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JANUS PANNONIUS: THE POETICS OF THE GROTESQUE

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The erotic epigrams of Janus Pannonius have historically been the focus of scholarly debate regarding both their authenticity and their possible biographical implications for the future bishop of Pécs.[1] Now, however, it is generally agreed that the poems were written by Janus and composed for the most part during his years in Ferrara at Guarino da Verona's school.[2] Janus' studies in Ferrara were financed by his uncle János Vitéz, Cardinal Archbishop of Esztergom, a powerful figure in the development of the intellectual life of the Hungarian Renaissance who contributed to the reestablishment of a university in Hungary.[3] Pier Paolo Vergerio, a friend of Guarino, also played a role in the Hungarian Humanist movement through his influence over Vitéz and his ties to the intellectual currents of Italy.[4] Thus Janus' intellectual interests were fostered by this fortunate configuration of power and scholarship, which resulted in a curious mixture of political success coupled with eventual accusations of treason and an early death in 1472, at the age of thirty-eight.[5] Marianna Birnbaum, in the most recent book dealing with Janus' life, mentions that at Guarino's school Janus was not only provided with a humanist education in Greek and Latin, but was also exposed to the erotic poetry of Beccadelli as Guarino himself was an admirer of the *Hermaphroditus*.[6] Nevertheless, the purpose of this paper is not to discuss the biography of Janus Pannonius since this has been done by other scholars, but to provide a preliminary analysis of the poems that have frequently been put into the categories of erotic or pornographic literature.

The need to insert these poems into established categories such as the erotic or the pornographic, speaks more to the critic's inability to deal with the sexual aspect as it approaches the borders of the poetic than it contributes to any reading of the poems. These poems themselves carry a history of academic modesty and prudery that has resulted in their absence from certain editions of Janus' poems. In fact, the Teleki edition, widely acknowledged for its accuracy, includes the erotic epigrams but encodes the obscene words of certain poems, apparently duplicating the way they appear in the Codex

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Vaticanus 2837.[7] Each letter of the coded word represents the consonant immediately following it in the alphabet. In the case of "De Lucia" (141), even the name of his mistress, Lucia, is coded.[8] Perhaps when faced with an epigram that deals with the loss of an erection, even the name of the woman involved becomes pornographic in its own right. Oddly, other poems which contain material that could be viewed as explicit, are not necessarily coded.[9] It is precisely this desire to determine what the poems are through the use of such classifying dicta as pornography, eroticism, or even the dismissive schoolboy fantasizing, that distracts the critical eye from a reading of the poem. The move to dismiss these epigrams because the perceived subject disrupts our notions of how eroticism can enter the realm of the poetic as well as carefully preserved assumptions about the moral and religious character of the author, ignores the possibility that these poems are disruptive in themselves. The poetic body that emerges is one that reaches grotesque proportions and as it expands and swallows it becomes a highly erotic body. Such a body challenges and disrupts normatized patterns which formulate erotic exchanges between well-understood and conventional sexual modes.[10] In order to attempt a reading of this problematic group of poems, it seems necessary to also undertake a discussion of the situation of obscenity as it lends itself to the development of an erotic body that is no longer in the process of defining sexual exchange as exchange. This emerging grotesque body constantly expands, and through its size and mutability challenges the limits of sexuality. The use of obscenity with regard to a body such as this does not suggest a reduction, or a narrowly defined notion of the specificity of the male or female body as it is articulated through the sexual act. Such a limited understanding of obscenity would only serve to curtail the functions of the body, reducing and dismissing the potential for rupture and critique. The obscene addresses the possibility of an ambivalent sexuality, one that is not bound and articulated through a polarized sexual act modeled on economic and cultural propriety. The body loses the restrictions that define sexuality as a medium for exchange by means of the positioning of male–female sexual borders which in turn bespeak corresponding power structures. What takes place is not an erasure of gender, but a re-figuration wherein the body as it enters erotic landscapes and situations also participates in the breaking apart of the borders that contain and codify sex as an act marked and defined by familial and tolerated systems.[11] The concept of the pornographic also undergoes a certain rupture, and the realm of the strictly erotic loses its confines in order to function at the rhetorical or poetic level of the text.

The series of poems that will provide the basis for this paper are chosen not simply because of their erotic character, a difficult and unclear category in

itself. Rather, they have been selected because they constitute a group of poems that attempt to situate eroticism by displacing and removing the restriction of a heavily structured sexuality based upon the economic and regularized exchange of sexuality over clearly defined societal borders. These poems place sexuality within the growing and changing body that constantly makes itself ambiguous by altering and extending its own borders. This grotesque body becomes the medium and means for a break-down of the elements that formulate the binary exchange implicit in normatized sexual behaviors. The oppositional nature of sexual relations is dissolved and a double body capable of articulating itself through a non-polar eroticism emerges. Such an erotic schema does not coincide with the well-ordered cultural categories of male and female. The obscenity of this eroticism does not lie within a notion of impropriety, as the body does not operate as a proper space. Rather, obscenity stems from the shift that takes place when the body becomes disengaged from the standardized practices of sexuality.[12] The grotesque body is one that is inherently in the process of transgressing implicit borders and therefore obscenity loses its force as a transgression, and instead contributes to the articulation of a new eroticism.

The problematic category of the grotesque has certainly been approached by scholars other than M.M. Bakhtin outside of what might be considered erotic or pornographic literature and art. C. F. Flögel in *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen*[13] and *Geschichte des Burlesken*[14] discusses the combination of high and low that specifically characterize the burlesque. The elements of culture usually considered high because they form an index of seriousness and acceptability are re-positioned so that they no longer occupy their recognized positions. Tragedy also operates as an element of the high culture that burlesque attacks through grotesque and exaggerated gestures which result in disruptive laughter. In this case, the body also becomes the focus for the grotesque because it is the ground for opposition and parody. The comic actor wears absurd shoes and exaggerated clothing highlighted by an immense phallus, as opposed to the tragic actor whose clothing is much less indicative of the body's significatory power. Thus the grotesque consists of an exaggeration and twisting of normatized and well-known conventions. Wolfgang Kayser also develops this notion of the grotesque as a complex interchange between culturally defined oppositions. In his analysis, the effect of the grotesque is to produce a moment when the distinctions between a series of well-defined categories are blurred. In this blurring the grotesque has the ability to mean more, to produce a separate set of circumstances that allow for a critique, or at least a different understanding, of that culture.[15] What seems particularly significant about the development of possible interpretations of

the grotesque is their lack of focus upon the body as a locus for abjection and disgust. The grotesque does not retain a series of prefigured concepts which organize the body as a repository for the complex systems of sin and filth. Rather, it provides the possibility for an examination of the demise of established assumptions concerning a variety of well-understood cultural frames and borders. Among these assumptions are those concerning the functions of the body that contribute to the development of eroticism. This is not to suggest that the erotic and grotesque function without certain obvious and multi-layered predispositions that are relevant whenever these terms enter into play. However, a discussion of the erotic as it develops through the invention of the grotesque body will contribute to a reading that does not fall victim to the impulse to polarize and attribute sexuality to an overdetermined schema that situates the cultural figures of male and female within available and strategic topoi. The grotesque can produce a critical moment where a highly erotic body contributes to the breaking down of the apparati which organize the cultural force of sexuality.

Teleki 55, "Quaestio Ardua et Difficilis", is not an erotic poem in any conventional sense. It does not detail, describe, invite, or deny any sexual act. Instead, the poem provides the very basis for sexual differentiation by means of a re-consideration of the Platonic myth of the circle men which Aristophanes undertakes in the *Symposium*. This particular Platonic "myth" was also of great importance to the neo-platonic tradition which placed emphasis on certain images which could simultaneously conceal and reveal.[16] In this instance, it is the genitalia which are hidden: either internalized in the case of the circle men, or hidden through the overt act of sex itself. In short, the myth describes mankind's origins as a grotesque and sexless creature, their unsuccessful attack on the gods, and the ensuing creation of the two genders, which introduced desire itself to the human race. However, in Janus' epigram the explicit purpose of the poem is to explain "cur pennem cunnus, cur contra mentula cunnum/Appetat..." (1–2). That is, desire is founded upon the dynamic of presence and absence as it is incarnated through the protuberance and convexity of genitalia. The interest is not focused upon the body as a separate, individuated entity, but instead upon how the body exists and desires through its ability to become a new double-body. The genitalia serve as the points of intersection and combination for this newly constructed grotesque body. Sexuality is thus prefaced by a cutting that necessitates the re-combination that sex regulates and guarantees. Union is always re-union and an attempt to deny the cutting that defined gender and difference.[17]

The final lines of the poem serve as a kind of "embodiment" of the interstices that are so explicitly suggested. The last two lines form a series of

imperfect chiasmi. "Inde suam partem semper locus ille requirit/Inde suum semper pars petit illa locum." The anaphoric repetition of "Inde" in the first two lines gives way to the formation of a chiasmus between the second parts of each line. No word, with the exception of the repeated "inde" appears precisely in the same case. The two verbs, "requirit" in the penultimate line and "petit" in the final line, are the only two words that do not find their rhetorical and poetic partner within the arrangement of the lines. The "partem semper" of the earlier line corresponds to the "semper pars" of the last line, as does the "locus ille" and the "illa locum" of their respective lines. This series of polyptotons (use of the same word in different cases or tenses) in turn forms a chiasmatic arrangement such that each set of terms has a corresponding yet different "mate" in the following lines. These last lines form the poetic and textual equivalent of the "requiret" and the "petit" of the body that the poem maps. That is, desire becomes an element of the text and is constructed at the level of the rhetorical scheme of the epigram. The lines are composed of identical words with different case endings arranged in a chiasmatic pattern that initiates a series of protuberances met with corresponding convexities. The motion of the double body as it formulates its own ambiguity also produces a textual level of ambiguity as words are changed and exchanged across the borders of the poetic and metrical line. The words in these patterns are essentially the same, yet they can appear in different cases at different places in the text and thus linguistically indicate different things. They are the textual equivalent of the foundation for desire which serves as a focus for the epigram. Thus a relationship is created between the rhetorical level of the text and the emerging concept of the double body.

In addition to the possible implications of the rhetorical bodies that circulate in the text and their potential relationship to the emerging double body, the distinctions that indicate gender differences within language also articulate a special relationship to sexual ambiguity and exchange. The last two lines of the epigram which form a chiasmatic twinning, also delineate by means of grammatical cases and verbally constructed gender, a shifting that occurs when sexual difference defines sexual need. The feminine "suam partem" of the penultimate line becomes the grammatical object of the masculine subject "locus ille" which appears in that same line. Strangely, the subject of the phrase could be translated as "that place" and the object as "its part" thereby allowing a word with a feminine gender to signify the male sex organ. Furthermore, the word attached to this feminine gender forms the active subject of the phrase. In the final line, "pars...illa" is the feminine subject which is in fact the penis that seeks its masculine object "its place." This final reversal posits a feminine subject which is in fact the penis that seeks its

masculine object, the vagina. The use of language that confronts assumptions about gender by linguistically "feminizing" or "masculinizing" genitalia with the conventionally opposite gender, places the very notion of gender in a peculiar state of crisis. Such a crisis contributes to the perception of sexuality as a moment wherein the distinctions circumscribing the terms "male" and "female" are blurred. Furthermore, the status of woman as object of desire is critiqued via a grammatical sequence that places her in the position of subject. The resulting ambiguity becomes the very foundation for an erotics that attempts to reconsider the traditional categories that define sexuality as exchange over constantly perpetuated boundaries.

This does not suggest that a simple relationship exists between the possible interpretations of the poem and the corresponding rhetorical or linguistic formulations that implicate at a textual level those interpretations via language. A reading such as this would prescribe too closely a determinable and correct interpretation for the poem. What I mean to suggest is that there could be a series of interstices whereby poetry that confronts eroticism can do so at the level of language structure. Thus the poem takes on an additional layer of possible sexualization and language becomes charged with the dynamics of ambiguity and exchange. Even as sexuality loses the pattern of socially prescribed exchange and becomes a function of a far more dynamic body, so language can also participate in an exchange grounded upon its capacity to modify its original form. The means of signification, through their own operations, maintain themselves at an ambiguous level. Thus language begins to demonstrate its own ambiguity through the concomitantly complex and ambiguous territory of explicit or erotic poetry.

Epigrams 105 and 106, "De Laelia" and "Ad Eandem", also address the situation of the emerging double body. "De Laelia," the first of the two poems, is only two lines long and castigates Laela for trying to seek her lover's tongue. "Laelia, quid nostram toties petis improba, linguam?/Si iuvat, hoc totum vipera, sorbe caput." The use of "vipera" in conjunction with the invitation to "swallow his entire head" is suggestive of several potential interpretive foci. Perhaps the most obvious is the biblical connotations of the snake as Satan incarnate and his seduction of Eve. The collapse of Laelia into a snake denotes a relationship formulated by the snake as seducer over and against woman as victim not only of Satan's seduction, but of her own concupiscence. The woman as snake provides an orientation for the double figure of Satan and Eve. The snake is suggestive because its body is without protuberances or covexities for arms, legs, noses, or sexual organs. Thus the image of woman as snake swallowing the head of her lover, becomes the moment wherein the mouth and head take the place of genitalia and become the site for a

transgression of implicit borders. The locations for intersection and coitus have shifted and the result is an ambiguous consolidation. That is, since the nature of this combination is not dependent upon the genitals, the borders that normally separate the body and are at least partially transgressed via intercourse, become far less defined. It seems as if transgression also undergoes a re-definition and becomes instead of a penetration, a radical combination wherein the borders that have defined and limited the body are greatly expanded. This transgression does not take place at the normal locations for intersection. The locations themselves have shifted and to that extent the act of swallowing is not one of intersection and intercourse, but of consummation and duality. Two bodies become infused through the addition of one to the other. The body of the snake resolves the convexities and protuberances that mark the human body and in turn becomes the figure of the double body.

Clearly the collapse of Laelia with the image of the snake could indicate additional ambiguities. In particular, the snake and the lower bodily stratum, specifically the male sex organ, share a set of significatory and cultural associations. The body of the snake which, as I mentioned earlier, is without protuberances suggests a three way collapse wherein Laelia, the snake and a penis collude to form a new, albeit ambiguous entity. The snake in its potential role as penis produces a level of homo-tropism that lends a different quality to the indeterminate borders which govern sexuality. Now, Laelia could become a penis that attempts to swallow the man. This configuration elaborates a new location where the woman can provide a ground for the organization of an erotics that is not based upon a heterosexual orientation. The combination that Laelia instigates involves the poetic production of a snake which functions as a figure with an indeterminate relationship to its possible referents. Essentially, the figure of the snake-woman has the power to "mean-more" and to mean on an ambigious level. Such an image might signify a quasi-feminine body or a situation charged with the dynamics of homoeroticism. This dual signification obscures those distinctions that define individuated sexual orientation. A woman, Laelia, provides the contours for the complex dual image of snake-penis and in so doing conveys a context that is no longer clearly articulated as either heterosexual or homosexual. The possibility of Laelia as an ambiguously engendered creature indicates that the systems which define male–female coitus and combination become effaced and are no longer useful for determining an erotic scheme.

Because this epigram uses the complex and ambiguous figure of the snake to organize a particular sexual topos, the potential for additional textual as well as significatory resonances is also apparent. The presence of the snake as a figure for combination and coitus echoes the story of Tiresias which is told

in book three of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* beginning at line 316.[18] An argument between Jove and Juno about which gender has the greater pleasure in sexual intercourse is settled by Tiresias. He is an apt judge because when he came across two snakes mating in a forest and struck them with a branch, he was turned into a woman for seven years. In the eighth year, Tiresias returned and again saw two snakes mating, struck them with a branch and became a man once again. Thus the link between the snake and the possibility of an ambiguous sexuality is furthered by the mythical echo of Tiresias, the Seer, a man who had been both male and female, a figure who represents the possible convergence and containment of both sexes. Two snakes locked in a strange embrace provide access to the shift from male to female and back again. In the end, however, Tiresias agrees with Jove that women have the greater pleasure in sex, and is punished by Juno with blindness. Jove, in turn, grants him the gift of prophecy. Tiresias becomes a strange multi-sexed location where the fundamental question of sexual pleasure is debated and scored. Tiresias, in his male incarnation as prophetic Seer, will never again see a woman, nor two snakes mating. He becomes a strange isolated figure who both sees and has experienced what usually remains in the field of the imaginary circumscribed by extreme speculation and fantasy.

Epigram 133, "Ad Eandem", continues to elaborate the image of the snake. However, in this case the text differs from the previous one in its situating of the snake as the emerging double body. Instead of Laelia consuming her lover, she joins in his embrace, and it is the nature of that embrace as conjunction and intercourse that becomes the focus of the poem. "Tam coeunt artis gemini complexibus angues/Ut duplex uni quis putet esse caput." (1–2) Thus the snake without arms, legs, or well-defined genitalia becomes the figure for combination. Intercourse is thus articulated not through convenient oppositions which become physically and emotionally reconciled through the sex act. Instead, what takes place is a twinning, or doubling wherein the bodies of the partners become so fused as to become one. A definite shift has taken place wherein the bodies which were so readily defined and differentiated lose their distinguishing features and become united.

The use of "gemini" in line one, and "ut duplex uni" in line two already heralds the movement toward the twinned or doubled body at the level of the language of the text. At lines two and four this twinning as an aspect of the emerging conceptualization of the body becomes a function of the rhetorical construction of the poem. "Ut duplex uni quis putet esse caput" (2) and "Ut mihi diversam nec caput esse velim." (4) The "esse caput" and "caput esse" form once again the chiasmatic doubling that provides a rhetorical ground for the body that is articulated. In this instance, the words appear in precisely the same cases but in reversed order. They are particularly significant in light of

the preceding poem's emphasis on the head. Whereas in that epigram the head was the medium in conjunction with the mouth, for the possibility of union, now it becomes the complex moment of duplication. The first "esse caput" in the second line includes the modifying adjective "duplex", the second word in that line. The "caput esse" in the final line is modified by the "diversum", but this time the line is governed by an "Ut...nec" clause. What seems most significant about the uses of these two phrases is that their placement enables them to express different figures of the double body. The first instance hinges upon a body which, except for the head, appears to be one body. The second use expresses the desire that this ultimate erasure of the borders separating the two bodies be accomplished. Thus the "esse caput"/"caput esse" marks the potential hinge that both separates and joins the two bodies. The use of these phrases in the poem also foregrounds the potential ambiguity of language as it attempts to define and articulate a body that is in the process of changing and combining. Language becomes a function of the ambiguity of the body through its own ability to move and reconvene at different points in the poetic text.

The more explicit epigrams, that is those which address the more problematic territory of sex acts themselves, also confront the potential constraints of the body and those that effect the poetic text. Janus wrote three epigrams entitled "De Vulva Ursulae" (306, 321, 322), and the poem immediately after 322 "De Eadem" is, as its name implies, also about Ursula's vagina. The poems are not erotic in the sense that eroticism is an evocation of permitted sexual practices operating with the sphere of personal exchange. Instead, with the exception of the first line of 206, they are complaints about the size of Ursula's sexual organs. The first of these poems begins with a brief catalogue of Ursula's physical charms. "Blanda est lingua tibi, mollis caro, vultus honestus", (1) But the "Ante" of the next line situates her charms as specifically pre-coital. "Ante opus et nobis Ursula Tota places." At the third line Ursula's vagina becomes a "laxo...cunno" and the epigram evolves into a grotesque and explicit discussion of genitalia. The description of the vagina as "laxo" in line three gives way to the terms, "non latus aut fundum" (5), and "vasto...late...hiatu" (7). Thus the body which began as a flattering image of the desirable woman, develops into a fantastically proportioned pit. The female body ceases to exist as a medium organized for and by the lover, and the metaphors to describe it also reflect this uncontrollability. As the vagina spirals more and more beyond its regular location, it becomes an impossible location, a comic vagina that is so immense that it cannot possibly be a location for sex in the sense that the vagina serves as the sexual counterpart for the penis. "Conatus pereunt, peris omnis sudor anheli/Pectoris, et ruuptis

ilibus ossa dolent." (11–12) Thus the vagina which normally serves as an orifice through which the borders of the body may be overcome, grows to the point of exceeding the human body that would normally contain it.[19] The grotesque body becomes one that is dominated by the orifices which are conventionally reserved for the privatized and controlled exchange of sex. The privatized reality of sexuality and sexual encounter loses the parameters which serve to delimit and confine its status as an enigmatic and intimate proceeding. The body that emerges out of the unstable system is in itself unstable and proceeds to expand in such a way that the vagina becomes an incomparable landscape that exceeds its role as functionary in any normatized system of sexuality.

The second poem in this trilogy (322), dispenses with the initial line of flattery that characterizes the first of these epigrams and begins with images of vast and uncontained proportion. The phrases "altia ostia Ditis" (1) and "Taenaris...Fauces" (91) are brought into focus by the "Te futuo" at the end of the second line. As the poem progresses the language continues to incorporate images of grotesque proportion.

> "Panditur et late cedit inane chaos,
> Quod caperet teneri coentia semina mundi
> Quo possent atomi pervolitare leves:" (6–8)

The penis undergoes no corresponding change in stature, but remains very much an aspect of the complete and privatized body of the lover. The vagina takes on proportions that are entirely grotesque and at the same moment undeniably comic. It is this vagina in its incredible vastness that swallows up the body of the lover, penis first. "Nec tantum penem, sed testes, ilis lumbos/Devort, ac pariter bracchis, crura, caput." (9–10) Yet this image of the swallowing woman that figured so prominently in epigram 104, "De Laelia", has been altered so that it is now the vagina that swallows the lover.[20] In this instance, that earlier dynamic of snake-woman who consumes her lover, is considerably altered because it is the vagina that provides the entrance into the body. The vagina has replaced the mouth and instead of providing an entrance into the digestive system, it provides one into the reproductive system. As this reproductive mouth exceeds all bounds and establishes itself as an independent aspect of the body, it also reverses the birth process. The man, swallowed up during sex, is eventually re-born and in this manner passes through sex, death, and birth all within the grotesque vagina. The vagina becomes the location for an entire life cycle developing into a world of its own entirely divorced from the body, and from the social and cultural patterns that

define and limit the female sex organs as aspects of a privatized and essentially economic exchange organized for the twin goals of male pleasure and progeny.

In addition to the re-conceptualization that the vagina undergoes, the poetic text itself also begins to take on a different level of inter-relatedness and becomes, in its own right, a locus for the breaking apart of borders. In particular, Vegil's Aeneid appears in Janus' text when Sybil's injunctions to Aeneus find an echo in the epigram. The second part of the first line "alta ostia Ditis" is similar to the 127th line of the sixth book of the Aeneid where Sybil's line ends in "atri ianua Ditis". Janus' line is by no means a precise replication of Vergil's. Nevertheless, a peculiar correspondence exists between "alta" and "atri" and "ostia" and "ianua." In line four of "De Vulva Ursulae" this correspondence becomes more definite. "Sed revocare gradum plurimus inde labor" (4) functions in part as a duplication of Book six, line 128: "Sed revocare gradun superasque evadere ad auras." The first part of the following line from Vergil "Hoc opus hic labor est" is also echoed in Janus epigram. The "labor" of Janus' epigram is getting out of Ursula's vulva while that of Vergil's is an attempt to warn Aeneus of the difficulties he should encounter when he returns from the underworld.

Teleki 321, the shortest of the "De Vulva" series is only two lines long. Nevertheless, it contains an allusion to Vergil's *Aeneid.* "Totus devoror Ursulae barathro/Alcide, nisi subvenis, perivi!" The use of "barathro" in connection with "Alcice", Hercules, forms an echo of the story of Casus from Book Six of the *Aeneid* (lines 187–279). Cacus was the much feared semi-divine son of Vulcan, who terrorized King Evander and his people. Hercules comes to destroy Cacus as well as the underground palace where he lives. "Barathro" in Janus' epigram appears in Vergil's text as "Barathrum" (245) and "Alcide" the vocative form of "Alcides" also finds its parallel four lines later at 249. In this instance, the female genitalia become as limitless as Cacus' cave and at the same time, take on language that is both epic and horrifying in tone. Though the parallel between disgusting abyss and female sexual organs is clearly comic and hyperbolic, the sex act is still circumscribed by a certain fear and loathing associated with their very presence.

As "De Vulva Ursulae" grows and expands, it subsumes within its textual borders portions of Vergil's well-rehearsed text. In this manner, a text that is defined as an aspect of an idealized Roman past is resituated within the grotesque vagina. The epic world of Aeneus and heroic entry into the underworld is revisited in such a way that a once exemplary act is now not simply debased but redefined. In this same manner, Hercules' destruction of Cacus and his palace becomes a less than heroic battle with a vagina. This

ancient text, a model for poetic and creative thought among humanists, reenters circulation and in so doing fractures a particular set of conventions at once drawing attention to the convention and to the ease with which that convention is perverted. The poetry of Vergil as it is stripped of its epic situation can no longer stand as a solid and concrete text. Instead it becomes an element of the grotesque body and participates in its own devaluation and readaptation. Such as re-use removes a text from its normal context and thereby opens the space necessary for the advent of ambiguity and the potential for multiple and complex referents. The text has the ability to utilize another text and thereby layer its own moment of signification with a set of older contextually different signifiers. The echo of Vergil's poetry within Janus' epigram provides a focus for the poetics of multiplicity that characterizes images of grotesque sexuality.[21]

The final epigram of this short series "De Eandem" (308) uses the immense mythological metaphors established in the previous poem to produce a kind of mythological geography that attempts to orient the vastness of Ursula's vagina. The first lines "Quantus ad aethereum coeli suspectus Olympum,/In Pracepes tantum bis tibi vulva patet": (1–2) are followed by a brief map of Hades: "Huius non toto sentirem Cerberon antro,/Non Stygis hanc obeant flumina tota novem." (3–4) which is painfully small in relation to Ursula's sexual organs. This vagina also traps Castor, Hercules, and Orpheus (5–6), and none of their heroic talents can provide for their release. The vagina further evolves forming a prison for the non-Olympian dieties and monsters. The final two lines, "Omnia sed quamvis concurrant monstra, nequibant/Dimidia cunnum parte replere tuum." (15–16) brings this massive mythological landscape to an end with Ursula's vagina only half full. The comic implications of this kind of hyperbolizing are readily apparent: a vagina can now contain the whole world. Borders have expanded to the point where the notion of bodily border dissolves and with it the possibility of transgression. The interest in geographizing the vagina makes explicit its break from the heavily normatized patterns of sexual exchange that control and organize the sexual organs as elements of a private and unseen world. In the previous epigram the vagina still functioned within specific parameters because it was the location for a particular cycle which served a progenitive end. In this final epigram, the vagina has exceeded all borders and becomes its own mythological land defined in terms of its own inconceivable vastness and gigantic inhabitants.

My analysis of these epigrams remains in a preliminary state as there are still other poems that deserve attention and additional aspects of eroticism that require examination. Nevertheless, these poems provide certain insights into the way in which the erotic attempts to reconsider the orientation of boundaries that distinguish and define sexuality. One locus for a discussion of this

bordering and engendering of sexuality is the grotesque body that constantly grows and exceeds its own contours. Within the grotesque body the locations for the act of sex itself becomes radically altered and the genitalia cease to exist as contained, privatized aspects of codified exchange. The grotesque body can expand to include another body thereby not just shifting or reordering the borders that define sexual economies, but eliminating them. These texts also articulate exchange and redistribution at a rhetorical level as words and phrases are transferred and recontextualized across the textual borders of meter and line. An erotics which stems from the grotesque body has the potential to avoid positioning the entities of male and female within clear and well-defined systems of power and exchange. What can take place instead is a reformulation of the erotic based upon a body which is in the process of altering and absorbing its very self, one that does not participate in a polarity of positions or power structures. The erotic becomes a medium for rethinking the problematic categories of male and female as they are defined and circulated within culture.

Notes

1. Marianna Birnbaum provides a discussion of the various critics and their stances with respect to these epigrams in her monograph *Janus Pannonius Poet and Politician* (Zagreb, 1981). 68–69.
2. Birnbaum, op. cit. p. 22 and p. 70. Tibor Kardos, "Janus Pannonius: Poet of the Hungarian Renaissance", *The New Hungarian Review* 14 no. 49 (1973): 79–93.
3. Leslie S. Domokos, "János Vitéz, The Father of Hungarian Humanism", *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, 20 (1979) 142–150. This article provides particularly helpful information about the historical situation of the Hungarian Renaissance.
4. Ibid., 147–148.
5. J. Bak and B. Király (eds.), *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi: War and Society in Late Medieval and Early Modern Hungary* (New York, 1982).
6. Marianna Birnbaum, op. cit. 31.
7. Anthony A. Barrett provides a helpful and brief discussion of the various manuscripts and their relative reliability in the preface to his translation of Janus' epigrams. Anthony A. Barrett (ed., trans.) *Janus Pannonius The Epigrams* (Budapest, 1985).
8. Samuel Teleki, Iani Pannoni Poemata (Utrecht, 1784). The numbers I include in parenthesis are the numbers used to designate poems in this edition. Oddly, Marianna Birnbaum (op. cit.) mentions that the Teleki edition does not include the erotic poems. See page 51. Tibor Kardos has this to say about the Teleki edition: "The theoretical foundation of the 1784 edition takes an entirely new turn. This so-called 'Teleki' complete edition begins to sense the erotic element in Janus, and undertakes to defend it with the watch word 'enlightenment'. It sees in him, in other words, a predecessor of the Hungarian Enlightenment, one of the foundations of the enlightenment, one of the foundations of enlightened culture." Tibor Kardos, "Janus Pan-

nonius, Poet of the Hungarian Renaissance", *The New Hungarian Quarterly* 14 no. 49 (1973), 79–93.

9. Teleki's 306, "De Vulva Ursulae" contains the word "cunno" in the third line, a word that is coded in the final line of 141, "De Lucia". Thus the coding of what is considered unfit for the readerly eye is inconsistent.
10. The concept of the body that I am attempting to develop is somewhat different than those set of notions defined by Norbert Elias in his book *Über Den Prozess Der Civilization* (München, 1969). The notion of the private and its relative cultural status is, however, very important to the idea of the borders of the body itself.
11. This line of analysis owes a great deal to Bakhtin and his discussion of the carnivalized body. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and his World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky (Massachusetts, 1968).
12. Jacques Rossiaud provides a series of interesting insights into the market value of women in general, as well as the ways in which those markets were deployed and supported by different sectors of society. His analysis of the legal situation of women who were prostitutes or victims of rape is particularly helpful. *Medieval Prostitution*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (London, 1988).
13. C. F. Flögel, *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen*. Revised by W. Ebeling (Leipzig, 1888).
14. C. F. Flögel, *Geschichte des Burlesken* (Leipzig, 1794).
15. Wolfgang Kayser, *Das Grotesque, Seine Gestaltung in Malerei und Dichtung* (Olderburg, 1957). See in particular pages 20-25.
16. Edgar Wind in his book *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* discusses briefly the orphic fascination with these Platonic "hybrid gods". (London, 1958).
17. See Page Dubois, *The Sowing of the Body. Psychoanalyses and Ancient Representations of Women* (Chicago, 1988). See especially p. 169. The final chapter "The Platonic Appropriation of Reproduction" is of particular interest in its analysis of Plato.
18. Prof. Antal Pirnát pointed this association out to me in an earlier draft of this paper.
19. M. M. Bakhtin, op. cit. p. 317.
20. Ibid., p. 325. I take issue with Bakhtin on several concepts surrounding the development and organization of the grotesque body. His interpretation seems ultimately phallo-anal-centric, since he sees these organs as those with the greatest potential for the realization of the grotesque. The erect phallus as an instrument of both sex and comedy is certainly highlighted in a wide variety and texts. Yet it seems to me that the vagina as a possible location for the overcoming of borders that implicate sexuality as a system of exchange and power deserves more attention. I do not advocate a reading that falls victim to preconceived notions of phallic significance, rather I see the vagina as one possible beginning for the emerging double body.
21. Teleki 200 and 201 "In Furem Virgilianum" and "In Eundem" are two of Janus' own epigrams that address the problem of plagiarism. They both point to the layering that characterizes the composition of Vergil's own work. Nevertheless, the two epigrams castigate an author for his use of Vergil's poetry. Again, I have to thank Prof. Pirnát for his help with these allusions.

TRANSLATING ÁRGIRUS

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Writing of the problems involved in French translations of modern Latin-American novelists, Antoine Berman notes:

> Comme les auteurs du XVI[e] siècle européen, Roa Bastos, Guimaraes Rosa, J.-M. Arguedas – pour ne citer que les plus grands – écrivent à partir d'une tradition orale et populaire. D'où le problème qu'ils posent à la traduction: comment restituer des textes enracinés dans la culture orale dans une langue comme la nôtre, qui a suivi une trajectoire historique, culturelle et littéraire inverse?[1]

This question can also be asked of the project of translating the 16th century Hungarian romance of Prince Árgirus. Antoine Berman's response is that such a question must pose a true challenge for translation in our culture; it must lead to an historical and critical reflexion on the role and activity of translation so as to help translation in its function as a force of creative decentering within the ethnocentric impulse dominant in our culture.

This challenge leads me to avoid addressing the problems involved in the English translation of the Árgirus romance as merely technical problems whose solution could be found in the purely linguistic domain. But there is an approach in translation studies which provides a wide framework within which to look at particular translation problems, and after a brief account of this approach we shall see just how this can be applied to the translation of Árgirus.

Descriptive translation study

As formulated in the work of Gideon Toury,[2] the descriptive branch of translation studies aims to study, describe and explain actual translation or translation practices and procedures. Presenting an argument for a more or

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less descriptive as opposed to interpretative approach to translation studies, it tries to steer clear of the extreme positions which suggest that translation is the mechanical application of acquired skills or simply intuition or hunch. Descriptive translation studies take the translated text as it is and try to determine the various factors that can account for its particular nature.

Taking Catford's distinction between source text and target text,[3] this is a target oriented approach. The target text approach sees translation as an initiative of a decision to translate on the part of a recipient or target culture. The translater is seen as functioning within interests of the particular socio-cultural circumstances of the target language and not within the interests of the source text, let alone those of the source culture.

This is a reference to a structural feature of any interpretive activity (and translation is certainly one such activity): namely, that one can never stand outside of one's socio-cultural situation, and that therefore part of the task of anyone engaged in commentary on texts is to try to describe and analyze the constraints which shape their activity as commentators or, in the present case, translators.

Descriptive translation study, following the work of the Russian Formalists and Czech Structuralists, takes a systems approach to literature. Basically, literature or literary texts are described in terms of a polysystem: "a differentiated and dynamic conglomerate of systems, characterized by internal oppositions and continual shifts".[4] The oppositions within the systems referred to are manifest in, for example, tensions between innovative and conservative models or types, between canonized and non-canonized strata, between more or less strongly codified forms, between the various genres, etc. The tensions generated by these multiple oppositions underscore the need for a *dynamic* model: the polysystem of literature is seen as being "in a state of perpetual flux, forever unstable".[5] And this literary polysystem is correlated to other cultural systems all of which are embedded in the ideological and socio-economic structures of society. Such complications within a systems approach seek to safeguard its dynamism from becoming merely mechanistic.

Literary translation seen within this model is "one element in the constant struggle for domination between the systems' various layers and subsystems".[6] Translation can be used in a given literature to support the system's center, or to offer a challenge to the dominant poetics (a good example of this is Ezra Pound's translations from the Chinese). In any case, translation does present an instance of what can happen at "the interface between different linguistic, literary and cultural codes. And since notions of interference, functional transformation, and code-switching are essential aspects of the polysystems theory, translation may provide clues for the study of other types of intra- and intersystemic transfer as well."[7]

Discussions of translated literature, when analyzed within the conceptual framework of this polysystems theory, should be made to appear in a new light: although such an analysis does begin with the target text–the initial decision of its translation, whether or not it is acceptable to a target audience, and what the governing norms of its production (system of constraints) are–it must also be a comparative study, that is, a comparison made with the source text. But most importantly this comparative study should not degenerate into a mere renumeration of the "inadequacies" of the translation, as is the case with so many comparative studies. Rather it should try to get to the underlying *concept of translation* which is directing the translation activity. It should attempt to reconstruct the translation procedures employed by naming the *constraints* which governed the translator in his or her decision making.

What is, then, the notion of *translation equivalence* being suggested here? It is certainly not a simple binary relationship that services the criticism of "fidelity", that detects only "error" in the translation and then, on the basis of the number of errors, judges the translation good or bad. Such work in translation studies employs a concept of translation based on the notion of *formal equivalence*: the translator, armed with a good dictionary, should intervene as little as possible. This notion of formal equivalence can be contrasted with that of a *dynamic equivalence* which seeks to get at the mediating or intermediary concepts at work in a comparative analysis.

In a comparative analysis done within a concept of translation as an instrument of mediation between literary and cultural systems, the unit of comparison is a problem/solution pair. In establishing a pair, one should keep in mind that s/he is dealing with *partial* comparison. The solution to a problem is not necessarily the only solution acceptable; its role is to show the relation between the two members. By comparing the sets of problems and solutions in a given translation, one can trace regular patterns which may govern the translation activity. Secondly, one must remember that what is defined as a problem is defined in relation to an *intermediary concept*: one is relating aspects of the translation to a theory which underlies the comparison. All comparisons are by nature indirect: that part of the translation analysis which is chosen as a problem/solution pair is only recognized as such because of the categories established by the underlying theory. For example, a problem/solution pair analyzed from the point of view of metric equivalence will not be established using the same categories as a problem/solution pair being analyzed from the point of view of etymological repetitions, etc.

For this very reason comparative studies of source/target texts should never be an end in themselves. They should be seen as one step in the procedure of formulating explanatory hypotheses (i.e. the governing models and norms

derived from these models within a particular practice of translation), or of mapping the constraints and the decision making under these constraints. The following analysis of some problem/solution pairs from the translation of the Romance of Árgirus which I am in the process of working on should be seen in this light.

The romance of Prince Árgirus and the Fairy Maiden

The English translation of the Árgirus romance[8] is, as Walter Benjamin said of translation generally, part of the continued life of the original. The source text[9] which became a very popular and widely circulated story in the Hungarian speaking world during the 17th and 18th centuries, continued to inspire a series of rewrites: the Hungarian poets Vörösmarty and Petőfi in the nineteenth century, and a number of scholarly essays up to the present time. Such information about the texts source system could surface in the target text in the form of a preface.

Within the target text system there is a convention of translating medieval romance verse into prose. Such a practice can run the risk of what Antoine Berman calls the generalizing tendency of translation: "la destruction du signifiant au profit du signifié".[11] This practice was not followed in the English translation. The first stroph of the translation, for example, takes the sound of the source text as one of its major constraints; a consideration which, as we shall see, sets up a very different axis for translation.[12] The constraint of sound on the signifier scatters the signified in such a way as to pose enormous obstacles to the generalizing impulse of translation: the work of translation is forced to question the rules of its mediating activity at every step. The next few pages shall be spent looking at the intermediating concepts employed in the translation of the first stroph:

A tündérországról bőséggel olvastam
Olasz krónikákból kit megfordítottam
És az olvasóknak mulatságul adtam
Magyar versek szerint énekben foglaltam.

As tune, lais or sage scrolls bushels of I've read from
Romance chronicles boasting of fairy topos,
Trance-laid, O I've shown knack, moved lectors too, often;
Magyar verse shod lyric I've made, been formed, lulled on.

From the point of view of the target system, the stanza sounds strange. Scanning it reveals that its dominant metric foot is spondaic. There are twelve syllables to a line and all but the second line have a strong caesura after the sixth. In this respect it resembles the form of the alexandrine line, but its syntax and heavy accents are unlike conventional English verse. Stylistically then it is not marked as strongly as the Hungarian text in terms of its relation to a particular poetic convention. In fact, the lines come closer to resembling modern American poetry than anything from the sixteenth century. The target text also has many more words than the source text. What are some of the compensation mechanisms employed in the translation?

The first line of the English text has four words to describe the type of reading of which the first person narrator in the romance is boasting: "Tune, lais or sage scrolls." The Hungarian text says only "an abundance/bőséggel". Some knowledge of genre itself supplies the reasoning for the translator's use of these words since the first stanza of the source text is here being interpreted as a rhetorical device, typical of the genre, to show the authority of the storyteller. This outside knowledge, then, would be one of the *mediating concepts* between the Hungarian and English stanzas (which are here presented as the problem/solution pair). The almost total scattering of the placement of comparable units on the level of the signifiers forces us to look at the entire stanza in terms of equivalence, rather than to proceed with a word by word comparison. As we have seen, the notion of equivalence here involves knowledge within the cultural systems of the source text. The last three words of the first line can be called a literal translation of the Hungarian. The word order is, however, different since the past tense marker in Hungarian also indicates the person and number of the subject.

"Romance chronicles" as an equivalent for "Olasz krónikák" allows the English translation to maintain more or less the same system of vowel harmony as the original. In fact, an analysis of the system of vowel harmony in the Hungarian verse would have to have preceeded the present English translation. Indeed, vowel harmony is an organizing principle of some agglutinative languages like Hungarian which take on suffix endings by attaching a vowel of either dark or clear timbre, depending on the dominant timbre of the vowel in the etymological root, to a consonal configuration. This was also a constraint laid over the English sound system in the translation.

"Romance", as a translation of "Olasz", requires additional explanation and this, I would suggest, should come, in the translation, in the form of a footnote since it involves a philological study of the term "Olasz". The term today only refers to "Italian", but it also was used at the time of the poem's composition to refer to any of the Romance tongue languages. A footnote here

could also add that much time was devoted to the search for traces of the Italian original in past Hungarian scholarship.[13] The translator's preference for the term "Romance", then, suggests a particular interpretation based on outside sources which form a part of the secondary literature on this poem in the source system.

"Krónikák" is etymologically not a Hungarian word. It works well in terms of the equivalence desired on the level of sound to keep it on the same position in the translation. The same is true of the word "verse" in the fourth line of both versions. The word "Magyar" was kept because of the same constraints, although the English tend to use the term "Hungarian".

The word "fairy" was the necessary translation of "tündér", the word that starts out the Hungarian poem. It signals the equivalent personage within the genre of English romance and has most probably the same etymology in the two languages (tündér–tűnik: appear; fairy–phainesthai [Greek]: appearance). Fairies, according to genre rules, are from another world. Their land is governed by rules other than mortal and this tends to make their location in mortal territory a problematic one. This leads to the translation of "ország" (which can mean "land" or "country") in "tündérország" by the word "topos" thereby allowing it to refer to the mindscape of gender relations, the *place* of romance fiction. (I actually wanted to use "totem" for the lucky correspondance of the sound with the Hungarian "-tottam". Had I done so, I would have been following a very long intermediary logic having to do with representation as such.) The word "fairyland" will in fact be picked up later in the text as the equivalent of "tündérország", a dynamic equivalent to be sure.

The first two terms of the third line in the English translation, "trance-laid", require special attention. They are the displacement for the Hungarian word "megfordítottam"–which could be literally given as "I translated". But the reading of this as an equivalent in English requires obvious reference to at least two techniques of reading that are in fact suggested by the translation: first of all, if I take only the sound value of the two terms, I have the near equivalent of the English "translate", this may be "read" as a directive to the reader to also be reading at the phonic level of the signifiers as indeed it is the phonic value of the Hungarian which is at stake in this part of the translation. Secondly, the marker of past tense on the signifier "laid" suggests a condensation making up for the missing past tense on the phonic verb "translate". When the signifier is read as "translate + past tense" its syntactic position would require it to take "I've" as its subject + auxiliary. On the other hand, "trance-laid" also means "to lay or put into a trance" which is synonomous with the verb that is conjugated with the subject + auxiliary "I've" in "I've

moved lectors". The *intermediary concepts* referred to in this type of equivalence are the rules of language games used in contemporary American poetics.

In the tradition of English verse narratives the iambic pentameter is the dominant metric line. And this concern for a smooth narrative mode is one of the mediating constraints of the translation of stanza 99:

Az szegény Árgirus hegyeken völgyeken
Mind éjjel, mind nappal észak felé mégyen
Kit elöl-utól ér, ő mind tudakozik
De senki városról nem emlékezhetik.

Over mountains through valleys poor Argirus went
All day and all night towards the north.
Of those he encountered here ad there he inquired
But no one recalls,
No one remembers the city.

The translation also tries to account for the logic of opposites, the formal, repetitive device which traces the influence of an oral mode of narrative transmission on the composition of the source text. Thus the words: mountains/valleys; day/night; here/there. The repetition in the fourth and fifth lines does not exist in the source text. Although it was used primarily to break up the monotony of the iambic line, its presence can also be justified by the number of repetitions in the Hungarian text. This stylistic device which is such a strong feature of the source text can be used on the target text for stylistic purposes as well.

Although other translations of parts of the Árgirus Romance have used an end rhyme scheme, this English version does not, not even in terms of assonance–the ending pattern of the source text–as if the iambic meter had a strong enough pattern in itself.

While this translation does attempt to keep the same stanza formation of the original it does not maintain any other constant pattern throughout the narrative. Rather than try to show unitary features which the entire poem in the source text shows by its metric regularities and assonance, the target text concentrates on the repetitive aspects which exist in the Hungarian text on a smaller scale: parallel structures, repetitions on the level of the word, and vowel harmony are some examples I have tried to point out so far. What is "lacking" in the translation in terms of a unified formal pattern will hopefully be compensated for in the more concentrated instances of formal repetition.

If, for example, we take as our comparative unit stanzas 100 and 101 of the source text and their corresponding stanzas in the target text

Csak egy inassával ő bújdosik *vala*
Az tündérországban immár jutott vala
Egy nagy havas közben hogy bújdosik vala
Egy széles *barlangban egy kis füstöt láta.*

Mikor az barlangnak szélire eljuta
Az barlangban ottan egy nagy embert láta
Ugyan megrettene az embert hogy láta
De visszafordulni immár késő vala.

With a squire, his servant accompaning him,
He wandered *and soon had reached fairyland.*
Through mountains he wandered *and* looking for shelter
Spotted *in a vast cave a little fire burning.*

Upon reaching the cave, at that very spot,
There in the cave a huge man he saw.
Quite frightened was he by this man that he saw
But turning back now was already too late.

we can see that the general problem to which the target text addresses its solution is that of the repetition of the verb "bújdosik" within two different semantic contexts: the first sense is that of "wandering", the second is that of "hiding" here translated as "seeking shelter".

Other repetitions which should be noted in this comparative unit are: first of all, the repetition of the etymological root "szél" in the Hungarian text. In line four of stroph 100 it is used as an adjective to describe the vastness of the cave. In the following line (stroph 101) it is used as a noun refering to the cave's edge. In the English translation this repetition is transfered to another word: "spot". In the last line of the English version of stroph 100 it is used as a verb with the semantic content of the verb "see", but in the following line it is used as a noun to mark the idea of place. This would be an example of a dynamic equivalence in the translation. The intermediary concept at work between the two units of comparison is that of repetitions of etymological root words which have different semantic values. Such repetitions are a structural feature of the romance as a whole and the translation tries to reproduce this feature even if it requires transfering the function onto different semantic units in the English text.[14]

The same notion of stylistic repetition as a dynamic equivalent is also at stake in the translation of the last two stanzas of the romance:

Nincs már Árgirusnak semmi fáradsága
Ennyi *bújdosását* csak semminek tartja,
Mert az mit kívánt volt, már ölében tartja,
Az mikor kívánja, szintén akkor látja.

Az tündérleánynak sem *búsong* már szíve,
Helyén vagyon immár *bújdosó* elméje,
Minden *bánatjának* vagyon immár vége,
Ez históriának is légyen immár vége.

No longer has Argirus any weariness.
Hiding, wandering, exile, he takes these for nothing
For what was desired now is held in his lap
And whenever he desires it, he then sees it.

The fairymaiden no longer has a *wanton* heart
In its place is now her hiding, *wandering* mind
All *worry* and *wanion* is now at an end,
And this historia shall now have its end.

Here, "bújdosás", the nominative form of the verb dealt with above (usually translated as "wandering"), a word which reappears constantly in the Hungarian text–almost a synonym for narrative following its etymological root "narrer"–, is translated as "hiding, wandering, exile" in order ot get at its various semantic possibilities. But the Hungarian term also seems to extend into the following stroph not only as an adjective ("bújdosó" in line two) but as if it carried in its wake the similar sounding "búsong" (line one) and "bánat" (line three). The translation tries to account for the formal repetition described here by sliding the signifier "wandering" along another chain: "wanton" (line one of the English version) and "worry and wanion" (line three).

The parallel structure of these last two strophs, involving the protagonists in both of the first two lines and then the use of the possessives in the lines that follow, was also maintained in the target text. And, in fact, something of the ambiguity which arises in the source text by the duplicatious use of the possessive is also carried over to the target text: in line two of the last stroph in the Hungarian text the possessive on the noun "helyén" (literally: "in its

place") referring either to "szív" (heart) which preceeds it or to "elme" (mind) which follows it. That leaves the final stroph open to the two following interpretations: 1. in the place of the wanton heart the fairy now has a "wandering mind"; or 2. the fairy no longer has a wanton heart and even her wandering mind is back in its place. These two interpretations are also possible in the target text's rendering by also leaving the possessive "its" either as the referent of "heart" or as "mind".

In connection with the interpretation of this final stroph it should be noted that the source text has at least two lines which refer to the state of the fairy's heart *vis à vis* the final return of Árgirus. These two lines share certain repetitive features with the lines in question in the final stroph:

stroph 219, line 876:

Ő sok bújdosásán megesik az szíve
(Her heart sank for all his wanderings)

stroph 220, line 880:

De szíve sokára meg helyére álla.
(But her heart after some time returned to its place.)

And it should also be noted that line (880) is part of a parallel structure apparently responding to line 876 which speaks of the heart's falling away or sinking.

The important thing here would be to maintain the parallel structures and word repetitions in the translation to allow for the argument to be made for either of the two interpretations suggested.

Conclusion

I have tried to demonstrate through a comparison of my English translation and the Hungarian original of the Árgirus romance that the *concept of translation* that I am working with involves a knowledge of the cultural polysystems of both the target and the source text. These also produce the systems of constraints within which a translator functions. The notion of *translation equivalence* which I employed in my work was a *dynamic* one: whether it worked on reproducing the repetitions and parallel structures of the source text or reproducing the phonetic systems of the Hungarian stanza the idea was that a third term, an *intermediary concept* was always necessary to produce the translation equivalent.

My hope is that the translation of the Árgirus text, although lacking the same homogeneous structure of the source text, will be able to demonstrate its unity in those instances of formal repetition produced on a smaller scale; that is, in showing the modes of signification of the original.

I think of this translation of the Árgirus romance not as a reproduction of the Hungarian text but, as Walter Benjamin said of his translation from the French, as part of the after life of the work. Like "fragments of a vessel which are to be glued together... the fragments must match each other in the smallest details, although they need not be like one another. In the same way a translation, instead of resembling the meaning of the original must lovingly and in detail incorporate the original's mode of signification thus making both the original and the translation recognizable as fragments of a greater language, just as fragments are part of a vessel."[15]

Notes

1. Antoine Berman, *Traduction et culture en allemagne romantique*, Paris, Gallimard. 1984. 38–39. Like the writers of sixteenth century Europe, Roa Bastos, Guimaraes Rosa, J.-M. Arguedas–to mention only the greatest–are also writing out of a popular, oral tradition. And this poses a problem for translation: how can those texts which are rooted in an oral culture be revived in a language like our own which has followed an inverse historical, cultural and literary trajectory? (my translation)
2. See Gideon Toury's essay, "A Rationale for Descriptive Translation Studies" in: T. Hermans (ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation* (New York, St. Martin's Press. 1985).
3. Cf. J. C. Catford, *A Linguistic Theory of Translation* (London, Oxford University Press. 1965).
4. Theo Hermans, "Translation Studies in a New Paradigm," in: T. Hermans (ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature*, New York, St. Martin's Press. 1985. 11. This essay provides a good introduction to current work being done in the field of descriptive translation studies.
5. *Ibid.* p. 11.
6. *Ibid.* p. 11.
7. *Ibid.* p. 12.
8. Although fragments of the romance have been translated for an English language anthology of Hungarian literature, there exists no complete translation of it in English.
9. I used the critical manuscript established by Béla Stoll soon to be published.
10. Cf. Péter Nagy, "Az Árgirus-kérdéshez: Egy megközelítési kísérlet körvonalai", *Irodalomtörténet* 65 (1983).
11. Berman gave a seminar entitled, "La traduction et la défaillance" at the Collège International de Philosophie in Paris second semester, 1986.
12. An example of this practice in the target system would be the translations done by the American poet Louis Zukofsky of the Latin poet Catullus, i.e.:

Mentula habet instar triginta iugera prati,
quadraginta arvi: cetera sunt maria.
cur non divitiis Croesum superare potis sit
uno qui in saltu totmoda poss deat,
prata, arva, ingentis silvas saltusque paludesque
usque ad Hyperboreos et mare ad Oceanum?
omnia magna haec sunt; tamen ipsest maximus, alter
non homo sed vero mentula magna minax.

Meantool inhabits in style three times ten hewed acres, forty
quad ranging arable: count the rest in marsh sea.
Sure no the wit is with Croesus superior po't is it
you know keen salt too t' th' mode of pose it with it,
proud turf, farmland, gentleman's silval, cattle skew'r'd, paludal sway
a sway out t' Hyperboreans and maritime Okeanos?
O man my god what *accent*; to men obsessed Maximus, all tare
known *homo* said hero Meantool a man gnawn mean ax.

13. Tibor Kardos devoted some 400 pages to this question. *Az Árgirus Széphistória,* Budapest, 1967.
14. As Robert Austerlitz has noted in his study of Ob-Ugric (the collective name applied to the Ostyaks and Voguls) metrics, (cf. *Ob-Ugric Metrics: the Metrical Structure of Ostyak and Vogul Folk Poetry*) (Helsinki, Academia Scientiarum Fennica, 1958) the two devices most commonly shared by Ob-Ugric verse and older Hungarian philological monuments are parallelism and the etymological figure. (Ostyak and Vogul together with Hungarian form the Ugric branch of the Finno-Ugric family.) But of course parallelism, as Austerlitz points out, is also a structural feature of Biblical, Russian, Germanic, Medieval Latin and Medieval French verse.
15. Walter Benjamin, "The Task of the Translator" in: Hannah Arendt (ed.), *Illuminations* (Great Britain, Fontana/Collins. 1977.), p. 78.

DEATH OF A HERO: HUNGARIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE FUNERAL OF LAJOS KOSSUTH

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The War of Independence of 1848–1849, fought against Habsburg domination, ended bitterly for the Hungarian nation with the execution of Batthyány, thirteen leading officers of the revolution, and the flight of its governor president Lajos Kossuth into exile. Hungarians suffered for a decade under the vindictive rule of Bach, but with time a reconciliation was sought between the two nations, represented in the historic *Ausgleich* or the Compromise of 1867. In the decades to follow, many Hungarians would resign themselves to their continued association with the Habsburg dynasty; Lajos Kossuth never did. His staunch voice from the Italian wilderness called unceasingly for Hungarian independence from the Habsburgs. Forty-five years after the revolution, in 1894, Lajos Kossuth died in exile at the age of ninety-two.

Today I wish to consider the funeral of Lajos Kossuth. Mounted without the public or financial support of the Hungarian state, it was nonetheless one of the most momentous events to occur in Hungary during the latter half of the 19th century. Indeed, Kossuth's funeral may have excelled in majesty and expression of popular sentiment the grand ceremonies celebrating the millennial anniversary of the Hungarians' conquest of the Carpathian Basin held two years later, in 1896. One newspaper columnist even suggested that the second millennium of Hungarian history should be dated from the moment of Kossuth's death. News of his worsening health, and eventually his death, threw the nation into throes of grief. His funeral in Budapest alone was attended by half a million people, while all throughout the country–in every town, village and hamlet–ceremonies were held to commemorate his passing.

What accounts for the intensity of emotions surrounding this gallant figure of a man, who was called Father of the Nation, Father of Freedom, the Pride of the Hungary? Was it not near blasphemy when, five days after his demise, both tabloids in Budapest depicted in cover drawings his resurrection on Easter Sunday? Or when columnists referred to his coffin as the ark of the covenant?

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I shall argue that the funeral of Lajos Kossuth, far from the grand burial of a lone national hero, signified the apotheosis of the Hungarian nation, and so constituted a significant moment in the construction of Hungarian national identity and historical consciousness. In this paper I wish to chronicle the acts taken and controversies waged in this brief three week period of national mourning. The primary sources used for the analysis were three daily newspapers, and two daily tabloids, covering the approximately three weeks of his dying, death, journey home, and funeral.

After his flight into exile in 1849, Kossuth lived for several years in Turkey, and then set off on journeys to America and England to further the revolutionary cause of Hungary. Although he was never successful in garnering substantial political or financial support for his cause from the great powers of Europe, his fame as an ardent revolutionary spread far and wide. In the 1860s, he appeared, along with Mazzini, Garibaldi and other famous men, in portraits depicting the most illustrious democrats of Europe (Vayer, 1952: 453). Until his death he continued to play a role in domestic politics, even from afar. Parties and newspapers solicited his opinion on various legislation and policies, and he was called upon time and again to resolve internal squabbles in the party most closely associated with his name and heritage, the '48 and Independent Party.

Pictures of Kossuth were first allowed to be printed in Budapest in the year of the Compromise, though the reproduction available portrayed him as he appeared during the revolution, underscoring, as Vayer notes, that Kossuth was merely a figure of the past (1952: 454). By the 1880s, the popularity of Kossuth was visibly on the increase; reading clubs and other peasant societies were frequently named after him. Cheap reproductions of Kossuth as elderly gentleman were peddled with great success at market and village fairs (Vayer, 1952: 455), coming to adorn the humble walls of many a peasant home alongside devotional pictures of saints. In 1889 a delegation of 850 Hungarians–primarily teachers, intellectuals, doctors and county administrators–visited Kossuth in Turin, a trip organized in concert with an excursion to the Paris Exhibition (Vas, 1965: 817). Other groups also sought to pay him homage in exile. Throughout the 1880s Kossuth had been elected to Parliament in absentia from numerous districts across the country (Deák, 1979: 350), and by 1889 he had been named honorary citizen of 31 Hungarian cities (Vas: 817). On the occasion of his 90th birthday, the town council of Budapest marked the anniversary by naming him honorary citizen, quite a blow to Franz Joseph, Kossuth's arch enemy, as it was also the 25th anniversary of Franz Joseph's coronation in Budapest (Vas: 823–24; 848).

News of Kossuth's failing health in mid-March of 1894 paralyzed the nation. Traditional ceremonies usually held on March 15th to commemorate the outbreak of the War of Independence were cancelled in many communities, or transformed into services in Kossuth's name. As his death approached, hourly telegrams were published chronicling the deterioration of his bodily functions, in all the most intimate of details. With final confirmation of his death on the 20th of March, a pall of mourning enveloped the nation. Within days, the Easter eggs and other joyful artifacts of the upcoming holiday were removed from shop windows, to be replaced by somber and ever more elaborate displays commemorating the great hero. The famous Kossuth hat, Kossuth's trademark, came quickly back into fashion, and was even modified for female attire. Tailors advertised short-order and ready-made mourning clothes at competitive prices, while street hawkers pedaled commemorative medals and pins. The leaders of the preeminent gypsy orchestras of Budapest pledged not to play a single note on Easter Sunday until dusk, and requested permission to greet the casket at the train station with strains of the famous song, "Don't cry, don't cry, Lajos Kossuth".

The funeral was held on the 2nd of April. The mass of mourners–aristocrat and peasant, shopkeeper and clerk–blackened the streets of Budapest, drawn together in their grief and sorrow. The steep steps of the National Museum, the site of the funeral, were obliterated with wreaths and flowers. As the coffin was drawn through the streets, mourners were said to turn away, unable to gaze upon it. He was laid to rest in Kerepesi Cemetery, between the mausoleums of his great contemporaries: Batthyány, first head of the 1848 government, later executed, and Deák, 1848 revolutionary and politician responsible for negotiating the Compromise in 1867.

Yet the tranquility of sorrow and the permanence of death were not to be Kossuth's bequest to the Hungarian nation. Controversies surrounding his funeral fueled bitter parliamentary fights and sparked riots in the streets. Even before his demise, there was speculation that Kossuth's body would not be returned home, and if it were to be allowed back on Hungarian soil, it was not at all sure whether the state would sponsor his funeral. In deference to Franz Joseph, the leading party managed to steer the debates in Parliament away from state obligations to Kossuth's family and admirers, and engaged rather in grand soliloquies of homage. In the meantime, the prime minister struck a compromise with the city of Budapest by requesting the town council shoulder the obligation and costs. Though cleverly negotiated, the compromise bred anger and dissatisfaction. Government buildings did not fly the black flag of mourning, and performances at the National Theater and the Opera House were not cancelled. On the 22nd of March, within a day of learning of

Kossuth's death, university students staged demonstrations at the National Theater and the Opera, respectfully requesting the few patrons in attendance to quit the theater and return home as the nation was in mourning. First at the National Theater, then at the Opera House students scaled the façade to raise a flag of mourning, as thousands gathered to watch. The police attempted to disperse the crowds at both sites with brutal tactics: with swords drawn, they descended upon the crowd on horseback. Fleeing the Opera House, the crowd reassembled under the bright lights of a neighboring casino, and when the revellers refused to go home, they threw bricks through the windows. In the following days editorials lambasted the police chief's methods, and Kossuth's sons threatened to bury their father in Italy if the violence and demonstrations did not cease. By the Easter weekend, soldiers were parading on city streets with their bayonets prominently displayed to discourage demonstrators, giving the impression that the center of the city was under siege.

Controversy was not limited to the secular domain. The Roman Catholic Church in Budapest refused to display any mourning paraphernalia for Kossuth, since he had been a Lutheran. The bishop claimed that their position was firmly based on Catholic dogma, although Catholic officials did display flags of mourning in other cities. The memory of lengthy debates on anti-clerical legislation in Parliament, supported by Kossuth and his faction, had undoubtedly influenced the bishop's decision. The Catholic hierarchy of Budapest eventually consented to allow the bells of Catholic churches to be rung for the funeral, since apparently no issue of dogma was involved. An Easter procession in Ó-Buda was disrupted by what the newspapers described as "a tactless and unpatriotic civic orchestra". In the midst of the procession, the band struck up the "Gotterhalte", unofficial anthem of the House of Habsburg, provoking young men to shout them down. When the musicians, reported by the newpapers to be Czech, struck up the anthem a second time, they were set upon, and it took police intervention to stop the fighting.

During the weeks of turmoil and gloom in late March of 1894, eulogies and editorials, speeches and songs evoked images of Hungarian national pride and integrity. But the country was far from tranquil. Trial hearings had been set for the coming month of May to hear the libel case, known as the Memorandum trial, against Romanian nationalists for publishing their grievances against the government. During March 15th celebrations in the rural community of Hódmezővásárhely, clashes involving agrarian socialists prevented the ceremony from concluding peacefully. Later, on the 20th of April János Szántó Kovács, a prominent leader of the agrarian socialist movement of the Great Plain, was arrested, prompting demonstrations and widespread unrest.

All these battles and demonstrations surrounding the death and burial of Kossuth were manifestations of a larger problem: the problem of the politics of history. The rise of the cult of Kossuth in the 1880s was associated with a broader trend: interpretation of historical events and figures across time as expressing the essence of Hungarian national identity. Central to this "myth" of nationhood was the War of Independence in 1848. Other events often cited were the War of Independence led by Prince Rákóczi in the 18th century, the kuruc revolts and Thököly's rebellions in the 17th century, and the reign of King Mátyás in the 15th century. The construction of a teleology of imminent national identity required that historical events be stripped of their own specificities, that the universe of intention and meaning peculiar to divergent events and actors be eliminated. One anecdote from Kossuth's funeral demonstrates this very neatly. After Kossuth's death, a movement was begun to transport to Budapest clumps of soil from all the sites where the blood of patriots was shed during the War of Independence, to be mixed with the soil of Kossuth's grave. The original intent seems to have been to commemorate Kossuth's role, and that of his compatriots, in the fight for Hungarian freedom. Soon, however, the category of historical events and actors to be implicated broadened. One editorial expressed surprise that no one had thought to include clods of earth from the site where Kossuth had been hanged in effigy, and from the building where he had been imprisoned for four years in the early 1840s. The newspaper then listed sites from which boxes of soil had already been sent: from the site of the national assembly in 1532, from the birthplace of King Mátyás, who ruled in the 15th century, from the site of a famous exchange between King Endre and his younger brother Béla in the 11th century, and from graves from the pre-Christian period of the tribal leader Árpád.

The boxes of soil sent to Budapest epitomize the process of creating national identity and historical consciousness, a knowledge of history and a form of identity which, ironically, depend upon a radical destruction of historical and cultural complexities drawn from the past. Furthermore, the makeshift grave of Kossuth shows that the creation of historical consciousness was not solely the work of poets and intellectuals, but also a popular phenomenon. The historical aggrandizement of Kossuth's grave was an event open to anyone wishing to scoop previous gifts of nationhood out of the earth. In past work I have emphasized the role of Hungarian poets in creating an elaborate ideology of history, building a symbolic edifice out of 1848. Kossuth's funeral — undoubtedly a significant moment in the development of Hungarian historical consciousness and national identity — was far more than the product of a narrow group of intellectuals, much less the exclusive creation

of the Entreprise des pompes fünèbres hired by the Budapest Town Council to mount the affair. As so many of the events I discussed above illustrate, this was a ritual of grand proportions, in which prime ministers and peasants, bereaved family and irreverent rabble-rousers all took part.

Yet my description of events also makes it very clear that the imperative to construct an historical destiny, to define the *meanings* of Hungarian identity was and is a preeminently contentious process. For although the symbols of national identity and historical fate were relatively constant, the political interpretations of historical identity varied widely. Regardless of the party affiliation or profile of the paper, Kossuth is represented as the soul, the spirit of the nation. In images reminiscent of the frontispiece of Hobbes' *Leviathan* — where the king's body represents the true body politic — Kossuth's body is portrayed as the body of the nation. His death and resurrection is the death and birth, the very apotheosis of the nation. He is the father of the nation, the father of freedom. In fact, the campaign for augmenting Kossuth's grave with historic soils was a practice reinforcing and substantiating the image so commonly evoked in print of Kossuth's body and soul becoming one with the nation's soil, and so one with the nation.

Yet on closer examination, commentators clearly differ in their understanding of why this is so. For conservative writers, those most devoted to the monarchy, in 1848 Kossuth laid the foundations of freedoms now enjoyed, which were then institutionalized by the *Ausgleich*. On the other end of the spectrum, Kossuth was a revolutionary thwarted in his goals, the father of freedoms yet to be truly secured for the nation. These differences of opinion and interpretation were continually voiced, debated, contended: the battles in Parliament and in the streets illustrate the ferocity of feelings which could be brought to bear. Each and every group was fighting dearly to render the historical heritage and national identity their own, to fix the meanings they sought to have embodied therein. The conservative *Pesti Napló* glorified Kossuth in death, yet marked the event a true reconciliation between the monarchy and the nation. Other newspapers ridiculed the conservative prime minister, portraying him hidden underneath his bed as the power of revolution and resistance manifested itself in the hearts of mourners across the nation. In Volosinov's terms, the construction of national identity represented a battle over possession of the sign.

Appropriating symbols, constructing meaning, chronicling the past, living history — this was the funeral of Lajos Kossuth. The nation paused to honor an old warrior, and thereby to honor itself. But the battles waged for Kossuth at his bier would not die. They would continue well into the 20th century, championing the old heros for new causes, for new revolutions. Interpretations

of the past would weigh heavily upon succeeding generations who, in glorifying an old tradition, would radically reshape its boundaries.

During the initial days of the '56 revolution, the symbols of 1848 would be prominently displayed and sites in the city associated with the tradition of '48 would constitute the starting-grounds for dissent and resistance. Kossuth's shield would be sewn onto national flags and his portrait would adorn the drab shop windows. He would become for many the symbol of democratic socialism. In a recent rock opera *Stephen the King*, the forces of the good Christian king Stephen were pitted against the leader of the evil and recalcitrant pagans. People were heard later to remark that the very popular rock musical was a sinister revisionist shadow play, pitting the compromising Deák (in the form of Stephen) against the truly Hungarian Kossuth (the pagan), or for a more recent comparison, the sell-out Kádár against the doomed Nagy, executed as leader of '56. Thus the logic of historical consciousness: the first party secretary of the Hungarian Communist Party has been recast as St. Stephen.

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DER BEGRÜNDER DER FINNISCH-UGRISCHEN VERGLEICHENDEN SPRACHWISSENSCHAFT: JÓZSEF BUDENZ (1836–1892)

JÓZSEF ÁGOSTON BOGOLY

Nationalbibliothek Széchényi, Budapest
Ungarn

Von den Gelehrten, die der ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft zu internationalem Ansehen verholfen haben, war der gegen Ende des vorigen Jahrhunderts wirkende József Budenz einer jener, deren Schaffen besonders fruchtbar war und die zahlreiche Schüler ausgebildet haben. Wir gedenken seiner jetzt aus Anlaß der hundertsten Wiederkehr seines Todesjahres.

Seine sprachwissenschaftliche Ausbildung, seine das vergleichende Verfahren seiner Zeit mit Sicherheit anwendende Methode, seine mit außergewöhnlicher Sachlichkeit und Zielstrebigkeit gepaarte Darlegung der Probleme und Beweisführung sowie seine in der Forschungsarbeit und in der fachlichen Diskussion bewiesene Hartnäckigkeit und seine ausdauernde Arbeit schufen für unsere moderne Sprachwissenschaft die von der Sprachvergleichung ausgehende Grundlage. Als Endergebnis seines Lebenswerkes war die zu seiner Zeit stark in Frage gestellte Annahme erwiesen, daß die ungarische Sprache mit den uralischen Sprachen verwandt ist.

Der 1992 gerade vor hundert Jahren verstorbene József Budenz war der Begründer der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft. Auf Grund seines Wirkens, von seinen Ergebnissen ausgehend vermochte die Fachwissenschaft die folgenden entscheidenden Schlußfolgerungen zu ziehen: innerhalb der uralischen Sprachen gehört die ungarische zur finnisch-ugrischen Sprachfamilie und kann zusammen mit dem Wogulischen und dem Ostjakischen als ein Glied des ugrischen Zweiges angesehen werden.

József Budenz' Wirken entfaltete sich auf dem Gebiet der finnisch-ugrischen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft. Die einmalige Leistung eines der größten Sprachwissenschaftler seiner Zeit beweist auch, daß er beim Sprachvergleich die meisten türkischen und finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen kannte und benutzte. Budenz gelangte von der altaischen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft herkommend innerhalb der Uralistik zur finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft. In den siebziger und achtziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts verteidigte er seinen Standpunkt erfolgreich gegenüber Ármin Vámbéry. Vámbéry und seine Gelehrtenkollegen wollten die türkische Herkunft des ungarischen Volkes und

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seiner Sprache beweisen. Ihrer durch die nationale Romantik filtrierte Wertideale suchenden Haltung hätte die Verwandtschaft mit den Türken am ehesten entsprochen und so hätten sie die Tatsachen der die genetische Sprachverwandtschaft beweisenden Fachwissenschaft gern übergangen. Die sich im Verlaufe der Debatte herausschälenden Standpunkte maßen sich in einem, in der Wissenschaftsgeschichte als „ugrisch-türkischer Krieg" bekannten heftigen Kampf, und nach Budenz' Tod neigte auch Ármin Vámbéry dazu, einen Teil der Wahrheit seines Gegners anzuerkennen. Die auf strengen Tatsachen beruhende vergleichende Methode ließ Budenz gegenüber Vámbéry siegen, und bis zum heutigen Tage entwickelt sich der auf dem Sprachvergleich der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft aufbauende Fachzweig auf der Grundlage der Forschungsergebnisse von József Budenz.

Er wurde 1836 in einem kleinen Dorf in Hessen, in Rasdorf geboren, das Gymnasium besuchte er in Fulda. Ein Jahr studierte er an der Universität Marburg, dann von 1855 ab in Göttingen, wo Theodor Benfey den größten Einfluß auf ihn ausübte. Durch seine Begabung, seine Forschertugenden, seinen wissenschaftlichen Horizont und durch die Entfaltung dieses Einflusses schon in seiner Jugendzeit konnte er als reifer Gelehrter seine späteren Ergebnisse erzielen.

Seine philologische Sachverständigkeit, seine auch vor dem Ausland strahlende sprachwissenschaftliche Ausbildung, seine Fähigkeit, die klassischen philologischen Verfahren auch in der Sprachwissenschaft anwenden zu können und vor allem seine Versiertheit im Vergleich, das alles hatte er sich hier in Göttingen als Benfeys Schüler aneignen können. Sein Interesse wandte sich dem Lateinischen und dem Griechischen sowie der indoeuropäischen Sprachwissenschaft zu, er studierte die Arbeiten von Bopp und Schleicher und des in Wien wirkenden, sich mit altaischer vergleichender Sprachwissenschaft beschäftigenden Boller. Bei der Untersuchung der Tätigkeit des letzteren kam er zu dem Schluß, daß es in der altaischen vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft noch viele, der Erforschung werte, unentdeckte Gebiete gebe. Schon damals reifte in Budenz der Entschluß, sein Leben der vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft zu weihen. Seine Dissertation erschien im Jahre 1858 mit dem Titel „Das Suffix *κός (ικός, ακός, υκός)* im Griechischen".

Noch in seiner Göttinger Studienzeit schloß er mit einem dort studierenden unitarischen Theologen aus Siebenbürgen, Lajos Nagy, Freundschaft. In seiner Gesellschaft begann er Ungarisch zu lernen. Die Struktur und die Frage der Verwandtschaft unserer Sprache interessierte den jungen Budenz außerordentlich. Die Bekanntschaft mit dem Ungarischen, das Erlernen der Sprache diente damals noch dem Zweck, seine Kenntnis der Altaistik zu erweitern. Bei dem Vorhaben, die Sprache zu üben, bat er seinen siebenbürgischen Freund um Hilfe bei der Vorbereitung einer Reise nach Ungarn. Lajos Nagy wandte sich direkt an

einen der damals größten Experten auf dem Gebiet der ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft, an Pál Hunfalvy, und machte ihn auf Budenz' wissenschaftliches Interesse für die ungarische Sprache aufmerksam. Die positive Antwort blieb nicht aus, Hunfalvy lud Budenz sofort nach Ungarn ein und den Sommer 1858 konnte der junge Sprachwissenschaftler schon bei József Lugossy, dem Debrecener Gelehrten, verbringen. Danach besorgte Hunfalvy Budenz eine Stellung am Zisterzienser-Gymnasium in Székesfehérvár. In der Zwischenzeit hatte sich Budenz die ungarische Sprache bereits angeeignet und nach zweijährigem Warten konnte er bereits nach Pest ziehen, jetzt bereits als ein von Hunfalvy geförderter, die verwandschaftlichen Ursprünge der ungarischen Sprache untersuchender junger Gelehrter. 1861 war er neben Pál Hunfalvy in der Bibliothek der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften als Hilfsbibliothekar beschäftigt. Im gleichen Jahr wurde er auf Grund seiner wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten zum korrespondierenden Mitglied der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften gewählt. Um diese Zeit war ein Aufschwung im wissenschaftlichen Leben zu beobachten, langsam entstanden die Institutionen und später dann nahmen die modernen wissenschaftlichen Fachorgane ihre Tätigkeit auf.

Budenz war aus einem deutschen zu einem ungarischen Wissenschaftler geworden. Als junger Forscher schrieb er auch noch Artikel über die indoeuropäischen Sprachen, auf seiner Sammelexkursion im Szeklerland erhält er an Ort und Stelle Einblick in das Mundartenmaterial und teilt seine Schlußfolgerungen in einem kleinen Artikel auch seinen Kollegen mit. In seiner Antrittsrede in der Akademie weicht er, was die Frage der Herkunft anbetrifft, noch nicht von Hunfalvys Ansicht ab. Er ordnet die ungarische Sprache zwischen den finnisch-ugrischen und den türkischen Sprachen an. Von den beiden Möglichkeiten bei Ursprung und Verwandtschaft bringt er das Ungarische jedoch noch eher in die Nähe des Türkischen.

Antal Reguly war zwischen 1839 und 1846 auf einer Sammelexkursion bei den finnisch-ugrischen Völkern. Ein sehr umfangreiches und sehr interessantes Material hat er dabei gesammelt, seine Krankheit und dann sein Tod verhinderten aber, das vielversprechende sprachwissenschaftliche Schlußfolgerungen versprechende Material vollkommen aufzuarbeiten. Hunfalvy erkannte die vorhandenen Möglichkeiten und ersuchte Budenz, der über eine um diese Zeit in Ungarn noch seltene methodische Begabung verfügte, den Reguly-Nachlaß nach strenger Methode aufzuarbeiten. Budenz bekam also das Material, von dem er ausgehen konnte und bearbeitete den Reguly-Nachlaß, wobei er bei der Untersuchung der tscheremissischen, mordwinischen und tschuwaschischen Texte die Methodik der Benfey-Schule nutzte und sich die Gesichtspunkte der Sprachvergleichung vor Augen hielt. Bei dieser Arbeit wurden ihm an Hand des finnisch-ugrischen Sprachmaterials jene sprachlichen Tatsachen und

sprachwissenschaftlichen Argumente immer deutlicher, die die ungarische Sprache eher nur zum Finnisch-ugrischen in ein Verwandtschaftsverhältnis setzen konnten. Jetzt revidiert er mutig seine frühere Überzeugung und schon 1868 betont er in seiner die finnisch-ugrischen Wortübereinstimmungen aufzeigenden Arbeit die ausschließliche Verwandtschaft des Ungarischen mit dem Finnisch-ugrischen.

Den umfangreichsten Teil des Reguly-Nachlasses, die wogulischen und ostjakischen Texte, bearbeitete Pál Hunfalvy. Im Jahre 1864 veröffentlichte er bereits ein Buch mit dem Titel „Das wogulische Land und Volk" (A vogul föld és nép). Budenz begann die Ergebnisse dieser Arbeit und auch die lappische Sprache zu studieren. Aber er konnte auch mit seinen eigenen Ergebnissen auf dem Gebiet des Sprachvergleichs bereits vor den Foren des wissenschaftlichen Lebens auftreten, 1868 habilitierte er an der Pester Universität. Dort ist er zunächst als Privatdozent für Ungarisch-ugrische vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft tätig, 1871 wählt ihn die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften zum ordentlichen Mitglied. Ein Jahr später wird er an der Pester Universität zum Professor für Altaische vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft ernannt.

Damals gab es an den europäischen Universitäten noch keinen vergleichbaren Lehrstuhl, nur in Ungarn, wo Budenz eine Generation finnisch-ugrischer Sprachwissenschaftler heranzog. Zwei Jahrzehnte hindurch vermochte er außergewöhnlich opferbereit, mit hilfreicher Liebe und fachlicher Strenge aufzutreten und zu wirken. József Szinnyei, Bernát Munkácsi, Zsigmond Simonyi, József Balassa, Ignác Halász, Móric Szilasi, Gyula Zolnai und Béla Vikár waren alle seine Schüler.

Zunächst stand Budenz in freundschaftlicher Verbindung zu dem für die türkische Verwandtschaft argumentierenden Vámbéry. Interessanterweise hatten die noch Ende der sechziger Jahre im Zusammenhang mit den finnisch-ugrischen Wortübereinstimmungen vorgebrachten Budenzschen Argumente auch auf Ármin Vámbéry ihre Wirkung ausgeübt. In seiner Arbeit „Magyar és török-tatár szóegyezések" (Ungarische und türkisch-tatarische Wortübereinstimmungen [1870]) beachtet er teilweise schon die Forschungsergebnisse von Budenz. Budenz kritisiert aber die Arbeit Vámbérys stark, da er den Standpunkt der türkischen Verwandtschaft nicht für fundierbar hält. Als Folge der Kritik durch Budenz entschließt sich Vámbéry zur Abrechnung und stellt die umfassende Beweisführung der Verwandtschaft mit den Türken zusammen. Er geht so vor, wie es ihm seine Fähigkeiten und der von ihm betriebene Fachzweig ermöglichen. Nicht einmal vor Übertreibungen zurückschreckend verneinte er die durch Budenz bewiesene Tatsache der finnisch-ugrischen Zugehörigkeit der ungarischen Sprache in seinem Buch „A magyarok eredete" (Der Ursprung der Ungarn [1882]). Eine Zeitlang kam es zu einem ständigen

Kampf, die im wissenschaftlichen Leben sich in zwei Parteien gruppierenden Meinungen stießen aufeinander und selbst die Emotionen wurden durch den „ugrisch-türkischen Krieg", wie man die Auseinandersetzung nannte, aufgepeitscht. Budenz unterlag aber nicht, da er genau und klar die Schwachpunkte in Vámbérys Argumentation verdeutlichte und in seiner „Antwort" (Felelet [1883–1884]) auch jene verfälschenden Mitteilungen benannte, mit denen der Verfasser zur Untermauerung der türkischen Verwandtschaft zu argumentieren versuchte. An dieser Stelle führte Budenz auch aus, daß Vámbéry nicht bereit gewesen war, die Ähnlichkeiten in der Deklination, Konjugation sowie in der Wortbildung der ungarischen und finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen zu beachten, ja geradezu die hierher gehörenden Ergebnisse in den Hintergrund zu drängen versuchte.

Die Übereinstimmungen zwischen der türkischen, das heißt den altaischen Sprachen und den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen brachte Budenz mit einer möglichen einstigen finnisch-ugrisch-altaischen Urverwandtschaft in Zusammenhang. Die beiden Sprachen, das Türkische und das Ungarische können nach der Deutung von Budenz auf Grund der Zeit des historischen Zusammenlebens, nicht aber auf Grund einer genetischen Sprachverwandtschaft Übereinstimmungen enthalten. Zu dieser Diskussion kam es nach dem Erscheinen der fünf Hefte des „Ungarisch-ugrischen vergleichenden Wörterbuchs" (Magyar-ugor összehasonlító szótár). Dieses Werk, eines der Hauptwerke von Budenz, erschien zwischen 1873 und 1881 und mußte von Vámbéry und seinen wissenschaftlichen Kollegen als eine Herausforderung angesehen werden. In der Debatte hatten dann sowohl Pál Hunfalvy als auch József Szinnyei Kontrahenten und Argumentationsmöglichkeiten im Interesse des Nachweises der finnisch-ugrischen Verwandtschaft.

Eine Arbeit mit zusammenfassendem Anspruch ist auch das Hauptwerk mit dem Titel „Vergleichende Morphologie der ugrischen Sprachen" (Az ugor nyelvek összehasonlító alaktana [1884–1894]). Hier weist Budenz die finnisch-ugrischen Spuren und Vorformen der alten Endungen und Affixe nach. Im „Ungarisch-ugrischen vergleichenden Wörterbuch" sind beinahe tausend Artikel zu finden, und hier werden die Ergebnisse der etymologischen Wortuntersuchung offenbar. Die Benennungen für die wichtigsten Bezugspunkte des Lebens, die Pronomen, die Namen der Körperteile, der Verwandtschaftsgrade und die der grundlegenden Umwelt, der Erscheinungen der Natur sowie die der Grundsituationen und weiterhin die Numerale beweisen zusammen die Zugehörigkeit des Ungarischen zum ugrischen Zweig der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen.

Hinsichtlich der Sprachverwandtschaft konnten diese sprachwissenschaftlichen Bezüge durch die Forschungen und die vergleichende Tätigkeit von József Budenz zum bestimmenden Element der Fachwissenschaft und des Allgemeinbewußtseins der gebildeten Intelligenz werden.

Die Redaktion der „Sprachwissenschaftlichen Mitteilungen" (Nyelvtudományi Értekezések) hatte Budenz im Jahre 1878 von Hunfalvy übernommen und in den achtziger Jahren gilt er weltweit als die erste Autorität der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachwissenschaft. Seine menschlichen Gesten, die unterstützende Liebe seiner Schüler und seine, eine wissenschaftliche Wegzehrung für ein ganzes Leben geben könnende Großzügigkeit kamen auch darin zum Ausdruck, daß er mit dem Namen „Kruzsok" eine regelmäßig sich treffende Runde ins Leben rief, in der sich Sprachwissenschaftler zum freien Gespräch treffen und sich zur fachlichen Erbauung austauschen konnten. Dieser Kreis blieb lange erhalten und diente in der von Budenz geschaffenen Form auch nach dem frühen Tode des Begründers im Jahre 1892 noch über mehrere Jahrzehnte den fachlichen Kontakten der Sprachwissenschaftler.

Das Lebenswerk von József Budenz war der Gipfelpunkt jener Entwicklung, die durch den einst ebenfalls in Göttingen studierenden Sámuel Gyarmathi mit seiner „Affinitas" (1799) (*) ihren Anfang genommen hatte, und deren Vorspiel die „Demonstratio" (1770) (**) von János Sajnovics war. Sajnovics versuchte in seinem Werk die Verwandtschaft des Ungarischen mit der Sprache der Lappen unter Beweis zu stellen. Gyarmathi räumte bereits hinsichtlich der Gesamtheit der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen ein, daß die ungarische Sprache mit der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachfamilie verwandt ist.

Die Lösung der wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Aufgabe der stichhaltigen Beweisführung ließ lange auf sich warten, bis Budenz in Ungarn erschien, der mit seiner, einer der am besten vorbereitenden europäischen sprachwissenschaftlichen Schulen entstammenden Methode die große Arbeit des Sprachenvergleichs durchführte.

János Arany charakterisierte Budenz folgendermaßen: „... ich glaube, niemand hat es in so kurzer Zeit so weit gebracht in der (an das Sprachgefühl grenzenden) Kenntnis der Eigenheiten der ungarischen Sprache, wie er." Arany sah in Budenz die Verwirklichung seines Ideals eines im Besitz seiner Fachkenntnisse schaffenden modernen Wissenschaftlers in Ungarn, und deshalb war er für ihn auch mehrfach das erwähnenswerte positive Beispiel für die Tugend und Effektivität der wissenschaftlichen Arbeit.

(*) vollständiger Titel:
Affinitas linguae hungaricae cum linguis fennicae originis grammatice demonstrata. (Gottingae, 1799.)

(**) vollständiger Titel:
Demonstratio. Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse. (Hafniae, 1770.)

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ETHNOSEMIOTIC RESEARCH IN HUNGARY

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Ethnosemiotic research in Hungary began in the late nineteen sixties. It was during this period that representatives of the humanities, primarily from the disciplines of philosophy, linguistics, aesthetics and film theory, began to adopt a new approach in their investigation of various cultural sign-systems. From the beginning, Hungarian anthropologists attended interdisciplinary conferences on semiotics. The two decades that have elapsed since then have allowed us to review their efforts and their results.

Before outlining the systematic research of the last couple of years, I would like to draw attention to some ideas and work which belong to the prehistory of Hungarian (ethno)semiotics. Work produced during the interwar period is rarely mentioned; even more rarely quoted are works written during the 19th century and earlier periods, although every new field of research needs to find its antecedents in the history of science. This is what I shall attempt to do in the following pages. Furthermore, I will also examine a number of works on sign and communication-theory which address general questions, works which have a relevance for Hungarian ethnosemiotics.

The prehistory of Hungarian semiotics

Studies dealing with the history of semiotics take the reader into the late medieval world of European medicine. Medical semiology[1] evolved from the science of describing the symptoms of diseases, it was in this field that it was first conceptualized. A distinguished figure in the history of Hungarian medicine is Ferenc Pápai-Páriz (1649–1716), a Transylvanian. His view was doubtless conditioned by contemporary medical semiology, as evidenced by the descriptions of diseases in his famous work *Pax Corporis*, "the peace of the body". To quote an example:

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"On apoplexy

The origin, the nature and the causes of apoplexy are the same as those set out above in my discussion of falling sickness — the only difference being this, that, whereas falling sickness affects the whole body, apoplexy affects only some parts of it.

Those afflicted by the malady lose their ability to move, their sensation and consciousness, only their breathing remains; though the latter, too, is invariably affected, sometimes to a greater and sometimes to a lesser degree.

ITS SIGNS: the signs of the disorder include a sudden collapse of the patient, accompanied by a heavy snoring sound; the face is often contorted, with tears running involuntarily; the mouth opens wide, the eyes are closed or remain open; there is frequently foaming at the mouth, though, in a particularly severe stage, it can be fatal even without any froth and snoring sound...

ITS MEANINGS: In this disorder, the better the breathing, the more hope there is; otherwise, there is little hope indeed. Sometimes indeed, the breathing is so faint as to lead one to give up the patient for dead; in such cases you should apply this test to see if he is alive: put a vessel with some water in it on his chest; if the water moves, it is a sign of his still breathing, even if faintly. Or hold a mirror to his mouth: if he is breathing, the mirror will dim...

ITS REMEDIES: Since this malady is most severe, it swiftly kills its victims; wherefore it calls for urgent help. In these maladies in case of an attack, the patient must be vigorously shaken and rocked forthwith; his hands and feet should be rubbed vigorously, and his tender part should be out in good time; there is no need to drain much blood, the object being merely to facilitate its flow; yet, if the patient is full of youthful vigour and is of a sanguineous constitution, copious bleeding is recommended..."[2]

The "signs", "meanings" and "remedies" of diseases may be regarded as anticipating the tripartite division of modern semiotics — syntactics, semantics and pragmatics. It is important not to forget that Pápai-Páriz wrote the introduction to his book in 1687.

At the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, particularly in Transylvania, the intelligentsia maintained constant and lively contact with Western Europe's intellectual centres, including the most important universities like Göttingen and Utrecht. Transylvania, though not what one might call a paradise for men of learning, nevertheless often produced spectacular works simultaneous with the achievements emanating from well-known Western European centres. Examples of such figures include Farkas Bolyai and his son János Bolyai, who made their mark primarily in the field of mathematics, the formulation of the theoretical questions of non-Euclidean geometry as their enduring contribution. Less well-known, however, has been János Bolyai's theory of signs and communication. Hundreds of handwritten pages by the younger Bolyai remain in the Teleki Library of Marosvásárhely. Some of his ideas on sign theory dating from around 1823 are preserved here. These are marked by great discrimination and close detail:

> "We can communicate to others our thoughts, feelings and wishes — in general, our intellectual state — not only by dint of palpable, visible or audible signs, but also by such proper notice which may be perceived by any sense organ...
>
> ...signs covering all possible instances and therefore generally useful on their own as well, can be perceived or touched or felt; there are written and kinetic sings – the latter being used by the deaf-and-dumb for communication; and finally, there are audible sonant signs, such as those used in speech; indeed, the sounds of instruments or singing could also perform the same function by substituting musical notes for letters. Yet, whichever signs or symbols we may employ, there can be no doubt wherein the principal value of the sign or symbol lies in this; namely, that the symbol is meaningful, i.e. it is fixed both in relation to ourselves and in relation to others...
>
> Visible signs fall into two categories, namely, (...) they can be permanent or transitory. Writing belongs in the first category. Transitory signs include the various gestures — especially movements of the hand — and the audible signs."[3]

The history of Transylvanian scientific writing has shown that János Bolyai's (1802–1860) interest in the science of language was aimed at constructing a comprehensive and, as far as possible, contradiction-free "science of signs".[4]

It should be noted that in the Transylvania of that historical period, Bolyai was not alone in his interest in semiotics. In the diary of the lesser-known Utopian thinker Lajos Gyulay, we can find some lines relating to semiotics as well: "The word is the sign of the idea, while writing is the sign of the word; and the science of signs is called semiotics."[5] – this entry dates from 1835. One of the insights provided by the above passage is that semiotic thinking did have antecedents in Hungary; another is the semiotics had a name as well: it was called "jegytudomány" (the science of marks or signs).[6]

In 1841 a work by András Vandrák (1807–1884), presumably the first anthropological study to be written in Hungarian, was published in Eperjes. Entitled *"Lelkileges embertan, vagyis psychikai anthropológia"* (Psychological Anthropology), it too contains a definition of the science of signs: "Semiotics is the science of hallmarking ideas or assigning them signs".[7]

Around the middle of the 19th century, the study of signs was becoming popular. In one of his "preliminary studies in aesthetics", János Erdélyi, the initiator of Hungarian folklore studies, provided a definition of the concept of symbol: "Because the phenomenon which denotes something does not offer itself as an external to our view, but something else as in the *symbol* (*symbolum*) where every word points to some meaning and is valid not merely in relation to itself."[8] In his collection *"Magyar közmondások könyve"* (Book of Hungarian Proverbs), he applies this approach to phrases and idioms:

> "Under the notion of proverbs we include all those short sayings which, in a popularly inherited form, live on as symbolic statements (*sententiae symbolicae*) in oral tradition. It is

> therefore, part of their nature that they should readily be understandable by a wide audience without requiring explanation or a mental effort on the part of the listener and that people should, when necessary, be able to use them even though the phrases have long since lost their literal meanings."[9] ... "Hence proverbs have symbolism as their theory, with life as their practice. They derive their principle from the former and find their shape in the latter, these two providing the pivots on which the essence of proverbs turns. To put it simply; even if an idea has a symbolic presentation, unless it is accepted in life it will not become a proverb; moreover, it seems a fair assumption to make that the basis of these locutions taken up by life is almost invariably some experience, something that actually happened and which inherently distinguishes the nature of proverbs from consciously invented maxims derived from philosophical reasoning.
>
> Every figure of speech, if it has some idea behind it, is in fact a symbol. All the traditional wisdom of primitive peoples was expressed in symbols, indeed nothing more characteristic could be said about early humanity than that it tended to feel truths before it knew them."[10]

Not only did the work, published in 1851, see the process of symbol-formation clearly, it also attended to the social embeddedness of tropes and idioms which possess symbolic meanings; today it might be said that Erdélyi was also interested in the pragmatic side of the use of signs.

Arnold Ipolyi (1823–1886) in his great work "*Magyar Mythologia*" (Hungarian Mythology), devoted a special chapter to symbols. He listed the signs, omens and symbols figuring in folk belief and explained what each was supposed to mean.[11] His examples suggest that he instinctively anticipated the modern approach which views mythology as a system of signs.

The beginnings (in the first half of the 20th century)

In the interwar period, alongside the various trends of European science, the demand arose in Hungary for the formulation of a theory that would embrace the entire domain of human behaviour. Hungarian linguists — primarily Zoltán Gombocz and Gyula Laziczius — started to feature in their works the structuralist and presemiotic ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure and the Prague circle of linguists.

In 1944, Zoltán Rezessy finished his manuscript entitled "*Közléstudomány*" (The Science of Communication),[1] which as regards its object, sought, above all, to define political journalism as a science in its own right. At the same time, it was a pioneering work of Hungarian semiotics. In the chapter called "*Jelalakzatok*" (Patterns of Sign),[2] he defined the elementary forms of communication, the concepts of *jel, jelvény, jelzés* (sign, emblem, signal) and *jelkép* (symbol), after which Rezessy considered the manifestation of different types of signs, hence it is one of the first (though not *the* first) typologies of signs produced in Hungary.

An interesting personality, active during the interwar period of the Hungarian artistic avant-garde, was the philosopher Valéria Dienes, a translator of Bergson. She formulated a comprehensive theory to record the sign-system of movements. Her theory of symbols developed on the basis of her analysis of the world of signs of dance and eurythmics. Had it been recognised, it might have provided some valuable insights for ethnography as well.[3] In the field of pedagogy, Sándor Karácsony, a disciple of Gombocz, recognized the importance of the sign-systems governing culture. In his opinion, the distinctive world view of the Hungarian language — including its frequent use of coordinative structures — determines the fundamental features of "the Hungarian habit of thinking and feeling".[4] In his books, marked by a powerfully expressive style, an understanding of the use of signs and symbols is the basis of pedagogy. Karácsony holds the view that the life of the community is made possible by the combined use of language; as a system of signs, and art; as a system of symbols.[5]

In a book published in 1942, Gábor Lükő, a student of Sándor Karácsony, scrutinized the systems of symbols used in folk art. Far from limiting his inquiries to decorative folk art, he also considered the poetics of folk songs as well. Lükő continued his studies on the subject and in 1957, under the title "Images and symbols in Hungarian folk poetry", he delivered a lecture to the Hungarian Ethnographical Society. In his book *"A magyar lélek formái"* (Forms of the Hungarian Psyche), he enunciated what amounts to an early program of the stages of ethnosemiotic analysis. In spite of the intervening years his ideas remain essentially valid:

> "When dealing with folk art, folk poetry and folk music, we are led to ask the same three questions, which — on the analogy of language — pertain to semantics, syntactics, and phonetics. The meaning of art is figurative, i.e. symbolic and universal, and it is invariably based on the original, single meaning of the sign (word or image). It is the relationship of these two that we have to examine if we are to acquaint ourselves with the system of symbols used by our people. The manner of relating symbols to each other is the syntactic problem of art; while the technical elaboration of them is akin to the phonetic problems of language. In trying to master foreign languages, studying merely their phonetics is not enough: we have to get to grips with their syntax and semantics as well, if we are going to understand them."[6]

In the 30s and 40s, several studies rich in data were written about the world of objects of traditional folk culture. It was stated that, in the course of social use, certain objects (e.g. the engagement presents)[7] acquire symbolic meaning, and have an important role in regulating the life of communities (see marks of property and boundary-indicators[8] or dress and costume marks with distinctive

features).[9] In 1941, Ákos Szendrey published in the journal *Ethnographia*, an article under the title "*A magyar nép jelnyelve*" (The Sign-language of the Hungarian People).[10] Despite the suggestive title, it dealt only with gestures and was no more than a simple enumeration of data, written under the influence of other, earlier publications dealing with gesture-language.

Éva Putz, a young Hungarian researcher wrote about a wedding which took place in the northern part of Hungary. Though dating from 1943, her work displays — even by today's standards — a surprisingly modern semiotic approach.[11]

Concerning the history of the beginnings of Hungarian ethnosemiotics, there are a few works that include valuable cultural historical material and address, among other topics, the old "Hungarian" language of flowers.[12] Other studies scan the material signs that were in use during the course of the past centuries: sign-boards, guild-emblems, and house signs.[13]

In "*Jelek könyve*" (The Book of Signs), published in 1941, a body of rich historical material supplements the series of books that appeared prior to the War. A translation of an English work, "with occasional Hungarian examples added", it contains all types of signs, "as were used by the peoples of prehistoric times, antiquity, early Christianity, and the Middle Ages".[14] From an ethnographical standpoint the last pages are most interesting since they show old Hungarian marks of property and sign variants used by different members of one family.

The fifties is also regarded as part of semiotic prehistory. It was the decade which saw the launch of a new journal published by the Ethnographical Museum: *Index Ethnographicus*, which ran a series of articles under the summary title "The ethnography of expression". The authors explored the use of signs found in folk culture, appending a rich collection of examples. The series did have antecedents: in 1941, Béla Gunda had already published a paper under the title "*A kereszt, mint mágikus jel az agyagedényeken*" (The Cross as a Magic Sign on Earthenware Vessels), which he continued by enumerating "the magic signs protecting the house".[15] Also relevant are two articles by József Csaba,[16] one of which discusses the use of the symbol of the cross in a shielding and protecting role. Later a review of the literature on the subject led him to an examination of the use of symbols so evident in folk art.

Sándor Dömötör studied the symbolic decorations of wooden graveposts, and earlier he had produced an attempt at a theoretical summary, under the title "*A jelkép, mint néprajzi fogalom*" (The Symbol as an Ethnographical Concept).[17] Imre Dankó collected from folk customs and the lyrics of folk songs data relating to the symbolism of the apple, making his study an important contribution towards an understanding of the symbols of folk songs.[18] On the

same subject, pioneering work was done by Zsuzsanna Erdélyi, who studied a peculiar mode of the use of symbols in Hungarian folk poetry (i.e. the colour symbolism of folk songs), and who managed to identify the symbolic meaning of particular colours in Hungarian folk songs.[19] Over ten years later, Erdélyi reported in the pages of *Ethnographia* the results of her researches which had taken a new direction, focusing on the medieval motifs found in archaic folk prayers. One section of this study treats the symbolism of prayers[20] and Christian light symbolism (e.g. the "golden temple"), which are recurring elements in these texts. Exploring the symbolism of prayers is an inexhaustible treasure trove of material for further research in the attempt to discover more about the older strata of Hungarian folk belief.

The study of other branches of folk culture also convinced researchers that it was possible and worthwhile to look for signs in decorated objects. Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer wrote: "The human figures in folk art and their movements have a symbolic meaning. It is precisely this symbolic meaning that renders the laconic portrayals so powerfully expressive. The peasant mode of portrayal brings out individual, personal features, while preserving and accentuating other features, attributes, and gestures. Certain attributes, some kind of sign-system, constantly recur in portrayals, distinguishing the human types."[21] This quotation demonstrates that one can look for a sign-system in visual folk art as well.

Index Ethnographicus contains publications of varying lengths[22] that review the hallmarks and property marks to be found on various objects and implements. The marks of ownership used in Hungary to brand cattle were reviewed and reported — as exhaustively as possible — by Ernő Tárkány-Szücs.[23]

The first two decades of Hungarian ethnosemiotics

At the end of the 60s (in the academic year of 1968–69), Vilmos Voigt announced a special course in semiotics at the Faculty of Humanities of Budapest's Lóránd Eötvös University, and opened a new chapter in the history of Hungarian ethnosemiotics. In addition to the general introductory lectures, students were also treated to semiotic analyses of particular phenomena of culture. The Department of Folklore at Budapest University can thus claim to have been the first in Europe to provide lectures on ethnosemiotics as part of the regular course of study. In 1970 for example, an entire semester was devoted to presenting Soviet semiotic research into folkloric and mythological texts.[1] Authors of later publications were among those who attended these first lectures.

If our picture is to be accurate in terms of the history of scholarship, it should be mentioned that research into ethnosemiotics in Hungary was pioneered by

those linguists — in particular, György Szépe, Ferenc Papp, and János Petőfi S.[2] — who had already been regularly reporting on American and Soviet semiotic research and the fundamental methods of sign-theory. A man who played a special role in the history of international semiotics was the Hungarian-born Thomas A. Sebeok (or Tamás Sebők), who also had a major influence on the research being carried out in Hungary; not least through one of his articles published in the early 60s, focusing on the role of coding (analog and digital codes) in the development of signalling behaviour.[3]

The development of Hungarian ethnosemiotics was given a great boost by the fact that in these years, a whole string of essential foreign works appeared in translation.[4]

After these antecedents, or perhaps as a result of their works, two articles appeared simultaneously in 1971, both articulating the ethnosemiotic method as a program of research. In Vilmos Voigt's opinion, during the onset of semiotic research the idea had occurred that the system of cultural signs could be visualized on the model of the system of language. Individual ethnographical phenomena are expressly semiotic in nature and therefore ethnosemiotics helps us analyze and understand the essence of an ethnic group, the traditions characteristic of a people.[5]

The other paper was published under the title "*Jegyzetek az etnográfiai szemiotikához*" (Notes on Ethnographical Semiotics).[6] The author proceeded on the assumption that the communicative phenomena of peasant culture could be understood as sign processes, and hence the methods of semiotics are applicable to them. In the course of his discussion of the theoretical questions, he defined the stages of (ethno)semiotic analysis. Hoppál produced examples to demonstrate how he had succeeded in revealing the system of interconnections existing between elementary signs. To describe the discipline concerning itself with the sign processes of ethnographical phenomena, he proposed (and coined the term in Moscow in November 1969) the name *ethnographic semiotics*, or *ethnosemiotics*[7] for short.

The clarification of the theoretical and methodological questions of ethnosemiotic research in Hungary were greatly assisted by the setting up, in 1972, of the Work Committee for Semiotics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the launch of a series of offprints entitled *Szemiotikai Tanulmányok / Semiotic Studies*, in which over a hundred booklets have been published to date. It is one of the fundamental principles of research in the social sciences that, for each discipline, a scientific meta-language needs to be formulated. This language is a lexicon of theoretical terms – one that provides exact definitions of the concepts constantly used in individual fields, so that in the course of the concrete analyses, one can operate with these clearly defined terms.

In Hungarian research, that purpose was served by a whole series of theoretical overviews, as well as by surveys on the history of scholarship. We should mention above all, the studies of Vilmos Voigt, in which he focused on the relationship between folklore and semiotics, as well as the questions of social semiotics and the semiotics of culture.[8] His writing "*Szemiotika és folklór*" (Semiotics and Folklore) is a particularly significant compendium of the history of the problem; in it he includes under ethnosemiotics all ethnically oriented semiotics and all ethnology with a semiotic interest. He affirmed that good ethnosemiotics and folkloristic semiotics was an intrinsically valid social science,[9] which identified areas of social utilization.

The task of defining the place of semiotics in general, and ethno- and cultural semiotics in particular, was assisted by studies addressing the history of scholarship tracing the genesis of ethnosemiotics[10] and by a number of independent volumes. Books devoting themselves to communication theory were the first to feature ethnosemiotic criteria,[11] followed by comprehensive works on semiotics, works with a theoretical basis.

Vilmos Voigt's[12] book was originally written as an introduction to social semiotics; it was, however, the first systematic work in Hungarian to explain the basic notions of the science of signs and the history of its emergence, from the beginnings to its rise in prestige in the 20th century and, finally, to the centres of semiotics active in our own days. The author is equally familiar with the aspirations of the Tartu-Moscow semiotic school and those of American semioticians, as well as Western European achievements. Finally, Voigt considers the areas, subjects, limits and the future of semiotics. The work is indeed, an essential Hungarian ethnosemiotics primer.

The work of Péter Józsa[13] represents a major contribution to Hungarian cultural semiotics. Józsa was a researcher with a prodigious capacity for work; it was via his study of social communication, the forms and modes of manifestation for social consciousness, that he came upon the complex of questions of structuralism and, subsequently, of semiotics. As a man with a critical appreciation of the ideas of Lévi-Strauss, he explained (in a posthumously published book) that the structuralism of the French scholar holds the foundations of a theory of social semiotics. Józsa was convinced that the analysis of social sign processes could lead to laying the groundwork for a Marxist theory of social consciousness.

Csaba Andor, in his book dealing with research on culture and called "*Jel – Kultúra – Kommunikáció /Interdiszciplináris szempontok a kultúrakutatásban/*" (Sign – Culture – Communication [Interdisciplinary Considerations in Research into Culture]),[14] applied criteria involving several academic disciplines. His work

provides a cultural semiotics based on information theory, with ample illustrative material and an ethnosemiotic analysis of festivals.

In addition to the works of individual authors, a whole string of collections of studies were published which I shall now enumerate in the chronological order of their appearance, with the studies contained in them to be reviewed later under subject headings. The first collection of studies on semiotics appeared, under the title "*Jel és közösség*" (Sign and Community)[15] in 1975 and afterwards virtually every year a fresh volume was issued enriching the scientific literature available in Hungarian. For example Vol. 87 of *Ethnographia* (1976) devoted an entire issue to ethnosemiotics.[16] During the ensuing years the Institute of Popular Education and the Committee for Semiotics of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences published several volumes, including "*Jel és jelentés a társadalmi kommunikációban*" (Sign and Meaning in Social Communication – 1977)[17] and "*A társadalom jelei*" (The Signs of Society – 1978)[18]. On the occasion of the semiotic conference held in Budapest in 1979, several volumes were published in English: partly original studies and partly reprints, research reports and summaries of the lectures[19] and each volume contained studies on ethnosemiotics. Two symposia focusing on the semiotics of art were also published: one of them contains the material of a Hungarian–Soviet conference on the semiotics of literature,[20] with the other collection features excerpts (under the title "*Etno-art és /nép/művészet szemiotika*" (Ethno-art and Semiotics of [Folk] Art) from Soviet research exploring the sign-systems of folk art.[21]

In the same years (prompted, to some extent, by the research being carried out in Hungary) ethnosemiotic papers by Hungarian authors appeared in Transylvania and Novi Sad in Yugoslavia.[22] In Hungary, the Ethnographical Research Group of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences published its first thematic volume containing semiotic analyses of folklore texts.[23] Distinguished among the Hungarian semiotic publications is a volume featuring the material of the international conference on semiotics held in Tihany. Published in 1981, under the title "*Kultúra és szemiotika*" (Culture and Semiotics),[24] the volume is a worthy finale to the first decade of Hungarian semiotics. Over a hundred studies, several special volumes by about fifty authors, is obviously not the kind of thing one can dismiss as merely a scientific "fashion". It is probably closer to the truth if one says that, in the 70s, ethnosemiotics was one of the most organized and in its methods, the most carefully considered scientific trends in ethnographical research in Hungary. A considerable group of researchers, proceeding on the same theoretical premises, investigated diverse areas of culture. In the following, I shall review these analytical ethnosemiotic studies, categorizing them according to their topics.

The world of everyday life signs

The world of phenomena of everyday communication, with its rich stock of signs and its multiplicity of symbols, is an inexhaustible area of ethnosemiotic inquiry. A monograph by Béla Buda, now printed in several editions,[25] provides authoritative theoretical guidance on the regularities of direct human communication. A whole series of studies describing the sign systems of particular localities were published: including gestures,[26] the language of hand signs used by workers in a factory in Ózd,[27] and the semiotics of greetings[28] and conversation.[29] The role of slogans, catch phrases and advertising in everyday life was analyzed by Péter Egyed.[30] Studies were made of the conventional sign-systems of car drivers[31] and tailors,[32] the symbols of splashboards and tattooed designs,[33] as well as the significance of signals given by village bells.[34] There were also treatises containing semiotic descriptions of games, sports[35] and other forms of entertainment.[36]

Inquiry into the patterns of the use of space also began, producing the first Hungarian studies on proxemics aimed at exploring the rules governing the functioning of that thoroughly hidden sign-system.[37]

A regular feature of day-to-day pastoral life on the Alföld, the Great Hungarian Plain, was a variety of special sign-systems used by the shepherds. It was during research trips he made to the Great Plain that Béla Gunda noted the signals used by shepherds. Already in the early 70s, he had completed two ethnosemiotic articles. The first entitled "*Pásztorok és jelek*" (Shepherds and Signs)[38] provides a wealth of accurate observations including commentary on the role of silence. Another study was devoted to love signals.[39] In the region around Nádudvar, József Szabadfalvi collected data on the signals given by means of sweep-wells. To quote:

> Sign 1: the well-sweep is let up, so that the water bucket is set on the rim of the well, where the shepherd stands when drawing water. *Meaning*: Look out, an official person has arrived.
>
> Sign 2: the well-sweep is let up with the handle, so that the bucket dangles empty. *Meaning*: a call for help because a great misfortune (a death) has occurred.
>
> Sign 3: the bucket, removed from the handle, is placed on top of the well-sweep. *Meaning*: the water of the well is not fit to drink (because for instance, an animal died in it).
>
> Sign 4: the water bucket is on the rim of the well, with a kerchief or a woman's apron tied on the tip of the handle of the well. *Meaning*: a woman is staying in the shepherd's quarters; she has done the washing and has also been willing to provide some sexual services.[40]

The sign-systems used in the daily routine of old peasant life also included cattlebrands, boundary marks and property signs. The types of signs used in branding cattle were examined by Ernő Tárkány-Szücs, whose articles have already been mentioned.[41] The family property signs that cattle were branded with indicated the boundaries of landed property. In two studies, Lajos Takács examined social gestures possessing value signs. In one of the articles, recalling the history of a European legal custom as practised in Hungary, he described the custom of the "presentation of the clod", regarded as a sign of entrance into possession. The other article addressed an old custom: that of "suffering the whip lash treatment", the essence of which was that the young man who was beaten remembered, even decades later, the scene of his humiliation, the particular part of the fields where he was whipped.[42] A third study he wrote also dealt with a historical-ethnosemiotic subject and described the old boundary marking idols.[43]

On the sign-systems of objects, Imre Gráfik devoted an entire series of studies to analyzing signs indicating ownership. In one of his first articles, he proceeded on the assumption that in folk culture the transaction and direction of socially important actions involve a multiplicity of sign-systems,[44] which include marks of ownership. Gráfik's fundamental objective was to try and interpret in semiotic terms (relying on the material and the results of earlier research) the sign-system we use in daily living. In the first section of the study, he addressed the role of property, as a category to be denoted in the historico-social development of mankind. In another study, he discussed the regularities of the internal system of the transmission of information performed by property signs, with special regard to property marks used within families. Using the mathematical apparatus of information theory (entropy analysis), he tried to identify the patterns whereby, within particular families, the original family property mark might change through use by individual family members.[45] The studies by Gráfik are a major contribution not only to ethnosemiotics, but also to historical ethnographical research, in its traditional sense.[46]

At this point, we should mention two brief but all the more interesting articles published in the Kolozsvár-based annual "*Korunk Évkönyv*" (Yearbook of Our Times), both of them dealing with the signs seen on sacks. Béla Kabay wrote about the property-indicating role of stripes woven into sack fabric,[47] and in another study he analyzed the "coding principles of stripe-writing", stating that "ethnosemiotic tradition is nothing other than the aggregate of the customs of sign usage that have proved optimum in the course of time'.'[48] Transylvanian researchers provided a model description of how this microcosm of distinguishing property marks came into existence in peasant life; it is described how the

fact that one wagon, used to carry wheat from several farmers to the mill, created the need for identification of sacks and their contents.

Within the world of material culture, it is clear that a rich body of literature exists on the topic of grave markers found in Hungary, and wooden graveposts, in particular. In 1968, Károly Kós prepared an essay based on extensive field work, which described the individual sections of wooden graveposts, distinguishing the characteristic embellishments of men's and women's graveposts and the symbolic significance of the colouring and the carved signs. In short, he offered a "reading" of the sign-language of wooden graveposts, concluding that finding a key to the sign-language of grave markers, with all its social and cultic implications, was a task yet to be performed.[49]

As if responding to that very challenge, a number of young researchers arrived on the scene almost simultaneously;[50] in addition to the formal analysis of the sign-language of objects, they were also interested in questions of social background and historical entrenchment, and their work has its basis in ethnosemiotics. Tünde Zentai, for example, reviewed (on the basis of reports by an excellent interviewee) the burial traditions of a village in the Great Plain; Nádudvar, as well as the material relics associated with the wooden graveposts. As regards her methods, she sought guidance from the following as she stated at the outset: "... the group of wooden graveposts and the graveyard may be conceived of as a sign-system which reflects (through the communication of signs by objects, even without any verbal support medium) a definite segment of the relevant community's system of customs and social condition, a portion of which are judged to be important by the community itself."[51]

Essentially the same is true of the relationship between the graveyard and society; in the past, the order to be observed at funerals (more specifically, the line-up around the coffin) was still highly important,[52] whereas today it is scarcely conscious any more, making it necessary to record the order. Nor is the use of symbols conscious any more, warns Gyula László,[53] who looks at old funeral customs and their possible meanings through the archeologist's eye. It is vital to unveil the historical data and antecedents in order to provide a critical interpretation of them, as the debate on the origin of our wooden graveposts has not yet been closed.[54] Some new results were presented during a 1990 symposium held in Nagykőrös, which was devoted to the "cult of the dead".[55]

The semiotic analysis of folk customs

Alongside the sign-systems of everyday life, the semiotic description of festivals and festive customs, and the various related folk customs, is also an

interesting task. In the research done in Hungary, the works of Péter Niedermüller displayed an unequivocal semiotic orientation. He scrutinized the custom of "birching", the rites of passage and the semiotic aspects of research on customs.[56] Anikó Salamon, a Transylvanian folklorist prepared a model semiotic analysis of sign use in a folk custom native to Kalotaszeg. Her work is one of those rare descriptions of customs that interprets events in terms of codes.[57]

Dating from the heroic age of the ethnosemiotic research done in Hungary on customs and usages, are the essays that handle the use of signs and symbols used in the May Day celebrations of the 70s.[58] They delineated the temporal and spatial structure of the parades and analyzed the dress of the paraders. The study of symbols is a distinct area within ethnosemiotics (these inquiries interface with the research of what is termed symbolic anthropology).[59] In folkcustoms and often in our daily living, certain actions symbolically gain in value and, as symbols, are reproduced over and over again in the course of social practice. A case in point is *kaláka* (the social institution of mutual help) in Transylvania, which has become a symbol of "collective solidarity".[60] One can also observe a "switch of roles in our symbols";[61] and particularly in the realm of the phenomenon called "folklorism" where a particular object or work of folk art is often reevaluated, becoming a symbol of folk culture or of folk art as a whole.[62]

Of particular importance, on account of their paucity, are the analyses that chart the changes in customs, the objects associated with these changes, and the transformation of the traditional sign-systems in Transylvania[63] and the Southern regions of Hungary[64] (e.g. the way in which traditional festive dress is used to indicate family and property status as well as political behaviour). These studies introduce the reader to the material culture of today's village. Katalin S. Nagy was interested in the survival and use, in urban and rural dwellings, of the objects of peasant culture.[65] In his book, Miklós Hernádi handles the semiotics of objects, the first to do so in Hungarian sociography. He introduces the reader to the study of meanings conveyed by objects, describing how the sign-language of objects functions (e.g. status symbols).[66] As a sociologist, he had for years been publishing (under the inspiration of ethnomethodology) analyses that tried to explain many phenomena of today's culture in terms of a symbol-creating process.[67] In his last book, he devoted a lengthy chapter to analyzing celebratory behaviour,[68] offering conclusions that may, no doubt, prove useful for Hungarian ethnographical research as well.

These essays (Hernádi, S. Nagy) represent a major branch of Hungarian social semiotics, marking in effect, the beginning of (sociologically based) analytical study exploring the sign processes of urban life. Ernő Kunt addressed

the Hungarian peasantry's image of death, faithfully continuing the line of his semiotic analyses. Inspired by system theory, his vision aims to present "dynamic symbolism", using pairs of binary oppositions peculiar to semiotic method to delineate the image of death and time.[69] This work represents a pragmatic analysis and points the way to the social use of ethnosemiotics.

The world of cemeteries and funerals is inseparable from the worldview as well as the forms of social consciousness. The study of folk beliefs has, from the outset, been in the forefront of structuralist and of ethnosemiotic research in Hungary. Talking of precedents Péter Józsa,[70] must be mentioned, his Ph. D. thesis was one of the first in the social sciences in Hungary to apply the semiotic method. He proposed in a manner similar to the Marxist theory of economics which uses exchange as a central category, that an up-to-date theory of society should include the concept of sign as its organizing category.

In 1975, a special symposium was held to discuss the interrelationships between the belief system and social consciousness.[71] At the symposium, several speakers underscored the importance of using the concept of belief as a term in the social sciences. The analysis of folk beliefs provides an opportunity to demonstrate the mechanics of social consciousness.[72] The analyses which applied the semiotic method, served as the basis for the study of mythological systems and for the conception of mythology as a sign-system.[73] This idea was first propounded and elaborated by Soviet semioticians and scholars of mythology,[74] whose methods provided a basis for similar analyses subsequently performed by Hungarian authors in their studies of the myths of Finno-Ugrian and Asian peoples. I have utilized through a body of mythological material, the methodological principles I became acquainted with during my study trips to Moscow. The study in question is one dealing with the mythology of Uralian peoples.[75] Also on this subject are several essays by Péter Veres,[76] in which he expounds the theory of binary semiotic oppositions in order to reach ethnogenetic conclusions. His inferences, taking their cue from the semiotic school in Soviet comparative mythology, opened the way to the formulation of an ethnosemiotics with a historical approach: "However skeptical certain researchers may be with regard to the need to study the phenomena common to the cultures of different peoples, the study of this set of questions will become more and more inevitable in historical ethnography. Without a knowledge of the semiotic universals, moreover, it is impossible to explain the mechanism of the internal integrating and external distinguishing function of cultures. In the interest of ensuring the objectivity of historical reconstructions, it is inevitable that we will explore the cultural isomorphisms generated by the dual symbolic classifying system based on binary oppositions."[77]

Towards a semiotics of texts

Literary theory in Hungary responded fairly quickly (in the late 60s) to the results of structuralism; and given the relatively large number of references in these ground-breaking works to folklore examples, they may justly be regarded as forerunners of textual semiotics in Hungary and more specifically, of folkloristic semiotics. An article by János Petőfi S., dealing with comparative structural analyses, must be mentioned. Presented at one of the very first conferences on structuralism to be held in Hungary, a conference focusing on the models of the forms of social consciousness, his writing articulated some general fundamental principles of textual semiotics.[78] A few years later, in a study he prepared for a conference on myths, he applied the principles of the theory of texts he had formulated to the analysis of mythological texts, also defining major steps of textual analysis.[79] In the late 60s, Elemér Hankiss studied the possibilities of using the models of communication theory in folk song research. His conclusions about the character of the literary work as a model are essential for folklore theory and textual analysis. In the case of literary compositions (e.g. poems or folk songs), he notes that the meanings of the linguistic signs used are modified by various communicative factors. Since, in the majority of cases, the poet ('folk singer') has no direct contact with the reader or listener, he is compelled to weave into the poem (or, to put it in terms of semiotics, to "encode") the information relating to the missing communicative factors. This need to encode one's message is an important formative factor of lyrical poetry, and one whose influence is clearly identifiable in the majority of Hungarian folk songs. This point is so much in evidence that, for example, in what is called the "opening image of nature" in folk songs, the listener is prepared by the very first words in the first line, to absorb the message contained in the poem. It can be demonstrated that in folk songs the first intoning lines have a more pronounced rhythmical pattern to them, and that they are more abundantly charged with adjectives, metaphors and other poetic elements than the subsequent lines.[80] It is worth pointing out that in recent years several essays have been written on the interpretation of the symbolic significance of the "opening image of nature", revealing that it is a symbolic expression of the amorous message hidden in the folk songs.[81]

Although Vilmos Voigt regularly called attention to the recent results of folklore theory and analytical practice,[82] narrative research in Hungary has been rather slow in adopting these principles and theories.[83] In the meantime, as a result of the efforts of Ágnes Szemerkényi and Vilmos Voigt, scholarship received the first exemplary analyses on the material of phrases and idioms.[84]

An entire dissertation was devoted to the semiotic interpretation of the theory of "simple forms", in which Zoltán Kanyó directed his attention to the semiotic analysis of the proverb. I quote from his conclusions, which have a direct relevance for folklore research as well: "These 'simple forms', as folkloric products, rest on social codes and emerge from the opposition between the primary code of language and the secondary code of literature... The key questions of semiotically based paroemiological research are based on how the logical, grammatical, thematic, and poetic aspects can be combined..."[85] Zoltán Kanyó provided the focus for a highly progressive workshop of textual theory, but he was prevented by his early death from bringing his work to fruition. However, his work has provided the insight that, using recent results, linguistic is an indispensable step in textual theory, one that can provide the basis for an innovative semiotic analysis of folklore texts. Interestingly enough, the work of researchers living outside Hungary may, by integrating the results of text-linguistics and text-theory, provide an important contribution to the further development of narrative semiotics in Hungary.[86] Semiotically oriented textual theories[87] promise a better understanding of folk poetry, and of prose narratives in particular, as well as the formulation of the methods for more accurate analysis.

The work of Hungarian researchers living beyond our borders is only partly related to the research going on in Hungary itself. For the most part, they only publish their own results which are quite outstanding even by international standards. Preeminent among them, by virtue of its subject-matter, is a model analysis (complete with samples of texts quoted as illustrations) by the Transylvanian folklorist Gabriella Vöő, which treats the genres of jokes in folk narratives, the structure of the particular types and the role they perform in the life of the community that uses them.[88]

It is especially important to stress here the pragmatic side of textual examinations, which have been rather neglected by Hungarian folklore research. In 1974, I delivered a lecture at a symposium called "*The Poetics and Stylistics of Folklore*". Entitled "*The 'First' Story*", this paper, drawing on the results of the Western European schools of textual semiotics, analyzed a particular group within what are called "cumulative tales", identifying the text-building role of iconic signs in this type of story. By incorporating into the practice of analyzing folklore texts the ideas of what are called the schools of text-theory, which in turn utilize the latest results of linguistics, new vistas in the theory of folkloristics will probably open up, and clear the way for the formulation of a semiotics of verbal texts.[90]

Theory of visual texts and semiotics of folk art

Another development in Hungarian semiotic research was the formulation of a theory of images which features alongside the theory of linguistic texts. Called the "theory of visual texts",[91] it conceived of images as a type of cultural text. Given that it is a theory based on semiotics, its lessons can doubtless be utilized in the course of the ethnosemiotic analysis of folk art. Such endeavours have occurred, though they are rather rare, in Hungarian ethnography.[92]

Even in works intended to be representative,[93] little was said about the symbols of Hungarian folk art and their significance. The rare exceptions include the activity of Mária Kresz[94] and an article by Erzsébet Valkay,[95] in which she analyzed the patterns of embroidery in Hungarian peasant needlework made in Kalotaszeg. She also considered the principal motifs, including the written (or pictographic) versions of the sentinel, the tree of life with the ladder, and the disk of the sun. Her paper is an attempt to cast light on some of the distant cultural–historical relationships. Unfortunately, it is also a warning that a mere random assortment of data is far from adequate, unless the author uses a carefully considered methodological approach. On the other hand, it is also true, and this was pointed out by Kincső Verebélyi, that there are still many unresolved questions and theoretical problems in folk art research.[96] As yet only preparations are being made to issue a catalogue of the motifs of folk art,[97] although in the past decade, several richly illustrated monographs have appeared; the material is eminently suited for such a record.[98]

In talking of preliminary efforts, mention must be made of the years of enthusiastic collecting work done in Transylvania by Márta Kocsi and Lajos Csomor. Their work resulted in the publication, with hundreds of drawings, of an inventory of the motifs of Székely pottery in Korond and the painted furniture of the Székely region.[99] The chief merit of the material, compiled in a manner very close to a dictionary format, consists in a wealth of variants, so that the comments offered on the particular signs and symbols are often lost in a collection of unrestrained associations.

The integrated researches of Gábor Pap[100] on art and education represent a peculiar approach. In his attempt to describe and understand the phenomena of folk art he describes the system of astral symbols. His students apply a manner of pseudo-semiotic approach in trying to understand folk art and folk culture. For example, they address the systematic character of the interior design and furnishings typically used in a Kalotaszeg home and the functioning of these as a "sign-using system".[101] Sándor Makoldi and Gizella Pap did an analysis of a set of patterns which regarded the carved and chiselled ornamentation of carved

chests as meaningful symbols, but whose interpretation has, however, produced no unequivocal results so far.[102]

The similar endeavours of Gábor Lükő, including his touch on signs, were addressed earlier. Lükő detected in the ornament on wooden chests, mother and infant protecting symbols.[103] In the early 80s, he at last had the chance to publish a catalogue of folk art, based on long years of work collecting material in the Kiskunság (Little Cumania) district. Possibly the single most complete thesaurus of symbols published up until then,[104] it offers illuminating material, supplemented by parallels from other, related peoples, making it a potential basis for further research.

A number of analyses aimed at elucidating the significance of particular symbols were also performed on the basis of the methodology of semiotic analysis. The studies in question centred on two signs of erotic symbolism, i.e. the tulip and the heart, which were found to be symbols of, respectively, the feminine and the masculine principle.[105] Vilmos Voigt, in several of his essays, drew attention to the difficulties and the highly complex nature of the historical interpretation of sexual symbolism.[106]

This brief resume on the history of research only outlines the bare essentials. Without a deeper critical assessment of the particular papers, we must remain content with a brief survey of the works belonging to the major trends, which also chart the evolution of a scientific concept. The history of the emergence and development of ethnosemiotics in Hungary convincingly proves that, by treating the use of signs as a fundamental fact of social life, ethnosemiotics seeks to provide a theoretical approach encompassing the entire field of culture.[107]

Notes

The prehistory

1. Voigt 1977a; 39, and see the introductory study in: Hoppál – Szekfü (eds) 1974: 10–13. In the history of Hungarian semiotics, a special focus is the work of a humanist of European importance, (János Zsámboki) Sambucus 1564. cf. Voigt 1986a: 394.
2. Pápai-Páriz 1984: 42–44.
3. Balog 1979: 11.
4. *Utunk* XXXI (1976):42:8.
5. Benkő 1977: 392.
6. If we apply the foreign term, we should, in compliance with our predecessors' usage, give preference to the form *szemiotika* (semiotics), as opposed to *szemiológia* (semiology), of French origin. On its emergence see Sebeok 1981.
7. Quoted by Gajdos 1979: 181.
8. Erdélyi 1898: 29.

9. Erdélyi 1851: 436.
10. Erdélyi 1851: 439.
11. Ipolyi 1854. The facsimile edition appeared in 1987, with a translation of the foreign-language texts, a detailed subject index and bibliography, which were absent from the original.
12. Hoppál 1975b.

The beginnings (in the first half of the 20th century)

1. Certain chapters of the work, left in manuscript form because of the events of the War, did not appear until the late seventies and the early eighties. Rezessy 1982.
2. Rezessy 1979: 189.
3. Only after the 1974 Tihany conference on semiotics were some excerpts published under the title "*A szimbolika főbb problémái*" (The Main Problems of Symbols) – Dienes 1981.
4. A recent selection of his writings affords an insight particularly into his pedagogical principles. ("The sign-system is the very soul of speech, but articulation is the very body of it, with grammar regulating the relationship between the two.") Karácsony 1985: 48.
5. Karácsony 1941.
6. Lükő 1942: 5–6.
7. Szabó, K. 1933, 1934.
8. Fél 1940, Szabó, T.A. 1940, 1941, Győrffy 1942.
9. Szendrey 1931, Palotay 1942.
10. Szendrey 1941.
11. Putz 1943.
12. Rapaics 1931, 1932, and Gaál 1932: 49. It is worth quoting his sober, well-weighed ideas: "... on the one hand, even the most diverse flower languages display some striking correspondences; on the other hand, even more striking is the fact that the flower symbolism of folk songs is very close to the work of each author. And I believe it would be absurd even to hypothesize that the "folk minstrels", who were mostly illiterate, might have drawn upon the "scientific" works of Boschius, Camerarius and the others. The converse however, is very understandable and indeed, natural."
13. Hadik 1927, Horváth 1935, Huszár 1961, Csatkai 1971.
14. Szentkuthy 1941.
15. Gunda 1941, 1957.
16. Csaba 1956, 1958.
17. Dömötör 1944, 1960.
18. Dankó 1962.
19. Erdélyi 1961.
20. Erdélyi 1971. The texts were published in a separate volume; Erdélyi 1974.
21. Fél–Hofer 1966: 38.
22. Dömötör 1960; Csaba 1958; Fél 1956; Gunda 1957; Tárkány-Szücs 1958.
23. Tárkány-Szücs 1959, 1965, 1987.

The first two decades of Hungarian ethnosemiotics

1. Hoppál 1975. – On the history of Soviet semiotic researches, Hoppál 1977: 227–286.
2. Szépe 1961, 1969.
3. Sebeok 1964 and his more recent works on the history of semiotics: Sebeok 1976, 1978, 1979, and Sebeok–Umiker-Sebeok (eds) 1986.

4. The selected works of F. de Saussure, A. Schaff, R. Jakobson, Yu.M. Lotman, Yu.S. Stepanov, R. Barthes, U. Eco, V.V. Ivanov and V.N. Toporov have been translated. More important collections of translations: Hoppál–Szekfü (eds.) 1974, Horányi–Szépe (eds) 1975, Hoppál–Vándor (eds) 1977. – A volume of selected essays by Kelemen (1984) contains several writings that have a direct connection with the history of European ethnosemiotic thinking.
5. Voigt 1971a: 577–580.
6. Hoppál 1971.
7. Without trying to overestimate the results obtained in Hungary, it is worth stressing that all this had a pioneering character by international standards. In other countries, the notion and the subject-matter of *ethnosemiotics* were just then being coined. The use of the term was proposed in the same year. A book by the Russian Yu.S. Stepanov (1971) contains a separate chapter under that title; his proposal, however, was ignored by the Soviet ethnographical Establishment. An event which, by contrast, received a greater professional response was the first congress of SIEF, held in Paris in August 1971, where one of the main lectures, itself centred on ethnosemiotics, was given by A.J. Greimas 1973.
8. Voigt 1975a, 1975b, 1976a, 1976b, 1977b, 1978b, 1979c, 1979d.
9. Voigt 1976a: 360, 372.
10. Hoppál 1976, 1977b, 1977c, 1979c, Gunda 1979.
11. Szecskő–Szépe (eds) 1969, Szecskő 1971, and a short monograph presenting the communication system of a village – Hoppál 1970a. For a critical review of the monograph see Voigt 1981b.
12. Voigt 1977.
13. Józsa 1973, 1976, 1977a, 1980.
14. Andor 1980.
15. Voigt–Szépe–Szerdahelyi (eds) 1975.
16. Number 3 of Ethnographia (1976) – at the end of the volume (pp. 443–480), there is an ample list on the literature of ethnosemiotics (compiled by Vilmos Voigt).
17. Józsa (ed.) 1977b.
18. Grálík et alii (eds) 1978.
19. Józsa (ed.) 1979a, 1979b.
20. Barabás (ed.) 1979.
21. Hoppál (ed.) 1980.
22. The volume for 1979 of the annual "*Korunk Évkönyv*", published in Transylvania, a volume whose essays take their subjects from Hungarian popular life in Romania, runs several intriguing articles on ethnosemiotics. The same applies to No. 3 of 1979 of the educational journal "*Tett*", a special issue devoted to semiotics. The publications of the Institute for Hungarian Language, Literature, and Hungarian Studies (combined issue No. 12–13, 1979–80. Újvidék – edited by Imre Bori) published several papers on ethnosemiotics. It was under the guidance of Vilmos Voigt that the young authors acquainted themselves with the methods of sign-theory, performing the description of particular areas of everyday culture.
23. Hoppál (ed.) 1981.
24. Grálík–Voigt (eds) 1981. – In the morning of May 27, 1974, a section of the conference held a session under the title "The Sign-systems of Folk Culture". Chaired by Vilmos Voigt, the session heard an introductory report presented by Mihály Hoppál, who proceeding on Yu.M. Lotman's definiton of culture, emphasized the code-centredness of folk culture. The next task of ethnosemiotics is therefore, to examine separately the individual codes and, at the same time, to explore the system of their interconnections. For a detailed report on the session: Joób 1981.
25. Buda 1979.
26. Hoppál 1972.

27. Vass 1977.
28. R. Hidasi 1975, Papp 1969.
29. Egyed 1976.
30. Egyed 1977, 1980, 1985.
31. Junger 1979–80.
32. M. Takács 1981.
33. Hoppál 1986a, 1987e.
34. Ullman 1980, Tari 1978.
35. Láncz 1979–80, Kövecses 1976, 1978.
36. E.g. telling fortunes by cards: Szuhay 1976, and telling fortunes from the coffee-cup: Reffle 1979–80.
37. Gráfik 1976b, Hoppál 1987f.
38. Gunda 1975.
39. Gunda 1973, 1979.
40. Szabadfalvi 1981, Gunda 1965.
41. Varga 1952, Szilágyi 1978, Tárkány-Szücs 1987.
42. Takács 1983a, 1985.
43. Takács 1983b – his monograph on the marking of boundaries appeared in 1987.
44. Gráfik 1972, 1974.
45. Gráfik 1975.
46. Gráfik 1976a, 1981.
47. Kabay, B. 1978.
48. Meer 1978.
49. Kós 1975.
50. Kunt 1975,1977, Imreh–Hoppál 1977, Novák 1980, Kunt 1981.
51. Zentai 1972: 305; also relevant here is Dankó 1977.
52. Őrsi 1982, Kunt 1982, 1987.
53. László 1982.
54. Kovács 1982, Hoppál 1982c.
55. Hoppál–Novák (eds) 1982.
56. Niedermüller 1978, 1981, 1983.
57. Salamon 1979, 1981.
58. Munkaközösség 1975, 1981. An English-language summary of the results: Voigt 1980b.
59. Hoppál–Niedermüller (eds) 1982.
60. Hajdu 1981: 28.
61. Bodó 1987: 49.
62. On use of symbols in folklorism see Voigt 1978a, 1980a.
63. Oláh Csiki – Oláh 1987, Balázs et alii 1987.
64. Kálózi 1979–80, Silling 1979–80.
65. S. Nagy 1981, 1982.
66. Hernádi 1982.
67. Hernádi 1985.
68. On the same question see Voigt 1981a.
69. Kunt 1987: 47; 73.
70. Józsa 1974.
71. Frank–Hoppál (eds) 1980.
72. Hoppál 1969, 1970b, 1971, 1980b, 1982a. Fejős 1981, 1983.
73. Hoppál 1975b.

74. Cf. Ivanov 1973, 1983.
75. Hoppál 1975a.
76. Veres 1975, 1976, 1981.
77. Veres 1981: 385.
78. Petőfi 1969. – The conference was reported on: Voigt 1969.
79. Petőfi 1978, see his most recent book 1990.
80. Hankiss 1969.
81. Bernáth 1981, 1987, most recently Vargyas 1987.
82. Voigt 1971b, 1972a, 1974, 1975a.
83. Fröhlich 1975, Bihari–Szuhay 1978, Küllős 1972, 1980, Hoppál 1979e, 1979f, Biernaczky 1978, Vargyas 1987.
84. Szemerkényi 1969, 1972, Voigt 1972b, Szemerkényi–Voigt 1972, Szemerkényi 1974, 1975.
85. Kanyó 1975, 1976.
86. Murvai (ed.) 1979, Penavin–Thomka (eds) 1982, Szabó 1982.
87. Petőfi 1978.
88. Vöő 1981.
89. Hoppál 1980a.
90. Hoppál 1977c, 1978, 1979e, 1984b.
91. Horányi 1976a, 1980.
92. Nagy 1975.
93. Hofer–Fél 1975.
94. Kresz 1978, 1979, and Kresz–Szabolcsi (eds) 1973 – this latter is a collection of essays.
95. Valkay 1976.
96. Verebélyi 1979.
97. Verebélyi 1983 – at the session on ethnosemiotics, several interesting lectures were given on non-verbal sign-systems: Imre Gráfik: Non-verbal Communications in Folk Culture; Mária Kresz: Ceramic Forms – Social Functions; László Novák: Verbal Symbol Systems and Object-making Activity; Péter Niedermüller: Social Space and the Rules of Spatial Behaviour in Town and Village.
98. Végh 1947, on embroidery: Varga 1981, V. Ember 1981; Péntek 1978; on wooden graveposts: Nagy 1974, Imreh–Hoppál 1977, Péterfy 1977.
99. Kocsi–Csomor 1981, 1982.
100. Pap 1977, 1978.
101. Máté 1977, Lugosi 1977. Falvay 1984–85, 1986–87. Marcell Jankovics provided a possible explanation of the symbolism of folk tales and of the legend of St. Ladislas – Jankovics 1980, 1987. For an interpretation of "*Cantata profana*" by Bartók: Pap 1988.
102. Makoldi–M. Pap 1982 – this approach was used by Gizella M. Pap 1987 in trying to understand the stock of motifs found on painted Easter eggs.
103. Lükő 1975.
104. Lükő 1982: 287–300.
105. Novák 1976, Hoppál 1983. An expanded treatment of the topic, supplemented with newer data: Hoppál 1990.
106. Voigt 1986a, 1986b, 1988.
107. Hoppál 1992.

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GRABLEGUNG UND WEITERLEBEN DER MONARCHIE IN DER UNGARISCHEN LITERATUR BIS ZUR MITTE DER 20ER JAHRE

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Die Kanonen donnerten bei der Piave und auf dem Balkan nicht mehr, aber es fielen Schüsse auf den Straßen von Wien, Budapest und anderer Städte der sich in totaler Auflösung befindenden Monarchie, deren Völker sich von ihr lossagten. Am 29. Juni 1918 hat Frankreich den bereits seit zwei Jahren in Paris fungierenden Tschechoslowakischen Nationalrat als kriegführende Partei anerkannt. Am 6. September konstituierte sich der Rat der Rumänischen Einheit ebenfalls in Paris. Am 5. und 6. Oktober wurde in Agram der Nationalrat der Slowenen, Kroaten und Serben ins Leben gerufen. Die Gründung des Polnischen Nationalrats erfolgte am 11. Oktober in Krakau. Zehn Tage später, am 21. Oktober, trat in Wien eine Provisorische Nationalversammlung zusammen, deklarierte die Loslösung Österreichs von den übrigen Teilen des Reichs und billigte eine „Empfehlung" über die Anschließung Österreichs an Deutschland. In der Nacht auf den 24. Oktober bildete sich ein Ungarischer Nationalrat unter dem Vorsitz des Grafen Mihály Károlyi. Am 30. Oktober übernahm Karl Renner das Kanzleramt einer provisorischen österreichischen Regierung, und am 31. Oktober wurde Graf Károlyi vom Erzherzog Joseph von Habsburg, der als homo regius den König in Ungarn vertrat, mit dem Amt des Ministerpräsidenten bekleidet. Inzwischen regierte der Kaiser und König Karl weiter und gab seine Hoffnung auf die föderative Umgestaltung der Monarchie nicht auf, auf die Verwirklichung einer Idee, die übrigens, wenn man so sagen darf, in der Luft lag, sogar von verschiedenen Entente-Politikern bejaht wurde, und die Karl mit guten Köpfen aus seinem eigenen Reiche wie u.a. mit Stefan Burián, für eine Zeit selbst mit Karl Renner und mit dem besten wissenschaftlichen Analytiker der Lage der absterbenden Monarchie, Oszkár Jászi, teilte. Es ist bekannt, daß die Idee der Donaukonföderation einst von Lajos Kossuth mit dem Zweck aufgeworfen wurde, das Habsburgerreich abzulösen. In den letzten Jahren dieses Reiches galt die Idee dagegen für die letzte Möglichkeit, zur Erhaltung desselben. Quae mutatio rerum! Ich darf aber diesmal auf diese Frage nicht tiefer eingehen.

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Als Karl von Habsburg alle Rettungsversuche scheitern sah, erließ er am 11. November 1918 seinen ersten Eckertsauer Brief, in dem er auf die Ausübung seiner Hoheitsrechte im österreichischen Teil der Monarchie verzichtete und von seinem kaiserlichen Thron abdankte. Am nächsten Tag wurde von der Provisorischen Nationalversammlung die Republik Deutsch-Österreich proklamiert. In seinem zweiten Eckertsauer Brief, den er am 13. November an Ungarn richtete, erklärte Karl, nunmehr nur König, seine Entscheidung, sich von der Ausübung seiner Funktionen zurückzuziehen, und seine Bereitschaft, die von der Nation gewählte Staatsform anzuerkennen. Auf seinen Thron hat er aber nicht expressis verbis verzichtet. Am 16. November wurde darauf vom Ungarischen Nationalrat die unabhängige und selbständige Republik Ungarn konstituiert, die erste Republik der europäischen Geschichte die auch einen König hatte.

Diese magere Chronologie des letzten Auflösungsprozesses der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie sollte darum ins Gedächtnis gerufen werden, weil sie die zentrifugalen Kräfte, die dem Vielvölkerstaat ein Ende bereiteten, ganz anschaulich darstellt. Daß dann anstelle eines großen Vielvölkerstaates drei kleinere entstanden sind, war die Grimasse der geschichtlichen und geographischen Lage Ostmitteleuropas und Südosteuropas. Die beiden neuen „Nationalstaaten", Österreich und Ungarn, die das schwere Erbe der Monarchie eigentlich übernahmen und somit auch aus dem Krieg als Verlierer hervorgingen, konnten sich in der neuen Situation nicht leicht behaupten. Ihre Schicksale zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen legen davon Zeugenschaft ab. Österreich mußte für sein Österreichertum ringen, und Ungarn inmitten der Feindseligkeit der es umgebenden Staaten seine Existenz begründen.

Natürlich reagierten die Literaturen der beiden Staaten auf die grundlegenden geschichtlichen Änderungen. Die Habsburgische Vergangenheit wurde entweder ganz abgelehnt und scharfer Kritik unterzogen, oder eben nostalgisch gleich von Anfang der neuen Periode an dargestellt. Demnach würde die Ablehnung – schematisch gedacht – die Grablegung, die Nostalgie dagegen das Weiterleben der Monarchie bedeuten. Die eigentliche dritte Verhaltensweise gegenüber Habsburgischer Vergangenheit wäre die objektive, wenn man nicht die entsprechende Variante der Pilatusfrage stellen müßte: Was ist Objektivität in der Betrachtung der Vergangenheit, die in die unmittelbare Gegenwart hineinreicht? Bis zur Mitte der zwanziger Jahre könnte man von einer objektiven Einschätzung der monarchischen Vergangenheit noch nicht sprechen.

Solcherweise soll man versuchen, das Material nach den zwei Kategorien der Ablehnung und der Nostalgie zu ordnen. Und wenn man sich diesmal auf das ungarische Material beschränkt, ist man sich des Umstandes bewußt, daß

die gleiche Frage gegenüber der österreichischen Literatur und allen anderen Literaturen der Donaumonarchie mit nicht weniger Recht gestellt werden könnte.

* * *

Die literarische Grablegung der Monarchie in Ungarn setzte merkwürdigerweise mit dem Werk eines Österreichers, mit Karl Kraus' *Nachruf* ein, mit einer aus Wut und Haß, Sprach- und Stilbravour, tiefer Kenntnis der verborgenen Kräfte der Gegenwart und der Vergangenheit zusammengedrängten Glanzleistung von Pamphlet, das in der Zeitschrift *Die Fackel* erschien und als Parallelprodukt zum Großwerk *Die letzten Tage der Menschheit* zu betrachten ist.[1] Wie dort so auch in *Nachruf* wird der Krieg und zugleich der kriegsverbrecherische Staat der Habsburger verflucht, undzwar mit echt Krausscher, abscheuerfüllter, fast extatischer Leidenschaftlichkeit. Nachdem das neue Deutsch-Österreich einigermaßen akzeptiert wird, wendet sich Kraus' Zorn unbehindert gegen die begrabene Monarchie. Er bedauert, „daß dieser aufgelöste Verein jovialer Scharfrichter, diese Gevatterschaft weltbetrügerischer Kräfte, deren Einheit in der Schändung des Heimatsgefühls sämtlicher Nationen gewährleistet war, dieser bureaukratische Alpdruckt landschaftlicher Schönheit, diese k.k. und zum Überdruß noch k.u.k. Verunreinigung der Anlagen, die vom Gott dem Schutze des Publikums empfohlen und vom Teufel als Privatbesitz einer allerhöchst bedenklichen Familie zugeschanzt waren, daß also dieser elende Staat, den man doch am treffendsten mit dem Schimpfwort Österreich bezeichnet, seine Auflösung nicht mehr erlebt hat! Er ist, eingedenk der Lorbeerreiser, die das Heer so oft sich wand, an der Glorie gestorben..."[2] Und so strömt weiter über 120 Seiten eine Flut von Flüchen und Schmähungen über die elftausendvierhundert Galgen, über die hungernden und Schlange stehenden Städtebewohner, über die albernen Bürokraten, die unmenschlichen Generäle und so weiter und so fort... ohne Unterbrechung, ohne Absatz: eine furchtbare Anklageschrift.

Sie war am 25. Januar 1919 erschienen und lag wahrscheinlich schon innerhalb eines Monats auch in ungarischer Sprache als erter Band der neugegründeten Reihe „Károlyi Bibliothek" in Budapest vor. Die Übersetzung war eine Bravourleistung des populären Schriftstellers Gyula Szini, der den schwer zugänglichen Originaltext durch Einfügung von Absätzen und Untertiteln etwas erleichterte, ihm aber im Ganzen treu blieb, selbst die Krausschen Wortspiele durch geistreiche Sprachwendungen zu wiedergeben versuchte.[3]

Karl Kraus' Name war in den intellektuellen Kreisen Ungarns wohlbekannt und geschätzt, besonders seitdem der führende Dichter des Landes, Endre

Ady, gegenüber Thomas Mann für ihn votierte. Am 6. Dezember 1913 hielt nämlich Kraus einen seiner berühmten Vorträge in Budapest, und zufällig las auch Thomas Mann am selben Abend an einem anderen Ort, ebenfalls in der ungarischen Hauptstadt. Die Herausgeber der angesehnsten literarischen Zeitschrift des Landes, *Nyugat* (Westen) schätzten die beiden Ereignisse so hoch ein, daß sie Endre Ady aufforderten, die beiden Persönlichkeiten dem Leserpublikum vorzustellen. Und der politisch tief engagierte Ady nahm für Karl Kraus Stellung. „... wenn meine Gesundheit es mir erlaubte – schrieb er – würde ich Karl Kraus hören gehen", denn, fügte er hinzu, „seine Tapferkeit, seine großartige Stilkunst, ich könnte auch Namen erwähnen, hat bei uns stark gewirkt, gelehrt und angeregt..."[4]

Daß im Jahre 1919 Kraus' *Nachruf* in der ungarischen Presse doch keinen bedeutenden Widerhall erweckte, war dem Zeitpunkt zuzuschreiben, an dem er erschien. Das ausgeblutete, verarmte, zerfallene Land wurde von schweren politischen Problemen erschüttert, man hatte andere Sorgen. Außerdem hatte man sich von der Monarchie bereits vor geraumer Zeit distanziert, man dachte in den Kategorien des selbständigen Ungarn. Und doch hinterließ Kraus' Werk eine dauerhafte Spur, wenn nicht in der Literatur, so in der graphischen Kunst Ungarns. Den Umschlag zum kleinen Bande, welchen der Übersetzer mit dem erklärenden *Untertitel*, „Grabgesang über die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie" versah, entwarf ein hervorragender Graphiker, Mihály Biró. Sein für die sozialdemokratische Tageszeitung *Népszava* (Stimme des Volkes) verfertigtes Plakat, *Der hammerschwingende Mann*, wurde zum Wahrzeichen der Arbeiterbewegung und ist noch heute wohlbekannt. Auch die Graphik auf dem Umschlag des ungarischen Kraus-Bandes hat dann Biró zum Plakat vergrößert, auf dem die Grablegung der Monarchie veranschaulicht wurde. Auf dem Plakat ist eine kräftige Männergestalt mit hochgekrämpelten Hemdärmeln zu sehen, die auf dem Kopf eine Kombination von k.u.k. Militärmütze und Jakobinermütze trägt und deren übergroße, ausgearbeitete Hände und muskulöse Unterarme auf ihre Klassenzugehörigkeit hindeuten. Mit den Fäusten und mit dem Knie seines linken Beines drückt der Mann den Deckel eines Sarges nieder, aus dem der Doppeladler (hier Symbol der Doppelmonarchie) herauszukriechen versucht. Zwei Kronen sitzen auf dem Doppelkopf, die Gesichtszüge und die geöffneten Schnäbel weisen auf Furcht und Verzweiflung hin, mit dem einen Flügel versucht das Untier noch zu schlagen und das Schließen des Sargdeckels aufzuhalten, in den Krallen hält es den Reichsapfel und den Herrscherstab. Politisch wie künstlerisch ist Mihály Birós Plakat eine gelungene Arbeit, sie wurde in der Revolutionszeit besonders populär und zählt zu deren küntlerischer Nachlassenschaft. Stilmäßig steht die Graphik nicht weit vom Expressionismus.

Das Budapester Erscheinen seines *Nachruf* gelangte Kraus zur Kenntnis durch Freunden oder Bekannten und es veranlaßte ihn zu trockenen Worten, die er in der Aprilnummer des Jahrgangs 1919 seiner Zeitschrift drucken ließ. „Ohne mich zu fragen, ohne ein Wort der Verständigung, ja ohne auch nur nachträglich ein Belegexemplar zu senden, hat ... ein Verlag, der sich „Kultura" nennt, eine Übersetzung des „Nachruf" erscheinen lassen und sie auf allen Straßen durch ein Plakat angezeigt, auf dem ein Mann den Doppeladler in einen Sarg hineinzwängt". Kraus kam also in Besitz der Übersetzung, von deren schriftstellerischer „Anständigkeit" er „von kundiger Seite versichert" wurde. Doch hatte er selbstverständlich juristische Schritte gegen den Verlag eingeleitet, um seine Autorrechte zu wahren. „Hätte ich mich damit begnügt – setzte er bitter fort -, mir von Verlag Kultura als Entschädigung ein paar Kilo Mehl abzuholen, so hätte die ungarische Grenzpolizei vermutlich mit gründlicherer Wirkung ihre Autorrechte zu wahren gewußt, und nach meinem Tod wären die meinigen noch ungeschützter."[5]

Kraus' Bitterkeit war vollkommen berechtigt: Doch hatte die Affäre auch einen positiven Aspekt.

Wenn nämlich das einprägsame erste Denkmal der Grablegung der Monarchie in der ungarischen Literatur im Zusammenwirken eines großen Wieners, eines biederen Budapester Federführenden und eines bedeutenden bildenden Künstlers aus Ungarn zustandekam, so ist dies als ein symbolischer Akt aufzufassen, in dem sich trotz verschiedener politischer Einstellung, verschiedener Parteizugehörigkeit, aus der Monarchie hervorgegangene progressive Kräfte sich die Hand reichten. Auch Endre Adys erwähnte Anerkennung gegenüber Karl Kraus galt dem ihm selber ähnlichen Kämpfer für die Gerechtigkeit und Menschenwürde und gegen das veraltete „feudalkapitalistische" Gesellschaftssystem der Monarchie, welches von den Habsburgern aufrecht erhalten wurde.

In einer Monographie über das Spätwerk Adys widmete István Király einige Seiten der Analyse von Adys Stellungnahme zu den Habsburgern. Király unterschied drei Phasen in Adys Haltung, die mit einem kurutzenhaft-nationalistischem Antihabsburgertum begann, das später vorübergehend einem weltbürgerlichen josephinistischen Prohabsburgertum wich, um schließlich in eine revolutionär-demokratische Habsburgfeindlichkeit zu münden. Zur Zeit der Entstehung des Krausschen *Nachruf* oder seiner ungarischen Variante war Ady bereits zu krank, um lesen oder auf das Gelesene reagieren zu können, im Prinzip hätte er aber den Inhalt des Krausschen Werkes bejahen müssen. Was er der Wiener Politik bemängelte, war die Demokratie. Király zitierte Adys charakteristische Worte: „... mein Revoluzzertum drückt sich in dem Wunsch aus, daß Wien hierzulande seine Macht nicht mit einem kleinen Haufen von Gaunern, sondern mit dem ungarischen Volk teile."[6]

Um Adys Worte besser zu verstehen, soll der Publizist und kluger Literaturkritiker Lajos Hatvany, übrigens ein Anhänger und Freund Adys, zitiert werden, der 1918 schrieb: „Der ungarischen Gentry wurde in die Schuhe geschoben, daß sie unbeholfen sei. Doch zu Unrecht. Denn gibt es eine größere Lebenstüchtigkeit als die, ohne Arbeit auskommen zu können, ja überall für sich ein gebackenes Brot zu finden? Und wenn schon nicht überall, dann in Wien. Der moderne Kurutze bekommt sein nötiges Lebenselixir aus Wien. Dies war die Kraft des Ministerpräsidenten Tisza: die hinfällige Klasse der Ungarn, die er mit dem ganzen ungarischen Volk verwechselte, mit österreichischer Hilfe zu regenerieren..."[7]

Zur ablehnenden Haltung gegenüber der Monarchie sollen noch zwei Werke Erwähnung finden: Dezső Szabós 1919 erschienener Roman, *Az elsodort falu* (Das verwehte Dorf) und Gyula Szekfüs 1920 großes Aufsehen erregendes Buch, betitelt *Három nemzedék* (Drei Generationen).

Dezső Szabó gibt in seinem chauvinistisch und rassistisch gefärbten Roman ein breites Tableau von der ungarischen Gesellschaft vor dem Krieg, während des Krieges und in der Zeit der Revolutionen bis zum Debakel. Seine Figuren gehören überwiegend zur Intelligenz der ungarischen Provinz: einen seiner Helden hat er nach Endre Ady modelliert. Er verheimlicht seinen Antisemitismus nicht. Von der Monarchie, zu deren Zeit die Handlung spielt, will er nichts wissen, und wenn, dann nur im Zusammenhang mit dem Kriege, in Frontszenen. „Diese Läuse fressen mich ganz auf", sagt einer, „hoch die Großmachtstellung der Monarchie." Und als die Soldaten an der Front seit Tagen keine Nahrung bekommen, sagt ein anderer: „Die Monarchie ist klüger als daß sie zukünftige Kadaver ernährte." In einigen Szenen werden die nationalen Streite innerhalb der gemeinsamen Armee beschrieben, und gehässig höhnische Worte einer Frau in den Mund gelegt, als sie die Auszeichnung ihres auf dem Felde gefallenen Sohnes übernimmt: „Ich danke seiner angebeteten Majestät, dem König, nicht für mich selbst, sondern für den Geist meines verewigten Sohnes."[8] Das Fazit des Romans ist ein Bild der Dekadenz der ungarischen kleinadeligen Intelligenz, deren bester Vertreter Zuflucht bei dem urkräftigen Bauerntum findet, und parallel dazu jenes des aufkommenden und platzgewinnenden Judentums.

Es würde zu weit vom eigentlichen Thema dieser Studie führen, auf die Erörterung des ganzen historischen Problemkreises einzugehen, der Dezső Szabó zu solchen rein präfaschistischen Ansichten leitete. Soviel muß aber doch gesagt werden, daß Fakten wie die Auflösung der Monarchie, der verlorene Krieg, die Anarchie der geschlagenen Armee, die Revolutionen, das bittere Ende der großungarischen Träume, das Geraten von Millionen von Ungarn in den Stand der Minorität in den neuentstandenen Nachbarstaaten, einen solchen Schock vor allem für die ungarische Intelligenz bedeuteten, daß

nur wenige blieben, deren Augen klar sehen konnten, deren Kopf klar denken konnte. So bekam die Ablehnung der Monarchie in Ungarn einen Hauch von Antisemitismus, die von der christlich-nationalen Ideologie des Horthy-Regimes geschürt wurde.

Gyula Szekfüs, des großen Historikers Buch über die drei Generationen, enthielt eine Kritik der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie und ihrer Bedeutung für die ungarische Geschichte. Auf die erste, „große" Generation, die Reformgeneration von István Széchenyi, folgte die Generation von Ferenc Deák, welche einen passiven Widerstand gegen den Absolutismus des jungen Franz Joseph leistete, und dabei ein verbürgerlichtes geistiges Leben im Lande gründete. – Die Generation, die nach diesen beiden die Führung übernahm, wies aber alle Zeichen der Dekadenz gegenüber den ihr vorhergehenden auf. Szekfüs Kritik bedeutete eine schlichte und entschiedene Verneinung der Doppelmonarchie und des während ihres Bestehens vor sich gehenden Assimilationsprozesses, vor allem der Assimilation der Juden.

Es ist angebracht, eine Gegenstimme aus dem Jahre 1921 zu zitieren, undzwar die des ersten Herausgebers der bereits erwähnten bedeutenden Zeitschrift, *Nyugat*. „Es ist unmöglich nicht darüber zu lächeln – schrieb Ignotus –, daß Szekfü die Jahre zwischen 1867 und 1914 für die des Verfalls hält, wenn man bedenkt, daß ausgenommen die Zeiten der Árpáden, Ludwigs des Großen und Königs Mathias, der Ungar als Ungar, als Land, als Nation nie so intensive *gewesen* ist, existiert hat das in der sogenannt verfallenden Zeit." Und weiter unten: „In der Wirklichkeit ging es Ungarn im großen und ganzen nie so gut als in den vierzig bis fünfzig Jahren vor dem Krieg, und so verdammt schlecht diese große Zeit hindurch seine innere als äußere, von außen her nach innen und von innen her nach außen wirkende Politik war: ... daß wir an dieser Politik erst so spät zu Grunde gingen, schon dieser Umstandt ist ein Beweis *dafür*, daß die Grundlage der Politik, nämlich die Placierung Ungarns innerhalb der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie und die der Monarchie im deutschen Bündnis nicht schädlich und nicht naturwidrig war. Meinem Gefühl nach kann dies auch Szekfü nicht anders meinen, und so ist er vielleicht auch mit der Beobachtung einverstanden, daß die sogenannte österreichische Unterdrückung, wenigstens nach dem Ausgleich, für Ungarn so etwas gewesen ist wie der Druck des Meeres für die auf dem Meeresgrund lebenden Tiere: Der Druck würde andere Tiere zu Tode plätten, diese hält er aber zusammen, indem er ihre innere Spannung, welche sie sonst sprengen würde, paralysiert".[9]

So treffend Ignotus argumentierte, so treffend er einige Argumente heutiger ungarischer Historiker vorwegnahm: Endre Adys Augen sahen doch schärfer. Denn das Bündnis der Wiener Macht mit Ungarns herrschenden Klassen

konsolidierte die halbfeudale Ordnung im Lande und hielt das Land – zwar indirekt – von der Entwicklung in Richtung einer bürgerlichen Demokratie zurück. Von der anderen Seite brachte aber das liberale Wirtschaftssystem neue Kräfte in Bewegung, es entstand eine nicht unbedeutende Industrie, das Land wurde technisch modernisiert und wirtschaftlich ausgeglichen.

Aus der Reihe der Bekenntnisse zur Monarchie soll weiterhin ein rührender Brief zitiert werden, den Gyula Krúdy an Lajos Hatvany richtete, der damals noch als Emigrant in Österreich lebte. „Lieber Laci (so beginnt der Brief), Sie brechen heute nach Gastein auf, wo der alte Franz Joseph so viel gute Zeit verbrachte, als wir noch glaubten, daß wir alle ewig leben würden. Der alte Herr geht nicht mehr nach Gastein; ob Sie dort seiner Spukgestalt begegnen? ... Wir alle sind, lieber Laci, mit Franz Joseph gestorben. Es ist sonderbar, doch wahr, daß dieser alte Mann, der des Ungarischen kaum mächtig war, die nie wiederkehrende Glanzperiode der ungarischen Literatur bedeutete. Überstolz waren wir auf unsere Literatur, wir prahlten mit unseren zahllosen Talenten, und wir glaubten daran, daß die ungarische Literatur sich gerade so auf ihre Unsterblichen berufen kann wie die Literaturen des Auslands. Vielleicht blieb niemand, außer dem einzigen Ady, von unserer Periode übrig, und auch er nur deswegen, weil er rechtzeitig starb ... Krankheiten, Armut, Verfolgungen, gezwungenes Märtyrertum haben den Schriftkundigen die Lust am Schaffen genommen..."[10]

Tatsächlich hat sich das ungarische Literaturleben in den Jahren des weißen Terrors von den Erschütterungen, die der verlorene Krieg, der Zerfall des alten Landes, die unerfüllten Hoffnungen auf die Erneuerung durch die Revolutionen verursachten, schwer erholen können. Ein großer Teil der schöpferischen Intelligenz wurde in die Emigration gezwungen, und die zu Hause blieben, mußten Retorsionen erleiden, schweigen oder sich sehr vorsichtig verhalten. Ist es daher nicht verständlich, daß die versunkene Welt der Monarchie, „die glücklichen franzjosephinischen Friedenszeiten" in goldenem Lichte aufschimmerten und in vielen die Sehnsucht nach einer abgelebten Zeit erweckten. Dezső Kosztolányi, einer der anziehendsten und begabtesten Dichter des *Nyugat*-Kreises veröffentlichte in seinem 1920 erschienenen Gedichtband *Brot und Wein* ein *Sonett vom alten König*, das in Interlinearübersetzung folgendermaßen lautet:

Wie gerührt denke ich heute an ihn,
da wir fieberkrank und dumm
im Kote liegen, nach so viel Tränen
und unsere Münder Irrsinn und Weh schrein.

Silbern fiel der Reif des Schnees herab,
wie Opa saß er auf dem großen Thron,
der greise König, und wir tranken Kaffee in Buda,
und auf unendlichen Frieden öffnete sich der Horizont.

Da war ich glücklich. In meinen zerfetzten Taschen
verbargen sich Goldstücke schweigend
und das Leben schmerzte, das geheimnisvoll-süße.

Mit glorreichem Feuer schien die Sonne.
Ich weinte, sang unter belaubtem Garten
weil ich Dichter war und fünfundzwanzig Jahre zählte.

An dieser Stelle muß man sich wieder auf eine Studie István Királys berufen, der die Verwandtschaft von Kosztolányis Dichtung mit jener der österreichischen Dichter der Jahrhundertwende in dessen seelischer Gespaltenheit zwischen Wachsein und Traum, seinem introvertierten Ästhetizismus und in der ironisierten, durchästhetisierten Tragik seiner Dichtung erblickte. Letztere kam in Kosztolányis 1910 erschienenem und *Klagen eines armen Kleinkindes* betiteltem Gedichtzyklus besonders augenfällig zur Geltung.[11]

Ergänzend sollte man auf das Eröffnungsgedicht des 1924 herausgebrachten Zyklus hinweisen, der den Titel, *Klagen eines traurigen Mannes* trägt und wo die Nostalgie nach einer verklärten Vergangenheit gleich die ersten Verse durchdringt: „Vom Neuen konnte ich euch nicht singen, nur vom Alten, nicht von der Erde, nur vom Himmlischen, denn in meinem Lied spukt noch das Vergangene wundervoll, und wer in der Zeit gestorben, schwebt wie der Himmel über mir..."

Nicht so sehr die Gespaltenheit zwischen Wachsein und Traum, eher das Ineinanderfließen von Traum und Wirklichkeit ist der Grundzug der Prosadichtung Gyula Krúdys, der sich von der Welt der alten Monarchie und des alten Ungarns in der Monarchie eigentlich nie loslösen konnte. Er beschwor die Gestalten des Vielvölkerstaates Zeit seines Bestehens und ließ sie weiter leben nach dessen Untergang.

Es sagt nicht viel aus, wenn man Krudys träumerisch-schwebende Stilkunst impressionistisch nennt, denn dieser bezaubernde Stil verwischt den Unterschied zwischen Vergangenem und Gegenwärtigem, zwischen Vorstellung und Realität. Krúdys einprägsamste Gestalten sind ständig unterwegs von einem

Ort zum andern, ohne Ruh und Halt wie Rimbauds trunkenes Schiff, als ob er einflüstern wollte, daß das Leben nur ein Übergang sei. Darum ist der Held von zahlreichen seiner Novellen und Erzählungen der märchenhafte Sindbad, der Schiffer, eine zeit- und alterlose Figur, die von Stadt zu Stadt, von Frau zu Frau wandert in unübertefflicher Eleganz und Kavaliermäßigkeit, und doch nie ganz mit beiden Füssen auf dem Boden steht, eher über den realen Dingen des Lebens schwebt. Ein moderner Don Juan, der hundert und sieben Frauen in Liebe besaß und der von allen geliebt wurde. Sindbad lebt nicht in der Gegenwart und für die Gegenwart, er ist das Geschöpf seiner eigenen Erinnerungen.

In Krúdys Oeuvre lebte die Monarchie weiter. Dem Helden seines erfolgreichsten Romans, *A vörös postakocsi* (Die rote Postkutsche), Eduard Alvinczy, widmete er zwischen 1913 und 1933 sechs Romane und längere Erzählungen. Herr Alvinczy war in Budapest und in Wien gleicherweise zu Hause, rühmte sich seiner uralten Sippe und seiner Ahnen, die schon im Mittelalter, unter der Dynastie der Árpáden hohe Ämter bekleideten, als – meinte Herr Alvinczy – die Hohenzollern noch keinen Namen hatten. Dagegen verehrte er die Habsburger und wollte der Tragödie von Mayerling nicht Glauben schenken, weil er darin die Dekadenz des Hauses Habsburg sah. Ein rätselhafter Herr Morvai, führte ihn einmal – wie wir aus dem ersten Roman erfahren – in die Kapuzinergruft, wo drei Mönche mit Kapuzen bedeckt in den leeren Sarg des Kronprinzen stierten... In einer längeren Erzählung aus der Alvinczy-Serie, betitelt *A nagy Kópé* (Der große Kujon) beschwört der Autor die Krönung des letzten Habsburger Herrschers, Kaisers und Königs Karl, zu Buda. „Die alten, schlaflosen Journalisten steckten ihre weißen Eintrittskarten zu ihren Zylinderhüten, die verschiedenen Tribünen wurden mit regelmäßigen Kordonen abgesperrt, es ging alles ganz genau zu wie beim Begräbnis Franz Josephs I., als wäre der Wiener Trauerzug zurückgekehrt auf dem Zifferblatt einer Spieluhr, doch hätte man die Kleidung in der Garderobe gewechselt." Und weiter unten: „Die Erzherzoginnen in ihren Karossen sind auf die Minute pünktlich angekommen bei der Sakristei der Matthias-Kirche... und die Frauen sind auch hier Frauen, sie heben ihre Röcke, und Herr Rezeda (ein Gehilfe von Herrn Alvinczy, Gy.M.V.) kommt und geht um sie herum, damit er ihren Duft einatmen kann ... bis ein Oberinspektor mit rötlichem Schnurrbart sich bei ihm einhackt und ihn zum Eingang hinausführt..."[12]

Im Vortwort zum letzten Roman der Alvinczy-Serie, der den Titel *A kékszalag hőse* (Der Held des blauen Bandes) trägt, äußerte sich Krúdy folgendermaßen: „Das Schicksal wollte es so, daß ich ein Zuseher, ja in geringem Maße ein Komparse der vor zwanzig Jahren vergangenen Welt und darin der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie werde... Mein Roman handelt von der Vor-

kriegszeit, der vor zwanzig Jahren versunkenen friedlichsten Zeit dieses Sternsystems... Das blaue Band, das Band des Derby, bedeutet auch das blaue Band des Lebens in symbolischem Sinne. In unserem verarmten Leben kann man heutzutage von den Helden des blauen Bandes nur in Romanen sprechen..."[13]

Kosztolányis und Krúdys Stellungnahme zur Monarchie könnte durch weitere literarische Beispiele, durch Äußerungen in Zeitungsartikeln ergänzt werden. In den ersten Jahren des Horthy-Regimes gab es noch, wenn auch nicht in großer Zahl, Anhänger und Befürworter der Wiedererrichtung des Königtums, und es war nicht von ungefähr, daß König Karl noch ganz am Anfang der 20er Jahre zwei Versuche machte, auf den Thron Ungarns zurückzugelangen. War es als eine Antwort auf die ganze nostalgische Welle aufzufassen, wenn Zsigmond Móricz, einer der bedeutendsten Prosaiker der Zeit, im Gegensatz zu Gyula Krúdy ein harter Realist, ein unerbittlicher Darsteller von armen Volks- und Bauerngestalten, bei der Betrachtung des königlichen Barockpalastes auf dem Burghügel, den noch Kaiser und König Karl, der Vater von Maria Theresia erbauen ließ, im Jahre 1925 den Seufzer ausstieß: „Es kam ein Volk, damit es seinem müden und gleichgültigen Herrn ein verführerisches Lustschloß errichte! Unglückliches Vorhaben: Ein großes „X" zu erhalten, der nicht in solchen Ländern, nicht unter solchen Umständen aufwuchs... Lächelnd und herablassend und mit höflichen Gesten nahm der Herr der Monarchie das feine Geschenk entgegen, das dem Geber so viel, dem Entgegennehmer so wenig war: und dieser verblieb weiter in seiner Wiener Burg, wo das Volk nicht mit ehrfürchtiger Anbetung zu ihm hinaufblickte, sondern ungeniert durch seine Höfe spazierte... Und siehe, das Volk, das in gemütlicher Alltäglichkeit die Liebe des Hauses Habsburg erlebte: Wie es im Augenblicke der Entscheidung das Herrscherhaus verließ und vergaß. Dagegen wir, unglückliche Liebende, beten es mit der Leidenschaft der unerfüllten Sehnsucht weiter an, den flüchtigen Feenkönig-Traum unserer schiefen Träume..."[14]

Vielleicht hatte Móricz unrecht, denn man könnte aus der damaligen österreichischen Literatur ähnliche Stellen anführen. Doch, die von Móricz zitierte Stelle erklärt den damaligen Erfolg eines heute bereits fast vergessenen Romans ebenfalls aus dem Jahre 1925, den Roman eines geschickten Erzählers, János Komáromi, mit dem Titel, *A cs. és kir. szép napok* (Die schönen k.u.k. Tage). Wenn es nicht etwas sonderbar klänge, würde man diesen Roman eine „sentimentale Satire" nennen, jedenfals eine amüsante Darstellung der Pressezustände der Monarchie während der Kriegsjahre.

Pressezustände ist zuviel gesagt. Denn es geht vor allem um die Presse, die für die Frontsoldaten bestimmt war. Ja, die Kriegsführung der Monarchie hielt es für wichtig, die Mannschaft mit entsprechend-patriotischen Presseprodukten zu versehen.

Noch Anfang 1918 wurde in *Nyugat* in einem Artikel[15] der General Géza Lukachich zitiert, der eine solche Frontzeitung für wünschenswert hielt, die die Stimmung und die Gefühle der – wie es wörtlich heißt – „an der Front lebenden" Soldaten verdolmetschte und interpretierte, ihre Freuden und Kummer, kurz das mühevolle, doch auch an erhebenden Momenten reiche Frontleben darstellte. (Dies ist noch nicht die Satire Komáromis, dies sind die Worte des Generals Lukachich.) In der Tat gab es nicht wenige für die Frontsoldaten bestimmte Zeitungen, u.a. Streffleurs mehrsprachige *Frontzeitung* (neben dem offiziellen *Militär-Blatt*) oder die *Front*, herausgegeben unter dem Frontkommando des Generalobersten Erzherzog Joseph von Habsburg; es gab Bataillonszeitungen, in denen die Soldaten selbst mitschreiben durften usw. usf. Kurz, es war keine erfundene Geschichte, wenn János Komáromis Roman von der Zeitung *Frontkämpfer* berichtete, deren Redaktion sich in Wien befand.

Der Held des Romans, der zweifelsohne autobiographische Züge trägt, ist ein junger ungarischer Dichter. Wegen seiner Kriegsverwundung wird er als Untauglicher nach Wien zum Kriegsministerium abkommandiert, mit der Aufgabe, die empörerische und kritische Presse der ungarischen Linken zu kontrollieren und darüber regelmäßig zu berichten. So kommt er in Berührung mit der Redaktion der Zeitung *Frontkämpfer*, die in vierzehn Sprachen der Monarchie mit gleichem Text erscheint, nur eben, daß die Heldentaten, über die in der Zeitung eingehend berichtet wird, stets von Individuen oder Einheiten derjenigen Nationalität vollbracht werden, in deren Sprache die Variante des Blattes erscheint. Demensprechend sind in der Redaktion der Zeitung Vertreter sämtlicher Sprachen der Monarchie beschäftigt.

Der junge Dichter macht viele Erfahrungen in Wien. Er schließt Bekanntschaft mit den säbelrasselnden Helden des Hinterlandes, mit pensionierten Generälen, die ihre patriotischen Verse drucken lassen wollen, mit Finanzleuten, die sich hinter der Presse verstecken, um nicht einrücken zu müssen. Er lernt die Zustände in der Monarchie kennen, erfährt viel über die Korruption, über die Unfähigkeit der obersten Kriegsführung. Er erkennt, daß der Staat eigentlich nur vom alten Herrscher zusammengehalten wird: seine Gestalt erscheint auch bei Komáromi unantastbar.

Im Frühjahr 1916 tobten noch blutige Kämpfe an den Fronten, aber es war doch Frühling, und der zum Leutnant avancierte Dichter heiratete seine kleine Liebe, die seit Jahren auf ihn wartete. Gemeinsam beobachteten sie im Sommer den alten Herrscher in Schönbrunn wie er in ehrfurchtsvoller Begleitung eines Hofjägers seinen täglichen Spaziergang im Park machte. „Franz Joseph wanderte mutterseelenallein auf dem kleinen Pfad des Schönbrunner Gartens, sein Haupt über die Brust gesenkt, und nur Gott weiß, woran er denken konnte. Rundherum donnerten seine Kanonen am unendlichen Horizont, in

jeder Minute lagen tausende seiner Soldaten am Sterben, er selber zählte in jenem Ausgust sechsundachtzig Jahre. Seine Frau, sein Sohn, seine Verwandten, seine kaiserlichen und königlichen Altersgenossen hatten diese Welt schon längst verlassen, und Franz Joseph stand so einsam auf dieser Erde, wie einem der kleine Finger. Doch schritt er militärisch auftretend im Garten dahin, und sicher erreichte die Länge jeder seiner Schritte, auch in diesem Augenblick, die vorgeschriebenen fünfundsiebzig Zentimeter."[16]

Diese etwas sentimentale Begegnung, die in ihrer Art auch rührend ist, wird dann später durch die etwas pathetische aber anschauliche Beschreibung des Leichenzuges ergänzt.

Als Berichterstatter einer Tageszeitung war an diesem Novembertag auch Gyula Krúdy in Wien. Er hat den Toten auf der Bahre gesehen. „Unter dem Bahrtuch – liest man in seinem Bericht – hebt sich der Schädel wie ein hoher Berg hervor, als ob er ein gesonderter Teil der Leiche wäre, der auch im Tode seinen Wohnsitz von den kränklichen Verwandten, von den schwachen Bewohnern des Leibes, vom Bauch, von den Nieren, von der Milz weit absonderte. Dieser beinerne Helm: der war Franz Joseph der Erste. Dieser harte, kaum versöhnliche, sich nur vor der Treppe des Altars zu Boden neigende, strenge und unerbittliche, fanatische und ruhige Kopf war der König selbst, der in den nüchternen, kalten, unsentimentalen, frühen Morgenstunden seine täglichen Obliegenheiten verrichtete. Hier hallte keine Musik vom Balle der vorigen Nacht nach: In diesem beinernen Helm lief spurlos die Sanduhr von Gestern ab, nur selten blieb vielleicht ein ungehorsames Sandkorn stecken und zögerte endgültig zu verschwinden, Sandkörner großer Schicksalsschläge, unmenschlich-unerträglicher Schmerzen."[17]

Ja der alte Franz Joseph genoß die Achtung auch seines ungarischen Volkes. Während seiner 68 Jahre langen Regierungszeit, hat man sich daran gewöht, daß er der Kaiser und König war, daß sein Bild – am häufigsten in der Uniform eines ungarischen Generals, die er zum ersten Mal nach dem Ausgleich, bei einem Besuch in Paris trug – an der Wand der Amtsräume hing, sein Name ging in die Volksdichtung ein. Seitdem er sich 1867 in Budapest krönen ließ, vergaß man ihm langsam die ersten Jahre seiner absolutistischen Regierung, wozu auch der Umstand beitrug, daß er nichts gegen den Kult der Honvéds der Unabhängigkeitskriege einzuwenden hatte, ja sogar die Unterstützung der alten Kriegsinvaliden, die einst gegen ihn kämpften, bejahte. Aus Krúdys Beschreibung ersieht man, daß seine puritane Lebensart Ehrfurcht, sein persönliches Schicksal Mitleid gegenüber ihm erweckten. Der gefühlsmäßigen Gebundenheit gibt auch János Komáromi Ausdruck, wenn er den Leichenzug beschreibt.

„Der Dichter stand in Felduniform vor dem Kriegsministerium – und ungefähr dreitausend Offiziere mit ihm. Bleifarben war der Himmel, als ob

man ihn mit einem riesigen Infanteristenmantel zugedeckt hätte, von Ost bis West. Und aus der Ferne näherte sich etwas Großes-Schwarzes auf der schwarzen Ringstraße, es bewegte sich langsam und wurde immer größer. Man brachte den Kaiser... Das Große-Schwarze begann sich zu türmen, bedeckte schon die Hälfte des Himmelgewölbes, schwarz war das All, und darunter schritten mit gesenktem Haupte Kaiser und Könige, berittene Leibgardisten, Trabanten, in vom Kot der Schlachtfelder bespritzten, löcherigen Mänteln... Die ganze Welt war schwarz und ein jeder dachte an die Zukunft... Am Kriegsministerium salutierten dreitausend Offiziere vor dem toten Feldherrn... Dreitausend Offiziere salutierten zum letzten Mal. Allen Dreitausenden saß die Angst und der Schrecken im Gesicht..."[18]

* * *

Welche Schlußfolgerung könnte man aus den Gesagten ziehen? Sollte man wiederholen, daß es zwei Verhaltungsweisen gegenüber der Monarchie gab: Ablehnung und Nostalgie? Aus dem Material, das man angeführt hat, aus den Worten des engagierten und verantwortungsvollen Zsigmond Móricz geht hervor, daß die nostalgische Haltung – jedenfalls bis zur Mitte der 20er Jahre – in der ungarischen Literatur überwog. Das Material, das hier in Betracht hätte gezogen werden sollen, ist aber so groß, daß man nur Bruchstücke anführen konnte. Was man untersucht hat, waren Momente der literarischen Grablegung und des Weiterlebens der Monarchie. Die Grablegung bedeutete Totschweigen, das Weiterleben dagegen gefühlsmäßige Bindung und Thematisierung. Das Totschweigen konnte nicht zitiert werden. Erwähnung zum Weiterleben hätten aber noch Oeuvres verdient wie das von Ferenc Molnár, der eigentlich nie aufhörte geistig in der Monarchie zu leben, habsburgfreundliche Dramen von Dezső Szomory und schließlich der ganze Fragenkomplex der Wiener ungarischen Emigration vom Jahre 1919 an, ein leider in seinem *ganzen Umfang* und in seiner *ganzen Bedeutung* unbearbeitetes Feld. Denn nach 1919 fanden außer Politikern viele der besten Köpfe: Intellektuellen, Wissenschaftler, Dichter und Schriftsteller ein Asyl in Wien, es wurden ungarische Verlage, Zeitschriften, Zeitungen gegründet, die ungarische Avantgarde scharte sich um Lajos Kassák und seine Zeitschrift, *Ma* (Heute), um auf Weiteres nicht hinzuweisen. Dies sind bekannte Tatsachen. Die gründliche Bearbeitung und Erschließung der Geschichte der Wiener ungarischen Emigration steht aber noch aus, so wichtig sie für die Geschichte der geistigen Begegnungen von Österreichern und Ungarn wäre.[19]

Einigermaßen gehört auch die Tätigkeit der Wiener ungarischen Emigration zur Geschichte des Weiterlebens der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie.

Anmerkungen

1. *Die Fackel.* XX(1919). Nr. 501–507. p. 1–120.
2. Zitat: p. 3–4.
3. Die ungarische Übersetzung: *Búcsúztató* (Nachruf). Halotti ének az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia felett (Grabgesang über die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie). Károlyi Könyvtár (Károlyi Bibliothek), Bd. 1, Kultúra, Budapest, 1919.
4. Ady, Karl Kraus Budapesten (K. K. in Budapest). *Nyugat* VI (1913). p. 803.
5. *Die Fackel* XXI (1919). Nr. 508–513. p. 27. Den Hinweis auf Kraus' Reaktion verdanke ich Herrn Dr. Sigurd Paul Scheichel, Universität Innsbruck. Er machte mich auch auf die *Kraus Hefte* aufmerksam, wo János Szabó die bibliographischen Angaben der ungarischen Übersetzung von *Nachruf* veröffentlichte und auch eine verkleinerte Form von Mihály Birós Graphik drucken ließ (Heft 13, Januar 1980, p. 16–17.)
6. István Király, *Intés az őrzőkhöz* (Mahnung an die Hüter). Budapest 1982. Bd. I. p. 159.
7. In: Lajos Hatvany, *Emberek és korok*, (Menschen und Zeitalter). Budapest 1964. Bd. II. p. 122.
8. Zitate aus der folgenden Ausgabe von *Elsodort falú*, Budapest 1944. Bd. I. p. 259, 262.; Bd. II. p. 33.
9. Zitat aus *Nyugat* XIV (1921). p. 1280–1281.
10. In: *Hatvany Lajos levelei* (Lajos Hatvanys Briefe), Budapest 1978. p. 205.
11. I. Király, Dezső Kosztolányi und die Österreichisch-Ungarische Monarchie. *Neohelicon* XIII (1986). 1. Haldbd. p. 271–285.
12. Krúdy Gyula, *A nagy kópé*, zuerst erschienen 1921 in ungarischer Sprache in Wien. Zitierte Ausgabe: Budapest 1957. p. 266.
13. *A kékszalag hőse*, im Band II. von *Utazások a vörös postakocsin* (Reisen in der roten Postkutsche). Budapest 1977. p. 473.
14. Zsigmond Móricz, *Erkölcsi sarkantyú*. Tanulmányok. (Moralischer Sporn. Studien). Budapest 1982. Bd. II. p. 576.
15. Jenő Erdélyi, A front lelke (Die Seele der Front). *Nyugat* XI(1918). Nr. 1, p. 25–30.
16. János Komáromi, *A cs. és kir. szép napok*. Budapest o. J. (1925). p. 169.
17. Gyula Krúdy, *Magyar tükör*. Budapest 1984. p. 345.
18. Komáromi, op. cit. p. 208–209.
19. Man findet die umfassendste Darstellung der Wiener Emigration im Bd. II. der Attila-József-Monographie von Miklós Szabolcsi, *Érik a fény* (Das Licht wird reif). Budapest 1977. p. 437–473. – und im Buch von Farkas József, *Értelmiség és forradalom* (Intelligenz und Revolution). Budapest 1984. p. 277. ff.

LAJOS (LOUIS) MÁRK: HIS LIFE AND ART

ANTHONY GEBER

Chevy Chase
USA

Lajos (Louis) Márk (Plate I), was born in the small Transylvanian rural town of Retteg in 1867. He died in 1942 in New York. 1992 marks the fiftieth anniversary of his death.[1]

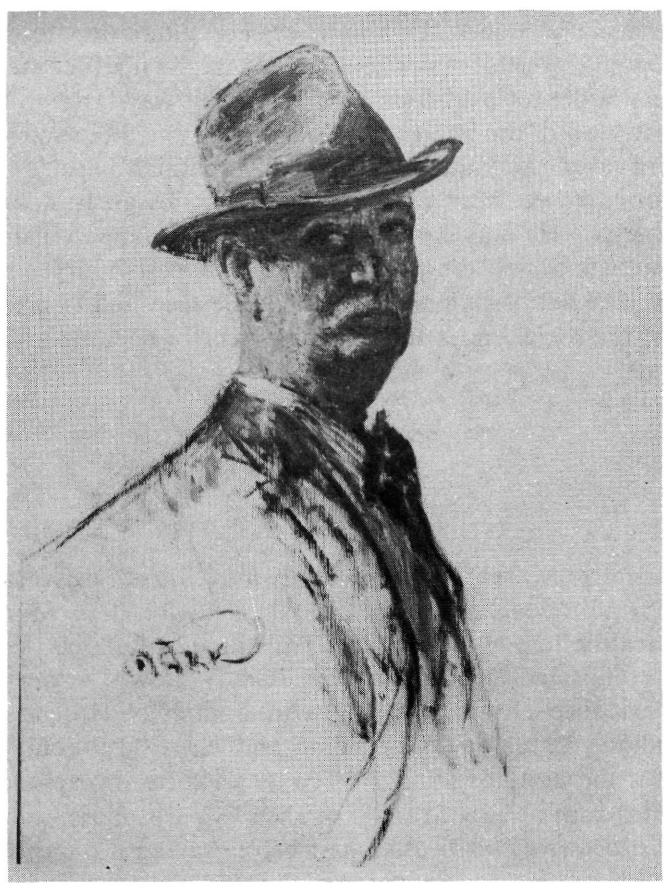

Plate I

Hungarian Studies 8/1 (1993)
Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

The year of his birth was a momentous one in the modern history of the Hungarian nation. After the defeat of the 1848–1849 Hungarian revolution and war of independence and nearly two decades of Habsburg absolutist rule, it was in 1867 that Hungary and the Austrian Emperor concluded the *Compromise* which established the constitutional and political framework of the Austro–Hungarian dual monarchy. The nearly half-century which followed, until the outbreak of World War I in 1914, saw the most spectacular material and cultural flowering of the Hungarian people. The capital city of Budapest–Buda and Pest being united for the first time in 1873–was the greatest beneficiary of this development. In the 1867–1914 period Budapest was the fastest growing city in Europe. The Budapest bourgeoisie, their buildings, their homes, the comforts of their daily life, and their influence grew at an even more astonishing rate. Cultural life also experienced a Golden Age. Education, especially higher education, science, literature, music, the arts, reached high points of achievement.[2] Regained national self-consciousness and pride found an outlet for exuberant expression half way through the period in the 1896 celebration of the Hungarian millennium, the thousand year anniversary of the arrival of the Hungarians in the Carpathian basin.

Márk's formative years as a painter as well as his greatest successes were during this period. He was first and foremost a Budapest painter and the subjects of his paintings were primarily the Budapest bourgeoisie and what pleased them. The art of Lajos Márk should be seen and appreciated within the context of the social and artistic development of his time in Hungary.

THE LIFE OF THE ARTIST

The Beginnings

A few years after Márk's birth the family moved to Marosvásárhely (Tirgu Mures), a historic town and ancient capital of the Szeklers. Márk was still a youngster when the family moved again, this time to Budapest.

Before he could read and write, Márk already showed a great dexterity in drawing, as evidenced by his copying a lithograph of Hungarian historical heroes which hung on the wall of his home, and where he got only the sequence of the letters of the captions wrong. When he was fifteen years old, Hungary's much acclaimed son, Mihály Munkácsy, then living in Paris, was showing his painting *Christ before Pilate* in Budapest before taking it on a triumphal tour to America where it was bought by the Philadelphia department store magnate, John Wanamaker, for the then incredible sum of $165,000. Márk

was greatly impressed by the painting and painted such a good copy of it that his father consented at that point to his son's ambition and desire to become a painter.[3]

During the last two years of his middle schooling Márk was exceptionally admitted to the State Drawing School as a visiting student. Upon finishing his school, his father urged him to get the best training available, which meant that he followed many of the young Hungarian artists of the time to the Munich Academy of painting.[4] He spent the years 1886 to 1889 there, first in the preparatory class, then in the live models section of Johann Caspar Herterich, the successor of the Hungarian Benczúr on the faculty of the Academy, and at the end in the private school of the Hungarian Simon Hollóssy. In Munich he had his first artistic success: it was customary for the Bavarian State to buy some paintings or drawings from the annual student exhibition of the Academy; in 1888 the State bought a few of Márk's drawings but for one, a male nude, it paid for the first time five times the going rate.

After Munich Márk returned to do his military service with a Hungarian hussar regiment, and departed the following year for Paris to enroll in the Academy Julian.[5] There he studied with William Bouguerau, Tony Robert-Fleury and Gabriel Ferrier in the years 1890–1893.

Upon his return to Budapest in 1893, Márk joined the master class of Gyula Benczúr. Next to Munkácsy, Benczúr was perhaps the most admired Hungarian painter at that time. His master class was the dominant painting school and much of an entrance gate to the artistic life of the city. By the second half of the decade Márk quit the school and lit out on an independent artistic life, painting his canvases in a series of rented studios in different parts of the city.

Márk exhibited his first painting at the Hall of Arts (Műcsarnok), the leading exhibition hall where the semi-annual salons of the Fine Arts Society were held, in 1892, a year before he returned from Paris. It was a painting he did in Munich, entitled *Art Criticism*, a curious, large scale, narrative painting full of symbolism. It was the first of a series of such large scale narrative paintings which Márk did in the 1890's and 1900's. Most of these had distinctly erotic themes with titles such as *Temptation* (1893/94) (Fig. 1), *Fever* (1895), *Spell* (1899), *Sirens' Nest* (1900), *Barricade* (1901), *"Get drunk my loves"*, (1905), and *Ecstasy* (1907). These paintings received critical praise then[6] and were considered important enough for the Hungarian State to buy *Temptation* (now in the National Gallery in Budapest), and *Fever* (on deposit at the Transylvanian Hungarian Museum in Cluj). The painting *"Get drunk my loves"* won the 4,000 crown prize of the Casino of the Leopold District of Budapest.

Another large scale narrative painting, painted in 1899–1900 is the only historical painting known from Márks palette. Its title is *"Lehullott a rezgő*

Fig. 1

nyárfa ezüstszínű levele..." ("The trembling silvery leaves of the poplars have fallen..."). It shows Queen Elizabeth accompanied by her daughter, Archduchess Gizella, and several of her ladies-in-waiting, leaving the Gerbeaud-pavilion, the Summer outdoor café of the famous confectionery in City Park, and the gypsy band playing the Queen's above titled favorite song. The scene took place in the Fall of 1897, on her last visit to Hungary, a year before she was stabbed to death by an anarchist in Switzerland.[7] Márk made meticulous preparations for this painting. In Vienna he was shown portraits of the late Queen, made drawings of the ladies who accompanied the Queen on that day and was also shown the costumes they wore.[8] The secondary figures in the painting have no such claim to historical accuracy; the second fiddler in the gypsy band bears the likeness of Márk's friend, Endre Nagy who brought the art of the Parisian political cabaret to Budapest, the three lackeys who stand at attention along the path of her Majesty are portraits of a member of Parliament, of a newspaper editor and a well-known literary figure.[9] The painting is now in the Hungarian National Museum, and was featured prominently at the Museum's 1974 exhibition of *Hungary around the Turn of the Century*,[10] and again at the joint Austrian and Hungarian exhibition commemorating Queen Elizabeth's special attachment to Hungary, in Eisenstadt, Austria, in 1991.[11]

At the 1896 Millennium Exhibition Márk showed a number of paintings, among them four wall decorations done for the Casino in the Leopold District

of Budapest. About the same time he also decorated the walls of the Café Royal and the staircase of the Hotel Royal. But increasingly Márk turned to smaller genre paintings, usually featuring a young woman in different poses and in various dresses or stages of undress. The paintings bore titles such as *Toilette, Idyll, Profile, Rest in the Atelier, Coquetry, Jewels.* Among these are also some which show the lady in a costume of bygone days: *Anno 1840, Grandmother's Costume, Crinoline.*

While the artist's attention is clearly focused on capturing the form and movement of the female body, he is equally intent to place his models in a pleasing, often opulent milieu. They wear silks and brocades, large-brimmed hats or fashionable ribbons, they stand in large, high-ceilinged rooms in front of mirrors or airy windows, the nudes are curled up in gilded period furniture. Initially in these genre paintings the representation of single figures predominate, but gradually we find paintings which depict the pleasurable activities of the bourgeoisie. A favorite subject of the artist, for instance, is the *Five o'clock Tea,* a theme which the artist will repeat many times, showing the ladies gathered around this very pleasurable upper middle-class pastime.

Márk is probably best remembered as an excellent portraitist. At his first participation in the exhibitions of the Fine Arts Society in the Hall of Arts in 1892 he showed a portrait of Count Sámuel Teleki, the famed big game hunter, in the costume of the Sultan of Zanzibar. (Did Márk know Van Dyck's paintings of Sir Robert Shelley and his wife in Persian costumes?) His subject as well as the painting were of sufficient interest that *A Hét* (The Week), the leading literary magazine at that time, published it on its title page.[12]

Márk honed his talent as a portraitist in numerous caricatures whose subjects were mostly his friends and colleagues of the artistic community. Single drawings as well as group pictures, such as *Jury Duty* (Fig. 2), appeared in various periodicals and newspapers.[13] Márk was a natural caricaturist. He was a very witty person and a great punster. He had excellent psychological insight into the nature of persons he drew or painted. And with a quick stroke of the pen he could capture in a humorous fashion the essential characteristics of his subjects. In 1909, at the instigation of the above-mentioned Endre Nagy, he exhibited about fifty caricatures, among them of such well-known Hungarian artists as Szinyei-Merse, Zichy, Ferenczy, Kernstok, Benczúr and Rippl-Rónai. As the reviewer in the literary magazine *Új Idők* (New Times) remarked, "Now we can see how well Márk knows his painters: whoever has a hidden weakness, Márk immediately builds his picture on it."[14] Still, drawing caricatures was only a passing activity in his career; he discovered that, while some of his subjects were amused by the caricatures, others were decidedly not. With all his sharp wit, Márk was a kind person, and he did not like to offend his friends and colleagues.

Fig. 2

Another great opportunity to practice the art of portraiture came to Márk when his friend from his Munich days, Ferenc Eisenhut, set out to paint a large cyclorama of the procession in which the notables of Hungary marched on the occasion of the millennium festivites to the Royal Castle to pay homage to their king, Francis Joseph. The cyclorama was painted in 1897–98.[15] It is now rolled up in storage in the Hungarian Nationaly Gallery.[16] The painting was a collaborative effort of four artists; Márk was asked to paint the portraits of the notables.[17] He prepared well over one-hundred sketches for these. They are marvelous gems of portraiture, each reflecting the individuality of the subject. They are now housed in the Historical Division of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest.

At most of the Salons of the late 1890's and early 1900's, next to the genre paintings, Márk also exhibited portraits. Among male portraits painted in these years one was of the painter Károly Kernstok who later became the leading personality of the group *The Eight*, an association of artists who may be best characterized as post-Impressionists (see below). A portrait of Angela de Hevesi won the prize of the Fine Arts Society.[18]

In addition to the paintings, Márk did drawings, lithographs, posters and book illustrations. One of these illustrations was of a folksy almanac of Bolond

Istók, the Hungarian equivalent of Till Eulenspiegel (1892/93). Márk also illustrated books by the leading literary lights of the day, those of Ferenc Herczeg, the conservative, "establishment" novelist, of Ferenc Molnár, the cosmopolitan and internationally acclaimed playwright, of Sándor Bródy, the talented novelist and playwright, and of Endre Nagy. These were Márk's friends, and by choosing him as illustrator of some of their works, they showed their esteem for Márk's stature as an artist.

While regularly exhibiting at the Hungarian Salons, Márk also began to participate in shows abroad. In 1897 his narraive canvas, *Struggle*, was shown at the Salon des Champs Elysées in Paris and received a *mention honorable*. In 1901 he participated with one of his portrait paintings in an exhibition in Venice and in Torino, where he was awarded a *diploma d'onore*.[19] In 1903 he showed another portrait at the Piskó Gallery in Vienna.

During this period Márk also became increasingly prominent in the cultural activities of his country. In the late 1890's he became chairman of the jury of the Fine Arts Society; as such he escorted Emperor and King, Francis Joseph, at the latter's visit to the 1898 Spring Salon of the Society. In the same year the Fine Arts Society sent Márk, together with another respected Hungarian painter, Bertalan Karlovszky, to Paris to select paintings and sculptures for the Society's Budapest exhibitions. In 1900, Márk was charged with organizing the Hungarian painting exhibition at the Paris World's Fair. His own painting shown there won a silver medal.[20]

The Accomplished Artist

The year 1907 was an important turning point in Márk's artistic career. At the end of that year Márk had a very large solo exhibit at the National Salon. The National Salon was founded in 1894 by artists who were dissatisfied with the official policy in the arts.[21] Some important artists who had their shows at the National Salon were Károly Ferenczy, Pál Szinyei-Merse, Adolf Fényes, Béla Iványi-Grünwald, János Vaszary and Fülöp de László. The National Salon moved into its new exhibition hall in the center of the city on Erzsébet Square in 1907, and Márk's exhibit was the first in its new quarters. It encompassed altogether 150 items, mostly oil paintings and a handful of drawings. The oil paintings were genre paintings and portraits, and a few still-lifes. Only two of the large narrative paintings were included in the show, *Ecstasy* and *Barricade*.[22] In a brief introductory note to the catalogue, the director of the National Salon, Lajos Ernst,[23] tellingly describes the art of Márk.

> "...[Márk] achieved an entirely particular and special place among our modern painters, since he succeeded in creating a style very much his own. While we see primarily the depiction of the Hungarian countryside and the country people among most of our modern painters, Márk's subjects are the beautiful ladies, girls and models of the nation's capital."[24]

and,

> "He discontinued his large compositions and places the emphasis rather on rendering the exquisiteness of movement with remarkable ease."

Similar observations were made by Károly Lyka, the leading art critic and chronicler of nineteenth and early twentieth century Hungarian painting, in an article in which he previewed Márk's paintings.[25] He finds that in his more recent paintings Márk has shown great progress over his earlier loosely conceived large compositions, such as *Sirens' Nest.*

> "The models have not changed. But the two eyes which looked at them have been transformed, as has the hand which simulates the forms on the canvas, and most important of all, the head in whose brain these pictures were distilled and took shape. The painter has become an artist, whose paintings are confessions, and not merely work."

Lyka praises Márk's ability to capture the infinite variations of movement of the female body and his ability to identify with the inner soul and spirit of his sitters. He describes the subject of these paintings in the following terms:

> "In the afternoons it is perhaps a lovely lady from the Inner or Leopold Districts who poses in the atelier in a dress which arrived yesterday from Paris. But in the morning it is a nude model who lounges on a sofa or arranges before a mirror a large silk which slipped down and which shows flashes of violet and green. Let us imagine the ivory-colored back and neck with its rich and warm light against the background, and we have already constructed one of Lajos Márk's paintings."

In this generally highly complimentary article of Márk's artistry, Lyka also makes a social commentary. Márk's female subjects are not the heroines of history. The ladies Márk portrays in their colorful dresses are those one meets at vernissages, at evenings at the opera or the Philharmonic concerts, at charity balls. Lyka remarks that in these paintings one senses the sultry air of the atelier, but adds that Márk's selection of his subject matter "does not affect the intrinsic value of the painting". Many years later, Lyka was of a very different opinion to which we shall return later in our appraisal of the painter's art.

The success of the Budapest exhibition brought invitations from Germany and England and from the National Arts Club in New York. Márk showed his paintings in 1908 in the Schulte Gallery, Berlin and in Düsseldorf and at Earl's Court in London.[26] He arrived in New York in 1910 and his arrival there opened a new chapter in his life, and in his artistic career. From then until his death in New York in 1942, Márk spent altogether about eighteen years in the United States.

The exhibition of Márk's 34 paintings at the National Arts Club took place in March 1910.[27] The reception committee was headed by the Austro–Hungarian Ambassador in Washington, Baron L. Hengelmueller de Hengervár and included several members of the Embassy and the Austro–Hungarian Consul-General in New York.[28] The Hungarian flag flew over the building of the National Arts Club. Not since Munkácsy's brief tour of the United States, when he was received by President Cleveland in the White House, was given a dinner in his honor by the Secretary of Navy, and attended a banquet at Delmonico's in New York, did a Hungarian artist receive such a festive reception in the United States.

The prefatory note to the exhibition's catalogue, written by J. Nilsen Laurvik, admits that very little is known in America of the art of Eastern Europe. After citing some biographical information on Márk, his schooling, and the likely influences on his art, it mentions some semi-nudes included in the show "of great charm of composition but most remarkable for the sense of atmosphere of an interior".

The New York exhibition was followed by exhibitions in Buffalo,[29] San Francisco and Denver.

Márk established himself immediately upon arrival in America as a successful portrait painter. In the Buffalo exhibition, which opened a month after the opening at the New York National Arts Club, the number of paintings shown increased by five, all portraits he painted in New York,[30] including one of Admiral Peary, the North Pole explorer, shown in his arctic parka (Fig. 3); the painting belongs now to the Brooklyn Museum. While in Buffalo, he painted four portraits, one of a young lady, an art student in Buffalo, the other three of prominent Buffalo society figures, among them Mrs. Henry Ware Sprague. The California Historical Society in San Francisco is recorded owning three portraits of Márk. In the years that followed this initial tour in America, Márk painted many prominent persons in his West 57th Street studio in New York. The list is a veritable Who's Who and Social Register and includes Miss Harriet Anderson, the niece of President Taft and subsequently Mrs. Hugo de Fritsch, members of the Clews, Guggenheim, Heckscher, Rhinelander families, Henry Watterson, the editor of the Louisville Courier

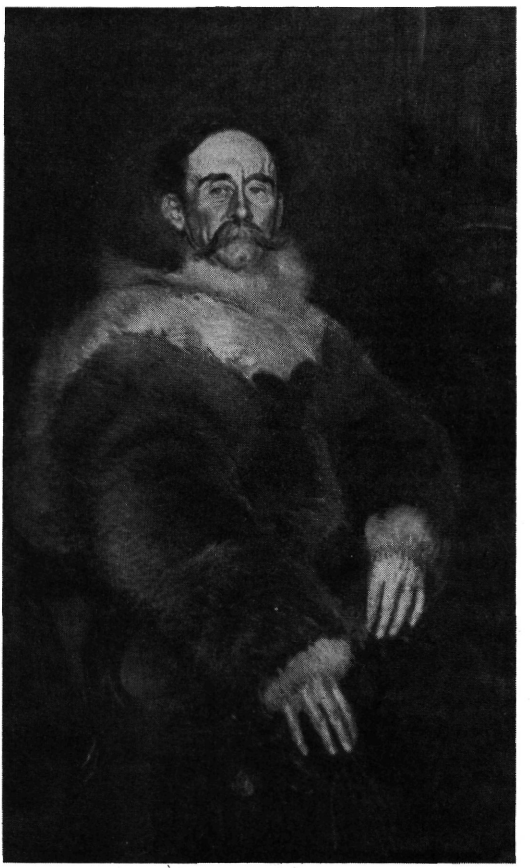

Fig. 3

Journal after the Civil War, Nathan S. Jones, President of Manufacturers' Trust Company, just to name a few. The Márks also spent a few summers in Newport Rhode Island, and Márk painted several portraits there, among them Mrs. Crawford Hill, the last "Grand Dame" of Denver society whose portrait still adorns the salon of Rosecliff in Newport.

In 1911 Márk returned briefly to Hungary but was back in New York the same year. In 1912 he asked his great love, Rózsi Molnár, to join him in the United States, and they were married in New York soon after her arrival. In 1919 a son was born in New York of that union. Márk stayed in the United States through the war years with the approval of the representative of the Austro–Hungarian government.

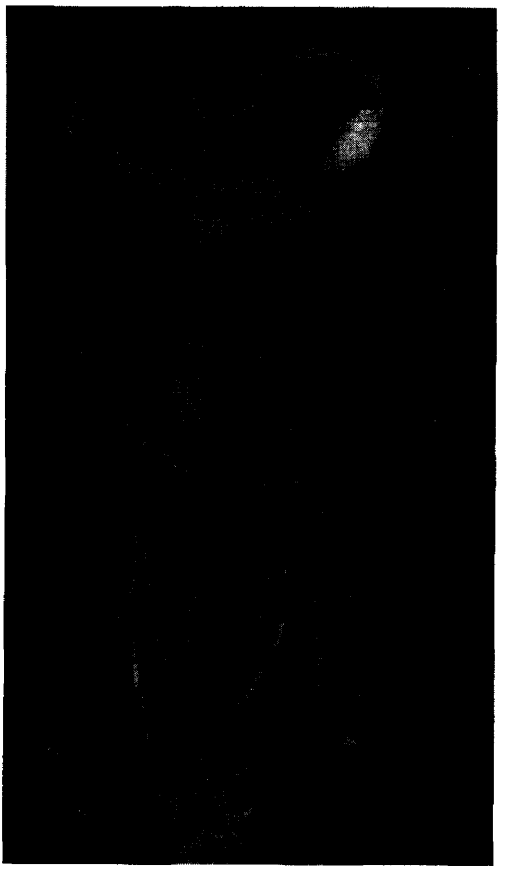

Plate II

In 1913 Márk had an exhibition of nineteen of his portraits at the Knoedler Gallery in New York,[31] and in 1919 the same gallery was showing a portrait by Márk of President Wilson.

Márk's greatest success in America occurred in 1915 when he won the gold medal with his painting *Before the Mirror* at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco. The exhibition was a landmark event in the cultural life of the city of San Francisco. It was the occasion of the first major exhibition of the work of Auguste Rodin in America, and was the genesis of the founding of San Francisco's second major museum, the California Palace of the Legion of Honor.[32]

Márk's painting is undoubtedly one of his chefs-d'oeuvre. (Plate II) Elek Petrovics, the former Director-General of the Budapest Museum of Fine Arts,

included it in his anthology of *Hungarian Masterpieces*, and commented on it as follows:[33]

> "As is the case with most of the artist's paintings, the subject, the content and the inspiration of this one is the woman. The painter was most interested in this instance in the expressive movement of the woman arranging her hair in front of the mirror, in her whole posture, but especially in the characteristic functioning of her arms and hands. This well observed and not stereotyped, intensive movement is enough to give formal content to a painting, and even if it is not everything that makes a picture, it is certainly more and more artistic than some diluted story-telling. The clothing, the furniture, the interior decoration seems to be intended only to provide a frame for this movement."

The Inter-War Years

In 1921 Márk returned to a Hungary devastated by the war and deprived of two-thirds of its former territory–unjustly in the view of its citizens. The country had undergone a Communist revolution, then been "liberated" from it by invading Romanian army troops who were eventually told to leave by the Allied Powers, and was suffering from very severe economic dislocations and from runaway inflation. The war and its aftermath had a profound effect on the subsequent development of Hungarian art. The avant-garde, which began to emerge in 1909 with the founding of the group of *The Eight*, showed leftist tendencies. Their more radical successors, the *Activists*, became strongly politically engaged and supported the short-lived Communist regime of Béla Kun. After that regime's collapse, members of the avant-garde went into exile. Though many of them returned to Hungary by the middle of the 1920's, the conservative government viewed them with suspicion, and the public with incomprehension. Except in the field of commercial art, their members worked in obscurity during the period.[34]

Márk's world, however, of which he was a part and which he depicted, resumed the life that had ceased with the collapse of the dual monarchy, materially impoverished, perhaps less self-confident, but intellectually with undiminished vigor. Certainly, cultural life continued where it left off before the war.

Returning from America, enriched literally and figuratively by the honors gained, Márk settled down in great comfort and with his artistic prestige greatly enhanced. He bought himself a spacious villa in one of the best districts in Budapest where bank presidents and captains of industry were his neighbors. His house in the Nagy János, later Benczúr, street served him both as home and studio. (Fig. 4)

Fig. 4

From 1921 to 1938, when he last left Hungary, he was a regular exhibitor in salons at the Hall of Arts, at the National Salons and at the Ernst Gallery, whose group exhibitions featured works of the most prominent artists of the time. The themes of Márk's paintings shown at these exhibitions remained the same as toward the end of his pre-war years, portraits and genre paintings. Many of the paintings show the interior or the garden of the artist's house as the background, and the artist's wife and other family members often serve as models.[35] Among the many portraits he painted in those years, those of two leading ladies of the Budapest theater, Juci Lábass (Fig. 5) and Gizi Bajor merit mention. The portrait of Mme Lábass was also shown in Paris and at the Kingore Gallery in New York. Both paintings are now in the Museum of the Hungarian Theater Institute and were shown in 1990 at an exhibition of the Institute, commemorating the two-hundredth anniversary of the Hungarian theater.[36] In 1936 Márk was invited to paint a few portraits in Novi Sad (Újvidék), Yugoslavia. He had a tremendous success; he ended up painting forty-six portraits altogether in Novi Sad and in Belgrade, including the President of the Yugoslav Parliament and the sister-in-law of the Prime Minister.

Fig. 5

In these inter-war years Márk made two trips to America in 1924–1925, and again in 1928/29. During his 1924–1925 stay he exhibited portraits at the Kingore Gallery, among them two portraits he painted at that time in his New York studio of the great diva of the Metropolitan and Vienna operas, Maria Jeritza.[37] One of these portraits now adorns the office of the director of the Vienna State Opera, and was shown in the exhibition commemorating the 100th anniversary of the Vienna opera in 1969.[38]

During these years Márk was very active in the realm of Hungarian artists' economic concerns. In 1928 he founded, together with his friend, the art critic and gallery director, Béla Lázár, the Munkácsy Guild. Hungary at that time was rich in artists' societies. In the inter-war years sixteen such associations

were founded; together with those established earlier there were altogether twenty-six societies, a number exceeding those in other major European artistic centers.[39] Still, the Munkácsy Guild had a special role among these associations. First, it eschewed associating or affiliating with any single school or style. Second, its primary objective was to attend to the economic needs of artists. In this respect it was quite successful. During its eighteen years of existence (the Guild existed till 1946, Márk resigned the presidency when he left for America in 1938), it channeled over 600,000 gold pengős, about 120,000 pre-war dollars, to Hungarian artists. The principal means of marshalling funds to help artists was a major country-wide lottery, raffling off several hundred works of art by recognized Hungarian artists. The artists were paid for their works partly in cash and partly in raffle tickets, for which they thus became sales agents. Some of the best-known artists made a practice of donating one or two of their works. Márk himself painted free of charge each year the portrait of the winner of the first prize of the lottery.

During his 1928–29 stay in America Márk became concerned about the relatively limited success of Hungarian artists abroad. He made some preparatory steps to have an exhibition of Hungarian artists tour the United States under the aegis of the Munkácsy Guild.[40] Upon his return to Hungary he published an article in which he attributed the inadequacy of international recognition for Hungarian art to the near total absence of a capable art trade in Hungary. He again advocated the organization of branches of the Munkácsy Guild in major foreign artistic centers, especially in the major cities of the United States.[41] Nothing came of these laudable efforts, as official Hungary withheld its approval.

The last years

When Márk left for the United States in 1938 for the last time, he was already in poor health. His friends in Hungary tried to dissuade him from the journey, but he evidently foresaw the calamities which were to engulf Hungary in the not too distant future. He also said that he had made a promise to his son, born in the United States and a United States citizen, that he would take him back to the United States.

Upon his arrival in New York, the National Arts Club, of which Márk was a life member, honored him with a medal for his painting *Five o'clock Tea.*

In 1939 Márk had an exhibition of his paintings at the Tricker Galleries in New York. The *Art News*, in a complimentary review of the exhibition, entitled "The elegant portrait of an earlier decade: Louis Mark", commented:

> "In an age of Scotch and Swing, an early twentieth century atmosphere of Tokay and waltzes–very much in keeping with the current Edwardian revival–is to be found in the colorful pictures exhibited by the Hungarian artist, Louis Mark..."

The review singles out a number of genre paintings; among the portraits shown it praises that of Mme Jolly Gergely for its "particularly dashing pattern of black and white".[42]

Márk still received some important portrait commissions in these years, among them the portrait of the wife of the distinguished international lawyer, Lorenzo L. Mendoza. But these were the last flickerings of his former fame. He was in ill-health, his physical and artistic energy was fading, he and his family lived in increasingly penurious circumstances. His last years paralleled those of his famous countryman, Béla Bartók, who arrived already ill in the United States in 1940, two years after Márk, and died in poverty three years after him, in 1945. But while Bartók gathered his strength to write perhaps his greatest masterpiece, the *Concerto for Orchestra*, not long before he died, Márk's creative powers were ebbing.

Márk died at the age of 75 on March 18, 1942. The New York Times in its obituary hailed him as painter of notables. A distinguished Hungarian painter found his final resting place in his second home, America.

THE SOURCES OF MÁRK'S ART

Márk left no memoirs. His comments on his art, his sources and inspirations, on his views on art in general, are few and often cryptic. To an inquiry addressed to a number of artists by a Hungarian periodical about the sources of their art, Márk wrote: "Life dictates what I should paint, but I have not the slightest idea what mental or spiritual processes prompt me to do so."[43] On other occasions he clearly did not wish to be identified with any artistic movement and he disdained any categorization of artists into "ism"-s.[44] To an American society lady who asked him if he was an Impressionist, he replied: "No, I am Louis Mark".

To some extent it is easier to describe what were *not* Márk's artistic sources. His teachers, Herterich, Hollósy, Bouguerau, Robert-Fleury, Ferrier, Benczúr taught him the techniques of drawing and painting, improved on his native talent, and provided him with the tools of composition, draughtsmanship and coloring. But none of them impressed him with their artistic goals, and some he resented for the authoritarian imposition of their artistic concept. Perhaps Robert-Fleury was the exception, his teaching methods allowed greater artistic freedom for his students, and he had a soft spot for his numerous Hungarian

students, probably because he had a fond memory, as only a Frenchman would, for an excellent meal he was once served in Budapest. He also paved the way for Márk to enter the Salon des Champs Elysées, where Márk received a *mention honorable.*

Márk was an avid museum and gallery visitor wherever he went. But what he saw and what impressed him we only know from secondary sources or we can speculatively conjecture from his paintings.

His large, multi-figured canvases done during the early part of his career combine eroticism and symbolism.

Eroticism has played an important role in many periods of Western art and has known no geographic boundaries. In nineteenth century French painting eroticism was probably more prominent than at any other period and place. Of the two major competing movements of nineteenth century painting, the academic and Impressionist, including the pre- and post-Impressionist schools, both are replete with erotic paintings, but in terms of number of painters and number of works, probably the academic school outdid the Impressionists. From Ingres through Chassériau, Cabanel, Gérome, and a host of lesser known painters, to Bouguerau, eroticism was wrapped in the cloak of history, mythology, allegory, religion, orientalism.[45] We know that Márk rejected Bouguerau's style of painting, with its sharply drawn contours of the female body and the enamel-like coloring, but in those early paintings of Márk we find echoes of the academic school not only in the selection of subject matter but in the construction of the compositions, and to some extent even in the painting technique. (Fig. 1)

Symbolism, as that term is applied to a certain "ism" in nineteenth century art, in poetry as well as in painting, flourished at the time of Márk's arrival in Paris. Jean Moréas published his "Symbolist Manifesto" in 1886. Gauguin was its leader among painters, and a farewell banquet for him before he moved to Tahiti in April 1891 was attended by many symbolist painters and writers.[46] The movement embraced dreams and sensations in its artistic *credo* in contrast to realism of the everyday and contemporary. Was Márk aware of the movement? His paintings under discussion have little in common with those of Gauguin, or his surrealist forerunners, such as Moreau or Redon, but they are touched by the aesthetics of surrealism and symbolism.

As we have indicated, these paintings of Márk represent a relatively brief, early phase in his oeuvre. Subsequently he concentrated on genre paintings and portraiture which depicted the life of the upper bourgeoisie in his hometown Budapest. Here again, art which could be seen in Paris at the time of his arrival could have been his inspiration. The Frenchman James Tissot, the Belgian

Alfred Stevens, and three famous expatriates, Mary Cassat, John Singer Sargent and Giovanni Boldini, were all active in somewhat different ways to paint the world of the rich and famous or–in the case of Boldini–the sometimes frivolous. Again, was Márk familiar with their work? His paintings in many respects parallel those of the artists mentioned, particularly some of the paintings of Tissot, Sargent and Boldini. These three are known for their portraiture of elegant and fashionable women, and for their verve and sophisticated coloring. Boldini, for instance, often uses white or white on white harmonies, which we also find in some of Márk's portraits. But did Márk know of Boldini's painting of a melon (c. 1905) when he painted his still-life of a watermelon (c. 1934)? The cropped and tilted table tops, the platters underneath the fruit would suggest that he did. But this is pure conjecture. We can find only one reference in Márk's pronouncements to any of these painters, to Sargent, in an interview he gave upon his return from America in 1911, namely that many of the prominent American painters–he mentions John White Alexander and William Merritt Chase in addition to Sargent–studied in the same European schools in Munich and Paris.[47]

Despite Márk's disclaimer, his later paintings are related to those of the Impressionists. He shares with them the sunny outlook on the world around him, the search for color and luminosity, and the technique of fast and broad brush-strokes. By the time Márk arrived in Paris in 1890 the Impressionists were in ascendance, and from the perspective of a century later it is easy to assume that Márk was exposed to the art of the Impressionists as soon as he got to Paris. William Rothenstein, who attended the Julian Academy in 1889, mentions Manet and Monet whose studios he visited with some of his friends.[48] But as to what many young art students most likely saw at that time in Paris, it is interesting to read the memoirs of Márk's countryman, the eminent painter István Csók, who was also at the Julian Academy just before Márk arrived there (1887–1889):

> "We, Ferenczy and I, went to the exhibitions. Initially Ferenczy admired the *Venus* of Baudry, but later he also became a devotee of Bastien-Lepage. The few paintings of Millet in the Louvre did not make much of an impression on us. Much more Courbet. Ferenczy also liked [Théodore] Rousseau... The *Pauvre Pêcheur* of Puvis de Chavannes strongly undermined the authority of Bastien-Lepage. If the Caillebotte room in the Luxembourg palace with its marvellous Renoir, Manet and Degas paintings had then existed, if we could have seen the landscapes of Claude Monet and of Sisley at that time, perhaps our whole approach to art would have developed in a different direction. But in those days we could not yet see Goya, who nourished Manet, on the walls of the Louvre. Greco waited in the dust to be discovered. Whistler arrived only much later in Paris. Cézanne, who angrily stormed the gates of the Salon, was totally unknown to us."[49]

Whether or not Márk experienced the Impressionist paintings on his first visit to Paris, it is certain that he was exposed to their art early in his active artistic career.

He encountered the artistry of Bastien-Lepage already in his Munich days when an exhibition of that artist was held in the *Glaspalast* in Munich in 1889. It created a sensation in German artistic circles but his art had no lasting influence on Márk.

Two lesser but much admired and honored French artists of that period have made an impression on Márk, namely Paul Albert Besnard (1849–1934), and Gaston de Latouche (1854–1913). Besnard may have been known to him from the Academy Julian. Rothenstein writes that "Besnard's effects of light and lamp-light on nudes were a fascinating novelty, much admired at Julian's".[50] Besnard was also a very successful portraitist. Professor Rosenblum places him in the company of Bonnat and Benjamin-Constant as a portraitist of the Establishment in France during the period 1880–1914.[51] Latouche was also experimenting with the effects of light and his colouring resembles that of Márk. A catalogue of the H. Shickman Gallery in New York entitled *The Neglected 19th Century: An Exhibition of French Painting*, comments on a painting of a *Garden Scene* by Latouche as follows:

> "Gaston Latouche was a charming painter, whose academic background belies his rather refreshing and sincere canvases. He received many official honors in the last quarter of the 19th century, but his flickering surfaces and outdoor genre subjects seem more akin to the vision of the Impressionists than to those of his fellow academicians."[52]

This commentary could very well be applied to Márk.

Both Besnard and Latouche exhibited at the Spring Salon of 1905 in Budapest. In the exhibition catalogue the reproduction of one of Latouche's paintings shown there, entitled *Coquetry*, was placed next to one of Márk's portraits of a young girl; the kinship between the two paintings was unmistakable.

During his London stay in 1908, Márk was much impressed by eighteenth century English portraiture; especially Gainsborough, with his elegant ladies in lacy, shimmering dresses, caught Márk's approving attention. One of Márk's stunningly beautiful portraits, that of Mrs Virginia Hobart Baldwin, subsequently Princess Zourab Tchokotova, painted in 1910, and now in the California Historical Society in San Francisco, clearly reveals the Van Dyck–Gainsborough lineage.

Painters are influenced not only by the subject matter, compositional constructions and stylistic achievements of other artists, but also on occasion

by their career successes. Márk was undoubtedly aware of the successes of two of his countrymen, that of Mihály Munkácsy, whose brief but triumphal tour in the United States was already mentioned, and of Fülöp de László, a contemporary of Márk, and perhaps one of the most successful international portraitists of his time.[53] Márk had a great admiration for the art of Munkácsy; his opinion of László was less complimentary. But that does not mean that Márk did not wish to emulate his successes.

Lastly, artists are influenced not only by the work of other artists but by some other experiences which have a bearing on their search for the solution of some of their artistic goals. During his visits around the turn of the century to Paris, the City of Light, and especially during the visit to the Paris World's Fair, Márk was fascinated by the "Liberty" silks which the ladies of fashion were wearing and which had a multi-coloured shimmering effect with every movement of the wearer. His other fascination was a lady of the stage, the American Loie Fuller.[54] She was born in the bar of a tavern of Fullersburg, Illinois, and rising through burlesque and vaudeville, she made her fame as a dancer on the stage in Paris. One observer described her dance as follows:

> "She learned to toss one hundred and twenty yards of 'draperies' to a height of ten or twelve feet, controlling their form and shape through the rhythmic repetition of precise movements. In a darkened theater, accompanied by music of classical composers, she sculpted with silk. Light, color, costume and person were fused by her dance into a single moving image."

At the time of the Paris World's Fair of 1900 Loie Fuller was the rage of *tout Paris*. Artists and poets, Toulouse-Lautrec, Whistler, Rodin, Mallarmé, and W. B. Yeats were enchanted by her skill; Anatole France wrote a preface to her memoirs. Márk, always captivated by the play of movement and light, watched her dances with fascination.[55]

AN APPRECIATION OF MÁRK'S ARTISTRY

Márk received many honors and accolades during career, many of them recorded in the foregoing. As to be expected, there were also critical comments. Ironically, perhaps the strongest criticism is contained in one of the books of Károly Lyka who wrote such a laudatory review of Márk's paintings in 1907.[56] In the book Lyka devotes a chapter entitled, "In the atmosphere of the tea parties of Pest". The chapter is a biting attack on the decadent culture of *fin de siècle* Budapest and its various manifestations. Márk is singled out as the artist who succumbed to the scents and desire-laden air of this culture. His

large erotic paintings, such as *Struggle, "Get drunk my loves", Fever,* are cited as examples. Not remembered are Lyka's praise for his portraits of the elegant ladies of society, his languorous nudes are dismissed as another manifestation of a decadent society. Most notably, not remembered is Lyka's earlier statement that Márk's selection of his subject matter does not affect the intrinsic value of his paintings.

This turn-about in Lyka's critical judgement can only be explained by the date of his writing. Lyka first published his book during the inter-war years, after the Trianon treaty dismembered historic Hungary. It became fashionable then to blame Hungary's misfortune on the shortcomings of Hungarian society of the period between 1867 and 1914. Cosmopolitan Budapest was a favorite target, and the criticism was often tinged with anti-semitism. The historian Gyula Szekfű, in his influential book *Three Generations*[57] expounded on this interpretation of Hungarian history, and Lyka's chapter reflects the views of Szekfű.

Lyka also complains that Márk sacrificed his talent to his chase after fame and fortune. Again, one can detect the voice of someone writing in impoverished Hungary, which imposed considerable hardship on many of the artists then working there. Not that Márk was averse to seeking fame and fortune. But long is the list of old as well as modern artists, from Rubens and Delacroix to Picasso, who have actively and successfully sought good remuneration for their art. Among Márk's contemporaries, the same accusation was levied against John Singer Sargent.

Lyka was clearly critical not of *how* Márk painted but *what* he painted. Lyka was evidently not the only nor the first critic who objected to Márk's selection of his subject matter. An article written in 1913 explains that Márk received a gold medal in Hungary only in 1912, and then only a small one, because many of his peers were uncomfortable with his depiction of a sensuous, enervated world.[58] Nor was Márk the only artist who suffered this kind of attack. The writer and poet, Jenő Heltai, very much a kindred spirit to Márk (Márk painted his wife's portrait), in a good-humored but sarcastic poem written around the turn of the century, berates his "honorable provincial colleagues" for attacking him for being "not enough of a Hungarian" because instead of singing about the good earth and his grandfather and grandmother, his poems dare to glorify the "playful, stylish women who kiss and laugh and live."[59] It is interesting to note that this cultural and political faultline between what is "true Hungarian", to be found mostly in the countryside, and the cosmopolitan and "not truly Hungarian", represented by the culture of Budapest, reemerged very recently in Hungarian politics after forty years of Communist repression.

Within the last quarter of this century we have seen a radical reevaluation of the art of the nineteenth century to which Márk essentially belonged. It is no longer acceptable to see it entirely as a bi-polar struggle between the academicians with their outmoded, fusty pedantism, and the liberating, exhilarating world of the Impressionists. The merits of the former are increasingly recognized, not only in the learned circles of art criticism but in the sales rooms. The "petits maîtres" are being rediscovered and are given their due.[60]

Hungary is probably close to the top of the list among nations where art criticism and art appreciation underwent rapid and radical changes parallel with the radical changes in its political fortunes, and social and economic conditions which is experienced since 1918.

Márk's artistic life spanned the years 1892–1942. Now that we can look back on it from a distance of a half to a full century, and from this side of the Atlantic, without being embroiled in past and present political passions of his homeland, perhaps we can evaluate his art more dispassionately and with better perspective.

We have seen that Márk was a natural talent. He manifested early on a great aptitude in draughtsmanship that needed little improvement and which he retained throughout his artistic career.

As a painter he was most interested in observing and rendering the movement of the human body, particularly that of the woman. His sharp eye caught the essence of the curving, undulating stance of the female body in some active endeavor as well as in a casual moment of rest, as for instance, *Repose* (Plate III).[61] For Márk, capturing the gracefulness of the female body was not a routine exercise for its own sake, but an aesthetic goal which filled his paintings with meaning.

Next, he was most interested in the play of color and light. He searched wherever he went, in life as well as in other painters' paintings, particularly pleasing examples of the shimmering, continuously changing effects of light and color and sought the means to project this on his canvases. He found the solution in quick brush-strokes, similar to those of the Impressionist masters and on occasion approaching the technique of the pointilists. For these brushstrokes he used long brushes (up to a meter), which he originated, and which at first had to be made especially for him.

We have indicated one of the endearing traits of his personality, namely that he was a man full of humor, a quick wit and a great punster. This quick-wittedness is also reflected in his art. Not only in his caricatures, for which he was much praised at one time, but also in his paintings. His ability to paint quickly has been noted. We have surprisingly few drawings from him, other than his caricatures and book illustrations, and none that served as prepara-

Plate III

tory drawings for his paintings. He composed his paintings directly on the canvas with few bold strokes. He generally, used no undercoating for his paintings, and the canvas, its color and texture, served on occasion as an intrinsic ingredient of the composition.

He was not particularly interested in the *plein-air* movement and landscape painting *per se*. He did not seek out spectacular natural vistas, nor the atmospheric charm of the Hungarian country-side, as did some of his Hungarian contemporaries. He did incorporate landscapes in some of his paintings, but mostly as backdrops to his genre scenes. Many of his landscape back-

grounds were the garden seen from the balcony of his home. A few of his pure landscapes depict scenes within the geographic boundary of the city of Budapest, in the hills of Buda, or in nearby villages on the Danube, where the well-to-do bourgeoisie of Budapest had their summer homes.

Márk's portraits made him justly famous and successful. They eschew the purely decorative and capture the psychological essence of his sitters. Most of his portraits are full length or three-quarter length. But the postures of the body and the attire the sitters wear are placed in the service of expressing their personality.

Márk was essentially a conservative painter. The structure of his composi-

Plate IV

tions is usually straightforward. Only in a few instances does he use bold perspectives, such as On Top of a Hill. (Plate IV) Techniques of cropped images such as Degas began to use and which are so frequently employed by post-Impressionists such as Bonnard and Vuillard, are practically completely absent in Márk's paintings. Generally, all the various modern movements after the Impressionists, the post-Impressionists, beginning with Cézanne, the Fauves, the Expressionists, the Cubists, the Futurists, the various abstract art movements, which flourished during Márk's active artist career, had no influence on his style. The Art Nouveau movement had a limited impact on him, mostly on some of his posters and on a few of his female portraits.[62]

The selection of his subjects also reflect a basically conservative nature. He painted the sunny side of life. With the possible exception of one early painting, *Actors without Contract*,[63] in which Márk depicts a group of artists huddled around a table of a coffee-house who have fallen on hard times. He has not chosen any of the seamier aspects of life or any commitment to social struggle as his subject.

People who have a different political or artistic agenda may criticize him for his apparent lack of interest in social activism. Others may fault him for the relatively narrow range of subject matter of his art. The ease with which he attained his artistic goals deprived him of the necessity to struggle for ever higher artistic achievements both in content and style. That same ease led him on occasion to a certain carelessness in the execution of his paintings. These shortcomings, to the extent one accepts and acknowledges them, do not significantly detract from Márk's considerable achievements. These we have stated in the foregoing.

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The reputation of Márk's artistry suffered an eclipse both in his homeland[64] and in his second home, in America. In Hungary the years after Márk's death were not politically congenial to Márk's artistry. They did bring to the fore the contributions of the Hungarian avant-garde, much disdained and neglected in the previous period, but to the detriment of the older painters, especially one whose art was not engaged in social activism, and whose art was focused on the depiction of the "class enemy".

In the United States, the causes for oblivion are different. Artistic trends have changed, and with it public appreciation of it. Contemporary painters have dominated the field and the public's interest. A reevaluation of American "Old Masters", among them American Impressionists, is a relatively recent development. And here another factor needs to be noted. It is one of the tragedies of Hungarian artists, of writers as well as the practitioners of the

visual arts, that they remain largely unknown to the outside world. Hungarians, a surprisingly talented people, are known today for their musicians, mathematicians and nuclear physicists, perhaps for their economists, but barely for their literary figures or painters and sculptors. In the catalogue of the Shepherd Gallery's exhibition of artists of the Julian Academy the entry referring to a Rippl-Rónai painting rightly observes:

> "A large number of Hungarian artists studied at the *Académie Julian*, including the amazing and unique Tivadar Csontváry. Undeservedly, few of them are recognized outside of Hungary."[65]

In the admirable seven volume compendium of Gerald Schurr's "petits maîtres" from 1820 to 1920, already referred to, over 1,500 artists are listed. The Hungarians comprise less than one percent of those, with a list mixing some outstanding artists with some who are virtually unknown in their homeland and not particularly deserving.[66] Márk was aware of this regrettable situation of the reputation of Hungarian artists abroad and tried to do something about it late in his career.

What remains to be said in conclusion is that we owe a special thanks to Márk for having captured, more than any other painter, the reality as well as the atmospherics of a bygone world, that of the insouciant, well-to-do Budapest upper-crust before the catastrophe of the first World War, and then again between the two World Wars. The portraits of the elegant ladies, the maids in their uniforms polishing the silver, the afternoon tea being poured either in the expansive, richly decorated living rooms or in the flowering gardens, the vases, the silver platters, the nudes and semi-nudes whose pictures decorate the walls, they all evoke a time and place which merit to be retained as historic documents. They also give the present-day viewer a strong feeling of nostalgia, whether he or she remembers those days or only heard about them, particularly when it is rendered with such sincere artistry.

With the 50th anniversary of Márk's death to be commemorated in 1992, it seems proper to revive interest in Márk's artistic contribution. This modest effort is dedicated to that task.

Captions of the Illustrations to "Lajos (Louis) Márk: His Life and Art".

Plates

I. *Self-portrait* by L. Márk, Oil on Canvas, 1933 (75 × 51 cm), Norfolk, Connecticut, Estate collection.
II. *Before the Mirror*, 1907 (127.5 × 73 cm). Norfolk, Connecticut, Estate collection.
III. *Repose*, c. 1928 (59 × 47.5 cm). New Brunswick, New Jersey, Hungarian Heritage Museum.
IV. *On Top of a Hill*, 1934 (104 × 96 cm). Norfolk, Connecticut, Estate collection.

Figures

1. *Temptation*, 1893/94, (250 × 445 cm). Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery.
2. *Jury Duty*, pen drawing, c. 1900, reproduced in *Magyar Géniusz* (Hungarian Genius), April 14, 1901, 249.
3. *Portrait of Commander Robert Edwin Peary*, 1910 (150 × 90). Brooklyn, New York, The Brooklyn Museum.
4. *Photograph of the artist in his studio in Budapest, Benczúr street*, c. 1925.
5. *Portrait of Mme. Juci Lábass*, c. 1923 (98 × 107 cm). Budapest, Hungarian Theater Institute.

Notes

1. For a good part of the factual information relating to Márk's life and artistic career I am indebted to an unedited manuscript written in Hungarian in 1946 by Béla Lázár, art critic, gallery director, and the artist's life-long friend, and to the recollections of the artist's son, Louis Mark, Jr. I also wish to thank Ms. Katalin Sinkó of the Hungarian National Gallery, for providing valuable material from the archives of the Gallery and from other Hungarian sources.
2. John Lukacs, *Budapest 1900: A Historical Portrait of a City & its Culture* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1988).
3. László Siklóssy, "Márk Lajos", *Képzőművészet* 14 (1928).
4. Miklós Somogyi, "Magyarok a müncheni képzőművészeti Akadémián", *Művészet* XI., 187. Károly Lyka, *Magyar Művészet Münchenben*, Budapest, Művelt Nép Könyvkiadó. 1951. (reprinted Corvina, 1982).
5. Robert J. F. Kashey, *The Julian Academy, Paris 1868–1939, Exhibition Catalogue*, New York, Shepherd Gallery. Spring 1989.
6. Tamás Szana, *Száz év a magyar művészet történetéből, 1800–1900, Festészet, Szobrászat*, Budapest, Athenaeum. 1901. 289–290. Béla Székely, "Fine Arts–Winter Exhibition", *Pesti Napló* November 24, 1894.
7. *Vasárnapi Újság* 1900. 856.
8. *Műcsarnok* "Művészeti Hirek" 1899. 102–103.

9. Revealed by Márk in an interview to *Ujság* June 29, 1938.
10. *Magyar Nemzet* December 15, 1974.
11. Exhibition *Elizabeth, Queen of Hungary*, Eisenstadt, Austria, Museum of Austrian Culture, June 26–October 27, 1991.
12. A *Hét*, 1890, I., no. 2.
13. *Magyar Géniusz* April 14, 1901, 149–250.
14. *Új Idők* 1909, XV., no. 15, 356–357, 365.
15. *Vasárnapi Újság* 1898, vol. 45, no. 33.
16. A large cartoon of the painting is in the András Jósa Museum in Nyíregyháza; Gyöngyi Éri, Zsuzsa Jobbágyi, *A Golden Age, Art and Society in Hungary, 1896–1914* (Budapest, London, Miami: Corvina, Barbican Art Gallery, Center for Fine Arts, 1990), 51.
17. A *Hét*, 1898, vol. IX., no. 33, 526–527.
18. Ödön Gerő, Elek Londesz, *Modern magyar festőművészet*, Budapest, n. d. 132.
19. Béla Déry, László Bányász, Ernő Margitay, *Almanach (Képzőművészeti Lexicon)*. Budapest, Légrády Testvérek Nyomdája. 1912. 191.
20. E. Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres et Graveurs*, 1976. vol. 7, 191.
21. *Művészeti Lexikon*. Budapest, 1987.
22. *Nemzeti Szalon*, "Márk Lajos Gyűjteményes Kiállítása", Exhibition Catalogue, November, 1907.
23. Later the owner of his own exhibition gallery and private art auction house, the *Ernst Múzeum*.
24. John Lukacs in his excellent book on *Budapest 1900*, already cited, devotes a few pages to Hungarian painters of the period (pp. 170–172). The handful of painters he mentions were mostly those who, inspired by Western *plein-air* painting, returned to Hungary and formed the provincial artist colonies in Nagybánya, Szolnok, Kecskemét. He missed mentioning Márk, who was, more than any of the others, the painter of Budapest society.
25. Károly Lyka, "Márk Lajos újabb festményei", *Művészet* 1907. 281–294, 296–299, 301–304.
26. The same year Márk received a gold medal at the Munich International Exhibition.
27. *Exhibition of Paintings of Louis Mark of Budapest*, March 2nd to 28th, 1910, The National Arts Club, New York City.
28. *International Studio*, "Louis Mark will hold an exhibition", March, 1910.
29. *Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Albright Art Gallery*, Exhibition of Paintings by Louis Mark of Budapest, April 7–May 2, 1910.
30. Apparently a brief press release in New York calling attention to the forthcoming exhibition of Márk's paintings at the National Arts Club, because the identical text appeared in such widely distant papers as the Dayton Daily News and the Los Angeles Express, reports that Márk won a prize with one of his portraits which on a wager he began and finished in an hour.
31. *Catalogue of Portraits by Louis Mark*, An Exhibition at the Galleries of M. Knoedler & Co., 556–558 Fifth Avenue, March 17th to 29th, inclusive, 1913.
32. Ian McKibbin, "The Two Fairs", *Apollo* February, 1980, 86–88.
33. Elek Petrovics, *Magyar Mesterművek*, Budapest (a gift of *Pesti Napló* to its subscribers from the Andor Miklós Fund). 1936. 113, Pl. 74.
34. S. A. Mansbach, "Confrontation and Accommodation in the Hungarian Avant-Garde". *Art Journal*, Spring 1990 vol. 49, no. 1, 7–20.
35. The painting shows the dining room in Márk's house; the large painting, entitled *Before the five o'clock tea*, shown hanging on the wall, is also by Márk, and his wife and seven year old son were models for the painting.
36. Adrienne Nagy, *Köszöntünk, Színház, Szép Tündérvilág! Jelenetek a magyar hivatásos színjátszás 200 éves történetéből*. Guide to the exhibition, National Theatre-Historical Museum, Hungarian Theatre Institute, 1990.

37. *The Art News*, May 30, 1925, 2.
38. Cat. no. 53.
39. Károly Lyka, *Festészetünk a két világháború között.* Budapest, Képzőművészeti Alap Kiadóvállalata. 1956. 29.
40. *A Műgyűjtő* 1929. 120.
41. Lajos Márk, "A magyar művészet külföldi propagandája". *Képzőművészet* 1930. no. 34. 228–229.
42. *Art News* vol. 37, April 8, 1939. 15–16.
43. *Magyar Géniusz* April 14, 1901, 248.
44. E.g. in a brief auto-biographical entry in an encyclopaedia published by the Budapest daily *Az Est, Az Est Hármaskönyve.* 1913, 472–474.
45. Yann Le Pichon, *L'érotisme des chers maîtres,* Paris, Dencel. 1986.
46. Robert Rosenblum and H.W. Janson, *19th-Century Art.* New York, Harry N. Abrams. 1984. 425.
47. *Vasárnapi Újság* "Művészeti élet a yankeek hazájában". 1911. no. 43.
48. Sir William Rothenstein, *Men and Memories, 1872–1900.* London, Faber & Faber. 1931. 44.
49. István Csók, *Emlékezéseim.* Budapest, Officina. 193. 42.
50. Rothenstein, 44.
51. Robert Rosenblum, *Paintings in the Musée d'Orsay.* New York, Stewart, Tabori & Chang. 1989. 405.
52. *The Neglected 19th Century: An Exhibition of French Paintings.* H. Shickman Gallery. 929 Park Avenue, New York, February, 1970.
53. László's first international success was painting portraits of the Berlin Court. Subsequently he settled in London. Perhaps his most famous portrait is that of Pope Leo XIII. Among his many American portraits, that of President Theodore Roosevelt hangs in the Roosevelt Room of the White House, that of Ailsa Mellon Bruce in the Founders' Room of the National Gallery of Art, Washington.
54. The information on Loie Fuller is taken from Denys Sutton, "Dance and Image", *Apollo* March 1990. 176–177.
55. There is no record that Márk and Loie Fuller ever met. But their paths crossed again at the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition in 1915, where, as already stated, Márk won a gold medal with his painting *Before the Mirror.* By that time Loie Fuller was a close friend of Alma de Bretteville Spreckels, a leading lady of San Francisco society and patroness of the arts, and the two together at that time searched out the spot where the Palace of the Legion of Honor was to be built.
56. Károly Lyka, *Festészeti életünk a millenniumtól az első világháborúig: Magyar művészet, 1896–1914.* Budapest, Képzőművészeti Alap. 1953.
57. Gyula Szekfű, *Három nemzedék, egy hanyatló kor története.* Budapest, Élet. 1920.
58. Miklós Rózsa, "Az új aranyérmekről, II. Márk Lajos". *Szabad Művészet* 1913. december 3.
59. *"Pro Domo", Heltai Jenő versei,* Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó. 1967. 280–282.
60. Gerald Schurr, *Les petits maîtres de la peinture: valeur de demain, 1820–1920.* Paris, Editions de l'Amateur. 1972–1989. Seven volumes.
61. Now at the Hungarian Heritage Museum of the American–Hungarian Foundation. New Brunswick, New Jersey.
62. Judit Szabadi, *Art Nouveau in Hungary.* Budapest, Corvina. 1989. 21, 25.
63. *Új Idők* 1896. vol. II, 286.
64. Although the showing of some of his paintings in recent exhibitions kept his name in the public eye.
65. *The Julian Academy,* no. 53.
66. It is of little consolation that American artists do not fare much better.

ERNŐ DOHNÁNYI

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Béla Bartók, Ernő Dohnányi and Zoltán Kodály are inseparable from the history of Hungarian music in the first half of the 20th century. Considering this historic period of Hungarian music and the careers of these three, we encounter the same recurring question why did Bartók and Kodály become the ideals, or, as János Arany put it, "the animating idea" of Hungarian culture, while Ernő Dohnányi is discounted.

What was the reason? Personal qualities? External circumstances? What interactions determined this unusual career? "Where is the stage: inside or outside?" one could ask with the words of a fourth contemporary, Béla Balázs. The answers are to be found in the relation between Dohnányi, Bartók and Kodály. Ernő Dohnányi was born in Pozsony (Pressburg: now Bratislava) in 1877. His father, Frigyes Dohnányi, was a grammar schoolteacher, an influential and honoured citizen of Pozsony. His house was one of the centres of chamber music culture, characteristic of Pozsony musical life. His son's legendary talent for music emerged at an early age, and both his family and community supported his development. He was 17 planning a musical career when, in 1894, a new talent appeared in Pozsony: the 13-year-old Béla Bartók. From this time on their paths were joined. They were equally great musical geniuses with completely different personalities. Those who heard them play the piano could confirm this.

Bálint Vázsonyi, in his excellent biography of Dohnányi, defines the difference between the characters of the two.[1] Dohnányi could do everything with ease. He lived elegantly with almost Apollonian serenity. Bartók struggled hard for everything. Losing his father early and being the son of a poor schoolmistress, he soon got used to a modest lifestyle. The milieu and behaviour of his older colleague inevitably made Bartók's relation to him two-faced: attraction combined with the alienating influence of dissimilar internal and external conditions.

Dohnányi not only followed Bartók's career with attention but also supported him. Dohnányi encouraged him to study in Budapest under the direction of István Thomán, professor at the Academy of Music.

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As Bálint Vázsonyi informs us, it was also Dohnányi who first called Bartók's attention to *Also sprach Zarathustra* by Richard Strauss[2] before the performance of the piece on February 10, 1902. This piece gave an impulse to his development as a composer. This, and the revelation of Liszt's late compositions for the piano were probably the last determining experience these two had in common. From this time on, Bartók was making his way ahead 'by relay horses', so to say. Meanwhile, Zoltán Kodály, five years younger than Dohnányi and one year younger than Bartók, was growing up in Galánta, and later in Nagyszombat, without knowing about the other two. Like many major literary and artistic figures flocking to Budapest they became acquainted in the salon of Emma Gruber (later Mrs Kodály).

"That was a time nurturing Herculeses", wrote Endre Ady, meaning the years around the turn of the century. Born in 1877, Dohnányi was the same age as Ady. Was the age difference between Dohnányi and his two colleagues or the early current of the pianist career drifting him to a phenomenal "outer course" the reason why he did not participate in the domestic struggles of Ady's generation? He was being ripened in a different way while working in Berlin, Leipzig and then again in Berlin "by fate for the sluggish, great, indecent Hungarian revolution". The difference between their artistic character, however, inclines one to think of them as not being of the same generation.

The things being in the making at home were as significant ones as the creating of our national culture in a modern, twentieth-century way and, within and by this the reformulation of our cultural consciousness and identity, and to designate anew our place in our country, among our neighbours and in the world. Scientists, writers, painters, actors and musicians were seeking the way to the 20th century. Zoltán Kodály, a student of arts and composing had already drafted the plan of Hungarian music and musical education as a freshman at Eötvös College.[3] Together with Béla Bartók, in folk-music they found that tradition of great artistic value which made their music akin to the contemporary, chiefly French style of composing. It was not Vienna, but the French example that attracted the interest of the new age. Also, the Hungarian artists were beginning to show solidarity with the anti-war movement of other European artists.

Dohnányi could not take part in these movements. He had been living abroad since 1905. He did not experience the excitement over the discovery, gathering and re-creation of folk-music, nor did he participate in the struggles for equal rights for the ethnic minorities. He did not experience Endre Ady's blood-stirring poetry, the Nyugat-generation or the efforts put forth by a group of painters called The Eight. His disposition and education did not draw him to these. This was probably the reason why Bartók, in his famous letter from

Gmunden of September 13th, 1903 made a disapproving remark about Dohnányi's showing little devotion to his own country.[4]

In some respects he distanced himself from the revolution. Though he did not have much share in the domestic struggles, he contributed to the cultural renewal. Maybe unintentionally, his compositional style led to the final refinement and serenity of classical traditions reaching as far as Richard Strauss. At the same time, he wrote classical and romantic compositions for the piano. The beauty of his piano-playing evoking nostalgia embraced all that remained alive of their tradition. He brought back the Liszt tradition from its round-the-world tour to the Music Academy founded by, and named after him.

In 1915 Dohnányi returned from Berlin with a demand for a higher artistic standard of musical education and plans for the renewal of the Lisztian school and Hungarian musical education. The great piano teacher, István Thomán, had been living in forced retirement since 1906. This was partly due to another pupil of Liszt, Árpád Szendy, professor at the Music Academy. Prof. Szendy became the chief opponent and hindrance to Dohnányi's reformist endeavours. With Dohnányi's return, piano teaching, which had become mechanic and based on finger work was replaced with the spiritual heritage of Thomán, i.e. with a teaching centred on music. His plans for a reform in teaching methods were aimed at making the Music Academy a real college by a stricter selection of the applicants and by stopping its secondary school-like drabness.[5] His plans came to fruition in 1919 when the Music Academy was reorganized to be a College of Music with Dohnányi as principal and Kodály as vice-principal.

The project was refused in 1917 because it would have let the students decide which music they used. This interfered with the interest of some teachers, primarily Árpád Szendy and Kálmán Chován, who made a considerable profit by insisting students, use their editions of piano music.[6]

1916 and 1917 were the best years of cooperation for the three musicians. Dohnányi's contribution to the work of this group, besides his pedagogical conception, was his unique art which he generously gave. The principles and practice of the Hungarian Soviet Republic, proclaimed on March, 21th, 1919 seemed to be favourable to the endeavours which aimed at drawing great masses of people into musical education. Dohnányi had already announced his concerts for workers during the bourgeois revolution. At the first one given by Waldbauers in December, 1918 Dohnányi himself participated,[7] and later on he organized these events and contributed to them as a pianist and a conductor. He performed the greatest musical pieces on several evenings and played chamber music with the Waldbauer–Kerpely String Quartet formed anew after its members' return from the war. He educated people from the stage in the same way as he did in his classes at the Academy: by playing music as it is worthy to be played.

Between October 1918 and April 1919, Zoltán Kodály reported concert life in Budapest for *Pesti Napló*. These accounts suggest that both the repertoire and the performers of these concerts were of the highest standard, and reflect Dohnányi's presence and exceptional enthusiasm. Kodály praised Dohnányi's repertoire and natural style of playing as well. "He who has got used to the high level of these concerts will hardly be happy with lower class music any more. He who got so close to the masters as Dohnányi did through his playing which made everybody forget about the pianist, would exceedingly be irritated by a virtuoso whose so called 'individuality' incessantly stands between the composer and the audience. Only he who is a composer himself can reach such a level of performing art: as if he improvised that which is unalterable and is the only possible thing", wrote Kodály about Dohnányi's Beethoven-evening on October 10th, 1918.[8] Regarding Frack's quintet for the piano he wrote: "It will be long remembered how Dohnányi's fingers entangled the veiled sound of the piano with the colour-beams of the strings." (December 4th, 1918)[9] On December 12th he reported on Dohnányi's Liszt-evening: "The most vigorous of Liszt's works are perhaps those of elevated French style opening up new paths and breathing the air of revolution at the same time like his sonata in B minor, one of Dohnányi's most fantastic shows. For, besides and above their other virtues, Liszt's piano compositions are paying to play for their vigour as well. True, they had been intended for the enormous length of the composer's fingers. But only the pianist who, as a necromancer, is able to put, if only for a minute, the composer before the audience in his, so to say, physical reality can manage to make Liszt's legendary art perceptible by performing his works, which have preserved something of the legend".[10] Bartók contributed to the teamwork as a composer. "Dohnányi brought new colours to his usual Saturday concerts having the atmosphere of a classical picture gallery by introducing some freshly painted canvases. He played some pieces by Bartók and two of his own impressive concert-etudes." (Febr. 16th, 1919)[11] In the beginning of March the Waldbauer–Kerpely ensemble put Bartók's String Quartet No. 2 on their programme. "With the proper acoustic perspective found, the drawing which had seemed first a confuse mass of lines at first sight becomes more and more discernible with its monumental forms that rise before our eyes, and the bursting energy that lies underneath more and more sensible. Some more such expressive and lively performances like the today's one should follow so that all the hidden beauty of this extraordinary work will come to light." (March 6th, 1919)[12]

Finally, on March 27th Kodály gave a summary of Dohnányi's second series of piano concerts. He concluded by saying what has been referred to above:

"Considering the musical value of his fifteen concerts, not only the hours of delight come back to one's mind but also Dohnányi the educator appears before our eyes in full significance."[13]

Bartók, Dohnányi and Kodály made up the so-called musical directorate of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. György Lukács the philosopher was deputy commissar. Béla Balázs was in charge of the theatre. He was Kodály's friend and fellow student at Eötvös College. Béla Reinitz, who set Ady's poems to music, was responsible for musical issues. His tact and helpfulness are often noted in Bartók's letters and writings.[14]

The rule of the Hungarian Soviet Republic collapsed in August, 1919. Dohnányi was summoned home from his concert tour in Norway and sent on leave until the end of term. The management of the institution was entrusted to Géza Moravcsik, Szendy's man, an old opponent to Dohnányi. And then, as Bartók informed his mother in a letter (November 28th, 1919) "Mr Hubay has made a triumphal entry into the halls of the Music Academy (the 'Einzugs-marsch' needed was probably brought by himself) and is giving interviews to all kinds of papers".[15] The teachers of the Academy walked out in protest against Dohnányi's being sent on leave, but their solidarity was broken by Moravcsik's diplomacy and threats, and Dohnányi was left unaided. Antal Molnár gives a colourful description of these events in his memoirs.[16]

Once Dohnányi tried, unsuccessfully, to convince Hubay to cooperate with him at the time of his appointment as director. Hubay left, offended. Dohnányi did not let himself be convinced by Hubay's argument. He stood behind the other two members of the board. He was the first to protest with the ministerial counsellor, Gyula Wlassics that only Kodály of the three of them had been brought under disciplinary investigation.[17] Bartók soon followed his example.[18] Dohnányi managed to convince the committee to hear him first. He hoped to make Kodály's situation easier with his testimony.

Few documents tell as much about the musical life of the time as the minutes of this shameful investigation. Jenő Hubay said he would cooperate with Bartók and Dohnányi, but not with Kodály. On June 8th, 1920 he wrote a letter to the Minister claiming Kodály forced him to leave by treating him badly. "The destruction caused in the sensitive young minds by his compositions can not be compensated with his pedagogical activity the failure of which is also proven by the fact that last year, during their reign, the committee headed by Dohnányi failed almost all of Kodály's students of composition in the final examination."[19] This was Hubay's way of understanding the results of the examinations in composition, of which Dohnányi expressed his opinion to the committee as: "As for the effectiveness of teaching, I observe that several students failed the examination in composition last year because it was taken more seriously than before."[20]

It is not worth recounting the disappointing events of this period. The happier side of it convinces us about Dohnányi's exceptional activity and tireless work in organizing and making music. The concord among these three men seemed

to increase during these years. Dohnányi gave piano concerts, conducted and from the spring of 1919 on, performed Bartók's compositions as the chief conductor of the Philharmonic Society. It was probably from Berlin that Bartók sent his enthusiastic account of Dohnányi to the Musical Courier in New York. The account of March 20th, 1920 was published on April 29.[21] Bálint Vázsonyi begins his monograph about Dohnányi with this article. Bartók praised Dohnányi again in the Italian paper 'Il Pianoforte' in May 1921.[22]

Meanwhile Kodály continued giving musical reports, and taught even during his suspension so that later, returning to his department he could bring up superb generations of teachers and composers as a revival of Hungarian music.

These are the years when Bartók attracted the attention of the musical circles in Europe with his new compositions.

Their joint presence at the concert on November 19th, 1923 was to represent their togetherness and the undiminished energy of Hungarian music. This concert was organized for the 50th anniversary of the uniting of Buda and Pest. Pongrác Kacsóh, the supervisor of Budapest's music schools and composer of the musical comedy 'János vitéz', asked the three composers to write compositions for the anniversary celebration. This request was also intended as a conciliatory gesture to the music directorate of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. As is well-known, Ernő Dohnányi participated in the concert with his 'Festive Overture', Béla Bartók with his 'Dance Suite', and Zoltán Kodály with the 'Psalmus Hungaricus', called Psalm 55 at the time. This was a memorable day in the history of Hungarian music.[23]

Dohnányi had already conducted the Philharmonic Orchestra several times before he was appointed their chief conductor, and remained so until May, 1944, when the Society had to stop working because of the anti-Jewish law. According to the statistics of a jubilee volume published in 1943, Dohnányi conducted the orchestra 333 times,[24] and played 86 times at their concerts.[25] He conducted several new Hungarian compositions. Under his baton the orchestra played Bartók's 15 compositions 52 times, Kodály's 8 compositions 30 times. They also performed works by Hubay, Kósa and other contemporary composers.[26] The music of foreign contemporaries, such as Debussy, Ravel, de Falla, Honegger, Hindemith and Stravinsky were also played occasionally. During his conductorship, the orchestra made several guest appearances abroad, and played more and more often in the country. It became the organic part of Hungarian culture.

In 1928 Dohnányi was called back to the Music Academy to head the piano department and the department of composition. After Hubay's retirement he took over the direction of the Music Academy in July, 1934. He had been the musical director of the Hungarian Radio for several years. As a pianist and a conductor, he had successes all over the world, while Hungarians enjoyed his excellent performances of sonatas by Beethoven, or all the piano concertos by

Mozart on the radio. Several great talents had become famous musicians under his guidance at the Music Academy.

During the 1930s the political atmosphere grew tenser especially after Hitler had come to power. The danger of a new war and the threat of German influence was increasing. The leaders of Hungarian cultural life were struggling with the problems of Hungarian national existence and future. Bartók and Kodály were getting involved in political conflicts; they objected to the conservative efforts in an increasingly self-confident manner, using their works and Kodály organizing a movement out of his conception concerning choral singing and pedagogy based on folk-music. The situation and the atmosphere was beginning to resemble Hungary in the 1910s. Bartók gradually retired, Dohnányi became conspicuous in the political orientation of the intellectuals. His liberal largesse and his probity worthy of a gentleman was not looked at as an attitude clear enough by those seeking the solutions for the problems of our national existence more actively. Bartók and Kodály's appreciation of his musical activity and quality remained unchanged, and he made a gesture in return by trying to involve Hungarian folk-music in his compositions. With his brilliant sense of assimilation he found the best way and manner of enriching his style of composition.

Emil Szabó, who studied composition under the guidance of Kodály and took piano-lessons from Bartók, tells: "Once Bartók entered his class with a handwritten score in his hand. He sat by the piano, played it to the very end and then shut it. «At long last we have got a well scored Hungarian piece,» he remarked." That work was 'Ruralia Hungarica'. Dohnányi's relation to Hungarian folk-music, was not the same as Bartók's identifying himself with it, or Kodály's message about the vital questions of our national existence in his 'Peacock' Variations and choral works. There is no point in denying that the distance between Dohnányi and them was increasing.

Dohnányi was criticized more and more often, with or without reason. Because he played a significant role by his personal prestige in deciding important questions of Hungarian musical life, public opinion made him responsible for certain steps this or that group disliked. He did nothing against it. He did not even pay attention to it. Many were upset because his works were often on the radio. He also regularly conducted his own works on the concerts of the Philharmonic Orchestra. Many remarks were made on the mistakes he made when playing the piano, and he became famous for his splendid improvisations, which were sometimes praised and at other times mentioned disapprovingly. All this was conspicuous in the changing musical environment, in which the technical precision suitable for recording had become the measure of the musical interpretations' quality. The comparisons with Bartók's perfect playing did not fail to be made, either.

All those social mechanisms began functioning which make differences degenerate into conflicts in a tense atmosphere and which use that is different from the expected for indictment.

Dohnányi did his duty as well as he could, and as he should. He resigned from the presidency of the Music Academy because of György Faragó's dismissal, and protested against the conservative political currents in other ways as well. But finally the Hungarian Nazi regime came in November 1944. Against his will and convictions, with the same solidarity rooted in his gentlemen's probity that he had shown when standing behind Bartók and Kodály, he agreed to join Ede Zathureczky at a reception given by Szálasi for the artist-intellectuals. It is said he was left all alone in the second of the unfortunate handshake, in the press photographer's flash, keeping his promise by all means. His alleged fault was made worse by his leaving the country for the reason that he was worried about his family.

This was enough for some to accuse him groundlessly of being a war criminal. In spite of the disclaimer of the Hungarian government, false accusation embittered his later years. There is no protection, as Socrates put it, against whispering malevolence.

Domokos Kosáry, president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, talked about how Kossuth and Görgey occasionally were played off against each other in political skirmishes, and how Görgey was now a traitor, then an excellent, wise commander according to the change of political regimes. Listening to his presentation I could not help drawing a parallel between Görgey and Dohnányi. It also occurred to me that about 1906 the musical circles in Paris and their press tried to turn Debussy and Ravel against each other by proclaiming now one, then the other the real composer. Romain Rolland would probably have said that although neither was really close to him — we know that he was an adherent of the Schola Cantorum — he did not understand why a nation having two such outstanding composers had to choose between them.

Well we have at least three, and perhaps enough time has passed in our history that we should not feel compelled to make a choice.

Notes

1. Bálint Vázsonyi, *Dohnányi Ernő*. Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1971 (=Vázsonyi 71) p. 43.
2. *Ibid.* p. 44.
3. József Ujfalussy, *Kodály Zoltán, a tudós* (Zoltán Kodály the scholar). In: A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és Irodalomtudományok Osztályának közleményei, XXXIII. 1–4. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1982, pp. 47–48.
4. *Bartók Béla levelei* (Béla Bartók's letters) edited by János Demény. Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1976, p. 66. (=Bartók lev. 76)

5. Vázsonyi 71, pp. 86–88. Cf. Sándor Kovács: *Dohnányi Ernő.* Művészete és pedagógiai nézetei (Ernő Dohnányi: His art and his pedagogical views). In: A Liszt Ferenc Zeneművészeti Főiskola 100 éve. Dokumentumok, tanulmányok, emlékezések (100 years of the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music. Edited by József Ujfalussy). Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1977, pp. 80–91.
6. Vázsonyi 71, pp. 80–91.
7. Melinda Berlász: *Hangversenyélet a fővárosban és környékén* (Musical life in the capital and its environs). In: Dokumentumok a Magyar Tanácsköztársaság zenei életéből (Documents about the musical life during the Hungarian Soviet Republic). Edited by József Ujfalussy. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1973, pp. 164–165 and pp. 458–459. (=Dokumentumok 19)
8. Zoltán Kodály, *Visszatekintés* (Reminiscence). Összegyűjtött írások, beszédek, nyilatkozatok (Collected writings, speeches and statements). Edited by Ferenc Bónis. Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 1964, Vol. 2, pp. 340–341.
9. *Ibid.* p. 345.
10. *Ibid.* p. 346.
11. *Ibid.* p. 351.
12. *Ibid.* p. 353.
13. *Ibid.* p. 354.
14. Bartók lev. 76. p. 253. *Bartók breviárium (levelek, írások, dokumentumok)* (A Bartók anthology; letters, writings and documents). Compiled and the foreword written by József Ujfalussy. Edited by Vera Lampert. Zeneműkiadó, Budapest, 2/1974, p. 280.
15. Bartók lev. 76. p. 255.
16. Antal Molnár, *Tanári sztrájk a Zeneművészeti Főiskolán* (Professors' strike at the Music Academy). In: *Magamról, másokról* (About myself and other people). Gondolat, Budapest, 1974, pp. 124–128.
17. Vázsonyi 71., pp. 100–101; Dokumentumok 19., p. 532–533.
18. Bartók lev. 76. p. 257.; Dokumentumok 19., p. 544.
19. Dokumentumok 19., pp. 591–592
20. *Ibid.* p. 524.
21. József Ujfalussy, *Bartók Béla.* Gondolat, Budapest, 1976, pp. 217–218. (=Ujfalussy 3/76)
22. Béla Bartók, *Budapesti levél* (Letter of Budapest), I. (translated by Éva Keményfy) A Filharmóniai Társaság emlékkönyve 90 éves jubileuma alkalmából (Memorial book in honour of the 90th anniversary of the Philharmonic Society). Written and the historical part prepared for publication by Béla Csuka. Budapest, 1943.
23. Ujfalussy 3/76., pp. 256–257.
24. *Kilenc évtized a magyar zeneművészet szolgálatában* (Nine decades at the service of Hungarian music). A Filharmóniai Társaság emlékkönyve 90 éves jubileuma alkalmából (Memorial book in honour of the 90th anniversary of the Philharmonic Society). p. 51.
25. *Ibid.* p. 145.
26. *Ibid.* p. 51.

LITERATURGESCHICHTE ALS FIKTION? DER FORSCHUNGSSTAND IM PROBLEMKREIS „UNGARISCHE AVANTGARDELITERATUR" ENDE DER 60ER, ANFANG DER 70ER JAHRE

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1. Die ungarische literarische Avantgarde in der Literaturwissenschaft

Vielleicht war es die Fügung des Schicksals, vielleicht einfach jene Alltäglichkeit, wonach einstige persönliche Nahverhältnisse oft in unversöhnlicher Abneigung enden mußten: Es war József Révai (1898–1959), einstiger Mitarbeiter Kassáks, Avantgardist der ersten Stunde (1915–1917), der nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg als Stalinist die klassische Moderne und die Avantgarde als „Produkte bourgeoiser Dekadenz" aus der ungarischen Literaturgeschichte verbannte. Er bestimmte sein „plebejisch-revolutionäres" Konstrukt als Literaturgeschichte, das für sehr viele Leute unannehmbar war und nach dem Volksaufstand 1956 unverzüglich korrigiert werden sollte. Da der Volksaufstand aber von der Sowjetarmee niedergeschlagen wurde, ging die Korrektur recht langsam voran. Vereinfachend gesagt, konnte im ersten Jahrzehnt nach 1956 die Moderne, im zweiten Jahrzehnt die Avantgarde dem staunenden und der ständigen Manipulationen überdrüssigen Publikum vorgestellt werden. Mich auf die Avantgarde beschränkend, will ich im folgenden keinen Überblick über allgemeine Entwicklungstendenzen oder Charakteristika der ungarischen Literaturwissenschaft im fraglichen Zeitabschnitt bieten. Die versuchte Beschreibung des Forschungsstandes auf dem Gebiet der ungarischen literarischen Avantgarde dürfte auch nicht so ohne weiteres als symptomatisch für das Ganze der ungarischen Literaturwissenschaft angesehen werden: Bei diesem Teilgebiet handelt es sich um ein besonders problematisches Segment von ihr.

Ende der 60er, Anfang der 70er Jahre geschahen wichtige Dinge. Der Mentor der ungarischen literarischen Avantgarde, Lajos Kassák (1887–1967) erfährt in seinen letzten Lebensjahren jene Ehrungen, die ihm zweifelsohne gebührt haben. Er wird mit einem hohen Literaturpreis ausgezeichnet, sein bildnerisches Werk darf sowohl in Ungarn als auch im Ausland ausgestellt werden, es ist ihm beschieden, noch in die Druckfahnen der ersten Monographie seit 1924 Einblick nehmen zu dürfen, die sich mit seinem Gesamtwerk beschäftigt – ihr Erscheinen erlebt er nicht mehr.[1] Ziel dieser Monographie war (ganz im Sinne Kassáks) die Beweisführung, daß die Avantgarde eine wesentlich wichtigere Rolle in der

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Gesamtheit der ungarischen Literaturentwicklung gespielt hat, als bis dato angenommen. Mehrere ungarische Zeitschriften sowie die in Paris erscheindende experimentelle ungarische Zeitschrift *Magyar Műhely* gaben zu seinem achtzigsten Geburtstag Kassák-Nummern heraus (eine Festschrift wurde Kassák bereits 1947 anläßlich seines sechzigsten Geburtstages gewidmet), es wurde ihm versprochen, eine seiner historischen Avantgarde-Blätter in Faksimile nachzudrucken. Das eindruckvollste dieser Blätter (*Ma* [Heute] 1916–1925) ist tatsächlich 1970 beim Budapester Akademie-Verlag in vollem Umfang erschienen. Ich referiere die Ehrung Kassáks und seines Lebenswerkes deswegen so ausführlich, weil sie paradigmatische Bedeutung hatte – oder hätte haben sollen –; wurde doch der Name Kassáks im Ungarischen beinahe als Synonym des Ausdrucks „Avantgarde" gebraucht. Allerdings wurde „Avantgarde" zu dieser Zeit sowohl als Bezeichnung einer *Bewegung* (mithin als Weltanschauung, Gesinnung) als auch als Bezeichnung einer *Kunstrichtung* (im Sinne eines Stils, einer Technik) verstanden. Um die Beschaffenheit jener Wegstrecke anzudeuten, die die Forschung auf diesem Gebiet zu beschreiten hatte, sei nur soviel erwähnt, daß es noch im Jahre 1964 im Institut für Literaturwissenschaft der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften eine Kassák-Session eigens zur Klärung der Frage veranstaltet werden mußte, ob Kassák ein Verräter der Arbeiterklasse, ein bürgerlicher Dekadenzler, ein simpler Opportunist, je nach Lust und Laune Mitläufer linker und rechter Bewegungen, oder gar ein „sozialistischer Arbeiterschriftsteller" gewesen sei. Die genaue Beantwortung dieser Frage, die Definition der Gesinnung Kassáks war deswegen unumgänglich, weil alles weitere Folge der Beschaffenheit dieser Antwort war: Seine literaturhistorische und -kritische Bewertung, die Bemessung seiner Publikationsmöglichkeiten (beispielsweise Belletristik ja, Essayistik je nachdem, Publizistik nein), der Rahmen seiner öffentlichen Auftritte (von der Clubatmosphäre bis zum Radioauftritt), ja vielleicht die Gratiszuteilung einer Seniorenjahreskarte für die öffentlichen Verkehrsmittel in Budapest. Die beste Note: Er sei ein sozialistischer Arbeiterschriftsteller gewesen, konnte ihm nicht zugeteilt werden, indes war auch die zweitbeste – er sei utopischer Sozialist und im Grunde eine ehrliche Haut gewesen – noch gut genug, um die oben skizzierten positiven Auswirkungen herbeizuführen. In der Frage der *Ehrlichkeit* Kassáks herrschte denn auch weitgehend Übereinstimmung zwischen Schriftstellern und Literaturwissenschaftlern (György Lukács hielt ihn allerdings auch noch 1969 für einen „kleinbürgerlichen Kompromißler", der Schriftsteller István Vas wies die Behauptung zurück[2]), während über die kunsthistorische und über die literaturgeschichtliche Bewertung der Avantgarde die Meinungsbildung auf breiterer Basis erst um 1968 begann. Dem Zustandekommen des nun immer deutlicher vernehmbareren Diskurses über die Avantgarde war die *Legalisierung des Forschungsgegenstandes* vorausgegangen – zweifellos ein Verdienst der Akademie.

Auch für die ungarische Avantgarde-Forschung hatte das Jahr 1968, die mit dieser Jahreszahl verbundene und bezeichnete Ideologie entscheidende Bedeutung. Es konnten – voneinander unabhängig – in Südungarn, in Szeged, und in der angrenzenden Wojwodina an zwei Universitäten solche Denkbahnen für die Forschung eröffnet werden, die anderswo offenbar unvorstellbar waren. Der Verfasser der ersten Kassák-Monographie nach 1945, der in der Wojwodina lebende Literaturwissenschaftler Imre Bori arbeitete seinerzeit unter wesentlich günstigeren und geistig anregenderen Bedingungen, als die meisten seiner ungarländischen Kollegen. Er verfügte in der modernistischen Literatur- und Kunstzeitschrift *Új Symposion* in Novi Sad (Újvidék, Neusatz) über ein freies Forum zur Publikation (er veröffentlichte hier 1965 seine ersten Kassák-Aufsätze), und es stand ihm ein weltoffener Mitarbeiterstab aus begabten jungen Leuten zur Verfügung, der – um die Zeitschrift und um den Lehrstuhl für Ungarische Philologie gruppiert – den gesamten geistigen Aufruhr im Westen ohne Umwege und Verzögerungen ins ungarische Kulturleben Jugoslawiens übertragen hat. An der philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Szeged wiederum initiierten junge Dozenten 1968 eine Konferenz[3], die die Formulierung der Frage nach der Anwendbarkeit solcher, in der sozialistischen Literaturwissenschaft damals eher verpönten Methoden ermöglichte, wie Strukturalismus, Hermeneutik und Semiotik.

Die wesentlichsten Merkmale der Fragenkreise zusammenfassend:

Bori ging es um die Betonung der Großartigkeit der ungarischen literarischen Avantgarde, die in der Feststellung gipfelte, sie sei zumindest in der Zeit zwischen 1915 und 1935 *wirkungsmächtiger* gewesen, als die Moderne.

Dem Institut für Literaturwissenschaft der Akademie ging es im wesentlichen um die Beschreibung der ungarischen Avantgardeliteratur als eine Untergattung der *sozialistischen Literatur*. Die Ergebnisse der Forscherteams wurden jahrzehntelang gesammelt und in der Form riesiger Thesauri ediert.[4] Viel Geld und Energie wurde auch in die Mitarbeit an solchen repräsentativen Sammelwerken des In- und Auslandes investiert, die allein wegen ihrer Ausmaße – sagen wir – ehrfurchterregend sind.[5]

Der „Schule von Szeged" (die Gründungsmitglieder Árpád Bernáth, Károly Csúri und Zoltán Kanyó wurden dabei ab Ende der 70er Jahre von einigen Budapester Literaturwissenschaftlern unterstützt) ging es um die Ausarbeitung möglicher bzw. anwendbarer *Forschungsmethoden.*

Dem bisweilen nicht erwähnten Literaten und Literaturkritiker György Rónay ging es schließlich (im Einklang mit einigen anderen Forschern, wie Aladár Komlós oder Albert Gyergyai) hauptsächlich um die *Qualität* der Werke der ungarischen literarischen Avantgarde. Rónay, versierter Kenner der Weltliteratur, der das Werk Kassáks oft kommentiert, und schließlich die zweite Kassák-Monographie verfaßt hat,[6] vertrat bereits seit seiner ersten großen

Abhandlung 1959 zum Thema[7] einen Bori entgegengesetzten Standpunkt. Nach der fundierten und zu ihrer Zeit (jedenfalls für Insiderkreise) maßgeblichen Ansicht dieser nicht-marxistischen Wissenschaftler-, Kritiker- und Literatengruppe sei die Moderne sowohl nach qualitativen als auch nach quantitativen Kriterien geurteilt, eine wesentlichere und fruchtbarere literarische Strömung der ungarischen Literatur im 20. Jahrhundert gewesen, als die Avantgarde. Es sollte noch einmal betont werden, daß sie allesamt nichts gegen die Avantgarde (als Stil, als Technik) einzuwenden hatten, und daß sie allesamt wohlwollende Kritiker Kassáks waren, was freilich nichts daran änderte, daß ihnen sowohl der (kommunistische) Bewegungscharakter als auch die künstlerischen wie gesellschaftlichen Erlösungs- und Omnipotenzansprüche der Avantgarde wenig Behagen bereitet haben. Im Anspruch Boris, die „klassische" Avantgarde radikal aufwerten zu wollen, müssen sie zweifellos etwas unangenehm Neoavantgardistisches gesehen haben.

Literaturtheoretische Ansätze konnten in der ungarischen Literaturwissenschaft zu dieser Zeit und für diesen Themenkreis – wie sie etwa im Zuge der antiautoritären Studentenbewegung der Bremer Literaturwissenschaftler Peter Bürger entwickelt hat[8] – nicht formuliert werden, denn die (zu dieser Zeit notwendig politische) Literaturtheorie gehörte zur Domäne der sozialistischen Kultur- und Wissenschaftspolitik, und diese war keine Spielwiese für Freigeister. Es durften zwar theoretische Überlegungen in solchen Disziplinen angestellt werden, die für *harmlos* galten (wie die vergleichende Literaturwissenschaft; später dann auch der Strukturalismus), angesichts jener atavistischen Abscheu indes, die selbst behäbige Gulaschkommunisten bei der Erwähnung der historischen Avantgarde verspürten und zeigten, wurden junge Forscher auch kaum zur Mitarbeit auf diesem Gebiet ermutigt. Der Grund dieser Abscheu ist leicht benannt. Sie ist gleichaltrig mit dem Kommunismus in Ungarn, und wurde durch die beharrliche Weigerung Kassáks ausgelöst, seine Kunst und Literatur parteipolitischen Interessen unterzuordnen (der Künstler – meinte Kassák – sei einem Forscher, einem Wissenschaftler ähnlich, während die Parteipolitiker eher Lehrern ähnelten, die ihren Schülern das Einmaleins einbleuen müßten). Dieser seiner elitären, „aktivistischen" Einstellung, die er bis zu seinem Lebensende bewahrt hat, verdankte Kassák die meisten Unannehmlichkeiten seiner Laufbahn von der ersten Spaltung seiner Bewegung, dem 1917er Auszug der (orthodoxen) kommunistischen Literaten aus dem Ma-Kreis angefangen bis zu der Tatsache, daß seine in der Zwischenkriegszeit veröffentlichte Autobiographie, der Autobiographie von Gorkij ähnlich ein Monumentalwerk, bis Mitte der 80er Jahre nur um entscheidende Passagen gekürzt erscheinen durfte.

2. Die literaturhistorischen Werke und ihre kritische Rezeption

Vor dieser stark politisch verfärbten Folie möchte ich zunächst die Aufnahme und die Wirkung der Gemeinschaftsarbeit von Imre Bori und Éva Körner im Jahre 1967 darstellen. Es folgt die Beschreibung der kritischen Rezeption der literaturgeschichtlichen „Trilogie" von Imre Bori (A magyar irodalmi avantgarde I–III. [Die ungarische literarische Avantgarde Bd. 1–3.])[9] und schließlich sollen die von der postum erschienenen „Geschichte der Kunstismen" von Kassák[10] ausgelösten Reaktionen nachgezeichnet werden.

Bori, der das belletristische Werk Kassáks betreute (Éva Körners Darstellung des bildnerischen Kassák-Oeuvres soll an dieser Stelle nicht behandelt werden), hat 1967 mit der Publikation bei einem ungarischen Verlag die Möglichkeit gehabt, über die engen Grenzen der Fachwelt hinaus zu einem breiteren Publikum sprechen zu dürfen. Von seiner 1969–1971 beim Neusatzer Forum-Verlag erschienenen „Trilogie" sind hingegen nur wenige Exemplare nach Ungarn gelangt, *die (als Werke bedenklichen Inhaltes) selbst in den Bibliotheken nicht frei zugänglich waren.* Bori nutzte die Gelegenheit, um seinen Standpunkt unmißverständlich klarzumachen: „Es könnte nur durch eine Analyse der ungarischen Avantgarde und der ungarischen Dichtung im zwanzigsten Jahrhundert erläutert werden – schrieb er 1967 – weshalb der Avantgardismus und das neue Dichtungsideal einzig bei Kassák eine dauerhafte Wirkung zeitigten, und weshalb sie nicht ins literarische Allgemeinbewußtsein verankert werden konnten. Die Geschichte der modernen [ungarischen P.D.] Lyrik fängt eigentlich mit dem Auftritt von Lajos Kassák an; seine Zeitschriften, *A Tett* und *Ma* erfüllten die gleiche Rolle bei der Entdeckung von Begabungen und bei der Herausbildung ihrer ästhetischen Auffassung, wie sie die Zeitschrift *Nyugat* zur Zeit ihrer Anfänge [in etwa zw. 1908 und 1918 P.D.] gespielt hat."

Mit der gleichen Unmißverständlichkeit hielt ihm György Rónay entgegen, daß sowohl die politischen Verhältnisse in Ungarn der Zwischenkriegszeit, der Allgemeinzustand der ungarischen Gesellschaft als auch die Struktur der zeitgenössischen ungarischen Literatur die an sich und überall provokativen avantgardistischen Versuche in einem besonders krassen Licht als Kuriositäten, als Hirngespinste erscheinen ließen, die kaum jemanden zur Anerkennung oder zur Nachahmung animiert haben. Darüber hinaus habe die Avantgarde nicht im mindesten (weder in der *Langue*, noch in der *Parole*; weder im *Dichtungsideal* noch in der *Mentalität*) an die literarische Tradition anknüpfen können: Nicht deswegen, weil sie es überhaupt nicht gewollt hätte, eher deswegen, weil sie (gleichsam als „Geburtsfehler") keine Anknüpfungspunkte gefunden hat. Diese Art der Literatur sei in Ungarn immer „fremd" geblieben. Was nun Boris Behauptung betrifft – fuhr Rónay fort – daß die experimentellen Kassák-Blätter

eine gleich wichtige Rolle gespielt hätten, wie die Zeitschrift *Nyugat*, so muß diese als eine mehr als gewagte Hypothese bezeichnet werden, solange Bori sie nicht durch gewichtige Werke untermauern kann.[11] Interessant an der Hypothese Boris und an der Kritik Rónays scheint die Tatsache zu sein, daß sie beide die literaturgeschichtliche Bedeutung der Avantgarde an ihrem Verhältnis zur „klassischen" Moderne (und vice versa) aufhängen. Letzten Endes wird dadurch der historische Kampf Moderne – Avantgarde (nach einer „Pause" zwischen etwa 1930 und 1970) um rund vierzig Jahre (bis in ihre Zeit) verlängert – und gewissermaßen auch mit der gleichen historischen Argumentation fortgeführt.

Genau die gleiche Frage steht im Mittelpunkt der Ausführungen von Miklós Béládi, eines anderen namhaften Kassák-Kritikers. „*A Tett* und *Ma* – schrieb Béládi – und ihre Mitarbeiter haben tatsächlich Beträchtliches für die Entwicklung der literaririschen Kultur getan: Indes haben sie kaum Werke vorzuweisen, und an wirklichen Künstlern, außer dem einen Kassák, gar niemanden."[12] Von Béládi wird freilich eine zweite zeitgenössische Streitfrage thematisiert, die sich im folgenden als eine Frage von zentraler Bedeutung erweisen sollte, und die dann auch den Literaturwissenschaftler Miklós Szabolcsi beschäftigt hat: der Konstruktivismus.[13] Der Erfolg eines Versuchs, einen tatsächlichen und maßgeblichen Einfluß des Konstruktivismus in der Literatur belegen zu können, wurde sowohl von Béládi 1968 als auch von Szabolcsi 1975 entschieden bezweifelt. Offenbar hatte der Ausdruck „Konstruktivismus" um 1970 nur zwei mögliche Bedeutungen in der ungarischen Literaturwissenschaft. Er muß zum einen als Synonym (oder gewissermaßen als „Deckname") des Kommunismus, der kommunistischen Weltanschauung, zum anderen als „Stilrichtung in der bildenden Kunst" gegolten haben – keine der beiden Bedeutungen ergaben in Verbindung mit dem Schrifttum Kassáks Sinn. Auch hierin zeigt sich die ungeheure Langlebigkeit avantgardistischer Topoi. Denn es nützt tatsächlich wenig, „Konstruktivismus" in engem Sinn auf die Dichtung von Kassák beziehen zu wollen: Faßt man den Begriff allerdings im Sinne Kassáks als Dekonstruktions- und Konstruktions*prinzip* auf, so zeigt er sich tatsächlich als zentrale Kategorie der Textkonstruktion zumindest in seinen Számozott költemények [Numerierten Gedichten 1 – 100]. Kurz umrissen geht es darum, daß um 1920 die Fortsetzung sowohl der aktivistischen Jubeldichtung als auch des „Trauergesanges" (Kassák: Máglyák énekelnek [Scheiterhaufen singen], Wien 1920) unmöglich wurden. Es ging nun in den folgenden fünf-sechs Jahren bis zur Rezeption des Surrealismus durch die ungarische literarische Avantgarde darum, neue Ausdrucksformen zu finden. Als naheliegendste Lösung bot sich der Dadaismus (mit seinen agitativ-politischen und seinen bürgerschreckenden Zweigen) an; einige ungarische Avantgarde-Literaten entwickelten eine Art auratische, „gefühlvolle" Dichtung in der Nähe der Wortmagie – und es gab den *dritten Weg* von Kassák. Kassák wollte von Anfang an den *Jungarbeiter* lehren, ihm beibringen,

wie auf eine autodidaktische Weise Struktur und Funktionsmechanismen der Neuen Welt erfaßt werden können – durch das Medium der Kunst vermittelt. Als ihm nun (wegen der Niederschlagung der Ungarischen Räterepublik 1919) der Jubelton genommen wurde, ist er eben nicht – wie von der „sozialistischen" Forschung angenommen – der Lethargie und der Verzweiflung verfallen, sondern hat nur radikal die Schaffensmethode gewechselt. In seinen Numerierten Gedichten arbeitete er mit der sog. digital-analogen Methode. Er zerkleinerte auf eine eigenmächtige und eng auf seinen eigenen Bewußtseinstand, auf seine charakteristische Weltsicht bezogene Art und Weise alle komplexen Bewußtseinsinhalte in ihre kleinstmöglichen Bestandteile, um dann mit Hilfe der Analogiebildung sehr komplexe Bedeutungen zu produzieren. Diese wurden dann von ihm nach einem streng festgelegtem Schema montiert, und können vom Leser aufgrund des Studiums der Digitalisierung wie der Analogiebildung „dekodiert" werden. Kassák meinte, seine Numerierten Gedichte quasi nach der Ford-Methode, bzw. nach den Konstruktionsprinzipien der Wolkenkratzer hergestellt zu haben, die aus dem Geist der „Neuen Welt" entstanden sind, und diese in allen ihren Einzelheiten auch getreu wiedergaben: Das hat er mit Konstruktivismus gemeint (s. dazu Deréky, Pál: Ungarische Avantgarde - Dichtung in Wien 1920 – 1926 Wien/ Köln/Weimar: Böhlau, 1991, S. 114 – 116: die Analyse des Gedichtes Nr. 70).

Pál Miklós[14] lobte Bori für die seinerzeit überhaupt nicht selbstverständliche Methode, innerhalb der literaturwissenschaftlichen Grenzen gearbeitet zu haben. Miklós kritisierte allerdings gravierende, methodologische Schwächen der literaturwissenschaftlichen Konzeption Boris die ungarische Avantgardeliteratur betreffend: „Die wissenschaftliche Textdeskription hat keine Tradition in unserer Literaturwissenschaft. Die ungarische Literaturkritik hat zur Lösung solcher Aufgaben beinahe ausschließlich jene Methode verwendet, die wir mit der Bezeichnung 'Primat des subjektiven Urteils' charakterisieren könnten. [...] Auch die textzentrische und auf immanente Fragen beschränkte Deskription kann nicht auf jede Korrespondenz mit den äußeren Bezugssystemen verzichten. Sie wird jenem dieser Bezugssysteme den Vorzug geben, dessen Objektivitätsgrad höher ist [...]. Nun geht Bori gewöhnlich von zusammenfassenden und im Grunde spontanen Urteilen aus (die nicht anhand von Analyse und Beweisführung gebildet wurden) und illustriert sie reichlich mit Textbeispielen. Seine Deskription ist daher keine Deskription, nur ihre Nachahmung [...]: Bori hat weder außen noch innen ein Bezugssystem, das die Objektivität innerhalb des Textes garantieren könnte."

Auch Mihály Sükösd[15] und Ernő Taxner-Tóth[16] weisen (wegen der mangelnden Stringenz seiner Beweisführung) Boris Versuch, die Avantgarde gegenüber der Moderne literaturgeschichtlich aufwerten zu wollen, mit aller Entschiedenheit zurück.

In den Jahren 1969–1971 ging Bori daran, die historische Existenz einer ungarischen literarischen Avantgarde um Kassák wissenschaftlich nachzuweisen. Die Aufgabe war schwierig, denn es gab keinen Ismus, den man – dem italienischen/russischen Futurismus, dem deutschen Expressionismus oder dem französischen Surrealismus ähnlich – als ausschließlich oder vorwiegend ungarischen Ismus hätte bezeichnen können, um ihn gleichsam als Gerüst für den Bau zu verwenden. Es gab zwar einen ungarischen „Aktivismus" und „Konstruktivismus": Auf die Schwierigkeiten bezüglich des zweiten wurde indes weiter oben bereits hingewiesen, und bei dem Versuch einer adäquaten Beschreibung des ungarischen Aktivismus haben sich ähnliche Probleme ergeben. Daher hat Bori – völlig zu Recht – mit dem Einfluß *aller gängigen* Ismen auf die ungarische Literaturentwicklung gerechnet. Nun hätte er aber im Falle eines jeden Ismus recht deutlich definieren müssen, was übernommen wurde, und wie die Übernahme im Ungarischen dann ausgesehen hat – er hätte letzten Endes zumindest eine skizzenhafte Poetik aller Ismen erstellen müssen: Eine damals schier unlösbare Aufgabe, ist doch die erste „moderne" Poetik eines Ismus (deren man in Mitteleuropa habhaft werden konnte) meines Wissens erst im Jahre 1971 erschienen.[17]

Die Literaturkritik setzte die Auseinandersetzung über Boris Thesen beim Erscheinen des ersten Bandes der Trilogie – Die Literatur des ungarischen Futurismus, Expressionismus und Dadaismus – an jener Stelle fort, an der sie sie drei Jahre früher abgebrochen hat. Marxistische wie nicht-marxistische Kritiker warfen ihm erneut widerrechtliche Inbesitznahme großer Teile der Moderne vor und betonten, daß all jene Werke der ungarischen Avantgarde-Literatur, die „künstlerisch wertvoll" seien, in einer einzigen Anthologie untergebracht werden könnten. Die überwiegende Mehrzahl der Arbeiten, die zur Avantgarde gerechnet werden, seien allerdings „künstlerisch wertlose" Machwerke. Darüber hinaus würde jene Wirkung, die die Avantgarde auf Künstler und Werke der ungarischen Moderne ausgeübt haben soll, maßlos überschätzt. Dieser Konsens der ungarischen Literaturkritik und Literaturwissenschaft in der Ablehnung Boris Konzeption der Avantgarde-Literatur und letzten Endes der gesamten Avantgarde-Tradition, der sich um 1970 abzuzeichnen begann, ist bemerkenswert, und bedarf einer Erklärung. Hierbei müssen weniger die „Verteidiger der Moderne" unter die Lupe genommen werden, denn ihre Argumentation unterscheidet sich im wesentlichen nur dadurch von der 1916er Argumentation von Babits (wegen der Ich-Dissimilation, der Desemiotisierung und der Montage sei das Avantgarde-Werk keinem WERK und der Avantgarde-Künstler keinem KÜNSTLER ähnlich), daß sie um jene Meisterwerke der Avantgarde-Weltliteratur wußten, die inzwischen entstanden sind. Es sollte eher die Auffassung der Neomarxisten skizziert werden, denn überraschenderweise un-

terscheidet sie sich ebenfalls kaum von jener der Altmarxisten in den 20er Jahren. Schien es den Aposteln der Moderne ein Frevel zu sein, avantgardistische Dichtwerke in einem Atemzug mit Werken von Babits oder Kosztolányi – Klassiker der Moderne – zu nennen, so waren die Neomarxisten ob Boris Frevel, Kassáks *Weltanschauung* nicht gebührend kritisiert zu haben, genauso erzürnt. Die Überschrift der Kritik von Sándor Radnóti „Parttalan avantgardizmus" [Uferloser Avantgardismus][18] scheint auf dem ersten Blick eine Argumentation zugunsten der Moderne zu betiteln: Bori weite den Begriff der Avantgarde ins Uferlose aus, da er eigentlich jedem bedeutenden Dichter oder Schriftsteller der Zwischenkriegszeit (meist zu Unrecht) eine avantgardistische Phase bescheinigte – oder dem Betroffenen zumindest die Verfasserschaft avantgardistischer Werke attestierte. Der junge Sándor Radnóti stellte indes die Frage: „Was ist Avantgarde?" aus einem weltanschaulichen Interesse und beantwortete sie gleich: „Die Avantgarde ist eine Kategorie von Verhaltenstypen. Eine Kategorie intellektueller Verhaltensmuster (*Intellektuelle* ist nicht die Bezeichnung einer engen Gesellschaftsschicht, sondern die Bezeichnung für jene Leute, die auch das Wort als Tat verstehen)." Bori machte sich des uferlosen Avantgardismus schuldig, da er eine eindeutige Parteinahme, die eindeutige weltanschauliche Kritik an Kassák unterlassen hat. „Mir ist die Wahl der kommunistischen Avantgarde-Künstler sympathischer – schrieb Radnóti –, als das erhabene Ausweichen von Kassák und seiner Gruppe vor jedem praxisnahen, politischen Handeln." Es ist hochinteressant, daß Radnóti hier jene von Lukács genau ein halbes Jahrhundert (1919–1969) vertretene Argumentationslinie um weitere zwei Jahre verlängert, die den Avantgardisten (und Kassák im besonderen) wegen ihrer falschen Weltanschauung das Zeug zum wirklich bedeutenden Literaten abspricht. Radnótis Argumentation blieb nicht unwidersprochen, Péter Pór antwortete ihm in der nämlichen Valóság-Nummer.[19] Seine Aussagen gipfelten allerdings in der Feststellung, daß Bori – im Gegensatz zu früheren Annahmen – Moderne und Avantgarde nicht gegeneinander ausspielt, sondern miteinander bewußt vermischt hat: Er usurpierte große Teile der Moderne für die Avantgarde, um die Avantgarde dadurch aufzuwerten. Pór bezichtigte Bori der *Ahistorizität*: „Trotz der sorgfältig chronologischen Abfolge muß die Sichtweise des Bori-Werkes [wegen der „unbestreitbaren Priorität" der Moderne P.D.] als pseudohistorisch bezeichnet werden; die Bewegung des literarischen Prozesses als eine Ganzheit sieht Bori nicht, er verfolgt bloß die historische Entwicklung eines mehr oder minder fiktiven, nur für eine völlig in sich geschlossene Gruppe von Künstlern und Kunstwerken gültigen Prozesses, bzw. unterläßt er es, die eklatante Disparität der beiden Entwicklungen anzuzeigen."

Hier, in der Folge des Erscheinens des ersten Bandes von Boris „Trilogie" zeigte sich das Hauptproblem der Avantgarde-Forschung der 70er Jahre bereits deutlich:

jeder neue Annäherungsversuch an die Avantgarde wird als *ahistorisch* und/oder als *fiktional, als Wunschvorstellung* bezeichnet, sei es deswegen, weil die Avantgarde-Künstler einer FALSCHEN WELTANSCHAUUNG, sei es weil sie einer FALSCHEN SCHAFFENSMETHODE gehuldigt haben. Die richtige Weltanschauung haben die Kommunisten und die richtige Schaffensmethode die Vertreter der Moderne gehabt (da es ja – klarerweise – jeweils nur *eine* richtige Weltanschauung und *einen* richtigen Stil geben könne). Mit diesem Konsens sollte die wahnwitzig scheinende Aufwertung der Avantgarde durch Bori auf breiter Front zurückgewiesen werden. Der Übereinstimmung war eine Lebensdauer von nicht ganz zwei Jahrzehnten beschieden: Sie hat sich teilweise mit dem Zerfall des Systems in nichts aufgelöst, und teilweise wurde sie durch die Postmoderne überholt. Diese verwendete die Begriffe „Moderne" wie „Avantgarde" zur Bezeichnung der Kunst und der Literatur längst vergangener Epochen, die gegeneinander auszuspielen es nicht mehr sinnvoll erscheinen ließ.[20]

3. Kassák: Die Geschichte der Ismen

Es fand im Laufe der bisherigen Ausführungen mehrmals Erwähnung, daß die Literaturkritik nach der bedingten Freigabe des Forschungsgegenstandes durch die Wissenschaftspolitik die Argumentationslinien der Zwischenkriegszeit in vielen Belangen nahtlos fortzusetzen schien. Diese Beobachtung wird auch durch die kritische Rezeption der Ismengeschichte Kassáks bestätigt, die den vorläufigen Abschluß und die Krönung der Debatten Ende der 60er, Anfang der 70er Jahre bildete. Es handelt sich hierbei um ein apologetisches Werk, das in allen seinen Teilen von der (internationalen) Avantgarde-Mentalität der Zwischenkriegszeit geprägt wurde. Kassáks Geschichte der Ismen erinnert als Apologie am ehesten an die in den Jahren 1940–1945 im englischen Exil entstandene Arbeit Kurt Schwitters': *Europäische Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (in: Friedhelm Lach [Hrsg.]: Kurt Schwitters – Das literarische Werk Bd. 5. Köln: DuMont, 1981. 379–384. Hören wir hinein in die Schwitters-Abhandlung: Auch Kassák redet in seiner Geschichte der Ismen (was den ungarischen Teil betrifft) in diesem leicht gekränkten Tonfall. „Wie ist nun die Situation in den totalitären Staaten? In Deutschland wie in Rußland sagt man: 'Vor einigen Jahrzehnten war der Baum der Kunst vor unserem Fenster kleiner. Wir hatten eine schönere Aussicht und liebten diesen Baum mehr, weil uns die letzten Triebe schöner vorkamen. Also schneiden wir einfach die letzten Triebe, die nachher gewachsen sind, ab, dann wird der Stammbaum der Kunst wieder schön werden.' Aber wie erstaunt sind sie und die Welt, daß, nachdem die letzten Triebe mit ihrem frischen Laub und ihren Knospen abgeschnitten sind, da kahle Zweige ohne Knospen, Blüten oder Blätter in die Luft stehen. Aber einstweilen

freuen sie sich an der schönen Aussicht, und außerdem gefällt ihnen die ganze Form des Baumes entschieden besser so. [...] Schneiden Sie nicht am Baum der Kunst, lassen Sie die Dinge sich entwickeln und versuchen Sie, durch strenges Studium das zu begreifen, was Sie noch nicht begreifen können." Nun hat es im Vergleich zur deutschen und russischen Kunstvernichtung gigantischen Ausmaßes in den 30er und 40er Jahren in der ungarischen Kunst und Literatur eine vergleichsweise kleinere Katastrophe gegeben. Dessen ungeachtet sind bereits die ersten diesbezüglichen Schriften Kassáks, die ab 1920 die lange Reihe seiner ismengeschichtlichen Betrachtungen begründen, teilweise Klagelieder und Verteidigungsschriften (teilweise freilich flammende manifestartige Programmreden für den *emanzipatorischen* Fortschritt).

Zusammenfassend betrachtete Kassák die Ismen das erste Mal im Wiener Exil, in einer Artikelserie (Levél a művészetről [Brief über die Kunst]), die zwischen dem 10. und dem 26. September 1920 in der *Bécsi Magyar Újság* [Wiener Ungarischen Zeitung] erschienen ist. Das Vorwort seines gemeinsam mit László Moholy-Nagy herausgegebenen Werkes Új művészek könyve / Buch neuer Künstler (ung. und dt., beide Wien 1922) – ebenfalls ein Ismenüberblick – publizierte er auch für die breitere Öffentlichkeit in zwei Teilen (am 27. und 28. Juni 1922) in der *Bécsi Magyar Újság*. Das Buch neuer Künstler wurde – was Konzept und Bildmaterial betrifft – den höchsten Ansprüchen der Zeit gerecht. Es läßt sich mit solchen Werken in eine Reihe stellen wie Die Kunstismen/Les Ismes de l'Art/The Isms of Art von Hans Arp und El Lissickij (1925), bzw. wie Theo van Doesburgs Grundbegriffe der neuen gestaltenden Kunst (1925). Die drei Jahre „Vorsprung" von Kassák und Moholy-Nagy bedeuteten in der rasanten Entwicklung der Ismen seinerzeit einen Vorteil, den Kassák auch zur Ausarbeitung einer neuen, umfassenden, theoretischen Konzeption genutzt hat. Er ließ seine neue, großangelegte Abhandlung über Ismen zunächst unter dem Titel: *Az új művészet él* [Die neue Kunst lebt], später dann unter dem Titel: *A korszerű művészet él* [Die zeitgemäße Kunst lebt] erst in der Wiener Zeitschrift Ervin Sinkós *Testvér* [Bruder] veröffentlichen (1925. 291–305.), dann in der Klausenburger Zeitschrift *Korunk* (1926. 89–102.), dann als separates Bändchen der *Korunk*-Bibliothek, und schließlich – noch immer 1926 – als Teil seines Sammelbandes Tisztaság Könyve [Buch der Reinheit], der Ende des Jahres sowohl in Wien als auch in Budapest in den Buchhandel kam.

Diese Abhandlung bestimmte Kassák, gleichsam als Hommage an das eigene Werk, zum einleitenden Essay seiner Ismengeschichte von 1972. Es folgt eine Schau der internationalen Entwicklung der wichtigsten Ismen, deren Grundzüge Kassák (gemeinsam mit Imre Pán) bereits 1956/1957 in der Budapester Zeitschrift *Nagyvilág* unter dem Titel: *A modern művészeti irányok története* [Geschichte der modernen Richtungen der Kunst] publiziert hat. Kassáks Ismenge-

schichte von 1972 wird durch seinen Überblick: Az izmusok Magyarországon [Die Ismen in Ungarn] abgerundet. Eine Vorläuferstudie auch dieser Abhandlung Kassáks ist – unter dem Titel: *A magyar avantgard három folyóirata* [Drei Zeitschriften der ungarischen Avantgarde] noch zu seiner Lebzeit in der Budapester Zeitschrift *Helikon* (1964. 2/3. 215–255.) erschienen.

Zusammenfassend könnte man Kassáks Ismengeschichte aus heutiger Sicht als eine äußerst unterhaltsame, informative, essayistische Arbeit bezeichnen. Die „avantgardistischen", also zeitgenössischen Töne der Ismengeschichte verleiteten indes – bei stets geäußerter Betonung der Wichtigkeit des Werkes – manchen Rezensenten dazu, den Erfolg jenes zeitgenössischen Anspruchs der Avantgarde, sich zu einem epochalen Stil „synthetisieren" zu wollen, hämisch zu hinterfragen, bzw. im Brustton der Überzeugung das historische „Scheitern" (den Tod, den Bankrott usw.) der Avantgarde zu konstatieren. Es ist beinahe überflüssig zu sagen, daß alle Ausdrücke Ende der 20er Jahre geprägt wurden. Die Anzahl der erschienenen Rezensionen ist nicht wenig, ihr Ton ist insgesamt resignativ: 'Kassák sagt nichts Neues' – was ja auch kaum zu erwarten war. Stellvertretend für die Auffassung der Mehrheit der Kritiker bemerkte Miklós Szabolcsi in seiner Rezension (ohne sie namentlich an Bori adressiert zu haben), daß der subjektiv-bekenntnishafte Stil Kassáks in der essayistischen Form seiner Ismengeschichte durchaus akzeptabel sei, daß aber die Literaturgeschichte eine genauere, objektivere, wissenschaftlichere Annäherung an ihren Gegenstand anstreben sollte, um nicht der Unwissenschaftlichkeit oder der Fiktionalität bezichtigt zu werden.[21] In den folgenden Jahren sind manche Aspekte dieses Anspruchs verwirklicht worden, während die Werke von Bori und Rónay, sowie die Ismengeschichte von Kassák das Schicksal der historischen Avantgarde teilten: sie wurden assimiliert.

Anmerkungen

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7. Rónay György, „Kassák és az izmusok", *Irodalomtörténet* 1959. 43.—3.

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21. S. dazu K.N.I. *Könyvvilág* 1972. 12. 10.; Kis Pintér Imre, *Élet és Irodalom* 1973. 5. 10.; Szabolcsi Miklós, *Népszabadság* 1973. feb. 25. Vas. Mell. 7.; Szalay Károly, *Magyar Hírlap* 1973. júl. 14. Hétvége IV.; Miklós Pál, *Kritika* 1973. 2. 28.; Aczél Géza, *Alföld* 1973. 4. 87–89.; Bodri Ferenc, *Jelenkor* 1973. 4. 340–341.; Ágh István, *Új Írás* 1974. 4. 102–105.

HUNGARICA IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY OF CAMBRIDGE*

A British centre with substantial holdings relating to Hungary, in Hungarian and Latin, as well as in English and other West European languages, is Cambridge University Library.

At Cambridge, unlike at Oxford, Hungarian may be studied to degree level: the post of University Lecturer in Polish and Hungarian has been held for over twenty years by the poet, critic and scholar George Gömöri. Although the Government's then University Grants Committee stated in the early 1980s that it would wish to see the maintenance of Hungarian studies at Cambridge, the relatively small number of undergraduates studying for a degree in Hungarian has meant that restraint has had to be exercized by the University Library in the quantity of books in the Hungarian language acquired. Nor is there a full-time post on the library staff for Hungarian alone: as the Hungarian specialist within the Library, I am equally involved, for instance, in the selection and cataloguing of publications in the Byzantine and Modern Greek field. Nevertheless, the size of the Hungarian book stock is estimated to be around 10,000 volumes.

As for the subject coverage of present day acquisitions, the main emphasis is on literature (poetry, prose and drama, both texts and criticism, of all periods) and on history and politics. Acquisitions comprise current publications emanating from Hungary itself, Hungarian emigré literature published in the West and the works of Hungarian writers living in Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Some attempt is also made to fill gaps in antiquarian holdings. Interest is additionally shown in Hungarian linguistics and philology, economic history, the social sciences, archaeology, art, the civilisation, culture and folklore of Hungary, and music. The Library subscribes to most of the *Acta* of the various institutes of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and to a representative selection of cultural periodicals from Hungary and the West.

*(Some of the material in this article was incorporated in a paper by Mr John Freeman on "Hungarian Holdings in British University Libraries" read at the 19th Annual Conference of ABDOSD [Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Bibliotheken und Dokumentationsstellen der Osteuropa-, Südosteuropa- und DDR-Forschung] held in Budapest in June 1990.)

Book selection is carried out by George Gömöri, by myself and other library staff using the monthly issues of *Könyvvilág*, the Hungarian Book Review, the Library of Congress card service, and booksellers' lists, including those of *Kultúra*, from whom items published in Hungary have up until now been ordered direct. The Library also maintains exchange arrangements with eight institutions in Hungary, mostly in Budapest, but a few smaller-scale exchanges exist with libraries elsewhere in the country, e.g., Miskolc, Székesfehérvár and Eger. Those from whom Cambridge receives most publications are the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the National Széchényi Library. From the Széchényi it receives all the Hungarian national bibliographies, current and retrospective, and a large quantity of music and musicology. From the Academy Library it obtains the publications of the institutes of the Academy and a sizeable amount of periodical publications and serials. Gifts are received from time to time both from Hungarian institutions and from individuals. For example, about 50 books in Hungarian relating to sociology, psychology and education, which belonged to the late Professor Paul Halmos, were recently bequeathed to the Library by his widow.

The special strengths of the Library's Hungarian holdings lie in the fields of literature and literary criticism, as outlined above. Its nineteenth century historical source material has also been praised by researchers. Special mention should be made of the rich holdings in seventeenth-, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century imprints relating to Hungarian and Transylvanian history to be found in Lord Acton's library, bequeathed to Cambridge University Library in 1902. Recent acquisitions include an annotated copy of Werbőczy's *Tripartitum* interleaved with original manuscripts (some of great historical interest) in Latin and Hungarian, and the Helikon Press facsimile editions of the Jordánszky Kódex, and of János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum*. The Library has possessed, since 1664, Thuróczy's chronicle in Ratdolt's edition, published in Augsburg in 1488: this was the edition from which Helikon derived and produced its facsimile edition.

So much for current general policies relating to acquisition and collection building in the Hungarian field. To select and highlight a few specific books from each century, since the invention of printing, might help to create a more immediate impression of the colour and flavour of Hungarica to be found within the University Library. The older material relating to Hungary over these centuries is not easy to locate, inasmuch as it is neither subject catalogued and classified as is 20th century material nor is it collected together in one area, but scattered over the many rare book collections which gradually grew in number as books were acquired over the centuries-long history of the Library itself.

From the late 15th century Renaissance court and legendary royal library of King Matthias, the University Library cannot boast a Corvina: that distinction in Cambridge belongs to Trinity College Library, whose Corvinian Livy was on view at the Quincentenary *Bibliotheca Corviniana* Exhibition at the National Széchényi Library, Budapest in 1990. János Thuróczy's *Chronica Hungarorum* of 1488, however, as referred to above, finds its place in the University Library's Catalogue of Incunabula. Also listed among our incunabula are three different collections of sermons by the 15th century Hungarian monk, Pelbárt Temesvári.

From the early 1500s, the Library possesses a further nine editions of works by Pelbárt Temesvári and from later in the century János Zsámboky's *Emblemata, Antverpiae* 1564, and several of his editions of classical Greek and Latin texts. Of historical and biographical works written by two of the Italian humanist scholars frequenting the court of King Matthias and Queen Beatrix, the Library owns 16th century editions of Antonio Bonfini's *Rerum Ungaricarum decades, Basileae* 1568 edited by Zsámboky, and *Francofurti* 1581; from the turn of the century Galeotto Marzio's lively portrait of King Matthias: *De egregie, sapienter, iocose dictis et factis regis Matthiae, Francofurti* 1600.

Pertaining to publications of the early 1600s, our Old Catalogue reveals that the University Library is a rich repository of the linguistic achievements of Albert Szenczi Molnár: his *Nova grammatica ungarica, Hanoviae* 1610, *Lexicon Latino-Graeco-Ungaricum, Heidelberg* 1621 and his celebrated translation of the Psalms into Hungarian, *Amsterdam* 1650. From the following year, there is the inaugural *Disputatio theologica, Hardervici* 1651, presented by János Apáczai Csere for a doctoral degree in theology. He was 25 years of age when this was published.

On the historical, legal and constitutional front, the Library possesses a wealth of pamphlets published on the Continent in the 1620s relating to Gabriel Bethlen, Prince of Transylvania, several contemporary editions of a Treaty between this Prince and the Emperor Ferdinand II, the 1628 Vienna edition of Werbőczi's *Tripartitum* and no less than three copies of János Nadányi's *Florus Hungaricus, Amsterdam* 1663.

Moving on to the early years of the eighteenth century, a 1706 edition of the manifesto *Recrudescunt vulnera inclytae gentis Hungariae* issued by Ferenc II Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania, surfaces in the Library's catalogue. The same Prince's autobiographical work written in 1717 in French, while he was living in France after the collapse of his revolutionary campaign against the Habsburgs, *Mémoires sur la guerre d'Hongrie depuis 1703 jusqu'â sa fin* is to be found in the library within the final volumes of *Histoire des révolutions*

d'Hongrie, 6 vols, *La Haye* 1739. Count Miklós Bethlen's *Mémoires historiques contenant l'histoire des derniers troubles de Transilvanie* — really not his own work – are also held by the Library in the edition of *Amsterdam*, 1736.

To our 18th century holdings belong seven editions of works by Mátyás Bél, all appearing during his lifetime, notably a dissertation Ὑποτύπωσις ὑγιαινόντων λόγων *sive, Forma sanorum verborum, Halae* 1707 (published when he was 23 years of age), *De vetere litteratura Hunno-Scythica exercitatio, Lipsiae* 1718 and the first three volumes of his massive work *Notitia Hungariae, Viennae* 1735–37. There are also first editions of the pioneering philological works of János Sajnovics, *Demonstratio idioma Ungarorum et Lapporum idem esse, Hafniae* 1770 and of Sámuel Gyarmathy, *Okoskodva tanitó magyar nyelvmester, Kolozsvárott* 1794 and *Affinitas linguae Hungaricae cum linguis Fennicae originis grammatice demonstrata, Gottingae* 1799. From the end of the 18th century the Library possesses the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Hungaricae F. Com. Széchényi* in 3 vols, *Sopronii* 1799–1800, Count Ferenc Széchényi's library forming the nucleus of the Hungarian National Library named after him to this day.

The 19th century writers and statesmen, István Széchenyi, József Eötvös and Lajos Kossuth are well represented in contemporary editions. By Széchenyi, the University Library's holdings include *Über die Donauschifffahrt* 1836, *Politische Programm-Fragmente* 1847, *Report on Pesth Bridge* 1852; by Eötvös *A nemzetiségi kérdés* 1865, *Magyar irók és államférfiak* 1868; by Kossuth *Memories of my exile* in English translation, *London*, 1880; and, most interestingly, with manuscript emendations by Kossuth himself *Kossuth in New England, Boston* 1852.

Further emphasising historical and political themes, later in the century, are the Library's 72 volume set of *Monumenta Hungariae historiae*, 1857–1903, its 11 volume set of *Monumenta Comitalia regni Hungariae*, 1874–99, an almost complete run of the periodical *Századok*, from 1869 up to the present day, published by the *Magyar Történelmi Társulat* and many series such as *Archivum Rákóczianum*, volumes of which have been appearing sporadically between 1873 and the present decade.

Of the works of literary luminaries of the 19th century, contemporary 19th century editions are also in evidence in the Library, from those of János Asbóth to those of Petőfi, Arany and Jókai. We have, for instance, an early collected edition of Petőfi's poems published during his lifetime in *Pest*, 1847 and an edition of a work by Arany, *Murány ostroma* published the following year 1848 in *Pest*. From later in the century, the Library's holdings include an edition of the correspondence between the two poets.

Glancing, finally, at 20th century Hungarian publications in the Library, one finds an abundance of material, easier to locate and evaluate than that of

earlier centuries, since it is not only classified on the library shelves into broad, recognisable divisions, such as History and Politics, Linguistics, Literature, etc., but it is, for the most part, accessible to the browsing student and researcher. It may also be borrowed.

To take the Literature classes alone, one might summarize the scope of our holdings by saying that here will be found collected and critical modern editions of all the standard poets, prose writers and dramatists of all periods, the works of all 20th century Hungarian authors of note and biographical and critical works relating to most of the above: the coverage is wide-ranging and comprehensive. For example, of the 121 writers covered by the bibliography on individual authors included in the History of Hungarian Literature, *Corvina Kiadó*, 1982, edited by Tibor Klaniczay, only 6 minor authors remain unrepresented on our Library shelves. Moreover, as mentioned above, not only are 20th century writers living in Hungary itself represented, but also Hungarian authors living in Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and those of the Diaspora. Out of the total number of authors noted by the Oxford History of Hungarian Literature, 1986, as living in Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, Cambridge University Library has acquired works by or relating to no less than 87%; out of the total number listed by the same History as notable writers of the Diaspora, the works of around 90%–a remarkably high proportion. Although many of the latter are now in present day Hungary being published, it will doubtless be of interest to future researchers and bibliographers to find so many first editions of the same in Cambridge. Countries of publication, apart from the U.K. where books are claimed by the University Library under the Copyright Act, range from U.S.A., South America and Canada to France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and Sweden.

As for Hungarian literary and cultural periodicals emanating from Hungary, from Romania, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and from the West, the Library holds complete sets of *Nyugat* 1908–41, of *Szép Szó* edited by Attila József and others, 1936–39, a set of *Látóhatár* from 1972 to the present day, all the aforesaid published in Budapest, a continuous run of *Híd*, published in Újvidék, from 1969 up to the present day and a twenty year run of *Új Látóhatár*, published in Munich, 1969–1989, to give only a sample from each of the groups delineated above.

I have attempted in the space of a few pages to indicate the rich diversity and colourful tapestry of Hungarica acquired over the centuries by Cambridge University Library. As recently as November 1991, the President of Hungary, Árpád Göncz, toured the Library during a private visit to Cambridge. He expressed his delight and surprise at finding on display books relating to

Hungary ranging from the 15th century *Chronica Hungarorum* to modern Hungarian editions of his own works and those of his contemporaries. President Göncz, by his lively interest and appreciation, forged a personal link during his visit with the Hungarian section as with other departments of our Library. Let it be hoped that the closing decade of the 20th century, coinciding as it does with Hungary's new and courageously won political freedoms, will witness a corresponding and continuing investment of enthusiasm and vitality in the creative building up of this Library's Magyar collections which has up until now been apparent and at work.

Hungarian Section
Cambridge University Library

Lindesay Moffatt

DID MIKLÓS RADNÓTI KNOW THE WORK OF J. M. LEVET?

Marginal notes

In a recent issue of *Common Knowledge*, Vyacheslav Ivanov stressed the importance of the legacy of international symbolism in the poetry of Henry J. M. Levet (1847–1906)[1]

Influenced by the new vision of poetry, the young Levet seemingly shaped his first works on the themes and inspirations of Baudelaire and Mallarmé. But in addition to these two—who had profoundly contributed to the change in European and American letters of the past two centuries—Levet's verse was also indebted to his readings of Jules Laforgue (1860–1887), a poet who made a great impact on T. S. Eliot and Boris Pasternak as well.

Ivanov, quoting Bakhtin, convincingly argues that Laforgue was a rare example of a lyric poet for whom dialogue and the speech of the "Other" was as important as for prose writers.[2]

Reading into the work of these poets, I was suddenly struck by their choice of topics and discourse familiar to me from the oeuvre of Miklós Radnóti. While Levet has not been mentioned by Emery George, the scholar who had investigated the influences upon Radnóti's poetry in greatest detail to date

does connect Laforgue's "Rustic Moon" to Radnóti's "Sky with Clouds" and "Rhymed Couplets on a Moonlit Night".[3] According to George, Radnóti could have first read Laforgue's poem in the 1921 edition of Dezső Kosztolányi's collection of translations, entitled: *Modern Poets.*[4] Like most post-symbolists, Radnóti too was eager to understand foreign languages and the specific imagery of other cultures. As is known, this led in the case of Kosztolányi and his contemporaries to the discovery of Chinese and Japanese poetry and art, and the same interest made Radnóti turn to African culture.

In the poetry of Levet and Radnóti the "couleur locale" is created by foreign words and proper names, threwn about with a pretended carelessness in the text. Telling examples of the use of this device are Radnóti's "Paris" and Levet's "British India."

Levet, a French diplomat, traveled extensively and thus a number of his poems convey real experiences, as do scores of Radnóti's poems, reflecting his memories of France, or of a still peaceful Yugoslavia. It is worth mentioning that Levet also used post cards as vehicles for his poetic message: his numerous "Cartes Postales" bear an uncanny resemblance to Radnóti's cycle of the same collective title as well as to his final "Razglednica" series.

This curious "Wahlverwandschaft" is further identifiable by the fact that in some of his poems, such as the "French Vignettes", Radnóti reproduces entire stories, almost drafts for future prose. Here even a connection with Laforgue's oeuvre can be established.

As is known, some episodes in Radnóti's *Gemini* (Ikrek hava) first appeared as individual poems. This too is surprizingly similar to Levet's working method. But Radnóti's characters, setting, and plot to his poems, are more pronounced and sharper reliefed than Levet's. (See his tragic "Razglednica" quartet.)[5]

The prevelance of personification in lyrical poetry—while a shared feature of all symbolists and postsymbolists—can be discerned in the textual comparison of these two poets. For those who know Radnóti's work, it suffices to be reminded of his "Hymn About Peace" (Himnusz a Békéről), "Hymn to the River Nile" (Himnusz a Nílushoz) or of his epitaph, "Federico Garcia Lorca." It is also interesting to note that just as Radnóti had used an imaginary friend in his *Gemini*, Levet too has created a fictitious friend as his hero, a young Englishman, and a Catholic to boot. It should be mentioned here that, coincidentally, both Levet and Radnóti were Catholic converts from Judaism. Lacking evidence of a direct influence, one may ponder whether it was the unified world language of modern poetry (Enzensberger's term) which had informed the discourse of both poets, or are there further clues to be tracked down about Radnóti's literary lineage even after, as one thought, Emery George had unearthed them all.

Notes

1. "Delayed Book Review: Henry J.-M. Levet and the International Legacy of Symbolism", *Common Knowledge*, Fall, 1992, 2: 161–71.
2. *Ibid.*, 163.
3. *The Poetry of Miklós Radnóti: A Comparative Study*, New York, 1986.
4. George, *op. cit.*, 9. Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936), poet, prose writer, essayst and translator, one of the most significant cultural figures of interwar Hungary.
5. Marianna D. Birnbaum, *Miklós Radnóti: A Biography of His Poetry*, Munich, 1983.

University of California *Marianna D. Birnbaum*

Eugen Thurner, Walter Weiss, János Szabó, Attila Tamás (eds). "Kakanien": Aufsätze zur österreichischen und ungarischen Literatur, Kunst und Kultur um die Jahrhundertwende

(Akadémiai Kiadó–Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien. 1991. 447 pp.)

In recent years numerous attempts were made to describe the cultural legacy of the multilingual Habsburg Monarchy. A joint committee was set up by Austria and Hungary to assess the literature of Central Europe in the period of Habsburg domination. The essays collected in the volume "*Kakanien*" were written by the members of this committee.

A proper assessment of the distinguishing features of the culture of the Dual Monarchy requires that the interpreter rise above national preconceptions. Such a high goal can be reached only by scholars who are familiar with the various languages spoken in the Danube basin. One of the shortcomings of several books published on the subject is that the information they can give is limited to sources in German. William M. Johnston, for instance, devoted several chapters of his monograph *The Austrian Mind* (Berkeley, 1972) to intellectual life in Prague and Budapest, but he had no access to material available in Czech and Hungarian.

The authors of "*Kakanien*" intend to break with this tradition. Johnston's work is criticized by Antal Mádl in one of the introductory chapters of the volume and by Attila Tamás, one of the editors, a literary historian whose summary of the beginnings of modern Hungarian poetry is meant to disqualify the antithesis "decadent Vienna versus politicized Budapest", which is one of the underlying theses of *The Austrian Mind.*

Unfortunately, not all the essays of "*Kakanien*" are free of the shortcoming pointed out by the two Hungarian critics. The eleven contributors from Austria focus on the Western half of the Dual Monarchy, and their occasional references to Hungary are based on second-hand information. One of the most striking examples of this one-sidedness can be found on the final page of the essay "Zur Kulturgeschichte der Zeit Franz Josephs in Österreich" by Walter Weiss. Except for the last paragraph, this 23-page contribution is a balanced and thoughtful summary of the political, philosophical, scientific, and artistic trends in Austria around 1900. Paradoxically, the comparison of the "therapeutic nihilism" of Viennese culture and the political engagement and revolutionary spirit of the intellectuals of Budapest made at the end of the text derives from the same antithesis which is dismissed as irrelevant by the above-mentioned Hungarian critics.

Although the nine Hungarian contributions are more comparative, most of them are less convincing than their Austrian counterparts. In one case the similarity between two writers remains a pure declaration. The title — "Die Symbolik Adys und Kafkas: Ein Kapitel zu einer Literaturgeschichte der Donaumonarchie" — is promising, but the essay is hardly more than a series of quotations. The use of the term "symbol" would need clarification, and the basis for the comparison is so abstract that nothing meaningful is learned by the reader about symbolism in Ady's poetry and Kafka's prose.

This essay is hardly representative of Hungarian scholarship, but it does show one of the weaknesses of the volume as a whole. The unity of the collection is marred by the discrepancy between the full documentation in most Austrian contributions and the absence of philological apparatus in several chapters by Hungarian scholars. The absence of editorial conception may be responsible not only for this but also for the uneven representation of the literature of the turn of the century. While Hofmannsthal's plays are discussed in two essays, Altenberg's impressionistic prose poems and the essays of Otto Stoessl are given a meticulous analysis, Rilke's works receive almost no attention. The visual arts are represented by two essays, but music is hardly taken into consideration. It is not justifiable that the tension between rural and urban culture as perceived by such major composers as Janáček or Bartók is not even mentioned in the essays, since this tension was one of the most fundamental characteristics of the culture of the Dual Monarchy. No musicologist can be found among the contributors, and the few references to music by literary historians are of questionable legitimacy. Alfred Doppler's comparison between alliteration and assonance in the poetry of Trakl and the structural use of tone-colour in the compositions of Schönberg is somewhat impressionistic to be taken as a serious attempt at interarts analysis.

No information is given about the date of the composition of the essays. This puts the reader at an obvious disadvantage in relating the collection to the important political changes that occurred in Central Europe in the late 1980s and led to a radical reinterpretation of the past of the region. The fact that two of the Hungarian contributors died some years before the book was published may suggest that at least some of the essays had been finished before Hungarian scholarship was liberated from political restrictions. The late István Király's essay on the poet and prose writer Dezső Kosztolányi reflects the Marxist ideology of György Lukács. Kosztolányi had a more profound affinity with such Austrian authors as Hofmannsthal, Rilke, and Karl Kraus than any other Hungarian writer. He translated Austrian poetry and published highly influential essays about it. A comparative analysis of his verse and fiction would be a significant contribution to a better understanding of the cultural creativity of Austro-Hungary. It is regrettable that Király's ideological bias made it impossible for him to see more in Kosztolányi than a writer whose message can be described in terms of the "alienation" and "dehumanization" characteristic of capitalist society.

As in most collections of occasional writings, the best essays are analytic inquiries which do not claim to present a panoramic view of the age. Miklós Szabolcsi develops a provocative argument by tracing back the innovations of 20th-century Hungarian prose to the journalism of the 1890s in "Wandlungen im ungarischen Feuilletonstil um die Jahrhundertwende". Géza Béla Németh takes a closer look at *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlemények* ("Contributions to General Philology"), a scholarly journal started by the Hungarian Academy in 1876. The focus in this study in the history of criticism is on the ideals of the bilingual editor Gusztáv Heinrich, and the method is truly comparative: the conclusion is that Heinrich's conception of cultural history was strongly affected by Western Liberalism and the Positivistic spirit of German science.

One of the most enjoyable essays is a portrait of Karl Lueger, mayor of Vienna. Karlheinz Rossbacher's inquiry is based on a close reading of contemporary accounts of the character of the most popular public figure in the empire of Franz Joseph. The presentation of the anti-intellectualism of the lawyer who made a political career as a representative of the petite bourgeoisie is highly instructive: his dislike of non-Austrians (Hungarians, Jews, etc.) appears as a paradigm of the irrationalistic Populism that proved to be a powerfully destructive force in the later history of Central Europe. No less far-reaching are the implications of the investigation made by Johann Holzner. His startingpoint is the provincial literature of Tirol around 1900, but his analysis moves on a far more general level; it reveals the tension between cosmopolitan urbanism and provincial ruralism which may explain the paradox of "Kakania", its high culture and resistance to sociopolitical modernization.

Whatever weaknesses the volume may possess, such essays make it a worthy contribution to the better understanding of the paradoxical ambiguity of a world which produced the most rigid and most

self-destructive state bureaucracy but was also the home of greatness in literature, art, and music. The activity of the bilateral committee which is behind the collection "*Kakania*" may have prepared the way for a more systematic study of the Habsburg Monarchy that will give full justice to the multilingual character of its culture.

Mihály Szegedy-Maszák

Béla G. Németh
Péterfy Jenő

Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1991.

Es gibt um die Jahrhundertwende in der ungarischen Literatur eine Gestalt, die vom Gesichtspunkt der geistigen Orientierung und der denkerischen Autonomie ein organisch mit dem europäischen Zeitgeist zusammenhängendes, aber dennoch ein auf die eigene Fragestellung eine Antwort suchendes, literarisches Lebenswerk ihr eigen nennen kann: Jenő Péterfy. Die meisten der zu seinen Lebzeiten in Institutionen oder bei Zeitschriften in wichtigen leitenden Positionen tätigen Literaten haben das Wesen seines Werkes und seiner Person überhaupt nicht richtig erkannt. Die Nachwelt hingegen verspürte schon genau die außergewöhnliche entwicklungsgeschichtliche Bedeutung von Péterfys Denkweise in der ungarischen Literatur. Von seinen Zeitgenossen hielten ihn zum Beispiel Frigyes Riedl und Zoltán Ambrus, und von der Nachwelt János Horváth und Mihály Babits für einen der größten literaturkritischen Denker.

In der wissenschaftlichen Laufbahn von Béla G. Németh (der zur Zeit die Abteilung für Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften leitet) hat die Beschäftigung mit Péterfy mehrfach, man kann vielleicht sagen, fortlaufend eine zentrale Rolle gespielt. Die jetzt in der Reihe „Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek" (Literaturhistorische Hefte) erschienene kleine Monographie ist eine, die anfänglichen Ergebnisse zusammenfassende, vollkommen ausgereifte Arbeit. Vorläufer der jetzigen Publikation war die in der Reihe „Magyar Klasszikusok" (Ungarische Klassiker) in Form einer längeren Studie verfaßte Einleitung zu „Péterfy Jenő válogatott művei" (Jenő Péterfys ausgewählte Werke, 1962). Dann erschien 1988 in der Reihe „A Múlt Magyar Tudósai" (Ungarische Gelehrte der Vergangenheit) in einer neuen Version diese Studie von Béla G. Németh über Péterfy, die den Umfang eines kleinen Buches hatte. In den letzten 40 Jahren publizierte 1972 nach langen Forschungsarbeiten noch István P. Zimándi eine Monographie über Péterfy. Diese Arbeit sticht durch ihren ein Zeitbild vermittelden Reichtum an Angaben und durch ihre philologische Tatsachenaufdeckung hervor.

Béla G. Németh aber hat, aufbauend auf den besten europäischen Traditionen der Studien und der analytischen Essays mit seiner umsichtigen bildungsgeschichtlichen Methode eine geradezu vollkommen organisch ausgebildete psychologische, historische, ideengeschichtliche und philosophisch empfindsame Péterfy-Studie geschrieben. Als Erbe des geistigen Nachlasses von Péterfy zeigt er dem Leser jedes Hauptmotiv dieser geistigen Erscheinung. Er deckt Beziehungen mit seiner von der Bildungsgeschichte ausgehenden, geistiges Porträt und Laufbahn aufzeigenden literaturgeschichtlichen Methode auf, die zugleich analytisch und synthetisch ist. Für den Autor ist eine leider in der ungarischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung noch immer als ungewohnt geltende, auf außergewöhnlich tiefer Kenntnis der Zeit gründender Anspruch auf Vollkommenheit bezeichnend: er vermag das Weltbild des Kritikers Péterfy, seine literarische Empfindsamkeit und Empfänglichkeit für die Kunst zum Gegenstand komparativer

Untersuchung und philosophischen Abwägens zu machen. Aus dieser Tatsache resultieren auch die hauptsächlichen Vorzüge der kleinen Monographie. Béla G. Németh veranschaulicht genau die ideengeschichtliche Einbettung von Péterfys Gedankenwelt in die damaligen europäischen Strömungen. Außerdem ist dieses Buch zugleich Persönlichkeitszeichnung und literaturhistorische Monographie.

Mit den Kapiteln: Über den jeder schön sprach. Kindheit und Jugendzeit: im Schatten der anständigen Armut. Berufssuche: Dichter, Musiker, Rezensent? In voller Rüstung: Stolz der ungarischen Theaterkritik. Bereit zur Polemik mit seiner Zeit: Romanschriftsteller–Essays. Verstimmung: Pensumkritiken, gelegentliches Brillieren, aufkommende Wünsche zur Klärung. Die große Herausforderung: seine Studien über das Tragische. Der letzte Versuch zur eigenen Rettung: die griechischen Studien. Den jeder als seinen Vorläufer anerkennt, gehört diese kleine Monographie auf jeden Fall zu den besten Leistungen der ungarischen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung.

Was die Literaturbetrachtung anbetrifft, so spielt Péterfy in dem von der positivistischen Wissenschaftsauffassung abgehenden mentalitätsgeschichtlichen Prozeß die Schlüsselrolle. Hierauf beruht die besondere Bedeutung seiner Denkweise für die Nachwelt. Jenő Péterfy machte Taines Theorie zum Gegenstand der Untersuchung und verwarf sie zum Teil. Für ihn waren Fr. Th. Vischers ästhetische Auffassung, Rankes geschichtsphilosophische Methode und Th. Lipps Mentalität wichtiger. Diltheys Methode kannte er nicht, aber Péterfys Trachten zeigt dennoch Verwandtschaft mit dem Charakter der geistesgeschichtlichen Literaturgeschichtsschreibung wie mit der neokantianischen ästhetischen Werkdeutung.

Die Problematik des ästhetischen Eigenprinzips der Literatur empfand Péterfy sehr deutlich und er wandte diesen Gesichtspunkt bei seiner literaturkritischen Tätigkeit als Prinzip der Kritik an. In seiner sehr wichtigen Studie „Das Tragische" kommt bei der Debatte mit der Ansicht von Zsolt Beöthy und Jenő Rákosi der Gedankengang einer auf dem ästhetischen Eigenprinzip gegründeten Argumentation zum Ausdruck.

Péterfy hat eine universelle, auf philosophische Gesichtspunkte gerichtete literarische Denkweise verwirklicht. Eben darin besteht einer ihrer vornehmlichsten Werte und deshalb schätzt die Literaturästhetik und die Literaturwissenschaft sein Lebenswerk so hoch ein. Bei der Untersuchung der ungarischen Literatur wendet Péterfy in seinen Studien über Katona, József Bajza, József Eötvös, Zsigmond Kemény, Antal Csengery und János Arany konsequent seine eigene, zum Teil vom Positivismus der Zeit befreite Methode an. Seine analysierende, interpretierende Kunst des Essays sucht die Bedeutung des literarischen Werkes in der Hindeutung des im einzelnen erscheinenden zum Universellen und in der über historische Zeiten hinweg fortlaufenden Identifikation. Seine nuancierte Seelenzeichnung, die durch Einsicht und Verständnis gekennzeichnete Haltung des Deutenden und die künstlerischen Fähigkeiten sind charakteristisch Péterfys Arbeiten, und mit der gleichen Methode nähert sich auch Béla G. Németh dem Werk und der Persönlichkeit von Jenő Péterfy an.

In seinen literaturkritischen Arbeiten vermag Péterfy die hinter der allgemeinen ästhetischen Auffassung der Zeit ruhenden, tieferen Bedeutungen aufzudecken, denn er ist in einer Person nicht nur Wissenschaftler und Literaturkritiker, er hob die Kunstprosa der Abhandlung zugleich auf eine künstlerische Stufe. Deshalb kann Jenő Péterfys Denkstil und kritische Einstellung wegen der seinem Geschmack fern von der allgemeinen Auffassung liegenden, das Wesentliche erfassenden Denkweise und der Neigung zu interpretieren, dem heutigen Leser unendlich viel geben. Das hat Béla G. Németh genau erkannt, als er sein Buch über Jenő Péterfy dem sich für die Literaturgeschichte interessierenden, intellektuellen Lesepublikum in der neuesten Form vorlegte.

Für die Sachkenner, die sich für das literaturkritische Denken um die Jahrhundertwende, für den zur Philosophie und Kritik neigenden literarischen Denker und dessen tragisches Schicksal interessieren und die Leser, die stilistisch hervorragende literaturhistorische Studien zu genießen vermögen, ihnen allen wird die Arbeit des Literaturwissenschaftlers Béla G. Németh Freude bereiten.

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