fast, like the wheels of Fortune. Inside the coach there is the smell of tobacco and toilet powder, creating a sensuous atmosphere. A great deal of the novel's rich message is hidden in the title.

A very different kind of novel is Zsigmond Móricz's *Az Isten háta mögött* 'Behind God's back' (1911). Móricz was much more critical of nostalgia, dreams and illusions than Kaffka, Krúdy and other contemporaries. His short novel has its own history, inasmuch as it illustrates how critical consensus can stop literary inquiry for a century or even longer. All critics of this novel started off with the banal Hungarian saying that constitutes the title, and found corroboration of the assumed message in the inner monologues of a lonely character whom Móricz featured with obvious irony.

⁶ IMRE BORI: *Krúdy Gyula*. Novi Sad: Fórum, 1978.

In Hungarian the phrase “behind God’s back” refers to the backwoods. By association it also points to a backward place. The novel’s character is a young deputy judge who has just taken up his duties in the small town situated between the Great Plain and the northern mountains. Being homesick and ill-adjusted, he watches the unfamiliar conditions with quiet scorn. Probably just out of law school, he is full of fashionable snobbish cosmopolitanism and hatred for ‘backward’ Hungary, save the capital. His opinion is so extreme, however, that it is really a parody of a certain outlook on the country. Generations of Hungarian critics missed this – or were reluctant to spell it out.

The rural town that serves as setting is called ‘Ilosva’ in the novel. We learn that it has electricity, paved streets, a district courthouse, a consumers’ co-op, both elementary and high school. Literary history recorded that the model for Ilosva was the northern Hungarian town Jolsva (now in Slovakia), which the author came to know through his marriage to a local teacher. The most authentic Hungarian encyclopedia to date, *Révai Nagy Lexikona*, describes Jolsva before World War I, when it still belonged to Hungary, as a place with 2,846 inhabitants, 482 residences, a railroad station, postal, telephone and telegraph offices, and its own savings union. It was the hub of several industries, such as magnesite processing, nail making, and blanket weaving; its grain market was also important. Travel books mention Jolsva’s picturesque character. Móricz’s image of the town and its encyclopedic description coincide: both show Ilosva / Jolsva as anything but a God-forsaken place – in fact, it appears to be very similar to thousands of small European towns.

Social criticism and national masochism lend no key to Móricz’s title. Maybe we should look to the individual characters. One label that sticks is ‘novel of development’, implying that *Az Isten háta mögött* is the story of a young and inexperienced boy who reaches maturity in two respects, more or less simultaneously: by graduating from high school (after taking an exam called ‘maturity exam’ in Hungarian), and by sleeping with a woman for the first time. In the course of the novel, within the frame of some forty hours, Laci Veres has to agonize over the frustrations of coming of age. He realizes that there is no one to go to for guidance.

While God is not specifically mentioned, it is obvious that He, too, is silent and has turned away from His creation. The existentialist undertone of the message is clear. Instead of offering a dated picture of a particular rural town to please cosmopolitans and their soul brothers, the communists, Móricz created a marvelous lasting image of the 'human condition'. At the same time, he assigned an entirely new meaning to a rhetorical cliché by exploiting its implied ambiguity, and by making the reader contemplate the unfamiliar dimensions of this meaning.

The titles that Móricz usually gave his novels are predictable. They are telling, often witty, but yield no substance for interpretation. One additional exception is *Tündérbkert* 'The fairy garden' (1922), the first volume of the amazing *Erdély trilógia* 'Transylvania trilogy', which differs greatly from the general mood of Móricz's writings. Like Mikszáth and Krúdy, Móricz utilizes irony in this title, referring to the dream of two rival rulers of 17th-century Transylvania to turn the principality into a country of peace, prosperity and independence – a dream that neither of them managed to fully realize. This is one ironic title that at least caught the interest of Móricz's critics.

Among the great writers of the 20th century, Dezső Kosztolányi is the next one who gave cryptic titles to some of his works. Notable among these is *Édes Anna* (1926), published in English translation both as 'Anna Édes' and 'The wonder-maid'. There is seemingly nothing special about the title: it is the name of the main character, a young, inexperienced country girl who serves a childless, loveless middle-class couple in the capital. Since *édes* means 'sweet' one may ponder whether Anna is a 'sweet girl': her appearance and manners are rather plain to suit this shallow qualifier used as often in Hungarian as in English. One cannot forget either that eventually she murders her master and mistress in the most grisly manner.

More important than Anna's physical characteristics is the intricate web of symbols that the author spins around the girl. As the stagecoach and the colour red did in Krúdy, sweetness acquires several variations with several meanings, depending on the context. Its antonym – bitterness – gains equal significance.

Sweetness as such has a primary, positive meaning that coincides with the traditional one. In the novel, this adjective is used only once to denote a pleasant experience with which the reader can empathize. Even in this one instance it appears figuratively, from the receiver's perspective. The first and only time that Anna experiences love in an encounter with her mistress' nephew, it turns out that she can give sweetness to others. At her side, her lover Jancsi sinks into pleasure as if it were a tubful of 'sugary milk'. On the other hand, whenever sweetness is used with an unpleasant connotation, the adjective is usually spelled out, especially with reference to Mr. Vizedy, the master of the house. His craving for revenge and his excitement about his prestigious ministerial position are qualified as being 'sweet'. A figurative occurrence with unpleasant connotation appears in the description of a dinner party when Mrs. Vizedy, obviously wanting to humiliate Anna, offers her a slice of cake, which she refuses, in a symbolic denial of her essence expressed by her name.

The true denial of her essence, however, resides in the bitterness of quinine, which her seducer gives her upon hearing that she is pregnant. One of the drugs used to induce abortion, quinine has side effects that include blindness and deafness – indeed, Anna goes temporarily blind and hallucinates. "Jesus, how bitter it was, Virgin Mary, Holy Virgin Mary, how bitter it was. She had never drunk anything this bitter in her life." Bitterness also seals her fate: she loses the fetus that may have grown into her child, the only person who could have given her love.

Perhaps the last great figure of the pre-communist novelists was László Németh. One is struck by the gloomy titles of at least four of his novels: *Gyász* 'Mourning' (1936), *Bűn* 'Crime' (1937), *Iszony* 'Repulsion' (1947) and *Irgalom* 'Mercy' (1965). Németh's critics also recognized this inclination, and devoted moderate attention to these titles. Among all his novels, *Iszony* is regarded as the most fascinating and complex one.

Repulsion – by what? Miklós Béládi mentions human existence as the main cause of the heroine Nelli Kárász's repugnance, but he adds society as another source.⁷ István Varga's target is narrower:

⁷ MIKLÓS BÉLÁDI: "Németh László". In *A magyar irodalom története VI*, 1966: 520. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó.

Nelli's marriage and village life.⁸ Interestingly, no one takes the reader's (the reader being the implied 'society') perspective on the enigmatic word. While it may be ultimately impossible to solve the secret of Nelli's strangeness, and while a certain degree of empathy is expected from readers, they will still feel the same repugnance toward the heroine as when listening to a pagan myth. Artemis scares us, no matter how much we respect her virginity and her search for solitude. It was she who turned her hunting dogs on Actaeon, the hapless Peeping Tom. Pneumonia and Nelli jointly finish off Sanyi Takaró, Nelli's husband, and there is something repulsive about his death. It is ambiguity that boosts the intellectual effect of Németh's title: we cannot tell who experiences more repulsion, the heroine or we who assess her.

We have pointed out the presence of oxymoron, paradox, symbol, allegory, irony and ambiguity in the scrutinized literary titles, not excluding the possibility of finding additional titles that are worthy of our critical attention. Still, we can assume that even a more exhaustive list would not be too long. Further investigation is needed to verify the hypothesis that mostly outstanding writers gave sophisticated, puzzling titles to their works. If this is indeed true, it proves that the interpretation of a great novel should start with its great title.

⁸ ISTVÁN CS. VARGA: "Az emberi értékkapcsolatok regénytragédiája". In *Alföld* 1, 1983: 61-73.



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A COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO EUROPEAN FOLK
POETRY AND THE EROTIC WEDDING MOTIF

Every European language has a tradition of folk poetry. While the corpus taken as a whole in any one area differs in some way from those of other traditions — in its preferences for particular themes and motifs, formulas, and rhyme patterns — of greater interest is the existence of a large amount of related folk material across Europe. But, while research has been rich in field collecting and historico-geographic studies, little in-depth comparative work has been done even between the traditions in two related languages, let alone and much less comparing various languages (for exceptions, see Danckert 1978; Vargyas 1983). Doubtless, part of the difficulty has been that the great majority of the oral texts collected, primarily since the nineteenth century, are generally accessible only in the original language or dialect. More work in a comparative framework is needed. In this study, I offer a case study as a model for such investigations. My additional aim is to show that data from a less studied but very rich tradition, like the Hungarian, can provide the key to the understanding of a whole European tradition. My study ends up rather than begins with Hungarian. I first analyze a Spanish ballad, concerned with rape and miscegenation, which I studied in greater detail in a recent book (1999). By tracing the motif clusters from which the poem is composed through the connotative semiotic system of European folk poetry in a number of languages, I documented the existence of a pan-European cluster of erotic folk motifs. In this study I will deal primarily with some twenty Hungarian texts, which are among those that provide the most striking confirmation of my thesis because, as we shall see,

:some are so boldly non-euphemistic that they serve to unmask the whole abused erotic tradition.

First, in order to identify the motifs which I will be considering, we need to examine the Spanish ballad, "The Little Moorish Girl", which formed the initial impetus for my investigation. The text was first recorded in print in the fifteenth century, but variants must have circulated in earlier oral tradition. The plot is concerned with cross-cultural amorous relations in Andalusia in a period where Christians and Arabs still cohabited in the South of Spain. The surface story recounts how, when a young Moorish girl is in bed at night, a Christian pretending to be her uncle supposedly tricks her into opening the door for him by telling her in Arabic that the police are after him. What occurs after the abrupt ending is hinted at by the female narrator's reiterated reference to herself as *cuitada* (poor, wretched) and *mezquina* (miserable): "Yo m'era mora moraina, morilla d'un bel catar. Cristiano vino a mi puerta, cuitada, por m'engañar; hablóme en algaravía como aquel que la bien sabe: `Abrasme las puertas, mora, si Allá te guarde de mal!: `Como t'abriré, mezquina, que no sé quien te serás?' `Yo soy el moro Maçote, hermano de la tu madre, que un cristiano dexó muerto, tras mi viene el alcaide; si no me abres tú, mi vida, aquí me verás matar.' Cuando esto oí, cuitada, comencéme a levantar, vistiérame un almexía, no hallando mi brial, fuérame para la puerta abrila de par en par." (Quoted in Vasvári 1999: 11).

'I am a Moorish, a little Moorish girl, a beautiful little Moorish girl. / A Christian came to my door, oh wretched me, to deceive me;/ he spoke to me in Arabic as someone who knows it well: / Open your doors, Moorish girl, if Allah is to keep you from harm!:/ How can I open up, wretched me, when I don't know who you are? I am a Moor, your uncle Mas'ud, your mother's brother,/ and I've just killed a Christian and the law is after me; if you don't open up, my love, I'm finished./ When I heard him, wretched me, I got up, / threw on a shift, not finding my gown,/ I ran to the door and opened it wide'. (This and all subsequent English translations are my own.)

Important features in the poem, several of which I will be discussing in a comparative context, include: its form as a monologue

in which the girl manages to convey a double message of chaste enclosure but also an implicit offer of sexual pleasure; the initial alliterative identification of the girl as dark (*mora moraina, morilla*); the girl's own immodest self-characterization as beautiful, which shows her to be linguistically, and hence potentially also sexually, loose; the setting, on the threshold of the girl's house, which stands also for the threshold of her womanhood; the central motif of the man trying to gain entry into the girl's intimate female space, and, by extension, into her body; the seduction through linguistic misunderstanding; the girl running to the door half naked in a skimpy shift; and, finally, the implied element of miscegenation in the allusion, by omission, to the rape — or seduction — which takes place after she "ran to the door and opened it wide." Another, longer and likely later version of the ballad, does not end abruptly but, rather, the girl describes in detail the ensuing rape scene, where the Christian holds a dagger to her throat when she attempts to scream (Vasvári 1999: 11).

My earlier project was to recuperate the various motifs and, ultimately, the semiotic core of the text through the study of connotative semiotic systems of European folk poetry and other related oral genres. It soon became evident to me that the received scholarly opinion, that the politico-social function of the poem was a serious pro-, or, according to other scholars, anti-Muslim ideological work, simply could not be sustained when considered in a comparative perspective. Note in this context Kodály's reminder about ancient folksongs: "A népdal társadalmi funkcióját ... nem csak a dalokat kell ismernünk, hanem tudnunk kell hogyan, mire használja őket a nép" ('As far as the social function of folksongs is concerned ... we have to know not only the songs, but we need to know how and for what purpose the folk use them' (Kodály 1971:17). By confronting each of the elements of the ballad with European folk poetry I was able to show that it is, in fact, a member of a European family of erotic folk poetry, which is meant to be titillating, whilst being also a warning to young girls of the dangers of opening their literal and metaphorical "door" to strangers. My documentation includes texts from the major European languages, but it was the addition of Hungarian materials collected in the

nineteenth and twentieth centuries from oral tradition which provides the final confirmation.

"The Little Moorish Girl" is in the typical form of the ballad, which is a (relatively) brief narrative poem, often in monologue or dialogue, concentrating on a single decisive moment, presenting the plot with omissions and innuendos. The typical dramatic representation of the ballad functions simultaneously as a narrative, which depicts a condensed and stylized reality. Unlike the epic, which deals with public events like war, the ballad is concerned with the conflicts of everyday life. It can be considered incipiently "novelistic" in its focus on the climactic moment of universal themes, such as betrayal, trauma, sexual assault, and death. And it is precisely these socio-psychological themes that are international (Ortutay 1970: 340; Vargyas 1983: 79-84).

For the purposes of my study I will compare ballads with other forms of folk poetry indiscriminately, since all of them utilize identical stylistic features, such as repetitions, alliteration, and formulaic and symbolic language. Folk poetry is constructed, both intra- and extra-textually, of poetic prefabs and formulas, expressed in a symbolic language, which form the "universal language" of humankind. Inner experiences, feelings, and thoughts are expressed as if they were sensory experiences or events in the outer world, so that individual songs, when grouped by themes, motifs and keywords, may elucidate each other, whilst they may seem enigmatic, fragmentary, or obscure if understood literally or in isolation (Fromm 1951: vi; Olinger 1985: xi-xii). This use of formulas in folk poetry belongs to the sphere of stylization, that is, elevation above the level of everyday life, so that, for example, standing epithets like English *fair*, French *belle*, German *schön* or Hungarian *szép*, or *brown*, *brune*, (*schwarz*) *braun*, *barna*, when attributed to the heroine, are never simply merely descriptive, but part of the motivation of the plot (see Vargyas 1983: 84. Similarly, by means of formulas characters and situations are presented as types. For example, when in folk poetry the heroine appears "sewing," or "embroidering in the window," or when she "walks to the rose-grove," or if she "opens her door" to a suitor, then we know the inevitable sexual consequences to follow (see Vargyas 1983: 82-84).

Finally, whether explicit or veiled, the overwhelming majority of symbols in folk poetry are sexual symbols, so that "a door is never just a door", and even linguistic subterfuge, such as the case (above) of the Christian pretending to be a Moor, has sexual implications. The stock of erotic metaphors over hundreds of years seem to have changed little in the common European corpus, and oral tradition lives in variation which involves a constant reshaping of the form, but leaving intact the "deep structure". Because of these essential characteristics, folk tradition is capable of preserving ancient forms, which is what allows us to compare medieval texts — many of which were first written down in the sixteenth century in some languages, with others collected by folklorists only in the nineteenth and twentieth (see Wehse 1980: 223-30; Vargyas 174-79).

Among the motifs which appear in "The Moorish Girl" I will discuss those of female self-praise, the relation of lust and language, images of the sexually enticing "dark" girl, the symbolism of open(ed) doors, and the potential interrelation of all these motifs in erotic folk poetry with what I have dubbed "borderotics", the enticements of sexual relations with the exotic "Other" (the term was coined by Chavez-Silverman). It is immediately striking that a poem ostensibly about rape begins inappropriately as a "female song of self-praise," which was a stock feature of erotic poetry as early as in the Song of Songs, where one poem begins "Yes, I am dark! and radiant ... The eyes of many morning suns / Have pierced my skin and now I shine/ Black as the light before dawn" (see Falk no. 2). Here a self-assertive girl defiantly counters the angry stares of other women, society's guardians of female virtue, by declaring that she has been burned by the admiring gaze of the piercing sun. The girl's self-affirmative declaration makes evident that her change of color stands for her voluntary loss of sexual innocence. Compare the same motif in English in "I am so prety in myne aray/ and looke so nycely every day" (Plummer 1981a: 147).

Poems with this motif are clearly meant to be sexually titillating. From a more theoretical perspective we can also analyze the formula of "self-praise" as the description of the female body wherein the woman plays out the roles of both the viewed object and the

viewing male subject: that is, the girl's own sense of being is determined by her sexual appeal to men (see Nead 1992: 10-11).

The Christian's violation or seduction of the Moorish girl is symbolically centered in the verbal communication, in that she claims that the man was able to trick her by speaking in her language. In fact, there exists a whole minor genre of medieval erotic dialogues in which the woman speaks (or pretends to speak) one language and the man another. Sometime the woman rejects the man, some other time she engages in lascivious wordplay with him. However, there is always a sex-linked subtext generated by the interplay of the language codes of the dialogue. Perhaps such poems ultimately suggest that when men and women are speaking about love they may not be talking the same language. On another level, male-female linguistic play can stand for the sexual play of miscegenation. Within folklore, in stories of the seduction or rape of outgroup women, miscegenation can serve as the image for the conquering of one culture by another. At the same time, the cultural tabu on consensual sexual relationships with outgroup members makes them a source of constant fascination, so that they are depicted as very alluring or, alternately, as very repulsive, but inevitably as more sexually active than one's in-group. In traditional poetry, for instance in our Spanish poem and in the case of the female narrator of the Song of Songs lyric, it is often dark girls who are forced to play the role of the deviant body of the exotic Other. The unremitting eroticization of Moorish girls in Spanish tradition is paralleled by the English *nut-brown maid*, the German *braunes* or *schwarzbraunes Mädel*, the French *brun(ett)e*, and the Hungarian *barna kislány*. According to context and language, a girl may be dubbed "dark" on the basis of hair, skin, eye color, or any combination of these. However, far more important than physiology are the social and sexual-psychological traits of dark girls, who are inevitably imagined as sexually more available than their fairer sisters, with whom they are implicitly or explicitly contrasted. In addition, the change of a girl's complexion, such as being burned by the sun, is to be understood as symbolic of her having crossed a sexual threshold without the benefit of marriage.

Doris Massny (1937) characterized the dark girl in German tradition

as *verführungsbereit* (ready to be seduced). In many poems the dark girl can be a real sexual tease. Similarly, young men who approach her can be free with their language in telling her what they are after. One German dialogue between a *schwarzbraunes Mädchen* and the suitor knocking at her door is particularly similar to our Spanish ballad. Note in particular the titillating motif of the girl's soft-core sartorial sexuality, where the removing or tearing of her shift is symbolic of tearing her hymen, and the transparent symbolic equation of her "chamber door" with her sexual organ: "Schwarzbraunes Mädchen/ im blütenweissen Hemd!/ Darf ich denn nicht einmal zu dir kommen/ wann ich will? / Bis an die Kammertür darfst du kommen,/ Aber weiter darst du nicht!/ Schwarzbraunes Mädchen hast du 'ne schöne Kammertür,/ schwarzbraunes Mädchen in blütenweissen Hemd!" (Ostwald 1910: 11-15) ("Nut-brown maid / in a blossomy white shift!/ May I come to you when I want to? You can come as far as the door of my chamber,/ but you can come no further!/ Dark-brown maid/ you have a pretty chamber door,/ dark-brown maid in a blossomy white shift.)

The consensual seduction continues following this patten, with the girl allowing the lover to come a bit closer in each strophe, from her bed, to her "little body" and, finally, to her *Vötzlein* (little cunt). The poem ends with the girl telling the suitor afterwards that he can come back as often as he wants. In Hungarian tradition we also frequently see the preference for the more available dark girl over the fair one, as in the following example, where a young man at first has difficulty making up his mind about what he desires. Note the feminine symbolism of the blazing hut paired with the phallic burning reed: "Ég a kunyhó, ropog' nád,/ Be szeretem e' a' barnát./ Míg a szöke lyánt szerettem,/ A barnát csak megvettem./ Úgy vágyom most a' szökére,/ mint a szöllő szemecskére;/ de még inkább a barnára,/ mint a borizü almára" (Kecskeméthy-Csapó 1844: no. 16) ("The hut is ablaze, the reed crackles,/ how I love the dark one! Once I loved a blond girl,/ didn't care the least for the dark one./ Now I long for the blonde, / just like I long for grapes;/ but I long even more for a dark one,/ like I long for a tart cider apple').

Now compare a German translation of two related poems, which

I was not able to retrieve in the Hungarian original. In these there is no equivocation about the clear preference for the dark girl. Note also in the second example the depiction of the sexual aggressiveness of the dark girl: "Angezündet has sichs' Rohr am Zaune,/ immer liebe ich allein die Braune;/ leise leuchtet's um den Mond,/ schöner ist wohl braun als blond" (Danckert 1978: 258-59) ('The reed by the fence is ablaze,/ I love only the dark one;/ softly shines the moon,/ dark is certainly more beautiful than blonde'). And: "Wenn sie selbst den Burschen nachgeht,/ Selber sagt sie zu dem Knaben,/ 'Willst du mich als Liebchen haben?'" (Danckert 1978: 849) ('When she chases after the young man herself,/ She herself says to the boy,/ 'Do you want to have me as your sweetheart?'). In a Hungarian example, the young man roundly rejects fair girls but tells us in rather vulgar terms that he plans to sample as many dark girls as he can: "Túr a disznó, ha rétre möhet,/ Tartok én szeretőt ha löhet,/ De nem ijén szajhát, rendát,/ Hanem ojjan szép kis barna lányt,/ Először a Julcsát, Katicát,/ Azután a drága Mariskát" (Bartók and Kodály 1973: no. 236) ('A boar is happy when he can go out into the meadow / I'll keep a lover if I could,/ but not a strumpet or an ugly one,/ but rather a cute little dark girl,/ First a Julie, then a Katie/ and then a dear Mary').

In one traditional song, with echoes of the Song of Songs, a girl laments her loss of innocence, equating her darkness with belonging to the most stigmatized outgroup, the Gypsies (Roma): "Mefogott mán éngem a nap,/ Mán énrajtam senki sem kap./ Hogy is kapna ijén jányon,/ Ijen fekete cigányon" (Bartók and Kodály 1973: 376) ('I got burnt on the sun/ Now no one is going to take me./ Why should anyone take such a girl,/ such a black gypsy?'). In Hungarian tradition the dark maiden or (*barna kislány*), also has a married sister, the *barna menyecske*, as in the following example: "Menyecske, menyecske, te barna menyecske,/ Rég megmondtam néked, ne menj a cserésbe./ Bément a cserésbe, lefeküdt a fübe./ Sáríghasú kigyó bábútt kebelébe" (Ortutay 1976: no. 86; Berlász and Szalay: 1989: no. 32) ('Young wife, you dark young wife,/ I warned you a long time ago not to go into the woods./ She went into the woods,/ She went into the woods,

she lay down in the grass,/ A yellow-bellied snake slipped into her bosom'). In a longer and even more transparent version, the young woman asks her mother and her brothers, in turn, to pull out the snake, but they are afraid to do so until finally her beloved pulls it out (Szöllösy 1966: no. 157; Bartók 1991: 53a, 53b, 157m).

In addition to the sexual enticement of dark girls, the brown skin color — and related black, blue-black, and purple references to color — have even more basic female sexual connotations: that of the female sexual organ itself. For example, dark-colored? fleshy fruits like the plum can stand for the female sex — by association with its dark color, smooth skin, and elongated shape with a groove on one side. For example, (Shakespearean) English *sloe* (plum), the German *Pflaume*, or the Slavic *cespa* — all have this connotation, while in Hungarian, in the following poem featuring another *barna kislány*, 'climbing the plum tree' serves as a transparent euphemism for sexual intercourse, which is then deconstructed two lines later in very crude terms: "Fölmentem a szilva fára,/ Elrepedt a gatyasszára./ Husszor basszam az irgalmát/ majd meg varrja barna babám (Bartók and Kodály 1973: no. 376) ('I climbed up the prune tree/ split my trousers./ I'd fuck her mercy twenty times./ My dark baby will sew them for me').

Having looked at some images of the dark girl in a sexual connotation, let us now turn to the symbolism of thresholds and of open(ed) doors. As Mary Douglas (1966: 114-39) suggests, the boundaries of the body cannot be separated from the operation of other social and cultural boundaries — what goes on inside and outside the house reflects a larger preoccupation with boundaries of family and its protection. In traditional society the distinction between public and private spheres also extends to distinct sexual spheres, with women rarely seen in public places. Their private, enclosed space, where they are out of public sight, is the only safe place to guard their reputation. The surveillance of women, through whose bodily orifices pollution can occur, concentrates on three specific areas: the mouth, chastity, and the threshold of the house. The three areas become frequently collapsed into each other, so that the signs of the decent woman are the enclosed body, the closed mouth, and the locked house. A woman's body

becomes the symbol of family integrity and purity, which is violated by illicit sexual penetration. It is the woman who is held responsible for loss of her family's reputation through failure to maintain the boundaries of house and body (see Stallybrass 1986). The particular danger of pollution resulting from transgressing society's boundaries can be expressed in traditional poetry by sexually ripe girls who leave the protection of the threshold to pluck flowers, nuts, fruits, etc., all of which are connected with the plucking of their maidenhead, as in the following Hungarian poem: "Az én babám virág kertjibe/ Rozmaringot ültettem az este./ Locsold, babám, hogy el ne hervadjon/ a szerelmünk félbe ne maradjon" (Ortutay 1976: no. 43 ('In my sweetheart's flower garden/ I planted rosemary last night./ Water it, my sweetheart, so that our love does not remain half-done'). But even girls who stay inside can allow the boundaries of their house, hence body, to be penetrated. For instance in German folk tradition, where the association of the concepts 'woman' and 'house' is so strong that the term *Frauenzimmer* (woman's chamber) is a colloquial — although now outdated — term for 'woman' and the term *altes Haus* is used to mean 'old woman' and 'stretched vagina'. And, across a number of languages 'to open the door', 'to leave the door open', or 'to knock on every door' all have sexual connotations.

The division of male public sphere and female private sphere and the female symbolism of enclosed spaces leads, in turn, to the pervasive sexual symbolism of the motif of suitors knocking on doors, corresponding to their seeking entry into the female body. In tradition men's roles remain constant, their only aim being to gain entry, whether through amorous words, crass sexual come-on, or deceit. A typical excuse men use to gain entry into a girl's house is that they seek refuge from the bad weather, as in the following two examples in Hungarian: "Esik a fürgeteg./ Lukas a köpönyeg./ Eressz be, babám/ Mer mögösz a hideg!" (Ortutay 1976: no. 126 ('It's very stormy,/ my cloak is leaking/ Let me in, my sweetheart,/ cause I'm dying of cold') and "Eressz be, eressz be,/ Boriska violám,/ Nem ereszek, nem én,/ Mer nem tudom ki vagy/ Én vagyok, én vagyok/ Szegény magyar legény,/ Kezem lábam fázik,/ Köpönyegem ázik" (Bartók 1991:19a)

(‘Let me in, let me in,/ Boriska, my violet,/ no, I won’t let you in, no I won’t,/ I don’t know who you are,/ It’s me, it’s me/ a poor Hungarian lad,/ I’m freezing,/ my cloak is soaked through’). In a particularly explicit Hungarian song collected from nineteenth-century oral tradition, a suitor seeking entry into a girl’s house begins his petition in a courtly address, to contrast his switch later to the most explicit sexual register: “Kérem, alázatossan,/ Eresszen be, kisasszony,/ Ha igazán nem baszom,/ Törjék bele faszom”. (Fohn 1905: no. 126) (‘I beg you most humbly,/ give me leave to enter, young miss,/ if I don’t fuck you [formal address] real well,/ my cock should break off in the effort’).

It is always women who have the responsibility for making the decision of whether or not to open their door to suitors/ lovers and it is they who are made to suffer the consequences. Even today in rural Sicily when an anthropologist questioned informants why a woman and her family bear the burden of sanctions after an illicit affair, the frequent aphoristic reply is that “A man can knock on many doors, but the door opens from the inside, not the outside” (Giovannini 1981: 420). Similarly, despite the serious consequences of going against society’s sanctions, some Hungarian girls in lyric tradition often seem more than eager to ease the way for their lovers, although they may be unwilling to take responsibility for their deed: “Ki nyílik az ajtó magától,/ a szerető gyöngé szavától” (Kodály no. 223) (‘The door opens on its own,/ by the whispering voice of the lover) or “Kinyíllott az ajtó magától,/ Kisangyalom gyenge karjától” (Kodály 1971: no. 305) (‘The door opened all on its own,/ by my little angel’s delicate arm’). When bolder girls invite their lovers into their house and bed, even they make very clear beforehand the level of sexual performance they expect: “Erre gyere rózsám, nincsen sár./ Nincs az ajtómon semmi zár;/ Nyitva van az ajtóm, bejöhetsz,/ Bontva van az ágyam, lefekhetsz/ Addig a házamból el nem mégy,/ Míg három szál gyertya el nem ég./ A negyedik is már félben ég/ A szerelem mégis nem elég” (Ortutay 1976: no. 166; for a variant, see Kodály 1971: 224) (‘Come in this way, my love, there is no mud;/ there is no lock on my door/ My door is open, you can come in/ My bed is made, you can lie down./Don’t leave my

house/ until three candles are burnt/ The fourth is already half burned/ but the loving is still not enough').

In another version of this scene, the girl inviting her suitor not only assures him that the door is not locked but tells him that even if it is, she will have the lock broken: "Ajtóm előtt nincsen sár,/ Az ajtómon nincsen zár,/ Ami van is, leveretem,/ A rózsámat beeresztem./ Ágyat vetek, lefektetem,/ Hajnal felé felébresztem./ Csókot adok, eleresztem" (Ortutay 1976: no. 167) ('It's not muddy in front of my door,/ there is no lock on my door,/ what there is, I'll have knocked off,/ I'll let in my love./ I'll make the bed, put him in it,/ towards dawn I'll awaken him,/ give him a kiss and let him go'). Just as in the Spanish ballad about the little Moorish girl, in another Hungarian ballad a further level of titillation is added, not only by the fact that this girl is also a *barna kislány* but also by the initial suggestion that the suitor seeking entry may be a foreigner, a *tót*, that is, a member of the Slovak minority of Hungary: "Nyisd ki, babám, az ajtót,/ magyar kopogtat, nem tót./ Jaj be soká nyitod ki/ mintha nem tudnád hogy ki./ Tudom biz én; de félek,/ mert a férfi rossz lélek:/ azt esküszí hogy szeret,/ egyet fordul 's kinevet" (Berlász and Szalay 1989: no. 1) ('Open the door my sweetheart,/ it's a Hungarian who is knocking, not some Slovak/ Oh, how long it's taking you to open,/ as if you didn't recognize who it was./ I do know who it is, but I am afraid, because man is a bad soul; he swears that he loves you,/ then he turns and scorns you').

In the foregoing poem the lover thinks that the girl hesitates to open her door only because she takes him to be an untrustworthy foreigner. She answers derisively that she knows very well who he is but still has no intention of letting him in because no man, even a home-grown one, is to be trusted. Thus we have a further twist here on the sexual connotations of dark girls, namely that of socio-national hierarchy. Another poem, collected from twentieth-century oral tradition by Zoltán Kodály, begins with the suitor's identical words, but the outcome is much more unfortunate, as the girl reports in the same elliptical style as the narrator in the "Little Moorish Girl": "Kinyitottam az ajtót,/ Beugrott egy boglyás tót,/ Olyan nagy vót a feje,/ Mint a torony teteje" (Bartók 1991:

no. 328a) ('I opened the door./ A shaggy-haired Slovak jumped in;/ his head was as big as the top of a tower'). The version collected by Kodály in 1913 from an eighty-one year old female informant continues with a third stanza, which clearly is a contamination because of the association with the Slovak reference and with a humorous outcome, but one that does not fit logically with the rest of the poem since here the Slovak is merely passing by: "Amott megyen egy nagy tót,/ Az ülepin egy nagy fót,/ Állítsd meg azt a tótot,/ Hogy vegyem le a fótot!" ('There goes a big Slovak,/ on his pants' seat there is a large mend,/ Stop the Slovak/ so that I can take off that patch'). The negative and discriminatory connotation to Slovaks — as to other minorities in the former greater Hungary — appears in many Hungarian folk songs and here is another example, here with an image of the foreigner's violent behavior: "Nyisd ki babám az ajtót,/ Magyar kopogtat, nem tót,/ Ha egy kicsit nem nyitod/ Én idekint megfagyok/ Kinyitották már az ajtót,/ Beugrott egy bolyos tót,/ Beugrott egy bolyos tót,/ Féreütte a kankót" (Bartók 1991: no. 357) ('Open the door, my sweetheart, / It's a Hungarian knocking, not a Slovak,/ If you don't open it a bit, I'll freeze to death out here./ He then brought down the door latch').

The most fascinating detail about these songs is that Kodály was told by his informants that they were sung by a chorus of older village women during the cycle in the wedding ceremonies, while they accompanied the bride to her husband's home. A German song plays even more unequivocally with the sexual possibilities of miscegenation, in this case between a German girl and a "wild" Cossack. While it begins with the usual male request for entry into the house and the girl's fearful negative reply, it ends in the crudest possible terms, clearly meant as a kind of unmasking of the whole abused folkloric motif: "Ach, öffne, Mädchen, ach, tu auf,/ Leg du dir selbst keinen Zwang auf!/ Ich darf's Kosake, ich darf's nicht tun,/ Mutter liegt am Herd, sie lässt's nicht an./ Deck mich zu, Mädchen, wenn du nicht schaffst,/ Wo ist denn das Löchlein, mit welchem du/ Zieh den Zumpf aus der Hosen and steck ihn hinein" (Hnatjuk 1909: 129) ('Oh, girly, open, oh, open up, don't restrain yourself!/ I shouldn't, Cossack, I shouldn't

do it,/ mother is sleeping near the hearth, she won't allow it./
If you can't manage it, hide me;/ where is your little hole, the
one you fuck with?/ Pull your prick out of your pants and stick
it inside!').

Interestingly, in the large erotic tradition of the "knocking on the door" motif we encounter in Hungarian folk poetry the unveiling of pretenses and the admission in plain language that even locked doors offer no protection when a priapic man knocks on the door of a girl impatiently awaiting him on *her* sexual threshold: "Oh! édes anyám!/ Nincsen olyan zár,/ Kit a baka/ A faszával/ Le nem taszigál" (Fohn 1905: no.128) ('Oh! Dear mother,/ there is no lock/ that a private won't knock off with his cock').

Beginning with a Spanish medieval ballad and ending with a Hungarian wedding song from early twentieth-century oral tradition, I have tried to show that although the "open your door" motif is the incessant battle cry of suitors seeking entry into forbidden female quarters and female bodies, poetic tradition, just like real life, has placed the sole burden of responsibility for the outcome on the women themselves. When I first started my investigation of the very elusive Spanish ballad, I already suspected that it could not be read as having serious ideological intent. Examples like the obscene German and Hungarian variants, above, are very important for spelling out what was left in the gaps of more poetic versions. They also show how women are depicted as potentially transgressive, which, in turn, tells us why such songs would be sung by a chorus of older women to the bride. On the one hand, they are appropriate to the occasion of the wedding festivities, being titillating. Compare even much more directly vulgar songs, such as the following, which was said to be sung by unmarried males to the bride: "Kelj fel menyasszony/ Itt a vőlegény,/ Tapogasd meg a faszát,/ Hogy milyen kemény!" (Bartók 1991: 12b) ('Get up bride,/ here comes the groom,/ feel his cock,/ how hard it is'). On the other hand, while amusing, these poems *also* represent a real warning to the young woman about the dangers lurking beyond the threshold, and all the more so if the man is from a feared or despised outgroup, whether Christian, Slovak, or Cossack.

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PROPOSTE

AMEDEO DI FRANCESCO

IL GARABONCIÁS NELLE PAGINE DI "NYUGAT"

La figura del *garabonciás* somiglia tanto ai corsi d'acqua così irregolari della regione carsica: appare e scompare a suo piacimento, si nasconde dove invece vorremmo che ci rivelasse tutta la complessità della sua simbologia, si presenta all'improvviso, inaspettato, gradito ed amato, là dove non avremmo mai sospettato una sua presenza così massiccia, prepotente, invadente. È solo per puntiglio filologico, infatti, che lo abbiamo cercato nella versione digitale di "Nyugat"¹, è stata solo la necessaria acribia del ricercatore che ci ha spinto a controllare l'immenso apparato erudito di questa straordinaria rivista. La sorpresa è stata grande e ovviamente piacevole: solo la moderna tecnologia ha potuto consentire di individuare con precisione e rapidità la straordinaria diffusione del mito del *garabonciás* in questo importante scaffale della biblioteca letteraria ungherese della prima metà del Novecento².

¹ *Nyugat 1908-1941. Egy irodalmi legenda – digitálisan*, Arcanum Adatbázis, Budapest (2000?).

² L'autore di questa scorribanda fra le annate di "Nyugat" sente il dovere di avvertire il lettore che qui non si ha né si può avere la pretesa di intervenire sulla problematica critica che ruota intorno al significato artistico e all'eredità culturale rappresentati da quella straordinaria e irripetibile esperienza giornalistica e letteraria, laddove si vuole anticipare il punto di vista secondo il quale in altra occasione si vorrà affrontare il nostro argomento. Di conseguenza, necessariamente incomplete risulteranno ora le indicazioni bibliografiche che solo in un secondo momento vedranno raggiungere la propria completezza, cioè quando di volta in volta si esaminerà criticamente il senso della presenza del *garabonciás* in ogni scrittura e presso ogni singolo autore. Per ora mi limito a indicare in SÁNDOR BORBÉLY, *A Nyugat tájain. Tanulmányok és műelemzések*, Budapest 2001, un possibile modello di ricerca entro cui collocare una più ampia e approfondita informazione bibliografica.

La facilità della ricerca, però, si unisce subito allo sbigottimento: occorrerà infatti sistemare criticamente tutto quest'altro materiale che sinora non è stato analizzato dal nostro particolarissimo punto di vista. Ancora una volta il *garabonciás* procura piacere ed angoscia, ancora una volta è croce e delizia per lo studioso che cerca di capirne sempre meglio la funzione simbolica, espressiva, semantica. E sì, perché evidentemente siamo all'improvviso catapultati in un'altra dimensione della ricerca della presenza del *garabonciás* nell'immaginario collettivo della civiltà letteraria ungherese. Tutto non sarà più come prima, tutto sarà necessariamente diverso, tutta la letteratura critica che sinora esiste sull'argomento, sia essa di attinenza antropologica, letteraria o linguistica, diventa all'improvviso superata, provvisoria, riduttiva, limitata.

Certo, non bisogna cedere alla tentazione di rimettere tutto in discussione, poiché le ricerche sinora effettuate e i risultati ottenuti conservano tuttora la loro validità. E però non si può non riconoscerne la provvisorietà, che ora si può tentare di superare sulla base del nuovo materiale acquisito e che va necessariamente studiato e analizzato. Pur senza voler ripercorrere tutte le fasi della ricerca sul nostro personaggio, non si può tuttavia non osservare che il saggio pionieristico di Dezső Pais³ in qualche modo si rimpicciolisce dinanzi a questa nuova mole di dati, e non si può non sospettare che lo stesso Pais sarebbe frastornato e felice di poter aggiornare i dati bibliografici sui quali fondò le sue teorie e le sue conclusioni. La stessa proficua discussione avviata insieme a Vilmos Voigt⁴ ed i risultati che da essa sono scaturiti⁵ an-

³ DEZSŐ PAIS, *A garabonciás és társai*, in ID., *A magyar ósvallás nyelvi emlékeiből*, a cura di Miklós KÁZMÉR, Budapest 1975, pp. 143-163.

⁴ VILMOS VOIGT, *Le fasi di evoluzione di Garabonciás diák - Grabancijaš dijak (Commento al saggio di Amedeo Di Francesco e Arianna Quarantotto)*, in "Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli - Studi Finno-Ugrici", II, 1996-1998, 283-299. In ungherese, con qualche modifica: VILMOS VOIGT, *Bölcsészdoktor - garabonciás diák (a szinpadon)*, in *Hungaro-slavica 1997. Studia in honorem Stephani Nyomárkay*, adiuvantibus P. MILOSEVITS, P. STEPANOVIĆ, A. ZOLTÁN, editionem curante A. HOLLÓS, redigit JANUSZ BAŃCZEROWSKI, Budapest 1997, pp. 341-345.

⁵ AMEDEO DI FRANCESCO - ARIANNA QUARANTOTTO, *Munkácsy, Gaj e la terza fase evolutiva del Garabonciás diák - Grabancijaš dijak*, in *Folklore in 2000. Voces amicorum Guilhelmo*

dranno necessariamente aggiornati. E che dire del lavoro da me compiuto insieme ad Arianna Quarantotto e che è uscito in ungherese per i tipi della transilvana „Krizsa János Néprajzi Társaság”⁶ e in italiano presso l’editore M. D’Auria di Napoli⁷? Anch’esso risulterà necessariamente provvisorio, anche se già nella sua struttura quella silloge non potrà non richiamare una nuova attenzione su questo singolare elemento del folklore danubiano che si acquatta in modo così interessante e problematico fra i risvolti delle civiltà letterarie ungherese e croata.

* * *

A vario titolo, nelle pagine di "Nyugat" il *garabonciás* si presenta in prosa e in poesia, attraversa generi letterari e registri linguistici, dà rilievo alla creazione artistica o dà forza alla incisività graffiante del giornalismo, è personaggio centrale o espressione ellittica, è evocazione mitologica o epiteto esornativo, è atteggiamento spirituale o formula retorica. Che si tratti di Dezső Kosztolányi che interpreta liberamente Emil Verhaeren (1913: *A szél*) senza però tradirne la poetica⁸, di Zsigmond Móricz che si compiace di ripercorrere i sentieri ammalianti di un indimenticabile mondo fascinoso (*A gyermek hazamegy. Érzések Erdély kapujában*, 1927), di Béla M. Pogány che vede come protagonista di una scrittura neo-romantica di Lajos Zilahy la realtà violentata dal mistero (*Valamit*

Voigt sexagenario, curibus ILONA NAGY, adiuvante KINCŐ VEREBÉLYI, Budapest 2000, 224-241.

⁶ AMEDEO DI FRANCESCO - ARIANNA QUARANTOTTO, *Arc és álarc. A garabonciás mítosza a magyar és a horvát irodalomban*, Kolozsvár 2002.

⁷ AMEDEO DI FRANCESCO - ARIANNA QUARANTOTTO, *Prete e negromanti. Il mito del garabonciás – grabancijaš in Ungheria e in Croazia*, Napoli 2003.

⁸ ALBERT GYERGYAI, *Émile Verhaeren 1855-1916*, in Émile Verhaeren, *Versek*, Budapest 1955, p. 23: „A mi magyar fordítóink, a szabad vagy felszabadult vagy szabálytalan forma ürügyén, legtöbbszörrel teljes joggal szabadon fordították Verhaerent s annál inkább respektálták témáját, hangját, szerkezetét. Legtöbbjükre ráillik, amit Illyés Gyula mondott Kosztolányi remekléssel, a *Szél* fordításával kapcsolatban, vagyis hogy egy-egy fordításban sűrítetten a költő „egész lénye, egész hevülete benne lüktet” és pedig egyszerűen azért, mert a legtöbb fordító nem Verhaeren egy-egy művét, hanem egész lényegét öntötte versbe!”

visz a víz..., 1928) o in un romanzo di Sándor Sásdi un'interpretazione efficace dell'inquietudine libertaria dell'animo umano (*Vadlukak*, 1929), di József Erdélyi che scruta le pulsioni della propria vita sentimentale (*Várlak...*, 1932), di Gyula Illyés che scopre le proprie radici nell'unicità irripetibile del paesaggio ungherese (*Ime az én népem*, 1930) e della gente che lo abita (*Bennszülöttek*, 1940), di Jenő Mohácsi che recensisce a modo suo le poesie di Sándor Antal (*Garabonciás ének*, 1932), non si può non sospettare che questo poliedrico, multiforme interessamento alle varie complicità semantiche del nostro personaggio possa essere anche il segno identificativo della dimensione non irrilevante di un'inquietudine profonda che cerca di emergere, di un'esigenza di classificare e definire l'aspetto forse più incoercibile della insofferenza umana, di un mal celato desiderio di far sì che il mistero e la realtà in qualche modo convergano e s'incontrino.

Già una prima lettura dei testi sopra menzionati suggerisce una schematizzazione secondo la quale il mito del *garabonciás* viene recuperato su tre livelli: 1) scritture espressamente ispirate dal mito; 2) scritture fortemente influenzate dal mito; 3) scritture che fanno un uso semantico, quasi esclusivamente lessicale, del mito. Al primo appartengono – per fare solo qualche esempio – prose delicate e struggenti che accarezzano una umanità dolce e sofferente (1922: Antal Szerb, *Ajándok mátkasága*) e versi impetuosi e singhiozzanti che investigano sul segreto della vita (1932: Pál Gulyás, *Garaboncás éj*); al secondo possono ricondursi pensose ed acute riflessioni che non sembrano perdere la loro attualità (1934: Mihály Babits, *Könyvről könyvre*⁹; 1939: Gábor Halász, *Magyar álmodók*); al terzo una saggistica che fa della recensione un forte momento interpretativo (1916: Miksa Fenyő, *A nőstény ördög*; 1925: Sándor Térey, *Stefan Zweig*; 1928: Gyula Illyés, *Papírember. Sirató Károly versei*; 1930: Albert Gyergyai, *Jean-Luc persecuté. C.F. Ramuz regénye*) oppure una narrativa che cerca una nuova dimensione artistica senza tuttavia rinunciare al consenso del pubblico (1909:

⁹ BÉLA NÉMETH G., *A Nyugat utolsó éve*, in Id., *Kérdések és kétségek. Válogatott tanulmányok*, Budapest 1995, pp. 224-232.

Margit Kaffka, *Csendes válságok*¹⁰; 1915: Tamás Moly, *Az idegen hölgy*; Margit Kaffka: *A nem mindennapi ember*; 1923: Mihály Földi, *Az orvos dilemmája*; 1928: Lajos Kassák, *Angyalföld*).

Ma le pagine di "Nyugat" ci riservano anche altre sorprese interessanti, ulteriori ipotesi interpretative, prossimi raffronti suggestivi che non potranno non rivelarsi fruttuosi. Mi riferisco in particolare all'evocazione non casuale di una personalità forte e ingombrante come quella di Endre Ady: occorrerà ricercare allora le motivazioni più profonde che suscitano l'accostamento alle stravaganze del *garabonciás* nella commossa, quasi irosa versificazione di Béla Telekes (*Ady emlékének*, 1919), nelle riflessioni di Béla Révész (*Ady Endre*, 1921; *Ady útja az Ady-versig*, 1932), nel frugare interessato di János Dutka (*„A műhelyben” Ady Endréje*, 1923), nella saggistica dello stesso Ady (*A Jókai embere*, 1911)¹¹. Ed altrettanto promettente ci appare l'intrufolarsi del nostro *garabonciás* nelle pagine che Gyula Szini (1927: *Jókai – Egy élet regénye. V. A sas lak*; 1928: *Jókai – Egy élet regénye. Vihar*) e Endre Nagy (1929: *Hajnali beszélgetések Jókairól. Előszó*) dedica al grande romanziere. Né meno importante appare la collocazione drammaturgica del nostro personaggio (1910: Miksa Fenyő, *Szindarabokról*; 1924: Zsigmond Szívós, *Bakony. Dráma egy felvonásban*), che può anche essere rivisitazione nostalgica e problematica di un già noto, strettissimo rapporto fra la teatralità letteraria e il teatro della vita. Né è da escludere che il nostro *garabonciás* ci possa aiutare a meglio definire e comprendere i bizzarri archetipi comportamentali rappresentati da Kakuk Marci (1924: Jenő Tersánszky Józsi, *A medál [Kakuk Marci kalandjai]*) e dalle altre figure di un universo esistenziale direttamente evocato (1916: Jenő Tersánszky Józsi, *Babsimnak*; 1921: *Rossz szomszédok*) o indirettamente mantenuto in vita dal grande interesse che esso suscitò negli ambienti di "Nyugat" (1925: Jenő Tersánszky Józsi, *A vízbefúlt csizmája*)¹².

¹⁰ Cfr. GYÖRGY BODNÁR, *A novellista Kaffka Margit*, in "Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények" 1970, pp. 178-193.

¹¹ Un buon punto di partenza può essere András Görömbei, *Ady-képünk és az újabb szakirodalom*, in "Irodalomtörténet" 1993, pp. 420-440.

¹² Cfr. LÁSZLÓ RÓNAY, *Tersánszky Józsi Jenő*, Budapest 1983.

* * *

Si vuole consegnare alla semantica del *garabonciás* l'ineffabile segreto della bellezza, il fruscio dolce della carezza, la soave armonia della delicatezza. Le pagine di "Nyugat" (anche?) da questo punto di vista ci appaiono corali, armoniche, centripete. La modernità s'incontra con il classicismo, l'innovazione dialoga con la tradizione, la scienza non intende separarsi dalla coscienza. Qui vi è sensibilità raffinata, rispetto della forma, culto dell'eleganza. E tutto ciò non vuole significare affettata ricerca di un improduttivo manierismo narcisistico, ma tensione verso l'indicibile, attenzione per l'inusitato, comprensione dell'imponderabile.

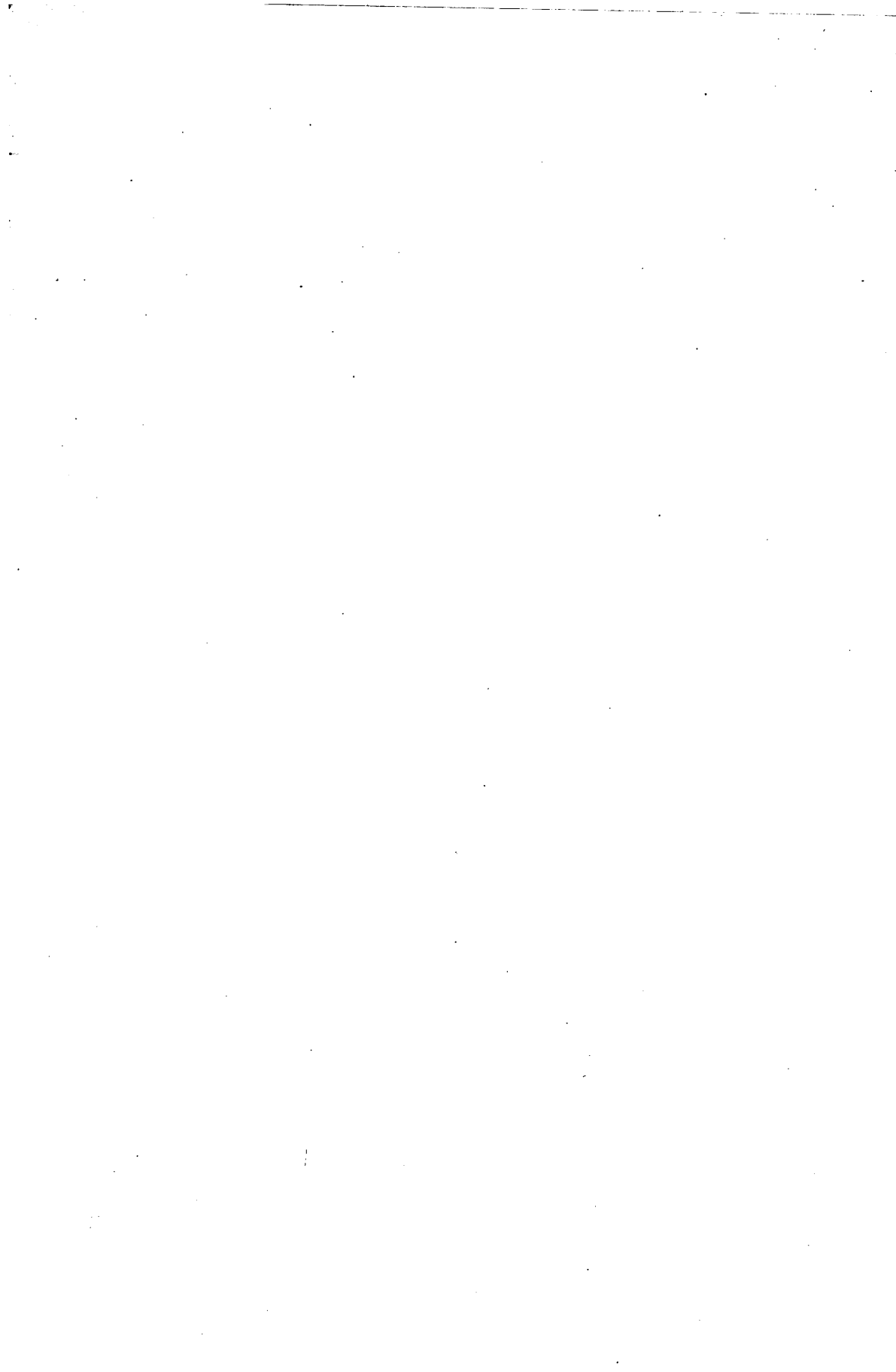
Gli scrittori di "Nyugat" costruiscono la cornice entro la quale collocare l'accezione moderna del mito del *garabonciás*. Ma essi non si limitano a questo, dal momento che non si sottraggono alla tentazione di ripercorre i sentieri della tradizione e di ridisegnare i lineamenti di uno dei suoi più interessanti personaggi. Qui non possiamo procedere ad una analisi sistematica ed esaustiva di tutto il materiale, ma solo anticipare qualche sensazione che alcuni testi consegnano alla sensibilità del lettore e del critico.

L'orizzonte lontano, la strada, il viandante, il vento, lo straordinario: questi i motivi sui quali già nella prima metà del Novecento si recupera la poliedrica valenza di un mito semplice e allo stesso tempo impenetrabile, accattivante e ugualmente inquietante, universale e sempre diversamente interiorizzato. Questi motivi dismettono sin da ora, dalle pagine di "Nyugat", la loro veste tradizionale e si caricano di un peso semantico non sempre facile a sostenersi: di qui i continui tentativi di violentare il mistero del mito, di carpire il senso e il vero segreto della vita, di provare a spiegare l'indicibile. Quest'accezione problematica del mito verrà accolta, conservata e rivissuta ancora una volta dal secondo Novecento ungherese, e questo rinnovato dialogo con il mito non necessariamente implica una dimensione metafisica, trascendente, sublimata dal rispetto per l'inconoscibile. Il mito si fa terrestre, si cala nella realtà umana, si imbratta nel fango dell'esistenza: ma in esso tutto si trasforma, l'umanità guarda in sé stessa, si scruta e si trova rappacificata con la parte migliore di sé. La

poesia restituisce all'antropologia un mito umanizzato, un compagno di strada colloquiale, un simpatico *alter ego* che s'intromette nel segno della condivisione. La natura, e chi la governa, non appaiono più risibilmente minacciosi.



RECENSIONI



ANGELA MARCANTONIO, *The Uralic Language Family. Facts, Myths and Statistics*, Oxford UK & Boston USA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002, pp. 335. Publications of the Philological Society 35.

Doctor Angela Marcantonio, researcher of Finno-Ugristics from the University of Rome "La Sapienza", has accomplished something that her colleagues usually do not engage themselves in. Namely, she has scrupulously read through all, also the least essential, Finno-Ugric research works through times. As a result of her activity she noticed that a number of works, belonging to the Finno-Ugristic classics had in the course of time become myths, one way or another. It means that instead of understanding the actual contents or nature of the works, certain stereotypical notions about the contents or nature, far from truthful, have been circulating among Finno-Ugristic researchers. In a number of cases a similar observation is extended also over what has taken place in the history of Finno-Ugristics. Eventually, the so-called fundamentals of Finno-Ugristics have also been critically addressed. Observing the picture, unfurled by Marcantonio, one can naturally anticipate that Finno-Ugristics is no exception: to a certain degree a similar fate has struck the sciences researching other language groups. Besides, the phenomenon is of a much wider scope than just linguistics or the humanities – it is probably characteristic of the scientific activity as a whole and through the ages. The more welcome it is when, at some instant, someone steps up saying: it is high time to take an account of the household of our science – there are probably things in the account that have long since disappeared or that are not useable any longer. In place of some things there is only a distant memory, often obscured beyond recognition: just nothing but a myth. And so, Marcantonio has taken an account of the results which may certainly appear as a very bad surprise to numerous traditional Finno-Ugrists. It is hard to foretell how they react. Not that there is much to say against Marcantonio's well-documented factology and strictly logical argumentation, however, a few opponents are definitely going to emerge. I suppose that most of them prefer acknowledging the appearance of Marcantonio's book with silence: what is not talked about, does not exist.

But back to the contents of Marcantonio's book. As examples of such mythicized works Marcantonio mentions the publications of several 19th c. leading Finno-Ugrists that were supposed to have proved the affinity of Finno-Ugric (or Uralic) languages. Re-reading the works now it becomes clear that they contain nothing else but, from today's point of view, more or less reliable comparisons from those languages, followed by an opinion/supposition/assumption (not proof!) about the affinity of the languages. An example of the mythicized events in the history of Finno-Ugrics is a spread fantasy about the victory of the "Ugric camp" over the "Turkish camp" in the Hungarian 19th c. linguistic "Ugric-Turkish war". Based on concrete factual material, Marcantonio indicates that the leading figure of the "winners" Joseph Budenz did actually regard Hungarian and the other Finno-Ugric languages, coupled with Turkic languages, as belonging to a broader Altaic language family; he also considered as correct a number of word etymologies in which Hungarian words were associated with Turkic ones, proposed by the "Turkish camp". Instead of some Turkic equivalents he proposed Ob-Ugric equivalents to Hungarian words but in many cases his Ob-Ugric equivalents, in comparison with respective Turkic ones, undoubtedly were less convincing and partly even clearly erroneous. It is only that for various reasons, including political-ideological ones, the standpoints of the "Ugric camp" began to be preferred and the Hungarian language was deliberately and wilfully declared to belong to Finno-Ugric languages. The "battle" itself has never quite completely ceased to date but it has proceeded as a less noticeable "guerilla warfare". The near future will tell if after the appearance of Marcantonio's book the Finno-Ugric-Turkic discussion about the Hungarian language is going to liven up. (So far I have not observed in print any reaction to the 20-page paper "The "Ugric-Turkic Battle": A Critical Review" on the same subject and direction by Angela Marcantonio, Pirjo Nummenaho and Michela Salvagni, published in the journal "Linguistica Uralica" No 2, 2001. As is also the case, by the way, with the other texts, written in the spirit of her book under observation, and presented by her and by her together with Nummenaho at the Ninth International Congress of Finno-Ugrics in 2000, published in 2001 in Volume V of the collection of the congress papers. What is not talked about, does not exist?!)

Marcantonio emphasises that she does not regard herself as a representative of any tendency in the Uralistics. Her method can be summarised by one notion: evidence. An extensive observation of lexical and grammatical evidence of Uralic and neighbouring languages would not permit her to agree with the views as if those formed a separate

linguistic condensation, entity or intertwinement (Marcantonio uses *node* in English), and she denies the existence of the Uralic language family as a *node*. In a slightly exaggerated manner, the result of Marcantonio's analysis of Uralic languages could be compared to a mental picture in which the Uralists have drawn a circle at the sea surface by a rod and argue that inside that circle there is a kind of particular Uralic water, distinctly different from the surrounding seawater and in which there is only a little "borrowed" water from what encircles it. Such a mental picture would naturally be nonsensical and Marcantonio's book intends to show that as to the origin, the often supposed lexical and grammatical borrowings turn out to be territorially very extensive and unspecified phenomena – I would call them wandering phenomena (cf., e.g., *Wanderwort*, used as a concept in linguistics).

Marcantonio considers the comparative method, implemented in the observation of the history of Uralic languages by traditional Uralists, inept already by its nature (I cannot but agree with it). But she convincingly shows that even the method itself is used in the most inconsistent manner: the result is presented not as a consequence of a strict observation of the rules of the method but as methodologically rickety, based on some general impression or "feeling". The latter procedure clearly manifests itself in the reconstruction of the Proto-Uralic word stock: irregular evidence is indifferently ignored, its irregularity is only admitted; the lack of evidence in a Uralic language is interpreted as a loss in that language. Therefore the larger part of Proto-Uralic words have not been reconstructed in accordance with the established phonetic laws and as based on the immediate actual evidence of concrete Uralic languages. They may have been grounded altogether on reconstructions of intermediate proto-languages, for instance, the reconstructions of the intermediate Proto-Finnish-Permic, on the one hand, and those of the intermediate Proto-Samoyed, on the other, deliberately neglecting the incompatible data of Ugric languages, and this is a speculation of the utmost questionable nature.

I am convinced that anyone who attentively acquaints oneself with the book and thoroughly contemplates on it, sees the Uralic language group and its history in a totally different light. In the light that also opens completely new perspectives in their research. The appearance of the book is an occasion and its impact on the Uralistics is hard to overestimate. Even in case when the first reaction is concealment: Angela Marcantonio's unconventional message penetrates into the reader's thoughts and begins to live its own hidden life there until one day it breaks into the open. The author's analysis involves the problems of both word

stock and grammar of Uralic languages and is exceptionally rich in detail. Although I am convinced that the book deserves a highly detailed presentation, I believe it is more important still to inform my colleagues about its appearance and main direction. No paraphrase replaces the actual reading of the book and I warmly recommend my colleagues not to lose time to do so.

AGO KÜNNAP

ANGELA MARCANTONIO, *The Uralic Language Family. Facts, Myths and Statistics*. Publications of the Philological Society, 35. Oxford Uk and Boston USA: Blackwell, 2002, pp. 335.

Negli ultimi decenni si è cominciato a dubitare della validità del paradigma uralico, vale a dire dell'origine comune delle lingue classificate come appartenenti alla famiglia ugro-finnica/uralica. Il dibattito si è sviluppato non solo su basi linguistiche, ma anche, e soprattutto, con l'ausilio dei risultati degli studi di genetica, antropologia e della 'nuova archeologia'. Il notevole lavoro di Angela Marcantonio si inserisce nel contesto di questo serrato dibattito, rigettando decisamente la teoria tradizionale e proponendo la tesi di fondo per cui le lingue uraliche non formano una famiglia linguistica nel senso tradizionale del termine, cioè nel senso di un gruppo di lingue che condividono un certo numero di similarità e correlazioni interpretabili come derivanti da una lingua madre originaria.

Si tratta del primo lavoro scientifico che cerca di spiegare questa nuova tesi, in modo estremamente analitico e approfondito, sulla base della valutazione rigorosa dei dati linguistici, cioè le (presunte) similarità condivise dalle varie lingue uraliche, individuate attraverso il metodo comparativo. Finora il metodo storico-comparativo è stato l'unico metodo di indagine linguistica utilizzato per stabilire le famiglie linguistiche del mondo; ma, secondo l'autrice, questo metodo non è applicabile e non è stato di fatto applicato in modo appropriato alle lingue uraliche. In effetti, la quantità, la qualità e la distribuzione delle similarità e delle correlazioni che queste lingue condividono non sono in grado di soddisfare i tradizionali prerequisiti e i postulati del modello storico-comparativo. In pratica, non è vero che le correlazioni fonetico-fonologiche tra le varie lingue siano regolari e sistematiche; non è vero che i vari nodi intermedi dell'albero genealogico siano stati ricostruiti, e non è vero neanche che lo stesso nodo principale uralico sia stato ricostruito; non è vero che l'albero genealogico rappresenti fedelmente la distribuzione delle similarità e delle differenze tra le varie lingue. Queste e altre affermazioni, secondo Marcantonio, sono state tramandate da una genera-

zione all'altra di linguisti e studiosi senza che nessuno le abbia effettivamente verificate. Per cui con il tempo sono diventate 'miti'.

Il libro analizza inoltre le condizioni storiche, sociali e scientifiche delle origini della teoria uralica classica, che si sviluppò tra la fine dell'Ottocento e l'inizio del Novecento. Si trattava proprio del periodo di formazione delle varie nazionalità europee, e il continente si trovava nel pieno del clima romantico di ricerca delle proprie origini da parte dei vari stati. Sono queste le condizioni che spiegano perché la teoria classica uralica sia divenuta il 'paradigma dominante'. Infatti, lo studioso tedesco J. Budenz, il 'padre' di tale teoria, pretese di dimostrare la validità della teoria ugro-finnica (non ancora 'uralica') su basi scientifiche, applicando cioè il metodo comparativo quale era stato da poco elaborato nell'ambito delle lingue indoeuropee. In realtà Budenz non sapeva né poteva applicare tale metodo, le cui procedure, ancora mal definite all'epoca, sarebbero state stabilite e affinate solo nel Novecento. Inoltre, fatto di notevole importanza, tra i linguisti contemporanei (sulla scia delle critiche già sollevate dagli avversari dei Neo-grammatici), si comincia ad ammettere che nemmeno oggi il metodo comparativo può essere considerato veramente 'scientifico'. Qui Angela Marcantonio cita principalmente il volume di Anthony Fox, *Linguistic Reconstruction. An Introduction to Theory and Method* (Oxford: University Press, 1995), e affronta i problemi metodologici generali.

Nel volume della Marcantonio per la prima volta una famiglia linguistica (almeno, presunta tale) viene analizzata utilizzando anche un metodo diverso da quello comparativo tradizionale, vale a dire il metodo dell'analisi statistica, introdotto dal linguista e statistico Don Ringe. I risultati di questa analisi dimostrano come, in realtà, gran parte delle concordanze - lessicali e fonetico-morfologiche - tra queste lingue siano semplicemente casuali. Sono quindi false concordanze, che pure esistono in tutte le famiglie linguistiche, ma che sono in percentuali altissime in quella ugro-finnica/uralica. A questo punto, la maggior parte delle etimologie potrebbero essere state stabilite 'per caso'.

Marcantonio solleva quindi la questione dell'origine del popolo ungherese. La teoria tradizionale uralica, nata alla fine dell'Ottocento, fu sostenuta e imposta durante la dominazione sovietica, in quanto faceva comodo dimostrare l'origine uralica di tutti i popoli ricadenti sotto l'influenza dell'URSS, compreso il popolo ungherese. In realtà, dal punto di vista linguistico, l'ungherese è una lingua isolata nell'ambito della famiglia, e le fonti storiche descrivono i 'magiari' come una delle tante tribù turche, o quantomeno asiatiche, che imperversavano nei vasti territori

euro-asiatici. Accettando le argomentazioni del libro, si risolverebbero anche le contraddizioni - notate da molti - tra i dati storici, archeologici e antropologici da un lato, secondo cui gli ungheresi sarebbero di origine 'asiatica e nomade' (come i turchi e i mongoli), e i dati linguistici della teoria classica dall'altro lato, secondo i quali sarebbero 'uralici'.

In ogni caso, visto il carattere descrittivo del lavoro, anche chi non condivida le argomentazioni dell'autrice troverà una grande quantità di dati relativi a tutti i livelli linguistici - fonetica/fonologia, morfologia, lessico/etimologia, morfo-sintassi, tipologia, onomastica - con una descrizione fattuale della struttura fonologia, semantica, sintattica delle lingue ugro-finniche.

UMBERTO D'ANGELO

AA. Vv., *La civiltà ungherese e il cristianesimo*, Atti del IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Ungheresi, Roma-Napoli 9-14 settembre 1996, I, a cura di István Monok e Péter Sárközy, Budapest-Szeged, Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság - Scriptum Rt., 1998, pp. I-XIV, 1-477; AA. Vv., *A magyar művelődés és a kereszténység*, A IV. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus előadásai, II.-III., szerkesztette Jankovics József, Monok István, Nyerges Judit, Budapest-Szeged, Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság - Scriptum Rt., 1998, pp. I-XIV, 479-1891.

Per l'Ungheria il 1996 è stato un anno fortemente commemorativo e fors'anche profetico, in ogni caso ricco di significanze profonde e indelebili. È stato un momento in cui si è potuto riflettere ancora una volta - ma in condizioni radicalmente diverse e finalmente quiete se pensiamo alle vicende storiche di quella nazione - sulla identità nazionale, sulla specificità culturale, sul senso di appartenenza. I grandi temi li conosciamo: Oriente od Occidente, apertura all'Europa o rifugio nelle proprie tradizionali ancestrali, Mitteleuropa forse e soltanto, e se sì: come e quando e dove? Problemi enormi, come si intuisce facilmente, e che però gli Ungheresi hanno affrontato ancora una volta con grande coraggio e, direi, con grande fierezza, consci della loro atavica dimestichezza con questioni che han sempre messo in discussione il loro essere in Europa e le modalità del loro particolare sentirsi europei.

L'idea di assegnare come tema generale al IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Ungheresi l'osmosi di civiltà ungherese e cristianesimo nacque anche e soprattutto dalla volontà di assicurare una platea più vasta e poliedricamente interessata a dibattere quei problemi. Né casuale fu il ricondurli nell'ambito di quell'interazione: chi conosce la storia del pensiero ungherese, comunque esso espresso, sa bene che quel binomio rappresenta non una dicotomia, ma le componenti in cui è sorta, si è trasformata e si è evoluta una civiltà che ha voluto e vuol sentirsi parte integrante dell'Europa e del cristianesimo.

Sorge spontaneo perciò il desiderio di ringraziare le due Sedi che vollero ospitare quel Congresso: ma all'Università degli Studi di Roma "La Sapienza" ed all'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli va anche

il plauso dei tanti studiosi che si son sentiti gratificati dall'aver contribuito efficacemente, non di rado con interventi davvero innovativi, all'approfondimento d'una discussione colta e di un argomento scientifico che non potranno non avere riflessi positivi nell'insieme della vita culturale d'Ungheria.

Mi si creda se dico che non sono propenso alle facili celebrazioni. Acquista perciò particolare valore la testimonianza di chi ha potuto acquisire echi favorevoli e giudizi positivi su di un'iniziativa che oggi mostra il momento forse più atteso: ed è con mal celato orgoglio che ammiriamo il *corpus* degli Atti del Congresso.

Il primo volume si articola in otto sezioni, precedute da una relazione introduttiva ed arricchite dalla pubblicazione integrale dell'indirizzo di saluto rivolto da Sua Santità Giovanni Paolo II ai Congressisti, nell'udienza del 14 settembre 1996 a Castelgandolfo.

Le sezioni sono disposte in ordine cronologico, quindi s'incentrano su problemi critici specifici, e però non risultano mai slegate fra loro, ma partecipano d'una linea evolutiva che fa della millenaria interazione fra cultura ungherese e cristianesimo il riferimento costante d'una precisa identità culturale, di un vivo senso di appartenenza.

Del resto, proprio questo era lo spirito di quel IV Congresso dell'Associazione Internazionale che mi onoro di presiedere, cioè la volontà e direi anche la necessità critica di proporre una verifica di un esercizio ermeneutico sempre praticato nella storia della civiltà ungherese e mortificato da una infelice contingenza storica che per un quarantennio ha creduto di poter ignorare una ricca tradizione di studi critici e di esperienze spirituali.

Le cosiddette origini nella storia d'Ungheria assumono naturalmente una fisionomia particolare, dacché esse coincidono con la cristianizzazione del popolo ungherese. "In tota Pannonia, nostra maxima provincia, tantum una non apparet ecclesia": ricordando quest'osservazione contenuta in un'epistola del tempo si è riusciti a ricostruire magistralmente quella congiuntura e il processo storico che ne seguì. E che non tutto si svolgesse in modo lineare lo documenta chi si cimenta con la questione dell'influenza esercitata dai Turchi sulla religione e sulla religiosità degli antichi Ungari. Ma poi sappiamo come andarono le cose. L'Ungheria, così, divenne anch'essa sede forte del cristianesimo, sino a trovarsi al centro di una irradiazione spirituale che si volge alla Praga di Sant'Adalberto o all'intensissimo rapporto fra Montecassino e Pannonhalma. Quindi ha buon gioco chi può, ampiamente e in modo convincente, discettare sulla

tipologia dei santi ungheresi e sul modello di santità di non pochi membri della dinastia árpádiana.

Com'è noto, nel giovane regno d'Ungheria il cristianesimo dovette convivere con un forte residuo di paganesimo: è il tema che si è proposto di svolgere la terza sezione e bene han fatto i colleghi quando hanno inserito questo particolare problema nel contesto di una ricerca antropologica che dà il giusto risalto alla forte componente della cultura popolare, certamente non marginale in area carpatico-danubiana. Ci si inoltra quindi sul terreno infido ma quanto mai stimolante della religione primigenia e delle reminiscenze pagane: e del resto è percorso necessitato dalla volontà di interpretare sempre più compiutamente la poesia religiosa e popolare e lo stesso lessico religioso dei magiari. Solo così, potremmo aggiungere, si può tentare un bilancio, magari contrastivo, di quanto la lingua ungherese, nella sua storia, sia debitrice al cristianesimo.

Dai temi sinora menzionati è facile arguire con quanta rapidità la civiltà ungherese abbia recuperato il fortissimo divario cronologico con l'Occidente: è indubbio, infatti, che se da una parte l'Ungheria non ha potuto conoscere una età di mezzo, dall'altra essa si configura ormai in una compagine statale e in una civiltà cavalleresca fortemente condizionate da ciò che intendiamo per Medio Evo europeo. L'Ungheria del XIII secolo offre quindi la possibilità di investigare fra storia politica, storia letteraria e storia del costume, quando ad esempio una tragica storia di adulterio e morte rende celeberrima la corte di Andrea II Árpád o quando la medesima corte o quella dei suoi successori diventano la meta di pellegrinaggi culturali che arricchiscono i già intensi rapporti italo-ungheresi. A tutto ciò non possono essere estranee le arti visive, in un fertile ricambio in cui l'arte italiana si afferma in terra ungherese (come ad esempio nell'abbazia cistercense di Pilis) e la presenza ungherese si fa sempre più forte e significativa nella penisola italiana (e di quest'ultimo aspetto è simbolo altamente significativo e caro alla sensibilità dei nostri amici ungheresi il ciclo di affreschi nella ex-chiesa di Donnaregina a Napoli).

Umanesimo, rinascimento, barocco, recita il titolo della quarta sezione, che ci dice quanto vicine siano state nella seconda metà del Quattrocento Firenze e Buda e quanto fruttuoso sia stato il sodalizio degli umanisti fiorentini con quelli della corte di Mattia Corvino. Ed allora la ricerca si orienta sull'attività di personaggi rilevanti come Janus Pannonius e Galeotto Marzio; ed è un'attività che sarebbe riduttivo vederla esplicita solo fra Italia e Ungheria, quando invece vien dimostrato il ruolo decisivo svolto anche in questo contesto dalla Polonia e dalle sue corti e

dalla sua cultura. Ci si adopera quindi per far conoscere come la cultura ungherese sia spesso intimamente percorsa dal cristianesimo e dalla italianità. Ed allora Giovanni Sambuco può assurgere a modello di riferimento, ed allora non può sorprenderci più di tanto la correlazione del ruolo svolto da Roberto Bellarmino e Péter Pázmány nel rinnovamento cattolico di un secolo, il diciassettesimo, in cui in modo esemplare continuarono a coesistere latinità, cristianesimo e cultura ungherese e in cui le varie forme in cui si esprimeva la civiltà d'Ungheria si facevano conoscere anche in siti alquanto remoti.

Il Settecento è l'argomento cui rivolge la propria attenzione la quinta sezione. Si concepisce una nuova idea dell'Europa e in quest'ambito si ridiscute il ruolo del soggetto storico chiamato Ungheria. I rapporti italo-ungheresi si intensificano e in un certo senso cambiano anche la loro natura, sino ad interessare il giornalismo romano, la conoscenza sistematica dei classici in Ungheria, sino a coinvolgere la "letteratura dedicata alla valutazione dell'attività botanica" (p. 309). Né può sorprendere, fra Sette e Ottocento il tentativo di accostare l'esperienza letteraria di József Eötvös a quella del nostro Manzoni, e proprio in attinenza alle nozioni di cristianesimo, liberalismo e patriottismo.

Una più nutrita serie di relazioni si rivolge alla ricerca di Dio nella cultura del XIX e XX secolo. Tema enorme, questo, che richiede grande coraggio e notevole umiltà. E son doti che non mancano ai vari colleghi che si sono cimentati nell'arduo compito di indagare tra le pieghe più nascoste delle grandi prove umane e letterarie riconducibili ai nomi di Kosztolányi, József, Weöres. Certamente non ci si poteva prefiggere lo scopo - anche per il tempo e il luogo - di poter elaborare, come si suol dire, in maniera esaustiva, una chiave di lettura per testi così complessi e difficili. E però ognuno è riuscito a fare la propria parte, coerentemente anche con quanto suggerito dal tema generale del congresso. Possiamo infatti dire che anche relativamente alle asperità di quegli esercizi letterari certamente notevoli qualcosa in più ora lo sappiamo ed è un qualcosa sinora solo sospettato, magari formulato in tono sommesso: ed è gran cosa se possiamo ora chiaramente indicare un problema critico direttamente riconducibile a tanta letteratura sorta nel colloquio, affannoso e sofferente, con il soprannaturale. E non è poco se si è cercato di interpretare o di avviare un primo tentativo di interpretazione in questa direzione. Troppo grandi sono infatti i poeti menzionati e troppo importante è il tema della ricerca di Dio perché si continui - talora anche per un eccesso di modestia - a non affrontare quell'argomento fondamentale e inelusibile. Certo vi è ancora posto per il nichilismo, per l'ateismo, per

un'alternanza continua di paganesimo e cristianesimo; ma anche in questo contesto Dio è sempre qualcosa di ritrovato, magari inaspettato. E tutto ciò consente al critico di allargare lo sguardo, sino a rileggere la narrativa di Giorgio Pressburger, sino a individuare la continua osmosi di liturgia e ritualità nell'arte ungherese contemporanea, sino a vedere in Dio e nel paesaggio due "motivi referenziali" nella poesia ungherese contemporanea di Transilvania.

Ma è noto che il Novecento è secolo notevole anche nei rapporti storici italo-ungheresi, anche se i tempi non sempre sono stati propizi. È in ogni caso utile ricostruire i rapporti culturali italo-ungheresi fra il '45 e il '48 e in ogni caso riesce a cattivarsi la nostra stima la documentata relazione sulla funzione storica della sezione culturale della legazione in via Giulia: tante cose si sapevano, ma non tutto, e non sempre, e non da tutti. Salutiamo quindi con riconoscenza anche questo tentativo di ricostruzione che ci sembra finalmente attendibile e lontano da ogni pregiudizio.

Seguono quattro interventi che solo uno spiacevole refuso definisce di "chiosura". Eppure essi rappresentano - come dire - davvero una chiosa all'intera problematica. I titoli sono naturalmente emblematici e già suggeriscono adeguatamente le tematiche che essi vogliono affrontare e suscitare. Al di là della verità ovvia e indiscutibile contenuta in quei titoli (il truismo di cui parla Gianni Vattimo, p. 466) non si può negare la necessità, anche di prospettiva, della riflessione su quelle nozioni. Sicché, aggiungerei io, il titolo bimembre - Cristianità ed Europa moderna - in questo caso non è insignificante elemento topico, ma autentica proposta di riflessione e ricerca, che in qualche modo, anzi nel migliore dei modi, viene a corredare dei necessari stimoli quanto veniva avanzato nella relazione d'apertura, letta a suo tempo da chi vi sta parlando ora. La letteratura ungherese moderna va infatti riconsiderata quasi totalmente sul piano del metodo storico e del metodo critico. Mi sia consentito ritenere che tutto ciò non può essere compiuto senza una attenta disamina del retaggio del cristianesimo. Senza di esso non si può neanche ridefinire in modo finalmente accettabile la questione della identità nazionale in Ungheria e se questa esigenza veniva espressa da chi si mostra particolarmente sensibile alla osmosi di idee e di ideali tra Ungheria e resto d'Europa, d'altro canto il rapporto fra cristianità, cristianesimo ed Europa moderna ci viene giustamente proposto (Gianni Vattimo) all'interno dell'inevitabile dibattito sui concetti di modernità e secolarizzazione. La tesi di un'attitudine anti-metafisica, con la quale si darebbe anche una nuova ermeneutica, offre opportunità di riflessione anche nel campo delle lettere ungheresi. E

non è certo importante affermare se quella particolare via sia davvero la più adatta alla comprensione della civiltà ungherese. Per quanto mi riguarda mi è sufficiente pensare che anche quella tesi può aiutarci a meglio comprendere anche in Ungheria il rapporto fra spiritualità e lettere, nella convinzione - che recepisco da Italo Alighiero Chiusano e faccio anche mia - che "il peggio che si possa fare, riguardo a Cristo, è il non parlarne o non pensarci affatto".

E del resto non è solo il dovere di recensore che mi spinge a citare, *last but not least*, l'indirizzo di saluto di Papa Giovanni Paolo II. Sarebbe infatti erroneo ed ingiusto considerare quelle sue parole un semplice indirizzo di saluto. La sua lettura infatti ci rivela un testo non di circostanza, un testo in cui la conoscenza delle cose d'Ungheria è soprattutto al servizio di una volontà di comprensione della intera esistenza della nazione ungherese. Non appare infatti casuale o episodica la citazione di nomi illustri della storia civile e culturale d'Ungheria: e non dispiace pensare che facendo esplicito riferimento a qualche nome illustre della letteratura ungherese - penso ad esempio a Bálint Balassi - Sua Santità abbia voluto sommessamente suggerirci anche qualche possibilità euristica non proprio ovvia. È anche con il conforto di tanto suggerimento che crediamo di poter continuare noi tutti il nostro lavoro critico e di augurare un caldo accoglimento agli atti del nostro congresso.

Io non so se questa sera noi siamo chiamati a leggere solo il primo volume degli atti, cioè quello redatto in lingue che mi permetto di definire accessibili. E però sarebbe ingiusto se noi passassimo sotto silenzio quanto è contenuto negli altri due volumi, quelli appunto che contengono le relazioni concepite in ungherese. Certo, non si può negare la validità di questa redazione multilingue degli Atti, in attinenza anche alla volontà di assicurare un più fitto ricambio dialettico nella discussione dei tanti aspetti suggeriti dal tema generale del Congresso. Si è trattato di una scelta innovativa ed efficace, anche perché piace pensare ad una stretta correlazione fra la struttura del I volume e il dipanarsi delle problematiche negli altri due.

Il compito del recensore però qui si fa più arduo, perché impresa immane e velleitaria appare qualsiasi tentativo di accennare sia pur brevemente al numero davvero sterminato delle relazioni. E però un non so che di stimolante spinge pur a farlo, che si tratti di un riflesso condizionato da tutto quanto pertiene agli studi ungheresi o della tassativa obbligatorietà della conoscenza critica. E lo si farà pur in assenza di quella dovizia di particolari che non può comunque nuocere all'esattezza dell'informazione.

Son forse troppe le 47 relazioni comprese in *Régi magyar kultúra*? Non direi, perché il concetto di antico - che si tratti della storia della cultura o della sola storia letteraria - nella civiltà ungherese è quanto mai vasto, sino ad abbracciare tutto quanto venne prodotto dalle origini all'Illuminismo. Si coglie in questa sezione allora quanto di più recente ed innovativo è stato acquisito dalla ricerca scientifica in merito ad una migliore ridefinizione delle varie epoche e tendenze artistiche alla luce del rapporto vivificante col cristianesimo, con le sue correnti spirituali ma anche con le sue manifestazioni temporali. Si offrono nuovi impulsi alla tradizionale ricerca agiografica, si contribuisce a meglio definire la religiosità dell'età árpádiana, si rileggono con più agguerrita metodologia codici già noti ma non sempre adeguatamente interpretati o si presentano scritture sconosciute e destinate non di rado a mutare vecchie convinzioni. Naturalmente l'elencazione dei vari argomenti non può non essere lacunosa e non me ne vogliano i vari colleghi per ogni eventuale mancata menzione. Ma non potrò tacere i numerosi ed importanti tentativi di riflessione sul legame tra religione e vita civile, magari quando quest'ultima s'incardina nella simbologia regale di Mattia Corvino, di István Báthory, di Gábor Bethlen oppure quando la prima evoca le profonde suggestioni rilegate alle figure di San Ladislao, di Péter Pázmány, di Albert Szenci Molnár. E sono istanze interpretative, queste, che non si sentono irretite dal momento puramente celebrativo, laddove mirano a cogliere i segni di una memoria biblica che ha lasciato tracce indelebili anche nella storia più antica della civiltà ungherese. Non v'è da meravigliarsi, quindi, se in tanti contributi i criteri dell'ermeneutica non di rado interagiscono con le norme dell'esegesi biblica e comunque testuale, che si tratti di rileggere più accuratamente il retaggio umanistico di Miklós Oláh o la spiritualità ignaziana nel barocchismo di György Káldi, la presenza della patristica in Pázmány e/o la mitizzazione biblica nella poesia ungherese del Seicento.

Non saremmo nel vero, tuttavia, se in ambito carpatico-danubiano non dessimo giusto risalto anche alla cultura popolare. E così, fra letteratura e folklore, fra paraliturgia e pratiche devozionali, l'antropologia ungherese rivolge fruttuosamente il proprio impegno professionale a varie forme di religiosità popolare. Che tutto ciò sia importante anche dal punto di vista della nozione di ungarologia lo si coglie dalle nuove chiavi di lettura che permettono di meglio comprendere non soltanto un leggendario magari importante, ma anche i vari momenti evolutivi della storia della lingua ungherese.

E qui viene in soccorso il concetto di interferenza, che si tratti di comprendere la sporadicità e al contempo la continuità della presenza

magiara o di rilevare lo spessore di un prestigio che vede un antico linguaggio, spesso gelosamente custodito e tramandato, assurgere alla ufficialità della lingua letteraria. Da tutto ciò traspare l'interazione di cultura orale e civiltà della scrittura, da qui si scorge l'importanza delle tante riscritture bibliche che han creato la moderna letteratura d'Ungheria in volgare ungherese. Tema quanto mai delicato, quest'ultimo, e pur prezioso, se in esso vediamo anche la possibilità di conservare una specifica identità culturale in un ambiente decisamente e specificamente multietnico. Di qui anche l'indicazione metodologica per una sempre più nuova e ricca ricerca comparatistica, dove accanto alla tradizionale linea di raffronto orizzontale fra Oriente ed Occidente si suggerisce di collocare l'immagine di una diffusione a cerchi concentrici, il cui nucleo sia dato proprio dal soggetto storico ungherese e intorno al quale si aprono spazi culturali direttamente o indirettamente ad esso inerenti.

Ma non si tratta di ridar voce a rimpianti imperiali o a speranze nazional-popolari. Le relazioni iniziali del III volume, infatti, esprimono anch'esse la propria coerente adesione all'assunto principale: e si rileggono in quell'ottica i testi fondamentali del Romanticismo ungherese, che si tratti dell'*Himnusz* di Kölcsey, degli ariosi componimenti di Petőfi o dell'inquietante drammaturgia di Madách, di pagine importanti della dialettica fra Chiesa cattolica e Chiesa riformata alla luce della grande narrativa di Jókai e di Mikszáth, dei momenti salienti dei rapporti culturali fra Italia e Ungheria.

E così si giunge alla modernità e alle avanguardie: passaggio obbligato per immergersi ancora una volta nella concretezza dell'esperienza umana e letteraria di Endre Ady, nella penosità del grido dell'anima in Attila József, nel salterio della stentata quotidianità degli intellettuali di Transilvania. Né - a ben vedere - meno sofferente è la professione di fede di Mihály Babits, meno lontana l'eco d'un poetare - quello di Miklós Radnóti - che si ribella all'impresa ladronesca di chi tutto vuol ricondurre alle dimensioni del lager. E v'è spazio anche - e come potrebbe mancare! - v'è anche spazio, dicevo, per meglio collocare nella storia letteraria ungherese sofferenze più recenti e non per questo meno esacerbanti. Gli scritti di János Pilinszky son lì a testimoniarcì una letteratura ungherese non esangue, dove il sacrificio può divenire esasperazione ma mai disperazione.

Il cristianesimo quindi assunto anche come coscienza nazionale: vari elementi concorrono a suffragare questa tesi, che si tratti del protestantesimo ungherese o dell'atteggiamento spigoloso di József Mindszenty o della riflessione filosofica della cosiddetta scuola di Kolozsvár. E la nostra

attenzione si rivolge doverosamente, allora, a tutto quanto soggiace, nel bene e nel male, alla nozione di letteratura ungherese d'oltre confine. Il nostro Congresso si è rivolto anche a questo problema così particolare e così importante, spaziando dalle realtà europee all'interculturalità degli intellettuali ungheresi delle Americhe. Ed è con viva soddisfazione che possiamo registrare note alquanto positive anche in attinenza a questa specialissima problematica, poiché si è recuperata o si sta recuperando una condizione esistenziale e culturale meno esacerbata, il cui lo scrigno della memoria custodisce valori sempre meno indelebili, nonostante le pur abili astuzie della storia più o meno recente.

Iskola és könyvtár: alla scuola e alla biblioteca è dedicata l'ultima sezione degli Atti, che per noi può assumere un alto valore simbolico. A queste due istituzioni dell'umanesimo scientifico, nella sua integralità, infatti, vogliamo consegnare i frutti del nostro Congresso e l'attività tutta della filologia ungherese.

AMEDEO DI FRANCESCO

SÁNDOR SZILASSY, *Magyarország a szakadék szélén* [Hungary at the Brink of an Abyss]. Kaposvár: Magyar Nemzeti Történelmi Társaság, 1997, pp. 96; and its earlier English version: *Revolutionary Hungary, 1918-1921*. Astor Park, Florida: Danubian Press, Inc., 1971, pp. 143.

The Hungarian version of Szilassy's book under review is the first volume in the series «Trianon Studies» [Trianoni Tanulmányok] initiated in Hungary by the newly founded Hungarian National Historical Society [Magyar Nemzeti Történelmi Társaság] based in the city of Kaposvár, The purpose of this series - and of its sponsoring association - is to counteract the negative influences of communist rule in Hungary, when the Treaty of Trianon - the most destructive and defining event in Hungary's history since the Battle of Mohács in 1526 - could not even be mentioned, let alone examined from the vantage point of the nation that had suffered more from the punitive treaties following World War I than any other of the defeated states. The English version of this book was originally published nearly three decades ago in the so-called «Behind the Iron Curtain Series» put out by the noted Hungarian novelist, Count Albert Wass (1908-1998), for the purposes of presenting a non-Marxist view of Hungarian historical developments. In those days, historical writing in Hungary was still under the control of the Soviet-dominated Hungarian Socialist [Communist] Workers' Party. In consequence of this, it was still possible to publish major syntheses of Hungarian history with only a casual references to the Treaty of Trianon and its consequences. One of the best examples of this is *A History of Hungary* that appeared in several western languages under the editorship of Ervin Pamlényi in 1973, where Trianon is dismissed in twenty-eight lines amounting to less than a full page (pp. 461-462) in a work of 676 pages. Being published by a small press without the appropriate academic affiliation, the impact of Szilassy's English language work on American historiography concerning Hungary was naturally minimal. And this holds true notwithstanding the scholarly merit of this work, which - if put out by a major academic publisher - could have influenced many of the subsequent scholarly works touching upon the post-World War I years. Even so, Szilassy's book was recently republished in a slightly revised Hungarian edition, presumably with the hope of influencing the Hungarian reading public, which for many years had been cut off from the results of respectable Western historical scholarship. Like its earlier English language predecessor, the recently published Hungarian version

of this book covers the period between 1918 and 1921 in ten separate sections, including chapters on Hungary's involvement in World War I, the final months of the war, the country's collapse in November 1918, the establishment of a liberal republic under Count Mihály Károlyi, and that of a Soviet Republic under Béla Kun, the transition from communism to nationalism, the rise of Admiral Nicholas Horthy to power, the signing of the Peace Treaty of Trianon, King/Emperor Karl's two unsuccessful attempts to return to the Hungarian throne, the resulting dethronization of the Habsburg dynasty, and the beginnings of social and political consolidation under Admiral Horthy's leadership. Szilassy's work is based partially on the products of traditional historical scholarship of the post-Trianon period, and partially on archival materials found in several American archives, including those of Stanford University's Hoover Institutions, the National Archives in Washington, the Library of Congress, and the Archives of Columbia University Library. These collections contain many of the papers of the post-World War I Hungary's political leaders and political regimes. Szilassy's tone in this volume is that of a perceptive and detached scholar, who at the same time has an emotional link to his topic. It reflects considerable reading and much archival research. At the same time it also reflects the author's lack of effort or desire to incorporate the results of more recent historical research into his volume. Much has been done in this area during the past three decades both in Hungary in the United States, and the author should probably have taken cognizance of this fact. As it stands, based on his notes, the Hungarian version of his book appears like a reprint of the three decades old volume. Notwithstanding his failure to incorporate the results of more recent historical scholarship into his volume, Szilassy's book is a most useful volume. It gives a clear, concise, and at times captivating overview of Hungary's historical evolution at a moment of its history when it found itself «on the brink of an abyss.» Szilassy's narrative is preceded by an essay authored by Kálmán Magyar, the current President of the Hungarian National Historical Society, as well as by the author's own introduction, where he describes the scenes of his archival research. The latter does contain a slight misstatement concerning the Hoover Institution, which is located not in the «neighborhood of Stanford University,» but right in the very center of the Stanford campus. Szilassy's volume is supplemented by an Appendix that contains ten relevant documents (letters, speeches, proclamations), a review of the original English version of this book, several photographs and maps, a selective name and subject index, as well as a short biographical essay about the author. *Magyarország a szakadék szélén* [Hungary on the Brink of an Abyss] is a scholarly, yet popular work that deserves to be read by all who crave an objective analysis of Hungary's political evolution during one of the darkest periods of its history.

STEVEN BÉLA VÁRDY

ÁGNES HUSZÁR VÁRDY, *Mimi*. Chicago: Atlantis-Centaur Publishers, 1999, pp. 384.

For many readers the title of this novel implies so-called «women's fiction» that is allegedly of greater interest to members of the fairer sex than to men in general. In reality, however, *Mimi* is much more than a women's novel. It is social and historical fiction of the best kind, offering both entertainment and powerful social analysis, and consequently has much to offer to every reader regardless of gender. In addition to presenting a well-drawn portrait of interwar Hungary's class-conscious society, the novel is an outstanding depiction of the life of the Hungarian rural aristocracy as well as the gentry class that surrounded it. At the same time it also offers a glimpse into urban middle class existence, presenting a startlingly penetrating critique of contemporary Hungarian society. The author's roots reach back to the very same social circles which are portrayed in the novel and from which she drew her heroes and heroines. Although she had no personal experiences in the neo-Baroque world of interwar Hungary, she was fortunate enough to be able to rely on a number of informants who did so. Along with meticulous research, these bits of information enabled her to sense instinctively the inner reality of the world that used to surround her parents, grandparents and other relatives. Based on these second-hand «experiences» she successfully recreated that bygone age, and at the same time drew a number of realistic, and at times harsh conclusions about it.

The novel describes the life of a Hungarian aristocratic family - the Galánffy's - but with particular attention to the family's youngest member, Baroness Mimi. Through her actions, trials and tribulations, we can follow the process that has led to the disintegration of the social class from which she stemmed. The violent storms of our century have swept away the world into which Mimi was born, and wherein she has lived and matured. At the end of the novel she is forced to flee her beloved homeland, and has to face the reality that she may never be able to return, and that she may have to spend her entire life in exile.

The last two chapters of the novel make it into a roman á clef, where historical personalities under various pseudonyms alternate with others under their real names. At that point, Mimi and her husband Péter experience the exact same agony that the author's parents and many thousands of other Hungarian families were forced to experience in consequence of

the final «struggle between two barbarians» - the German Nazis and Soviet Communists. In this clash of two «infidels» the Hungarian upper and upper-middle classes were crushed to pieces with the realization that there was no more room for them in their own native country. They were forced to find refuge in various foreign lands so as to escape incarceration or extermination. The author's parents have lived through those critical months, when they were compelled to make fateful decisions concerning their future and the future of their newborn daughter. Thereafter, the author's life was determined by her parents' decision to leave Hungary and later emigrate to America. She was born a Hungarian in Hungary, she grew up as a Hungarian in the United States, and while she became an American, she still managed to preserve her Hungarian emotional, intellectual, and cultural identity. This fact is reflected in virtually every line of her novel. The author is able to identify with the bygone world of her parents with its many social problems, the predicaments and joys of her extended family, as well as with the plight of the Hungarian people to such an extent that one would think that she had spent her childhood and youth in Hungary during the 1930s and early 1940s. But that is not the case, for she could have learned about that era only through the experiences of others. She displays an unusual capacity to identify with the world of pre-World War II Hungary, and to narrate the history of Baroness Mimi's family. Equally commendable is her ability to connect the historical and political background to the tribulations of the Galánffy family, and at the same time to make it comprehensible to Americans and other English speaking readers. This is all the more a great achievement, since most of the latter have only a vague idea about Central Europe and about the small country that is the homeland of Ágnes Huszár Várdy's ancestors. Although the novel has also appeared in Hungarian translation, (Debrecen, Csokonai Kiadó, 1997) it was written in English, intended for the Anglo-Saxon world).

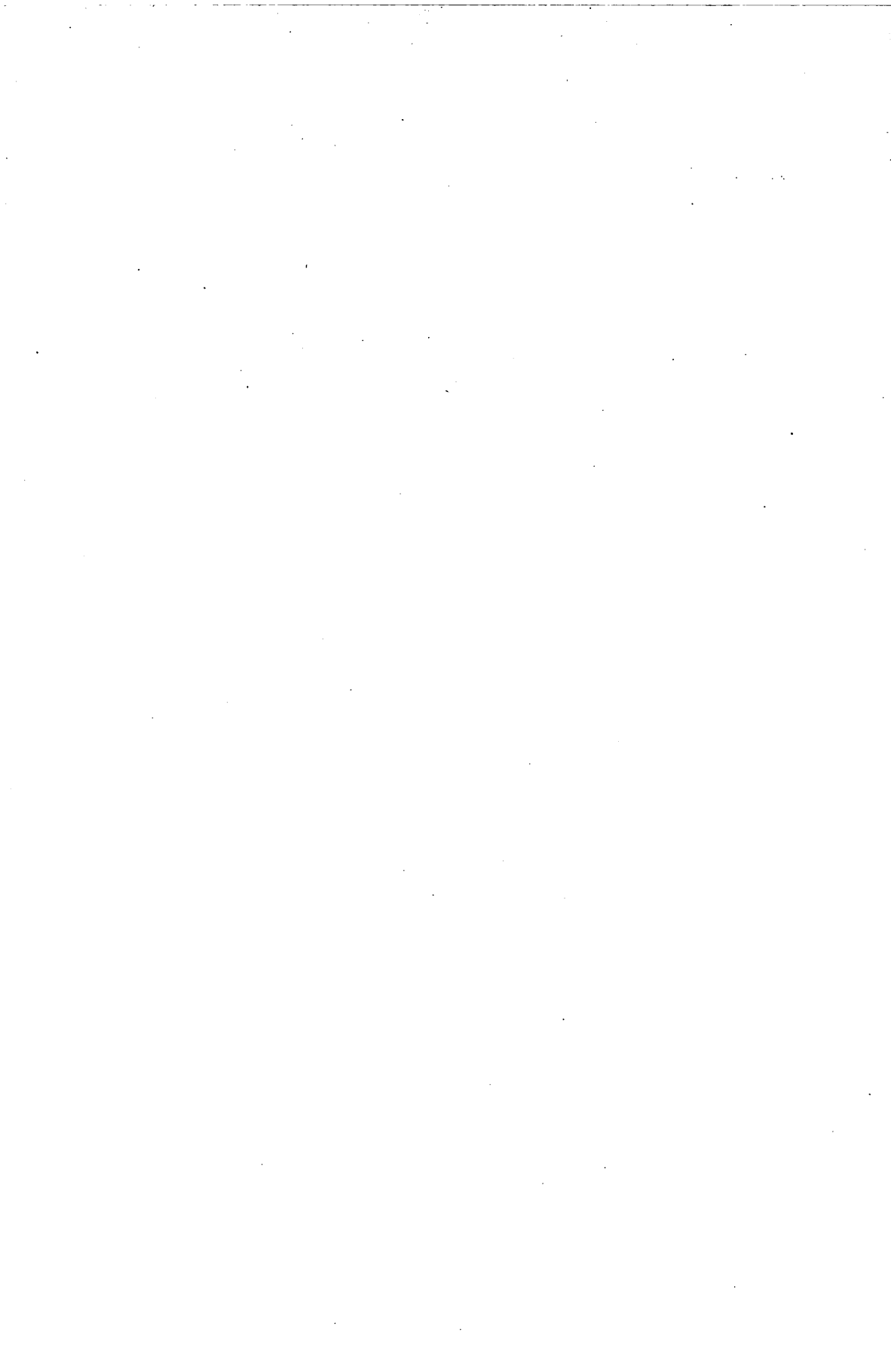
I am convinced that the author had two distinct goals in writing this novel. She wanted to write fiction that everyone, regardless of national origin, could enjoy. At the same time, however, she also wished to inform her readers about the vicissitudes of World War II and their impact on the world that her parents left behind, a world she did not personally experience, but still holds dear to her heart. She has achieved both of these goals. For this reason I can truly recommend Mimi to every reader, but in particular to those who have a desire to learn about the bygone age of interwar Hungary. It was a country, which - notwithstanding its many social shortcomings - still represented a world of decency, honesty, and stability. The two strongest features of the novel include the authentic portrait of the era in its historical setting and the vivid characterization of the major characters. Every character in the novel comes alive, and each has a sufficiently exciting story to make the reader want to read on. Particularly successful are the author's descriptions of the last few peaceful

years of the age characterized by Admiral Miklós Horthy's regency, the euphoria connected with the return of Northern Transylvania to Hungary, the country's unfortunate slide into the war on the wrong side of the political fence, the search for an escape from that destructive war, the growth of anti-Semitism, the country's German occupation in the early part of 1944, the resulting cruelty of the Holocaust, the country's occupation by the destructive Soviet Red Army, the people's flight from Hungary, and finally the emigrant existence the young couple, Mimi and Péter have to face in the spring of 1945.

The action of the novel is fast-moving, and grows more exciting with every page, until it reaches a point where one cannot put it down without having read it to the end. Once finished, the novel leaves the reader with the craving for more, a desire to learn more about the fate of Mimi, her husband, and their unborn child. We on our part also hope that the author will not leave us waiting for too long, that she will soon come forth with the second installment of her promised trilogy.

GYÖRGY STIRLING

CRONACHE



Giornata di studio in memoria di Eeva Elina Uotila. Napoli 6.12.2000, di cui si riproduce l' intervento di Pirjo Nummenaho.

Ci è molto gradita l'occasione di presentarvi questo volume per poter ricordare con voi la nostra collega e, soprattutto, la nostra amica Eeva Elina Uotila, che purtroppo ci ha lasciato prematuramente nel 1995. Abbiamo voluto far cadere questa ricorrenza oggi, in occasione della festa dell'Indipendenza della Finlandia, data storica, molto importante e molto sentita da noi tutti finlandesi.

Prima di cominciare vorrei presentarvi il Prof. Raimo Anttila, ordinario di linguistica generale presso l'Università di Los Angeles e la Professoressa Eve Mikone dell'Accademia di Turku. Sono qui venuti, in questa importante occasione, a testimoniare la stima e l'affetto per la Uotila. Il volume, intitolato *Selected loans into Finnish and Baltic-Finnic (and some aspects of Finnish grammar)*, è nato dal desiderio di molti studiosi, di diverse nazionalità, di raccogliere in un'unica pubblicazione gli scritti più importanti della Uotila, sparsi in molti paesi ed in varie riviste, pertanto difficilmente reperibili. I ventiquattro articoli della Uotila qui riuniti, affrontano, per lo più, i problemi dei prestiti lessicali, delle etimologie e degli aspetti morfosintattici. Al pubblico italiano interesserà, naturalmente, quello dedicato alle traduzioni di Dante in Finlandia, laddove gli studi sui prestiti lessicali saranno di particolare rilievo per gli studiosi di finno-ugristica e di indoeuropeistica.

Con finezza, infatti, la Uotila ha analizzato l'origine di molte parole contribuendo a colmare delle lacune. Così, per esempio, la parola *hintä* 'prezzo', un prestito baltico in finlandese, nei suoi studi è messa in relazione con la parola 'cento' dell'italiano. Brillantemente lei risolve il problema semantico, in quanto connette la parola *hintä* al contesto storico e, pertanto, all'antica caccia agli scoiattoli nella quale cento pellami corrispondevano ad una piccola moneta. Un altro esempio della capacità pragmatica e intuitiva della Uotila è fornito dal modo in cui, esaminando il lemma *suhde* 'rapporto', individua una fonte baltica della parola, ribaltando l'interpretazione precedente secondo la quale *suhde* sarebbe derivato dalla posposizione *suhteen* 'riguardante', laddove i rapporti

vanno invertiti e, quindi, *suhde* > *suhteen*.

Ma tornando all'origine del nostro volume potrei dire, se mi è consentito, che il Prof. Anttila è da considerarsi il "motore" di tutta l'operazione e gli sono grata di aver chiesto la mia collaborazione, cosa della quale mi sento molto onorata. Va detto, però, che solo la sensibilità dell'I.U.O. qui oggi rappresentato dal Preside Prof. Maisano, dal Direttore del Dipartimento Prof. Bertolissi e dal Presidente del Corso di Laurea Prof. Di Francesco, ha permesso la pubblicazione del presente volume e, dunque, anche a loro va il nostro ringraziamento per la disponibilità ampiamente dimostrata.

Un profondo legame di amicizia e di stima si era creato, nel tempo, tra me e la Uotila; la ricordo non solo come amica ma anche come docente, fin dall'anno accademico 1976/77. Fu donna di grande spessore culturale e rigore scientifico. Nel 1981, per la prima volta in Italia, fu nominata professore ordinario di Lingua e Letteratura Finlandese ma mostrò sempre, nella sua carriera, umiltà e sensibilità; fu dunque una bella persona, un esempio per noi tutti. Ne ricordo ancora le parole, un mese prima di morire: diceva di aver trascorso un felice anno in Finlandia, perché aveva potuto godere della natura finlandese e della compagnia della madre alla quale era profondamente legata.

Ma, al di là delle memorie personali, desidero sottolineare il valore internazionale della studiosa, il cui campo di ricerca fu molto vasto; lavorò sempre, nonostante la malattia. Il suo ultimo articolo sulle etimologie di *konna*, *kontio* e *orava* (*Konna*, *kontio* and *orava*. Euphemistic Animal Names in Baltic Finnic) uscì nel 1995, pochi mesi prima della sua morte; lo troviamo nel primo numero della rivista "Studi Finno-Ugrici", rivista pubblicata dal nostro dipartimento e della quale fu fondatrice insieme con il Prof. Di Francesco.

Va ancora sottolineato il lavoro svolto da Eeva nel campo della didattica. È d'obbligo ricordare, la sua grammatica "La lingua finlandese", unica in lingua italiana (pubblicata nel 1975) che avrebbe desiderato rielaborare, inserendo commenti storici, insieme al Prof. Danilo Gheno dell'Università di Padova. Grazie all'acume con cui attraversava questioni storico-linguistiche, su argomenti non sempre di facile apprendimento, le sue lezioni erano sempre seguite con interesse. Del resto lei stessa ammetteva: "Nel mio insegnamento ho dovuto riflettere molto sulla possibilità di rendere più vive, più concrete, più comprensibili le nuove parole che devono essere via via apprese. Ho cercato soluzioni

per alleviare il frequente senso di frustrazione che gli studenti dimostrano davanti al crescente numero di parole da imparare, parole che loro trovano difficili da ricordare in quanto "strane", così differenti dalle parole della loro lingua e da quelle delle altre lingue che conoscono. La grammatica è un sistema di regole su cui si ragiona, ma anche sul lessico si può ragionare per renderlo più vivo e concreto. L'analisi ragionata del lessico si è dimostrata particolarmente proficua ai livelli superiori dell'insegnamento della lingua, quando si arriva a dover interpretare testi letterari e operare con un "corpus" lessicale più cospicuo e complesso. Secondo la mia esperienza *la spiegazione storica* favorisce molto il ragionamento sul lessico. L'approccio storico offre diverse occasioni per fare escursioni nella storia delle parole. Quando si conosce l'etimologia o la storia semantica di una parola o la connessione derivativa tra due o più parole, si prova una soddisfazione intellettuale dovuta alla comprensione, una soddisfazione che il semplice apprendimento meccanico non dà."¹

A completare il suo ritratto, tracciato già nel 1996 dal Prof. Terho Itkonen su 'Virittäjä' e nel 1999 dalla Professoressa Sirkka-Liisa Hahmo su 'Finnisch-ugrische Forschungen', giunge dunque il nostro volume, un contributo importante per gli studiosi, un segno di affetto per gli amici.

PIRJO NUMMENHAHO

¹ Eeva Uotila, citazione dalle dispense del suo corso di "Lingua e letteratura finlandese". Cfr. anche: *Suomen kielen ja kirjallisuuden opetus Italiassa*. (Résumé: Insegnamento di lingua e letteratura finlandese in Italia), in "Rapporti culturali tra Italia e Finlandia", Turku 1987, pp. 221-231.

The finno-ugric people in the nordic countries.

V congresso della serie: 'The Roots of Peoples and Languages of Northern Eurasia'; Matarenki-Övertorneå, 25-28 Aprile, 2002.

In una località situata nel nord della Svezia, presso le coste del golfo di Botnia, a soli pochi chilometri a sud del Circolo Polare Artico, si è svolto lo scorso aprile il quinto congresso appartenente alla serie 'The Roots of Peoples and Languages of Northern Eurasia'. La piccola e ridente cittadina, che con entusiasmo, generosità ed efficiente organizzazione ha ospitato il congresso, è designata con due nomi, il nome finnico *Matarenki* ed il nome svedese *Övertorneå*, essendo tale cittadina situata su entrambe le sponde del fiume Tornio (e della omonima valle), che delinea appunto il confine tra la Svezia e la Finlandia. Il congresso si è tenuto presso la sede della scuola popolare della valle del Tornio ('Tornedalens folkhögskola'), su territorio svedese.

Questa serie di congressi è organizzata annualmente da quello che Urmas Sutrop (nella introduzione al primo volume della sua rivista *TRAMES* 2001), ha definito "'The roots" club'. Il club è stato fondato nel 1997 da un gruppo di studiosi che provengono da paesi e discipline diverse, ma che si ritrovano unificati sotto l'egida di una tesi, un' idea comune: l'idea che la teoria finno-ugrica /uralica classica non possa più ritenersi valida (e che quindi debba essere abbandonata) alla luce dei sorprendenti risultati delle recenti ricerche archeologiche, genetiche, antropologiche nonché linguistiche. Tali risultati, allo stato attuale apparentemente inconfutabili, rivelano una serie di fatti che chiaramente contraddicono gli assunti e le predizioni fondamentali associate sia al paradigma uralico classico, sia al tradizionale modello di sviluppo linguistico ad albero. Per esempio, la ricerca genetica e quella antropologica dimostrano che le popolazioni finniche sono popolazioni autoctone del nord-est europeo e che sono geneticamente 'europoidi'. Risulta inoltre che i Samoiedi, i Voguli e gli Ostiachi, cioè le popolazioni 'uraliche' che vivono sul versante orientale degli Urali (nella Siberia occidentale), anch'esse essenzialmente autoctone, sono al contrario geneticamente 'mongoloidi'. La ricerca archeologica a sua volta conferma questi dati rivelando come non ci siano assolutamente tracce di migrazioni nella direzione prevista

dal paradigma tradizionale, cioè dalla zona degli Urali verso ovest per quanto riguarda gli 'uralici' europei, e verso est per quanto riguarda gli 'uralici' asiatici.

Il club degli studiosi di 'Roots' si propone dunque, attraverso congressi annuali (e relativa pubblicazione degli 'Atti') di approfondire e confrontare i risultati di tale ricerca multi-disciplinare, allo scopo di giungere alla formulazione di un modello di origine e di sviluppo delle lingue (cosiddette) uraliche che sia più realistico ed aderente alle attuali conoscenze linguistiche ed extra-linguistiche.

Il titolo specifico di questo quinto incontro, organizzato dalla 'Meän akateemi-Academia Tornedaliensis' in cooperazione con il 'Dipartimento di Finnico' della Università di Stoccolma (co-ordinatore: Birger Winsa), è stato: *The Finno-Ugric People in the Nordic Countries*, titolo che riflette il contenuto di buona parte delle relazioni presentate.

I nomi dei partecipanti ed i titoli delle rispettive relazioni, sono i seguenti: Kalevi Wiik (Finlandia), 'Discorso di apertura'; Birger Winsa (Svezia), *Multicultural North calotte region*; Kalevi Wiik, *Dialectal evidence on a language shift in Northern Scandinavia*; Pauli Saukkonen (Finlandia), *Two origins of the Saamic population*; Jurij Kuzmenko (S. Pietroburgo/Berlino), *Saami influence on the development of the Scandinavian languages*; Helge Guttormsen (Norvegia), *Kvens and Saami in Norway*; Maud Vedin (Svezia), *The Forest Finns in Scandinavia*; Tuula Eskeland (Norvegia), *The Finnish place-names in Southern Norway*; Juha Pentikäinen (Finlandia), *Arctic Shamanhood - questions of interpreting the sacred singing: language and knowledge of 'those who know'*; Timo Leisiö (Finlandia), *The musicality of humans and the Arctic shortage of instrumental music*; Ilpo Saastamoinen (Finlandia), *Schaman traditions, music, performances and discussion on traditional music*; János Puzstay (Ungheria), *The categorisation of Uralic languages*; Ago Künnap (Estonia), *Samoyed languages — newcomers in the Uralic language group*; Larisa Leisiö (Finlandia), *The dilemma of the Nganasan language in the Taimyr Peninsula*; Pavel M. Dolukhanov (Gran Bretagna), *New evidence and hypothesis on the archaeology and languages in Northern Eurasia*; Richard Villems (Estonia), *Comparative study of maternal and paternal lineages among Eastern European - Western Siberian Uralic and Altaic-speaking populations*; Milton Núñez (Finlandia), *Searching for cultural and settlement continuity in Finnish prehistory*; Kyösti Julku (Finlandia), *Der älteste Ursprung der Magyaren*; Markku Niskanen (Finlandia), *The origins of Europeans*; Angela Marcantonio (Italia), *Linguistic palaeontology: science or fiction? A case study in Uralic linguistics*; Kalevi Wiik, 'Discorso di chiusura'.

Tra i vari eventi culturali che hanno arricchito il convegno (organizzati dalla locale 'Sisu-radio' e dalla 'Tornedalens folkhögskola'), partico-

larmente piacevole è stata la presentazione di canti ed inni tradizionali, accompagnati dal tradizionale 'kantele', lo strumento musicale dei cantori del *Kalevala*.

Gli 'Atti' di questo quinto congresso, curati dallo storico Kyösti Julku (autore del 'manifesto' di 'Roots', nel 1997) e dal linguista Kalevi Wiik, saranno pubblicati dal 'Dipartimento di Finnico' della Università di Stoccolma nel 2003.

ANGELA MARCANTONIO

Péter Hajdú, Uralista (auto)ironico.

È scomparso in questi giorni a Budapest (19.9.2002) uno dei più grandi uralisti del nostro tempo, Péter Hajdú. Mai la definizione di uralista si è attagliata meglio. Infatti la sua prima consistente indagine, dopo un articolo sullo stesso tema pubblicato addirittura nel 1943 (Hajdú 1943), egli la dedicò alle lingue e ai popoli samoiedi, che determinarono - con la loro attribuzione allo stesso ceppo linguistico degli ugrofinni - la nascita della comune denominazione "uralico". La monografia (Hajdú 1949; integrata in Hajdú 1962 e in Hajdú—Domokos 1978) costituiva una novità assoluta in Ungheria, perché sino allora tutte le opere della disciplina si limitavano a trattare il settore ugrofinnico propriamente detto (ved. per es. Zsirai 1937). Hajdú aveva al momento della pubblicazione 26 anni (era nato nella capitale magiara il 27.12.1923) e aveva già al suo attivo 15 tra articoli e recensioni.

Aveva frequentato quale studente di ungherese e di tedesco l'Eötvös Kollégium e la Facoltà Umanistica dell'università della città natale, divenendo allievo, oltre che di József Györke e di Gyula Laziczus, di Miklós Zsirai, l'unico ugrofinnista al di fuori dell'Unione Sovietica che con la sintesi citata (Zsirai 1937) era riuscito a procurarsi materiale recente sulla situazione dei popoli e delle lingue affini all'ungherese inglobate nell'URSS. Hajdú mise a frutto gli insegnamenti del maestro, unendo sin dai primi saggi un'intuizione straordinaria a una capacità di sfruttare le fonti più insignificanti. Uno dei risultati maggiormente noti fu il bel volume, tuttora ambito dai bibliofili quanto introvabile, uscito nei primi anni 60 (Hajdú 1962). Le notizie linguistiche vi si fondono con quelle etnografiche e a volte letterarie, così che di ogni popolo si ha una descrizione completa e sfaccettata, con qua e là ottimi brani di traduzione di poesia popolare. Sono particolarmente preziose le illustrazioni, curate personalmente dall'autore, che fissano caratteristiche di oggetti a volte assai astrusi o peregrini per il lettore moderno.

La ricompensa per la sua alacre attività scientifica non si fece attendere. Dal 1959 era divenuto professore e direttore della Cattedra di Ugrofinnistica dell'Università "Attila József" di Szeged, dove restò sino al 1974, creando una cospicua scuola di uralisti, tra cui, con Tibor Mikola,

Péter Simoncsics, Gizella Labádi, Tamás Janurik, Tamás Márk, mi onoro di annoverarmi anch'io. Nel 1974 si trasferisce a Budapest, essendo stato nominato responsabile dell'Istituto di Linguistica (*Nyelvtudományi Intézet*) dell'Accademia Ungherese delle Scienze (MTA). Da tale mansione nel 1982 passa a reggere - e vi rimane per 13 anni - la Cattedra di Ugrofinnistica dell'Università "Loránd Eötvös" di Budapest. Al di là di queste tappe tra il 1969 e l'85 fu redattore responsabile di *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, la più classica rivista ungherese di linguistica, dal '70 al '76 membro corrispondente e poi, dal 1976 al decesso, membro ordinario dell'MTA. Fu socio di numerose istituzioni culturali e scientifiche (Société Finno-Ougrienne, Societas Uralo-Altaica, Finnish Literary Society, Kalevala Seura ecc.). Ricevette più di un riconoscimento ufficiale, l'ultimo dei quali il Premio Széchenyi nel 1994.

Nella primavera del 1972 ebbi modo di incontrarlo per la prima volta presso l'Università di Szeged. Si era organizzata una delle periodiche feste un po' folcloristiche un po' di semplice svago di *finnugor szakosok*. Tra le autorità accademiche che salutavano gli studenti v'era Hajdú, l'altro docente di ugrofinnistica Mikola, ecc. Desideroso di conoscere finalmente di persona il celebre uralista, noto dai suoi avvincenti scritti, anch'io - allora a Szeged come lettore di italiano - andai alla festa. Mi misi a stringere le mani dei professori all'ingresso della sala, ma, attratto dall'imponenza della figura di Mikola, con molto calore iniziai con lui, credendolo Hajdú. Questi, capito l'equivoco, quando ci stringemmo la mano, disse col suo tipico sorriso schietto un qualcosa come "Fossi giovane e baldo come Mikola *tanár úr!*". In effetti aveva il fisico tormentato da diverse malattie, anche ossee, che lo costringevano spesso a muoversi col bastone, ma il suo aspetto passava in secondo piano, quasi svaniva davanti alla vivacità e alla brillantezza dell'eloquio e del comportamento. (Nota tra parentesi che malgrado tutto ebbe la ventura di sopravvivere al meno attempato Mikola.)

Ricorreva volentieri all'ironia e all'autoironia. Nel 1992 diedi alle stampe la mia rielaborazione in italiano del suo manuale *Az uráli nyelvészet alapkérdései* (Hajdú 1981). Al momento di scegliere il titolo del volume nella nostra lingua, si discusse con lui e l'editore e si giunse a preferire *Introduzione alle lingue uraliche*. A. Marcantonio recensì il libro e, dopo varie, talora contorte considerazioni, ebbe da ridire sulla parola "introduzione", per lei fuorviante. Lo riferii all'ormai amico Hajdú in uno dei nostri tradizionali incontri estivi a un caffè di Batthyány tér; lui senza pensarci troppo replicò: "Non le sta bene *bevezetés?* Forse sarebbe stato più consono *kivezetés!*?" (e su un programma di *kivezetés* in rapporto alla linguistica uralica imbasti poi alla metà degli anni 90

un'applaudita conferenza all'Accademia).

Hajdú era un linguista molto attento alle tendenze moderne. In Hajdú—Domokos 1978 applicò a certi aspetti dell'uralistica gli schemi dell'analisi tipologica e della linguistica areale, non tralasciando gli universali (pp. 93-137). Però le sue sistemazioni più riuscite sono di tenore storico-comparativo e descrittivo. Cominciò con *Bevezetés az uráli nyelvtudományba* (Hajdú 1966), in cui dall'origine dei popoli di lingua uralica, attraverso i metodi dell'uralistica e la descrizione della protolingua, si spinge a una ricostruzione perfetta del fonetismo e di tutti i tratti morfologici dell'ungherese riconducibili alla sua natura uralica. L'opera nell'arco di vent'anni ebbe quattro edizioni. Due anni più tardi in Hajdú 1968 espose da par suo il sistema grammaticale dello juraco (nenets) e del selcupo, con una silloge di testi nelle due lingue e in traduzione ungherese e relativi vocabolarietti (i primi concernenti lingue samoiede e ungherese). Un impegnativo compendio sia dell'aspetto descrittivo sia di quello storico-comparativo delle lingue uraliche è il già citato Hajdú 1981, che, accanto alla presentazione strutturale e storica delle lingue viventi (1. parte), riepiloga i risultati più recenti raggiunti nella ricostruzione del protouralico (2. parte); a queste si aggiunge una 3. parte sulle teorie più fantastiche circa l'origine e la parentela dell'ungherese ritornate a poco a poco in auge. Vista l'importanza, *Az uráli nyelvészet alapkérdései*, oltre che in italiano, è stato edito - aggiornato - in tedesco in Hajdú—Domokos 1987.

Péter Hajdú fu assai operoso: in un volume a lui offerto in omaggio (UT 1983) sono elencati sino all'anno indicato 284 lavori (ved. pp. 7-31 [J. H. Kiss—J. H. Laborc—P. Simoncsics, "Hajdú Péter tudományos munkássága"]), ma so che nel 2002 sono saliti ben sopra i 300.

Al termine del mio ricordo non posso tacere di un problema esaminato a più riprese dallo studioso ungherese: la questione dell'*Urheimat* uralica. La sua vivacità mentale si rivela anche nel fatto che era pronto a ricredersi appena veniva a conoscenza di nuovi dati o indizi. La questione dell'*Urheimat* attraversa l'intera sua attività di ricerca, a partire da Hajdú 1953. Ancora al principio degli anni 60 egli sosteneva la cd. teoria classica della protopatria, cioè la sua collocazione europea, attorno al medio Volga (cfr. Hajdú 1962: 32-44), ma già in Hajdú 1966, convinto dai nuovi studi pollinologici e archeologici in Unione Sovietica, afferma: "Elődeink lakóhelye tehát Nyugat-Szibériában, az Ob alsó folyása és az Urál hegység között lehetett" (p. 9). E questa teoria davvero uralica - sostanzialmente accettata anche ai giorni nostri - sarà supportata ulteriormente in Hajdú 1975: 32-5, Hajdú—Domokos 1978: 53-60, Hajdú—Domokos 1987: 279-99 ecc.

Nell'ultima lettera, inviata il 7.2.2001, scrisse: "Kedves Danilo! Nagyon köszönöm karácsonyi üdvözlőleveleket és az új Cittadella-i cím megküldését. Késve tudok csak válaszolni, mert beleőrültem a számítógépbe [...], ami számomra kedves időtöltés, pláne hogy hasznomra is válik [...]". Si firmò in caratteri cirillici: "Pëtr Stepanovit_". Immagino che voleva anche lui essere ricordato così, curioso e ironico sino alla fine.

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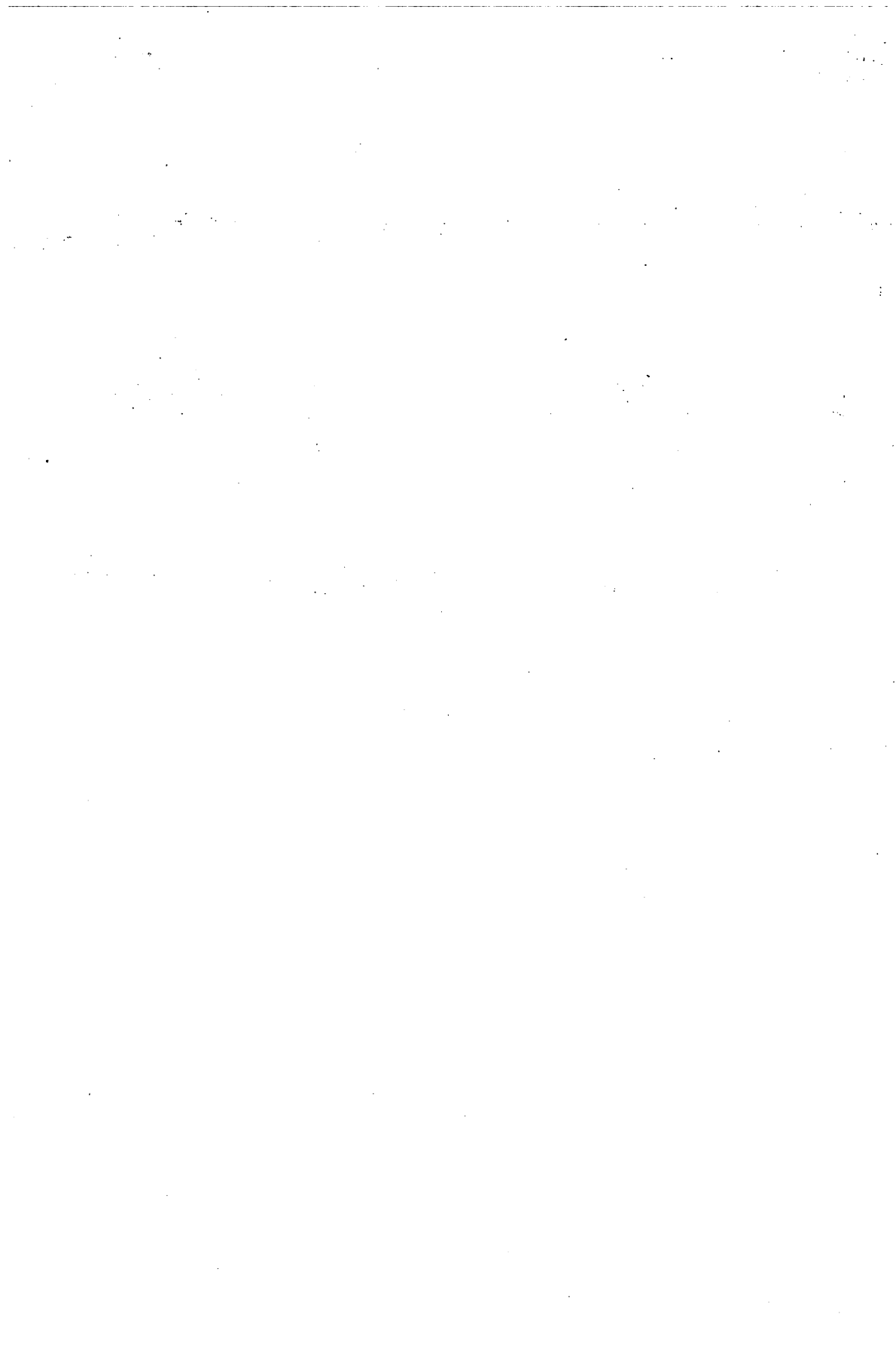
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