



1986

# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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(Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság)

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## A SAINT IN THE FAMILY: A LEAF OF THE "HUNGARIAN ANJOU LEGENDARY" AT BERKELEY

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The Bancroft Library of the University of California, Berkeley, has recently been given an illuminated leaf containing four scenes that depict the life and miracles of Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse, from an important medieval manuscript known as the *Hungarian Anjou Legendary*.<sup>1</sup> Probably executed in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, substantial fragments of this work are located in the Vatican, the Hermitage, and the Pierpont Morgan libraries.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript has been discussed by Dezső Dercsényi, who initially recognized its link with a contemporary illuminated Hungarian Bible in the Library of Congress<sup>3</sup>, by Meta Harrsen, who analysed it in connection with her valuable study of that Bible, and declared that originally it "must have been one of the most sumptuous, truly regal volumes in existence";<sup>4</sup> by Ilona Berkovits, who regarded this specimen of miniature-painting as one of the most significant from the Anjou era in Hungary;<sup>5</sup> and at greater length by Ferenc Levárdy, who published in 1973 a facsimile edition of the 135 leaves (including fragments of 9) then known to survive.<sup>6</sup> Levárdy estimates that the manuscript consisted originally of 170 leaves, which would mean that roughly a quarter have been lost.<sup>7</sup> Complete leaves, such as those in the Vatican, measure 283 by 215 mm, and contain four scenes each, separated and surrounded by elaborate borders; in the upper and lower margins, Latin rubrics briefly identify the subject of each scene. The margins of the Bancroft leaf have been trimmed away, removing these inscriptions;<sup>8</sup> it measures 218 by 166 mm, thus corresponding closely in size with the other nine leaves cut to the edge of the painted surface (Morgan 360a-d and Hermitage 16930-34).

The work is thought to have been executed in a court atelier, probably in Buda but possibly in Esztergom, by Hungarian artists trained by or working under the direction of Bolognese masters.<sup>9</sup> Of the surviving leaves, 13 depict the life of Christ, another 48 the lives of apostles; most of the remainder illustrate saints' lives. Among saints with direct Hungarian connections, King Ladislaus is given most space (6 leaves), while King Stephen, Gellért, and Imre also appear. Harrsen refers to the work as a "Passional," presumably because of the numerous scenes of vividly-depicted martyrdoms, and Levárdy also acknowledges that "The Passion series stands very centrally in the painted *Legendary*"; but since some sequences end peacefully, it is

probably more appropriate to use the broader generic term for a collection of saints' lives and speak of this as a "legendary," as Levárdy does.<sup>10</sup>

Why should this particular saint appear in a Hungarian legendary of the Anjou period? Born in 1274, Louis was the second of thirteen children of Charles II of Naples. On his mother's side he was Hungarian: his mother was Mary, the daughter of Stephen V, King of Hungary. From 1288 to 1295—that is, from the age of 14 to 21—Louis, along with his younger brothers Robert and Raymond Berenger, was a hostage in Catalonia, where he seems to have come under the influence of Peter Johannis Olivi, a leading figure in the Spiritual or Zealot wing of the Franciscan movement. Upon the brothers' release from Catalonia, Louis renounced his rights of primogeniture in favor of his brother Robert, who was to become King of Naples and eventually a vigorous proponent of the canonization and cult of Louis. In the same eventful year, 1296, Louis was received into the Franciscan order and was consecrated Bishop of Toulouse by Pope Boniface VIII. Within a few months, on August 19, 1297, Louis died at the age of 23; he was made a saint 20 years later, early in the pontificate of John XXII.<sup>11</sup>

One explanation for Louis's presence in this manuscript, then, is the dynastic one. One recent critic has observed, apropos of the famous painting of Louis by Simone Martini in Naples, that "Saints in the family were a good thing. The French royal family already possessed its saint, Louis IX—and very likely this example spurred the Angevins to emulation . . . the canonization of Louis of Toulouse like that of Louis IX is a thread in the same pattern of statecraft."<sup>12</sup>

If the political reason for Louis's presence in an *Anjou* legendary is thus reasonably clear, his inclusion in a *Hungarian Anjou* legendary does not depend solely on his mother's having been Hungarian. The manuscript was produced during the reign, and probably under the direct patronage, of King Charles Robert of Hungary (1301/1307–1342), who was Louis's nephew, and is known to have erected a chapel to him at Lippa in 1327. We shall return later to the recently-debated question of the relative weight of secular, dynastic considerations and religious ones in the cult of Louis, for the Bancroft leaf sheds some fresh light on the problem. Here it should be added, however, that Louis's sainthood not only signalled divine approbation of the Anjou dynasty at large; it also served to demonstrate the special unction of its Hungarian branch, since Saint Elizabeth of Hungary had been the great aunt of Louis's mother, by whom, in turn, his own early piety was fostered.<sup>13</sup>

\*

We now turn to the iconography of the four miniatures on the Bancroft leaf. The first scene illustrates an event that took place after Louis's death: it figures at length in written accounts of his miracles, and is the subject of at least one other pictorial representation. On a table in the middle of the composition lie a large fish and nine coins; a Franciscan friar standing in front of it to the right gesticulates to two of his brethren, who are behind it on the left. The story is this. To lighten his ship during a

storm at sea, a merchant heaves overboard most of his goods, and prays to Saint Louis for protection. The storm ends, the vessel comes safely to land, and the merchant's belongings are washed ashore and recovered. Soon after disembarking, he buys a large fish and presents it as an act of piety to the Franciscan brothers. Upon cutting it open, they discover inside the merchant's money, which had fallen into the sea in the midst of the storm.

The written version, of nearly 500 words, is the longest and the best story among the dozens of Louis's miracles. Although localized in Marseille the narrative smacks of myth or folk-tale. One hagiographical authority refers to "a very common type of story in which lost or stolen articles are found in the interior of a fish," and another points out that

L'histoire de l'objet jeté à la mer et retrouvé dans le ventre d'un poisson, que l'on raconte dans les vies de saint Ambroise de Cahors, de saint Maurille, de saint Magloire, de saint Kentigern et dans bien d'autres, n'est qu'une réminiscence de l'anneau de Polycrate, connu par Hérodote.<sup>14</sup>

A more elaborate and sophisticated painting of this miracle, one of four scenes from the life of Louis, was executed by Benedetto Bonfigli in 1453 and survives in the Palazzo Comunale of Perugia. This work, a century later than the Bancroft leaf, reduces the fish-episode to one among many realistic details in a complex landscape; for present purposes, its chief interest is in suggesting the popularity and longevity of this miracle, in pictorial form, as part of Louis's legend.<sup>15</sup>

The second scene is composed of several distinct elements. On the right, a woman looks out from the window of the building; in the center, at the foot of a flight of steps leading to the building, is a young boy; above him is a four-wheeled cart and the hind legs and tail of the animal pulling it. This scene is probably based upon another miracle that occurred in Marseille. While two young brothers were playing, one accidentally stabbed the other in the throat and killed him. The culprit was seized by the town council and condemned to die. The disconsolate mother of the two boys, unsuccessful in her plea to the authorities to spare the surviving son prayed for assistance to Louis. The saint restored to life not only the fratricide, who had already been decapitated and was about to be buried, but the first brother as well.<sup>16</sup>

Several details seem to support this identification. The youth in the center of the picture bears on his throat the marks of a wound; these are quite different from the marks indicating stubble on male faces in the other three scenes.<sup>17</sup> That the wagon is bearing a casket is suggested by the strong similarity to a number of scenes elsewhere in the *Legendary*.<sup>18</sup> The expression on the woman's face is somewhat more problematic. Other scenes in the *Legendary* use a similar open-mouthed, toothy expression to signify grief or dismay: thus a witness to the murder of Saint Thomas of Canterbury and a young man being devoured by a dragon in the life of the Apostle Philip both make the same face.<sup>19</sup> There are also several scenes, however, in which similar treatment of the mouth is evidently intended to denote demonic possession, although the mouth is usually rounder in such circumstances, especially when an evil spirit is just exiting.<sup>20</sup>

As to the woman's head-dress, Meta Harrsen says that when the artists of this manuscript and the related Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible "wish to represent women of the upper class, they invest them with a close-fitting snood of veiling that is held in place by a band passing under the chin. These were worn everywhere in Europe." Such an adornment is quite different from "the frilled hoods or headkerchiefs, known as *Kruseler*," which Harrsen says are "typical of Austrian, Hungarian and Bohemian attire in the first half of the fourteenth century," one of which appears on Mary in the fourth scene of the Bancroft leaf.<sup>21</sup>

It is troubling that the flight of stairs, which plays so prominent a part visually in this composition, does not figure at all in the miracle of the two brothers;<sup>22</sup> and if the central figure here is one of the sons returned to life, it is hard to account for the other not being present as well. The distress of the mother would also seem more appropriate to an earlier stage of the narrative. Finally, the lad appears to be holding in his right hand a small object that may be of some significance, but we cannot make out what it is.<sup>23</sup> Possibly some tale other than the one of youthful chance medley in Marseille is actually depicted here; but no more obvious candidate has come to our attention among the various written accounts of the miracles of Saint Louis.

In the third scene, Louis embraces a figure whose halo encloses a cross, suggesting at once his true identity.<sup>24</sup> In the written life, this episode is introduced by an account of Louis's ministering to a group of lepers. His charity and humility prompt him to embrace publicly the most horribly afflicted of all the lepers, who subsequently disappears. This fact, together with the denial by the remaining lepers that they had ever seen such a person, causes everyone to conclude that the party in question had been Christ or his angel, come to test Louis.<sup>25</sup> The hem and feet in the upper right hand corner are evidently Christ's, put in to suggest his vanishing after the encounter. Louis wears the Franciscan habit and sandals, but also has on his bishop's mitre and his elegant blue cape adorned with golden Anjou lilies. Louis appears elsewhere in this same somewhat incongruous wardrobe, both in the *Legendary* and in other works of art throughout Europe. In the written version of the saint's life, however, this scene is supposed to have taken place while Louis was still a hostage in Barcelona—that is, before he had taken orders or become a bishop. And it is said to have been witnessed, not by a fellow Franciscan, as in this picture, but by Louis's brother Robert, later to become King of Naples and a vigorous promoter of Louis's canonization.

The emphasis on Louis's self-abnegation, both in this scene and in the first miniature on the other surviving *Legendary* leaf concerning him, is in keeping with a major theme of the written life, which makes much of the contrast between the worldly grandeur of his family and the ascetic lowliness that Louis resolutely preferred. It is particularly appropriate to Louis's choice of the Franciscan order. One miniature elsewhere in the *Legendary* shows how Saint Francis himself, in the neighborhood of Gubbio, visited wretched lepers, nursed them, and kissed their sores; and among other models for his

leper-kissing were Saint Louis King of France and Saint Elizabeth of Hungary, who were his great-uncle and great-great-aunt.<sup>26</sup>

In the fourth scene Louis is seated in profile, with the episcopal cape covering the lower part of his body; he prays to a figure whose halo and lofty position, pendent amidst drapery, identify her as Mary. Gazing at one another, Louis and Mary appear oblivious of the devil who flees to the right, casting a dejected look back at the saint who has foiled his efforts. The scene occurs indoors, as is indicated by the fabric wall-hanging which, as in the second scene of the other surviving *Legendary* leaf concerning Louis (Vatican fol. 92, Levárdy 151), hangs by cords that wind rather surrealistically around the upper frame of the miniature itself.

As the written versions of his life explain, Louis spent much of every night in prayer. Attempting to frighten him from these pious exercises, the devil once appeared to Louis in a horrible shape, but was promptly driven away by the sign of the cross. Both the canonization proceedings and the lives indicate that this took place while Louis was still a hostage, and that it was witnessed by his younger brother Raymond Berenger. In the written record there is no suggestion that the devil is dispatched by an invocation of Mary, but nearby paragraphs that describe the frequency, fervor, and variety of Louis's prayers do mention prominently his unwavering devotion to the blessed virgin.<sup>27</sup> As in the preceding scene, which also occurred during the Catalanian captivity, there is an anachronism in the representation of Louis as already both a Franciscan and a bishop. This may result from a greater concern with immediately recognizable iconographic attributes than with chronology, for the faces and attire of many other saints in the *Legendary* remain constant in every miniature; yet in some cases (e.g. Gellért, Hilarius, and Francis), there are clear indications of changes in age or station. At the same time, the portrayal of Louis sitting on the floor, with his cape as coverlet, manages to suggest economically (as do the written lives) that both for praying and sleeping, Louis ascetically preferred the ground to a bed.

\*

The four previously-known scenes from the life of Saint Louis occur on a leaf of Vatican Latin manuscript 8541; they are reproduced as Plate 151 in Levárdy's facsimile edition of the reconstructed *Legendary*. On this leaf the brief Latin rubrics are not trimmed from the margins, as they have been from the Bancroft leaf; Levárdy translates them and also gives a fuller account of the subjects of each miniature, which are as follows:

5) Every day [Louis] sees twenty five beggars as guests at his table; 6) Once a piece of the Cross from Golgotha is brought before him. He kneels in front of it, and blesses the soldiers setting out against the heathens; 7) Alzatia, daughter of Count Portamira ab Aquis, is thrown from a donkey which goes wild. The unfortunate lady miscarries; 8) Owing to the intervention of Louis, the aborted foetus comes to life.

Since the miniatures on the Vatican leaf are numbered 5, 6, 7 and 8, Levárdy assumes that a leaf containing scenes 1 through 4 must have preceded it in the original series. Although he says that "from the unfolding text of the written legend it is not possible to reconstruct these missing scenes with complete certainty," he thinks they may have had these subjects:

The prince lives in Catalonia for seven years as a hostage. He takes a vow to enter the Franciscan order. In Rome he dons monastic attire and goes barefoot to Saint Peter's grave. Pope Boniface VIII makes him Bishop of Toulouse. The prince gives all his treasures back to his father and eats from a simple earthenware dish.

Levárdy also believes that the Vatican leaf was followed by a further one, and suggests that its subjects may have been as follows:

9-10) Louis leads a life of self-abnegation; he mortifies his body with an iron penitential belt, clothes the poor, nurses the sick, and frees the prisoners; 11) At the age of twenty-four he dies peacefully; 12) He is buried in Marseille.

The four scenes on the Bancroft leaf differ from the subjects that Levárdy hypothesizes, and also call in question his contention that the miniature-painter arranges his pictures "according to historical order, and not according to the sequence in which the written legend arranges them" (p. 24). On the Bancroft leaf, scene 1 depicts a miracle that occurred after Louis's death, as does scene 2; yet the final two scenes concern events during Louis's life, and thus precede "in historical order" not only scenes 7 and 8 of the Vatican leaf, but the first two scenes of the Bancroft leaf itself. Levárdy's belief that the sequence is chronological is thus mistaken, at least with regard to the arrangement of this particular legend; elsewhere in the volume, however, his generalization about the ordering of scenes appears to be borne out, both within and between individual leaves.

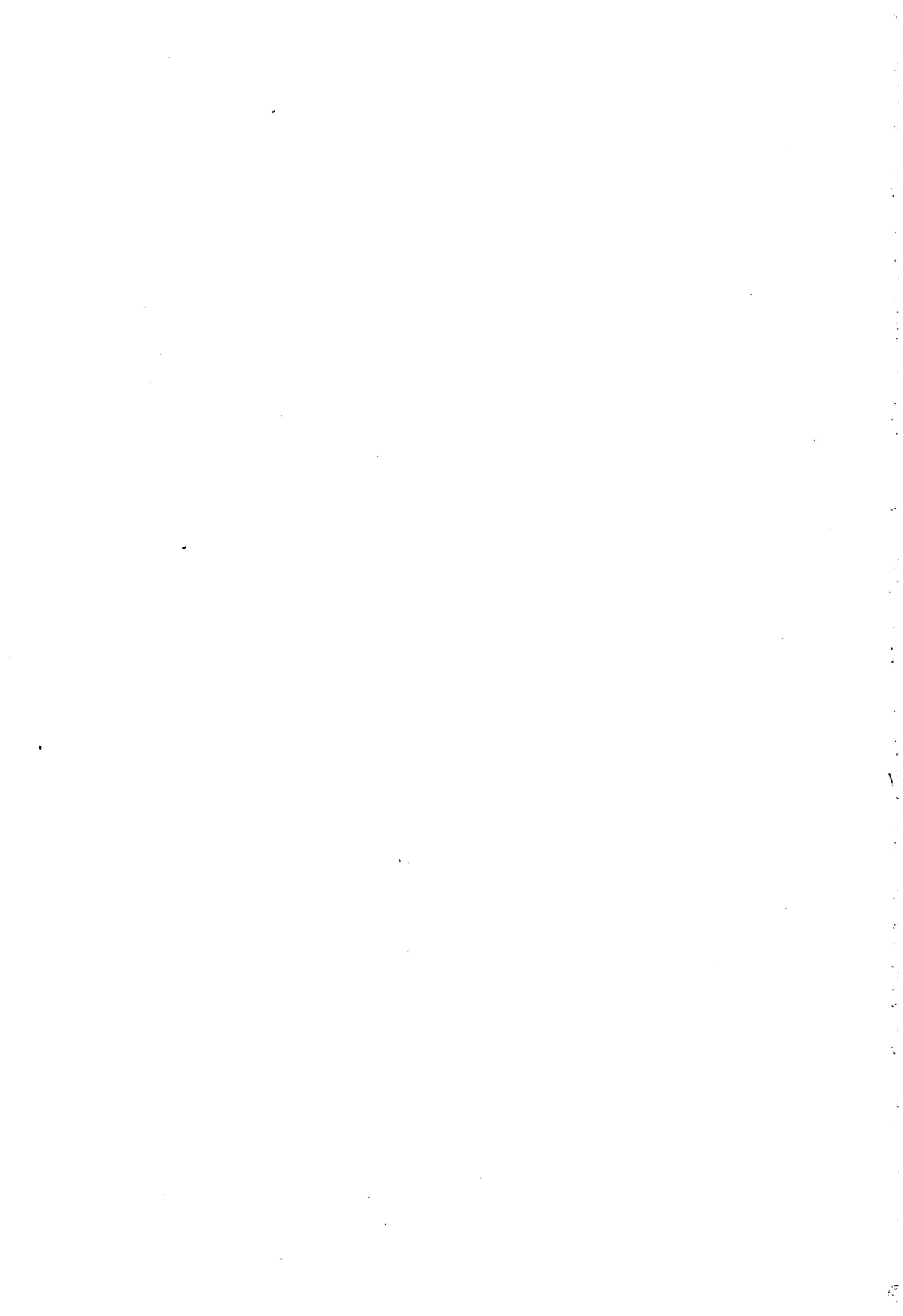
\*

Apart from Levárdy's brief remarks, there has been no scholarly study of the treatment of Louis in the *Legendary*, but there has been a good deal of controversy about the motives for Louis's representation in other medieval works. Although Louis's widespread occurrence in 14th- and 15th-century Italian art had been discussed by Emile Bertaux in 1900, the effective point of departure for modern analysis and debate was Margaret Toynbee's monograph of 1929 on Louis and the process of canonisation in the fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup> In Toynbee's view, Louis's cult and the works of art associated with it are to be understood largely as responses to dynastic and other political considerations, but she saw another factor as also significant: namely, the links of Louis and others in his family with the Spiritual or Zealot—later the Observant—wing of the Franciscan movement.





Fig. 1. Scenes from the life of Louis of Anjou, Bishop of Toulouse



In recent decades, debate over this matter has increased. The importance of Louis's connection with the Spiritual branch of the Franciscan order has been stressed in a major book by Ferdinando Bologna.<sup>29</sup> This emphasis has been disputed, with reference to Simone Martini's painting of Louis, in an article by Julian Gardner, who acknowledges that Louis's Franciscanism may have been colored by personal contact with the leader of the Spirituels during his Catalonian captivity, but argues that no such influence is apparent in that particular picture. As Gardner puts it, "Reasons of state rather than states of mind provide a more compelling rationale for Simone Martini's painting. . . . Renunciation of a claim by primogeniture, divine approbation and coronation, the apotheosis of the new Angevin saint and the continuance of the dynasty: Simone's panel celebrates these themes rather than medicant poverty."<sup>30</sup>

Discussing yet another work that portrays Louis, a small portable tabernacle in the Moravian Gallery in Brno, Olga Pujmanova finds in it a "typical, expressly Spiritual leaning," and endorses Bologna's view that along with their dynastic interests, the Anjou patrons of these works were crucially concerned to support and foster the Spirituels.<sup>31</sup>

In the present case, dynastic considerations must have played a significant part in the decision to illustrate the life and miracles of this particular saint. Yet the inclusion of several scenes portraying Louis's self-abnegation—along with the very full treatment elsewhere in the manuscript of the ascetic rigors and humble charities of Saint Francis himself—would suggest that familial sympathy with the Spiritual side of Franciscanism also found strong formal expression in the manuscript. Within the eight surviving scenes that portray the life and miracles of Louis, there is no basis for declaring that one set of concerns, dynastic or religious, took clear precedence over the other; what these miniatures establish is not the primacy of one or the other motive on the part of artists or patrons, but rather a close linking of the two. We need not suppose, as Gardner's remarks on the Simone Martini painting would imply, that the cult of Louis was exploited by the Anjous in an utterly calculating, Machiavellian spirit—or on the contrary that they fostered his cult purely out of zealous piety, or a concern for the beleaguered Spirituels within the Franciscan order. It would seem more accurate to say that the *Hungarian Anjou Legendary* served its patrons' worldly as well as otherworldly interests, which were evidently quite compatible and may have been equally keen.

#### Notes

1. Bancroft Library f2MSA2M21300-37, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Norman H. Strouse. We are obliged to the Bancroft Library for permission to reproduce this leaf.
2. The Vatican portion (Ms. lat. 8541) contains 106 leaves; the Leningrad portion (16930-34) includes 5 leaves; the Morgan portion (M360 and M360a-d) consists of 85 quarter-leaves (i.e. the equivalent of more than 20 original leaves) acquired in 1908, along with 4 more leaves purchased or donated since then.

3. Levárdy (see n. 6 below) summarizes and cites two articles by Dercsényi published in Hungarian journals in 1942 (p. 16 and n. 15, p. 49).
4. Meta Harrsen, *The Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible: A Fourteenth-Century Manuscript from Hungary in the Library of Congress, Ms. Pre-Accession I* (Washington, 1949), pp. 4–39, 48–66 and *passim*.
5. Levárdy (see following note) summarizes and cites two articles by Berkovits published in Hungarian journals in 1938 and 1947 (p. 16 and n. 15, p. 49); cf. also her *Illuminated Manuscripts in Hungary XI–XVI Centuries* (Shannon, 1969), pp. 32–33.
6. *Magyar Anjou Legendárium*, facs. ed. Ferenc Levárdy (Budapest, 1973); Levárdy's 46-page introduction is the fullest account to date of the work and its background.
7. Harrsen (p. 5) estimates that the surviving miniatures "are probably no more than two-thirds of the original series."
8. Of the leaves in the Morgan library, all but 4 recently-acquired ones were quartered and mounted separately as individual miniatures in the 17th century.
9. Although Berkovits contended that the entire manuscript was the work of a single master (see Levárdy, p. 16), Harrsen argues rather persuasively for the presence of four distinct hands (*Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, pp. 26–30). In her more recent account of the "truly splendid execution of the Vatican Illuminated Legendary," Berkovits observes that its ornate miniatures "indicate that in the first half of the 14th century Italian, particularly Bolognan, miniaturists were active in Hungary, presumably in a workshop maintained by the royal court. Here in this court workshop Italian conceptions were transmuted into Hungarian form" (*Illuminated Manuscripts in Hungary*, pp. 32–33).
10. Harrsen, *Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, pp. 4ff.; Levárdy summarizes the development of medieval legends in the 12th and 13th centuries (pp. 18ff.) and the connections between this manuscript and Hungarian versions of the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus a Voragine.
11. The biographical information in this paragraph is based on Margaret Toynbee's excellent *S. Louis of Toulouse and the Process of Canonisation in the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester, 1929), and on Levárdy, p. 23; also still useful is Henri Verlaque, *Saint Louis, prince royal, évêque de Toulouse* (Paris, 1885). There is a helpful family tree in Toynbee, *S. Louis*, p. 30; on Mary's direct influence on her son's devoutness, cf. pp. 34 and *passim*; on her indirect influence, cf. Toynbee's view that "the children's mother, Mary of Hungary, a friend to the Spirituals and a really religious woman, was chiefly concerned in the matter of her sons' Franciscan entourage [in Catalonia]" (p. 77).
12. Julian Gardner, "Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, 39 (1976), 12–33, p. 19; cf. also notes 28–30 below. Gardner fails to note that the earlier French royal saint, Louis IX, was also "in the family" as the elder brother of Louis's grandfather, Charles I of Sicily.
13. On Charles Robert, referred to as "Carobert" by writers in English like Toynbee, cf. Harrsen, pp. 1, 13, and *passim*; Levárdy, pp. 9–13, 36–39 and *passim*.
14. *Acta Sanctorum*, [XXXVII] (1867), 795; a simpler, 150-word version of this miracle, not linked specifically with Marseille, occurs in a manuscript legendary at the University of Bratislava, and is reprinted in *Analecta Franciscana*, VII, (1951), 426. On the folk-tale aspects of this miracle, the first quotation is from Charles Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae*, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1910), *Introd.*, I, clxxxv; the second is from Hippolyte Delehaye, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*, 2nd edn. (Bruxelles, 1906), p. 38. Delehaye notes that further parallels are cited in R. Koehler's *Kleinere Schriften* (Berlin, 1900), II, 209, n. 1.
15. The Bonfigli painting is reproduced by P. Beda Kleinschmidt in his article, "St. Ludwig von Toulouse in der Kunst," *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, II (1909), 195–215, Figure 5. Lists and/or reproductions of Renaissance works in which Louis appears can be found in such studies as Emma G.

- Salter, *Franciscan Legends in Italian Art* (London, 1905), and Arthur de Bles, *How to Distinguish the Saints in Art* (New York, 1925).
16. See *Analecta Franciscana*, VII (1951), 389–90 and 391, or *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX (1890), 352; also alluded to in *Acta Sanctorum*, [XXXVII] (1867), 791–92, but without any indication of the nature of the wound.
  17. Meta Harrsen, describing the treatment of facial features by one of the four artists who worked on the *Legendary*, correctly observes that “The heavy features are shaded by nervous brown pen-strokes, giving them an unshaven, sometimes repulsive appearance” (*Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, p. 29).
  18. Compare the rendering of hearses carrying coffins in the lives of Saint James (Vatican fol. 31, Levárdy 55); of Saint Gellért (Vatican fol. 69, Levárdy 112); and of Saint King Ladislaus (Vatican fol. 84, Levárdy 137).
  19. See Vatican fol. 71, Levárdy 114; Vatican fol. 41, Levárdy 67.
  20. Compare the instances of demonic possession in the lives of Saint Donatus (Vatican fol. 62, Levárdy 105), the Apostle Paul (Vatican fol. 14, Levárdy 34), and the Apostle Andrew (Vatican fol. 20, Levárdy 40).
  21. Harrsen, *Nekcsei-Lipócz Bible*, pp. 7–8.
  22. The canonization proceedings include testimony about one miracle in which a flight of stairs looms large, but it involves the fall of an infant: see *Analecta Franciscana*, VII (1951), 239–41.
  23. The fact that the hearse is disappearing at the top right of the picture is probably not intended to suggest a heavenly ascent, as in the third scene, but rather an element in the narrative occurring at a different place or time from the main event.
  24. Christ’s halo is portrayed similarly in a scene from the life of Saint Dominic (Vatican fol. 90, Levárdy 144).
  25. See *Acta Sanctorum*, [XXXVII] (1867), 778 and 812; *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX (1890), 311–12; and especially the canonization proceedings in *Analecta Franciscana*, VII (1951), 95–96. As Toynbee notes, “There are . . . considerable discrepancies in the story of how Louis kissed a leper at Barcelona in 1294 as narrated through Duke Robert and by the author of the Life” (*S. Louis of Toulouse and the process of Canonisation* . . . p. 17.)
  26. For Saint Francis and lepers, see the scene on leaf Hermitage 16932, Levárdy 148.
  27. *Acta Sanctorum*, [XXXVII] (1867), 777–78, 808–09; the *Processus Canonizationis* in *Analecta Franciscana*, VII (1951), 13, and the de Orta life, *Analecta Franciscana*, pp. 342–43, or in *Analecta Bollandiana*, IX (1890), 290–91. Another representation of this episode was part of a series illustrating the life of Louis formerly in a chapel of the Naples cathedral: according to a 17th-century description, this scene showed “quando già fatto frate, prende riposo su della nuda terra, ed in sogno gli apparisce la visione di Melchisedec, che l’ammonisce di accettare di buon animo quel vescovado” (Bologna, p. 322).
  28. Emile Bertaux, “Les Saints Louis dans l’Art Italien,” *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 158 (1900), 616–44; Margaret Toynbee, *S. Louis of Toulouse* . . . pp. 217–27.
  29. Ferdinando Bologna, *I Pittori Alla Corte Angioina Di Napoli 1266–1414* (Rome, 1969), pp. 163, 166–67 and *passim*; cf. also Edith Pásztor, *Per La Storia Di San Ludovico D’Angiò (1274–1297)* (Rome, 1955), pp. 4–5, 37, 52, 60–63.
  30. Julian Gardner, “Saint Louis of Toulouse, Robert of Anjou and Simone Martini,” *op. cit.*, pp. 20, 26–27. According to Gardner, the central scene of the Simone Martini predella—scene 3, figure 22, misnumbered 23, p. 31—depicts Louis “serving his new brothers in a meal at the Franciscan convent of Santa Maria in Aracoeli” (p. 30); but Louis appears rather to be washing the hands of poor people at his lodging (see Bologna IV–8/9, where the scene is correctly identified and traced to the relevant passage in the canonization proceedings).
  31. Olga Pujmanova, “Robert of Anjou’s Unknown Tabernacle in Brno,” *Burlington Magazine*, 131 (1979), p. 491; cf. also her “Prague, Naples et Avignon: Œuvres de Tomaso da Modena à Karlstejn,” *Revue de l’Art*, 53 (1981), 56–64, especially n. 10, p. 62.





# LE MOUVEMENT ACADÉMIQUE À LA RENAISSANCE ET LE CAS DE LA HONGRIE

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Pour célébrer le cent cinquantième anniversaire de sa fondation, l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences fit paraître, en 1975, un ouvrage consacré à son histoire.<sup>1</sup> Ses auteurs prennent pour point de départ le projet présenté par Mátyás Bél en 1735 et relatent, à partir de là, les tentatives toujours renouvelées qui finirent par aboutir à la fondation de l'Académie actuelle ; sur le plan international, c'est l'*Académie Française*, fondée en 1635, qu'ils désignent comme son plus ancien modèle. Dans cet esprit, Ágnes Várkonyi établit les trois conditions indispensables à la naissance d'une académie : « encouragement de l'État, mouvement spontané des savants, présence d'une conception bourgeoise de la culture nationale, suffisamment ample pour rassembler plusieurs couches sociales, les spécialistes du savoir et l'État ».<sup>2</sup> Cette analyse ne vaut cependant que pour les académies du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, ne serait-ce qu'à cause de cette « conception bourgeoise de la culture nationale », dont on ne peut guère parler avant la fin du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Mais, l'« encouragement de l'État » n'est pas, lui non plus, nécessairement à l'origine de la constitution des académies : la célèbre fondation de Richelieu marque une étape importante dans leur histoire, mais non pas son début : elle a été précédée par tout un mouvement académique de l'élite intellectuelle européenne, vieux alors déjà de deux siècles.

La recherche qui, depuis une dizaine d'années, s'intéresse particulièrement à l'histoire des académies, témoigne sans conteste que celles-ci sont nées, à l'époque de la Renaissance, en dehors des institutions officielles, d'un mouvement spontané des intellectuels érudits.<sup>3</sup> L'appui (et le contrôle) de l'État, aussi bien que le rayonnement national ne sont qu'un aboutissement ultérieur, résultat d'une évolution progressive. Les antécédents de l'académie hongroise doivent donc être cherchés également parmi les premiers cercles d'érudits. Ce n'est pas avec les académies nationales qui fleurirent ultérieurement, mais avec les tentatives — surtout italiennes — des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles que nous devons confronter les données de la vie intellectuelle hongroise de l'époque.<sup>4</sup> Cette approche permettra de décider si la Hongrie restait en dehors du champ d'attraction de l'idée d'académie à l'époque de la Renaissance, alors que l'élite intellectuelle hongroise accompagnait le progrès international, participait à part

entière et apportait une contribution importante aux efforts culturels et scientifiques du temps, plus que jamais — notre époque exceptée — au cours de l'histoire.

Au Moyen Age, les foyers de la science furent les monastères et les universités, soit des institutions ecclésiastiques ou contrôlées par l'Église. Le nouvel idéal d'une culture laïque professée par les humanistes exigea d'autres méthodes et d'autres formes d'organisation pour le travail intellectuel. La renaissance des études classiques ne s'épanouit pas à la suite de directives officielles touchant l'enseignement, mais bien dans les cercles d'écrivains, de savants et d'humanistes. Bien qu'on voie apparaître très tôt des enseignants humanistes dont l'influence fut remarquable — il suffit de penser à Guarino da Verona —, ce ne fut pourtant pas grâce aux chaires, mais aux assemblées amicales d'hommes égaux que la science humaniste put s'enraciner. Il y eut bien des maîtres dans ces dernières aussi ; mais les relations entre professeur et élève diffèrent fort de celles entre maître et disciple. Le premier a pour méthode la conférence, au Moyen Age, la dictée, tandis que le maître humaniste interroge, invite au dialogue.

Les groupes humanistes qui discourent et discutaient ainsi eurent vite fait de se trouver un nom approprié : ils commencèrent à s'appeler « académie », à l'instar de la communauté que Platon avait fondée en — 385, en l'honneur d'Apollon et des Muses, c'est-à-dire pour cultiver les sciences et les arts.<sup>5</sup>

Ce fut d'abord à Florence que les conditions sociales et culturelles favorisèrent l'apparition de ces assemblées de savants. Une source tardive date de 1427 le nom d'« académie » ; il est vrai qu'il ne vient pas encore de Platon, mais de Cicéron : c'est Poggio Bracciolini qui, s'inspirant de l'*Academia Tusculana*, mentionne sous le nom d'*Academia mea Valdarnina* le petit groupe de ses amis savants qui se réunissaient en été dans sa maison de campagne à Terranova di Valdarno.<sup>6</sup>

Le nom, qui eut une si brillante carrière par la suite, fut régulièrement employé pour la première fois dans le contubernium des jeunes humanistes qui se rassemblèrent, à partir de 1454, dans la maison d'Alamanno Rinuccini, en vue d'« exercitatio literarum ». Le groupe se donna le nom de *Chorus Achademiae Florentiae*, et son chef de file fut bientôt Argyropoulos, philosophe grec qui avait fui Byzance ; sous son influence, les occupations de la compagnie privilégièrent de plus en plus la philosophie. Mais dans ce domaine elle rencontra une rivale triomphante dans l'*Academia Platonica*<sup>7</sup>, dont la renommée ternit toutes les initiatives précédentes.

En 1462, Cosimo de' Medici fit don de sa villa de Careggi à Marsile Ficin pour qu'il y puisse étudier à loisir Platon. Ficin ne se contenta pas de fournir un travail surhumain, mais il réunit autour de lui les meilleurs esprits de son temps (Laurent de Médicis, Politien, Pic de la Mirandole, Cristoforo Landino et tant d'autres) pour discuter des problèmes de la philosophie platonicienne. Ficin et ses amis se référaient déjà consciemment à leur modèle antique et considéraient leur société savante comme une continuation directe, une renaissance de l'académie grecque. On voit apparaître les premiers éléments d'une institution : les participants reçoivent chacun le titre d'*academicus*, et Ficin lui-même se distingue par celui de princeps *Academicorum*.<sup>8</sup>

L'initiative académique ne resta pas longtemps un privilège de Florence. En 1464 se constitua à Rome, dans la maison du cardinal Bessarion, toujours visible sur la Via Appia, un contubernium savant avec la participation de Theodor Gaza, Niccolò Perotti, Giovanni Gatti et de Regiomontanus que le cardinal avait fait venir de Vienne. Il est vrai que cette société ne reçut qu'ultérieurement le nom d'*Academia Bessarioniana*, tandis que l'*Academia Romana*, ou Pomponiana, constituée presque simultanément sur le Quirinal, dans la maison de Pomponio Leto, portait déjà fièrement le nom d'académie. Parmi les ruines de la capitale antique, Leto et ses compagnons, Flippo Buonaccorsi, Bartolomeo Platina et les autres se tournèrent vers la tradition romaine, étudiant particulièrement l'archéologie et la religion romaine ; ils s'inspirèrent du philosophe athée, partisan des plaisirs de cette vie : Epicure. A Naples, dans le milieu des humanistes qui entouraient Alphonse le Sage, avaient mûri les conditions dont résulta, en 1468, l'*Academia Pontaniana*, dirigée d'abord par Antonio Beccadelli, ensuite par le grand poète humaniste, Giovanni Pontano. Elle se consacra à l'étude de la poésie latine classique et de Virgile avant tout, tandis que l'*Academia Aldina*, constituée vers 1500 à Venise, s'assigna comme but l'exégèse des textes grecs et latins, conformément aux goûts personnels de son fondateur, l'imprimeur et philologue Aldo Manuzio.<sup>9</sup>

Ces initiatives du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle se caractérisent par une activité encore fort limitée, marquée par tel ou tel grand érudit ou mécène, et orientée, en général, par les curiosités personnelles du fondateur ou du chef de file. Les réunions se tiennent presque sans exception dans la maison hospitalière du fondateur, ce qui reste d'ailleurs la règle au siècle suivant. Ces cercles qui ne disposent guère de structure ni d'organisation, n'emploient encore qu'occasionnellement ou pas du tout le nom d'«académie» : l'*Academia Platonica* est souvent désignée comme la *Platonica familia*, et l'*Academia Romana* figure aussi sous le nom de *Sodalitas*. Ils sont éphémères, et survivent rarement à la mort de leur fondateur ou de leur chef. Ces premières académies que nous venons d'énumérer ne tardèrent pas à disparaître. Mais l'idée même d'académie prit racine et, au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, progressa irrésistiblement. Il s'agit alors d'un véritable mouvement déjà, particulièrement en Italie, à l'avant-garde de la culture, où, vers 1550, toutes les villes importantes possèdent déjà leur académie.

Même dans cette phase florissante du mouvement, les académies restent éphémères... Mais entre les organisations qui se succèdent, on observe une continuité indiscutable, comme le montre l'exemple de Florence.<sup>10</sup> A peine l'*Academia Platonica* vient-elle de s'éteindre qu'une nouvelle société savante s'organise, vers 1505, dans l'*Orti Oricellari*, jardin de la famille Rucellai ; Machiavel en fera partie. Mais nous y trouvons aussi Francesco Cattani da Diacceto, le plus fidèle des disciples de Ficin, qui, après la mort du maître, développe et transmet la doctrine néoplatonique ficinienne ; la société compte aussi parmi ses membres Giambattista Gelli qui, après la dispersion du cercle de l'*Orti Oricellari*, sera un des membres fondateurs, en 1540, de l'*Accademia*

*degli Umidi*. Cette dernière, conformément au souhait du grand-duc Cosimo, devient, un an après, sous le nom d'*Accademia Fiorentina*, la première académie officielle et nationale du monde — nous y reviendrons —, dont un groupe dissident, mécontent de la direction bureaucratique, fonde, en 1582, l'actuelle *Accademia della Crusca*, modèle de toutes les académies modernes qui se consacrent au culte de la langue maternelle.

Pour illustrer la modestie des débuts, la sauvegarde de la tradition et le sens de la continuité, le meilleur exemple est cependant celui de l'*Accademia dei Lincei*, fondée le 17 août 1603 par un jeune aristocrate romain, Federico Cesi et trois de ses compagnons. Ils se proposaient d'interroger les secrets de la nature, et, comme cela passait pour chose suspecte dans l'État pontifical, ils se réunissaient dans le plus grand secret, dans un coin du palais Cesi. L'entreprise, peu sérieuse en apparence, ne dura pas longtemps, car les parents, suivant d'un œil désapprobateur les manigances ténébreuses de leurs rejetons, interdirent les réunions. Mais Cesi, secondé par l'unique compagnon qui lui restait des académiciens, élabora, en 1609, un nouveau programme, et se mit à recruter de nouveaux membres — avec un succès remarquable car, en 1610, Giambattista Della Porta fait déjà partie du groupe, et en 1611 Galilée. La première académie des sciences naturelles fonctionna en permanence jusqu'à 1630, quand la mort de Cesi et les préludes du procès de Galilée l'ont dissouté. Plus de cent ans plus tard, en 1745, il y eut quelques tentatives pour la ressusciter, mais qui n'aboutirent qu'en 1795 ; la *Lincei* est aujourd'hui l'académie nationale de l'Italie.<sup>11</sup>

Ce caractère de mouvement que prit la création d'académies, et la présence permanente, toujours renouvelée de l'idée d'académie se manifestent clairement aussi au-delà des frontières de l'Italie, qui fut l'initiatrice. Limitons-nous au seul exemple de la France.

A l'origine nous trouvons, une fois de plus, l'Italie, plus exactement Venise où avait séjourné, en qualité d'ambassadeur de France, Lazare de Baïf, père du célèbre poète de la *Pléiade* ; il s'était lié avec l'académie d'Aldo Manuzio. Après son retour à Paris, il y invita un de ses membres, l'excellent philologue grec Gerolamo Aleandro, qui devint le maître et l'ami de Jean Dorat, père du mouvement académique français, qui forma toute une génération d'érudits au Collège de Coqueret. Ce cercle n'était pas encore une académie, mais on commença à le considérer comme tel ultérieurement, tout comme la *Pléiade*, célèbre groupe de poètes et de philosophes, constitué d'élèves de Dorat, qui apportait lui-même son concours. Ils tenaient leurs réunions dans la maison du jeune Baïf, y donnaient lecture de leurs œuvres dont ils discutaient ensemble. Il ne fallut plus qu'un pas pour que, sur l'initiative de Baïf, soit fondée, en 1570, la première académie française régulière et officiellement instituée. Cette *Académie de poésie et de musique* devint, pour quelques années, un véritable foyer de l'élite intellectuelle française.<sup>12</sup> Après la mort de Charles IX, protecteur de l'académie de Baïf, le nouveau roi rentré de Pologne, Henri III, organisa lui-même une *Académie de Palais*, composée essentiellement de membres de l'académie précédente. Elle fonctionna régulièrement entre 1576

et 1579, toujours sur les lieux de la résidence royale, avec la participation de personnalités aussi illustres que Ronsard, Pontus de Tyard, Baïf, Bodin, d'Aubigné, Du Perron, etc.<sup>13</sup> Ces années sont celles d'une relative tolérance religieuse en France, ce qui explique la présence de l'indomptable huguenot que fut d'Aubigné. Quand les feux de guerres de religion se rallumèrent, celui-ci transplanta l'idée d'académie à la Cour de Navarre du futur Henri IV, dans la ville de Pau où Du Bartas, Du Plessis Mornay, Jean de Sponde et d'autres créèrent une académie d'esprit protestant. Par la suite, dans les deux dernières décennies du siècle, et au début du siècle suivant, vont se succéder en France aussi des groupes qui se dénomment académies ou des sociétés amicales de savants assumant une activité académique — jusqu'à ce que l'une d'elles, la compagnie hébergée par la maison de Valentin Conrart autour des années 1630, devienne, par la volonté de Richelieu, l'*Académie Française*. Cette institution qu'attendait un avenir si brillant apparut comme radicalement nouvelle ; pourtant ses organisateurs se réfèrent volontairement aux débuts du mouvement académique français. Les *Lettres patentes* consacrant la fondation de l'*Académie Française* font écho aux idées formulées quelques quatre-vingt ans auparavant, en 1549, par Du Bellay, dans le célèbre manifeste de la *Pléiade*, la *Défense et illustration de la langue française*.<sup>14</sup>

Au cours du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, dans la seconde phase de l'histoire du mouvement, les académies continuent à se constituer, pour la plupart, dans la sphère privée, à partir de sociétés amicales, et le statut d'institution n'est toujours pas un critère de leur existence. Ainsi, par exemple, la société savante constituée à Padoue, dans la maison de Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, ne se transforma jamais en académie régulière, bien que Paolo Manuzio déclarât, et 1560, à propos de cette réunion d'« esprits divins » (dont Andreas Dudith) : « O che perfetta compagnia questa, si che merita nome di Accademia ». <sup>15</sup> Qu'aurait-il dit s'il avait su qu'un Sir Philip Sidney, un le Tasse, un Galilée fréquenteraient aussi le palais Pinelli ? La compagnie de l'*Orti Oricellari* ne s'était pas dotée de structures, non plus que la *Pléiade*, mais on observe déjà un effort général pour créer des institutions, calquées — pour les questions formelles — sur des sociétés déjà existantes de caractères divers : confréries religieuses, organisations estudiantines, corporations, etc. On se met à rédiger des statuts, à établir une hiérarchie parmi les administrateurs, à fixer des emblèmes (*impresi*), des noms symboliques et des fêtes.

Les plus anciens statuts académiques qui nous soient parvenus sont ceux de l'*Accademia degli Intronati* fondée à Sienne en 1525 ; ils ont été précédés par ceux que Giovanni Pontano avait rédigés pour l'académie napolitaine qui portait son nom, mais ceux-ci n'ont pas été conservés. <sup>16</sup> Le statut d'institution exigeait l'introduction de certains rites : l'*Accademia Platonica* fêtait ainsi l'anniversaire de Platon, et l'*Accademia Romana* de Pomponio Leto commémorait régulièrement celui de la fondation de Rome. A l'occasion de la mort de l'un des membres (et surtout des présidents — principes —) se répandit l'usage des discours funèbres et des publications in memoriam. On observe une tendance à l'hermétisme et au mystère : non seulement les

académies recevaient des noms singuliers au sens ésotérique, mais les membres eux-mêmes avaient leur nom d'académicien et l'insigne correspondant. Ainsi naquit toute une symbolique complexe, connue des seuls initiés, ce qui convenait parfaitement au goût maniériste de la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. La symbolique des jardins jouit d'une faveur particulière ; c'est le cas par exemple de l'*Accademia degli Ortolani* (académie des horticulteurs), qui fonctionnait vers 1540 à Plaisance, et dont les membres portaient chacun le nom d'une plante (Cipolla, Cocomero, Carota, etc.).<sup>17</sup> Dans d'autres cas, c'est un arbre noble, tel le platane, qui devint le symbole de l'académie, et les réunions se tenaient à l'ombre de son feuillage épais. Déjà dans l'histoire des toutes premières proto-académies, il était fréquent que la société choisit un jardin, ou une villa entourée d'un parc, en dehors de la ville, comme lieu de réunion. Là le plaisir intellectuel s'accompagnait de la contemplation des beautés de la nature dont l'âme sortait rafraîchie ; on suivait l'exemple de l'Antiquité, ici aussi : l'Académie d'Athènes était située sur les jardins d'Akadémos, en dehors de la ville. Dans le vocabulaire de Juste Lipse, un des plus grands représentants de l'idée d'académie, le jardin devient même synonyme de l'académie : dans *De constantia*, l'auteur l'appelle la maison des Muses, la Schola de la Sagesse et l'Académie ombrageante. Et le groupe de savants qui entoure le penseur à Leyde porte le nom de Hortus Lipsii — jardin de Lipse.<sup>18</sup>

Dans le mouvement académique libre et spontané des intellectuels érudits régnaient un pluralisme idéologique et une grande tolérance religieuse : leur conflit avec le pouvoir politique ne pouvait tarder. Il éclata la première fois en 1468, quand les membres dirigeants de l'*Accademia Romana*, qu'on savait libertins et anticléricaux, furent accusés de conspiration politique contre le pouvoir pontifical. Certains réussirent à s'échapper, d'autres durent connaître les salles de torture de la prison pontificale. Heureusement pour eux, Paul II ne prit pas la chose au sérieux et, pensant qu'ils avaient voulu jouer les Catilinas, les libéra, les autorisant même à poursuivre — sous un contrôle sévère — leur activité, mais qui dut se limiter désormais à l'archéologie.<sup>19</sup> Après la restauration des Médicis en 1513, ce fut le cercle de l'*Orti Oricellari* qui devint un des foyers de l'opposition républicaine à Florence, — ce n'est pas un hasard si Machiavel y donnait lecture des chapitres de ses livres en préparation. C'est de là que partit, en 1522, la conspiration, qui échoua, contre le cardinal Jules de Médicis, ce qui entraîna la fin de l'activité de la société, mais également, cette fois, coûta la vie à plusieurs des membres qui furent exécutés.<sup>20</sup> Les conjurés du complot dirigé en 1547 contre Pier Luigi Farnese, duc de Parme et de Plaisance, furent recrutés parmi les membres de l'*Accademia des Horticulteurs*, au nom pourtant si innocent. Si ceux-ci triomphèrent du tyran, l'académie ne lui survécut pas.<sup>21</sup>

Dans le climat de l'absolutisme naissant, la liberté du mouvement académique devint peu à peu impossible. Le pouvoir monarchique fortifié toléra mal l'indépendance de divers groupes de l'élite intellectuelle. Il entreprit de créer des



académies nationales centralisées ou, plus exactement, de transformer certains groupes en institutions publiques, tandis que les autres perdirent peu à peu de leur importance et devinrent de petites sociétés locales. Nous entrons là dans la troisième phase de la préhistoire des académies : au mouvement spontané des savants succède l'établissement par l'État d'académies. L'initiative revint au grand-duc Cosimo, ennemi de toute tradition démocratique et républicaine, qui créa l'*Accademia Fiorentina*,<sup>22</sup> l'œuvre fut parachevée avec un esprit de conséquence remarquable par Richelieu, avec la fondation de l'*Académie Française*.<sup>23</sup> Ce changement entraîna naturellement une grande restriction de la liberté scientifique. Les nouveaux statuts de l'*Accademia Fiorentina* en 1547 interdisent par exemple aux académiciens de faire la lecture ou de publier leurs œuvres scientifiques ou littéraires sans l'approbation préalable des « censors ». Le 21<sup>e</sup> § des statuts de l'*Académie Française* interdit toute discussion portant sur un sujet religieux ; le 22<sup>e</sup> prévoit que les questions politiques et morales ne peuvent se traiter que dans un esprit conforme aux vues du roi.

L'étatisation eut naturellement aussi des avantages indiscutables. L'État prenait à sa charge désormais les frais de location, d'entretien de l'édifice, de chauffage, et subventionna l'édition. Le titre d'académicien n'était plus seulement un grade scientifique, mais aussi conférait un rang social, comportait des avantages matériels et juridiques. Tandis qu'auparavant, dans la phase de formation, la notion d'académicien était restée assez vague, et que les nouveaux membres se présentaient eux-mêmes, au lieu d'être élus par les anciens, maintenant l'effectif fut déterminé et l'élection suivait les lois rigoureuses de la politique culturelle de l'État.

Il est caractéristique cependant que l'initiative privée des savants, c'est-à-dire le mouvement spontané reste toujours la base de la fondation des académies. Ainsi la *Royal Society*, créée en 1660, eut pour origine, sur le modèle de l'*Académie Française*, une société privée et restreinte qui s'était organisée d'abord en 1645 à Londres, ensuite, à partir de 1648, à Oxford, pour fournir enfin, revenue à Londres en 1659, le noyau de la société royale. Les racines remontent, naturellement, beaucoup plus loin, dans ce cas aussi : le nom d'*Invisible College*, donné au groupe recruté en partie parmi les émigrés revenus de Pfalz, en Allemagne, trahit clairement que le mouvement académique anglais prend sa source parmi les Rose-Croix.<sup>24</sup> Mentionnons aussi un exemple allemand : en 1652, dans la petite ville allemande de Schweinfurt, quatre médecins, s'inspirant des exemples italiens, de celui de la *Lincei* surtout, fondèrent l'*Accademia Naturae Curiosorum*. Cette modeste société locale devint, dès 1672, la *Sacri Romani Imperii Academia Naturae Curiosorum*, mieux connue sous le nom de Leopoldina ; c'est elle qui, au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, fonctionna comme *Kaiserlich Leopoldinisch-Carolinische Deutsche Akademie der Naturforscher* et mena une œuvre de très haute valeur dans la recherche en sciences naturelles.<sup>25</sup>

Au cours des premiers siècles de l'histoire des académies, le contenu même de l'idée d'académie subit d'importantes transformations. Les groupes humanistes du XV<sup>e</sup>

siècle s'étaient tous constitués dans le but d'étudier l'héritage littéraire, idéologique et matériel de l'Antiquité redécouverte. Les études antiques furent ainsi le berceau de nos académies des sciences actuelles, il convient de le savoir. Naturellement, elles recouvraient alors la presque totalité des disciplines scientifiques, et servaient de base et de point de départ même pour les recherches portant sur la réalité contemporaine. L'étude des textes antiques impliquait une approche encyclopédique des sciences ; celle-ci caractérisa en effet l'activité des académies du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. A l'*Accademia Aldina*, en dehors des questions philologiques, on discutait aussi des problèmes de médecine, et, dans le cercle de l'*Orti Oricellari*, les sciences politiques et militaires figuraient aussi à l'ordre du jour, grâce à Machiavel, — le point de départ restant toujours, naturellement, les auteurs antiques. L'*Accademia Fiorentina* s'illustra particulièrement par l'élargissement des activités scientifiques. Nous connaissons heureusement le registre des conférences académiques florentines prononcées entre 1540 et 1550 ; la thématique en est des plus variées, allant des sciences naturelles aux problèmes du droit, de la psychologie, de la langue à la littérature, etc. On y traita de l'anatomie, de la peinture, des planètes, du libre arbitre, de l'amour, des questions de grammaire et de stylistique et ainsi de suite.<sup>26</sup> Les problèmes de philosophie morale figurent en particulièrement grand nombre, ce qui correspond à leur poids accru dans la pensée philosophique de la seconde moitié du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Ils abondent aussi au programme des académies françaises, surtout à celui de l'*Académie de Palais* d'Henri III. C'est là également que se cristallisa le mieux, après l'*Accademia Fiorentina*, le genre le plus important jusqu'aujourd'hui de l'activité académique : le discours académique — *lezione accademica* —, suivi de questions et d'interventions. Nous connaissons plusieurs, dont ceux de Ronsard, de ces discours prononcés à l'académie d'Henri III. La plupart traitent des questions éthiques, telle la priorité des qualités intellectuelles ou morales, mais un discours de Pontus de Tyard, une des étoiles de la *Pléiade*, s'occupe par exemple du mouvement du ciel et confronte les systèmes ptoléméen et copernicien.<sup>27</sup> De même, il ne faut pas nous méprendre sur le nom de la première académie française, celle de Baïf : l'*Académie de poésie et de musique* doit être comprise au sens néoplatonicien, selon lequel la poésie est le support de tout savoir, et la musique celui de l'harmonie du monde, y compris de l'univers physique : la curiosité encyclopédique de la Renaissance se retrouve donc ici aussi.<sup>28</sup>

L'apport le plus important de l'activité académique du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle reste cependant le progrès de la langue vernaculaire au détriment du latin. C'est le mouvement académique qui fit triompher la langue vulgaire dans la haute littérature et dans la science de toutes les nations cultivées, et c'est là, peut-être, son plus grand mérite, face aux universités fidèles au latin. Tandis qu'au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle les discussions savantes se tenaient encore en latin, l'*Orti Oricellari* et, à sa suite, les autres académies italiennes adoptèrent l'emploi de l'italien, et une de leurs activités principales consista désormais à faire parler aux sciences la langue maternelle, « che le scientie tutte si potessino veder

in nostra lingua» — comme disent les actes de l'*Accademia Fiorentina*.<sup>29</sup> Pour atteindre un tel but, il fallut naturellement cultiver la langue vulgaire et l'élever au niveau des langues classiques. C'est alors qu'on découvre vraiment les grands prédécesseurs du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, la triade Dante-Pétrarque-Boccace, que leurs textes deviennent, comme auparavant ceux des auteurs antiques, le point de départ dans le traitement des sujets scientifiques les plus divers, et que leur langue devient la norme. L'étude de leurs œuvres, l'analyse de leur langue, l'interprétation de leurs écrits constituent la tâche principale à laquelle se consacrent toutes les académies florentines de l'*Orti Oricellari* à la *Crusca*. Les Padouans ne sont pas en reste, eux non plus, dans le culte de leur langue, d'autant plus que le chef du mouvement académique à Padoue est ce même Speroni qui, avec son collègue Tomitano, écrivit les traités les plus importants du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle sur les droits et les qualités de la langue italienne.

L'exemple de l'Italie se répand ensuite partout, invitant au culte de la langue maternelle. Le prince Ludwig von Anhalt, qui a connu dans sa jeunesse, lors de ses études poursuivies à Florence, l'activité de la *Crusca*, fonda à Weimar, en 1617, la première académie allemande sous le nom de *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*, pour que « le haut allemand (Hochdeutsch) fût conservé le mieux possible, dans son état correct et exempt de mots étrangers» — comme disent les statuts.<sup>30</sup> En France, depuis la *Pléiade*, le mouvement académique partit également en lutte pour les droits de la langue maternelle ; les académies successives employèrent exclusivement le français dans leurs activités scientifiques et la première et la plus importante tâche de l'*Académie Française* fut la réglementation solide du français. Dans ses statuts on retrouve la phrase, déjà citée, des actes de la *Florentina* : il faut rendre la langue française susceptible « de traiter tous les arts et toutes les sciences ». <sup>31</sup>

Il nous reste maintenant à situer, sur ce tableau, que nous avons esquissé, de l'histoire des académies européennes, les données relatives à la présence de l'idée d'académie en Hongrie et aux initiatives visant la création d'académies hongroises à l'époque de la Renaissance. L'entreprise peut paraître hardie, étant donné qu'on ne connaît aucune académie en Hongrie aux XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles. Mais nous avons vu que le mouvement académique ne se limite pas aux seules institutions possédant une organisation et des statuts. Nous avons pu enregistrer un bon nombre d'autres critères qui caractérisent les premiers groupes académiques, et la présence de quelques-uns de ceux-ci peut déjà nous autoriser à parler d'une « préhistoire » hongroise de l'idée d'académie.

Nous devons aussi tenir compte du fait que, même dans des pays mieux servis par la chance, on ne possède qu'un petit nombre de sources sur l'histoire ancienne des académies. Nous n'avons que des données indirectes sur la plupart des premiers groupes savants : mentions dans des lettres, dans diverses préfaces, éventuellement, ou dans des mémoires. Aucun acte ne consigna les réunions privées des érudits et, si, par hasard, il y eut quelques notes prises, personne ne se soucia de les conserver

régulièrement. Alors que les institutions vieilles de plusieurs siècles, comme les monastères et les universités, gardaient soigneusement leurs archives, même les académies officielles et instituées n'avaient aucune garantie de voir leurs actes conservés. La plupart disparurent rapidement et leur legs fut dispersé, et, si quelque chose en est parvenu jusqu'à nous, ce n'est que l'effet du hasard. Grâce à des sources indirectes, nous savons de plusieurs académies italiennes qu'elles avaient leurs statuts, mais on les cherche vainement aujourd'hui. Nous connaissons très mal les académies espagnoles du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, malgré l'abondance des sources conservées sur la péninsule ibérique. Nous savons que divers groupes académiques existaient en Espagne déjà en 1560, mais les premières données sûres que nous possédions concernent l'*Academia de los Nocturnos*, fondée à Valence en 1591.<sup>32</sup> Si nous avons des renseignements un peu plus détaillés sur la première académie française, ce n'est que grâce au critique du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, Guillaume Colletet, qui, ayant découvert quelques pages du livre de l'académie (sorte de procès-verbal) chez Guillaume de Baïf, fils du fondateur, enregistra leur contenu.

Compte tenu des proportions catastrophiques de la destruction des sources écrites hongroises de la Renaissance, on peut avancer sans exagération que, même s'il y avait eu une académie régulière en Hongrie au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous n'en saurions probablement pas grand-chose.

Nous serions heureux de connaître au moins des groupes qui se disaient des académies. Nous ne pouvons pas compter sur cela non plus, car, au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, ce nouveau terme venait tout juste de s'implanter, même en Italie, mais bientôt le nom d'académie, commença à désigner — sauf en Italie et en France —, plutôt l'université. C'est l'université de Wittenberg qui reçoit la première, en 1511, le nom d'« Academia », et, vers le milieu du siècle, on commence à mentionner sous le nom d'*Academia Istropolitana* l'éphémère université fondée à Presbourg par Mathias Corvin en 1467. Les protestants hongrois qui, aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles, font leurs études à l'étranger, ne parlent jamais d'universités, mais d'académies à propos des institutions fréquentées, et, quand János Apáczai Csere rédige son célèbre memorandum sur « Les moyens de fonder enfin une Académie dans la nation hongroise » (*A magyar nemzetben immár elvégtére egy Academia felállításának módja és formája*), ce n'est pas une académie, mais une université qu'il propose de donner à la patrie. Selon le dictionnaire d'Albert Szenczi Molnár, le mot academia signifie en hongrois « híres schola » (école célèbre); c'est ainsi que Balassi et Rimay ont pu appeler Eger « celeberrima militaris academia », ce que Balassi traduisit en hongrois par « vitézeknek ékes iskolája » (école illustre des preux).<sup>33</sup> Dans les milieux protestants, l'académie, en tant qu'assemblée de savants, fut désignée par le mot société ou ses synonymes : Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft, Royal Society, Litteraria Societas chez Mátyás Bél, et même quand Széchenyi offre ses revenus, ce n'est pas à l'Académie Hongroise des Sciences, mais à la Société Hongroise des Savants.

Il nous faut donc renoncer à chercher le nom d'académie, et reconnaître les antécédents hongrois dans les groupes d'érudits des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles qui présentent l'un ou l'autre des critères de l'activité académique propre à la Renaissance. Nous en trouvons un grand nombre, et déjà très tôt.

Le premier groupe hongrois de savants humanistes — composé encore, il est vrai, en majorité d'étrangers —, se forma dans la maison de János Vitéz à Buda, dans la première moitié des années 1440, c'est-à-dire peu après les premières expériences italiennes du mouvement académique. Leur activité est décrite, d'après le récit de Grzegorz de Sanok, père de l'humanisme polonais, par Filippo Buonaccorsi, Callimachus Experiens de son nom d'académicien, ancien membre conspirateur de l'*Academia Romana* qui s'était réfugié chez le prélat polonais.<sup>34</sup> Callimachus mentionne comme membres, en dehors de Vitéz et de Grzegorz de Sanok, le vieux Pier Paolo Vergerio et le poète chypriote Filippo Podocataro ; nous pouvons sûrement ajouter aussi un autre humaniste polonais qui séjournait alors à Buda et entretenait des relations étroites avec Vitéz, Mikolaj Lasocki, et même, pour la durée de son séjour au moins, un autre illustre représentant, à côté de Vergerio, de l'humanisme italien, Giuliano Cesarini qui eut une fin tragique.<sup>35</sup> La maison de Vitéz fut « l'asile des sciences » (*literarum asyllum*) selon Callimachus, et l'on s'y livrait à des concours oratoires et poétiques, soit à des « exercitationes » littéraires, sous l'arbitrage de Vitéz ; de plus : « *assiduae inter eos disputationes erant variaeque interrogationes* » — il y eut entre eux des discussions assidues et des interrogations diverses (questions soulevées). *Exercitatio, disputatio, interrogatio* : ce fut aussi l'activité des proto-académies italiennes de l'époque, en dehors de l'étude et de l'annotation des textes antiques. Ces dernières ne manquaient pas non plus au programme de la société de Vitéz : les nombreuses notes marginales des livres qui proviennent de sa bibliothèque témoignent non seulement de l'érudition et de l'activité philologique de leur propriétaire, mais aussi, probablement, d'un travail collectif de savants. Dans le codex qui contient l'*Astronomicon* de Marcus Manilius, Vitéz nota lui-même qu'il l'avait lu et annoté avec Galeotto Marzio.<sup>36</sup> Cela s'était passé en 1469, à Esztergom, l'assemblée savante de Vitéz — dont les membres changeaient sans cesse — ayant suivi son chef dans sa Cour de Várad, puis dans celle d'Esztergom. Les réunions tenues dans la bibliothèque de Várad sont mentionnées par l'évêque Nicolaus Machinensis qui, comme il le dit, avait passé l'hiver de 1463 « de la manière la plus gaie et la plus agréable, le plus souvent dans la merveilleuse bibliothèque de Vitéz, en la compagnie de plusieurs hommes fort savants ». <sup>37</sup> Quant au groupe d'érudits qui se réunissaient à Esztergom en 1467, même les premières académies italiennes auraient pu en être jalouses : on y trouve János Vitéz, Janus Pannonius, Galeotto Marzio, Regiomontanus, Martyn Bylica, Giovanni Gatti et même, quelquefois, le roi humaniste Mathias, discutant de problèmes divers, annotant de vieux livres et observant le mouvement des étoiles. Cette dernière occupation, et, plus généralement,

l'importance attribuée aux sciences naturelles assurent au groupe savant de Vitéz une place toute particulière parmi les premières formations académiques.<sup>38</sup>

Ce qui atteste entre autres que l'idée d'académie est ici bien présente, c'est que plusieurs des participants avaient eu des relations directes avec les premières académies italiennes. Gatti et Regiomontanus avaient fréquenté l'*Academia Bessariana* et venaient directement de l'entourage du cardinal lorsqu'ils arrivèrent à Esztergom. Nous savons aussi que Janus Pannonius avait pris contact en 1458 à Florence avec Argyropoulos et Donato Acciaiuoli, deux personnalités importantes du *Chorus Achademiae Florentinae*, et on peut supposer qu'il avait participé aux réunions de cette société. C'est ce que laisse du moins croire le compte rendu de Vespasiano da Bisticci, selon lequel Janus « rencontra tous les hommes savants de Florence et se lia avec eux ». Il s'était déjà rendu, en 1458, à Careggi, futur siège de l'*Academia Platonica*, où il avait été reçu par le grand Cosimo, et il n'est pas exclu qu'il y soit retourné plus tard, en 1465, quand l'Académie fonctionnait déjà, puisque son amitié avec Ficin date de cette année.<sup>39</sup>

La première tentative hongroise de faire vivre une académie partagea le destin de ses homologues italiens et disparut, avec son fondateur Vitéz, à la suite d'une conspiration politique. Mais vers la fin des années 1470, un nouveau groupe de savants se constitua à la Cour même du roi Mathias. La figure centrale en fut sans doute Francesco Bandini, ancien membre de l'académie platonicienne de Florence, qui s'était installé à Buda et assura un contact permanent entre Ficin et ses disciples d'une part, et les humanistes hongrois et italiens de Buda d'autre part, tant et si bien que ces derniers essayèrent même d'attirer le maître en Hongrie — comme auparavant Mathias, qui avait failli obtenir, sur la proposition de Janus, probablement, qu'Argiropoulos s'installât en Pannonie.<sup>40</sup> Les cadres de cette étude ne nous permettent pas d'examiner dans les détails et de trancher la question de savoir en quoi et dans quelle mesure correspond aux critères d'une académie la vie intellectuelle florissante qu'arbitrait la Cour de Buda et particulièrement la bibliothèque Corvina. Il faut nous garder de confondre l'activité académique avec la magnificence des cours. La présence plus ou moins longue de nombreux humanistes hongrois et italiens remarquables — que je ne peux énumérer ici —, l'apparition du genre du symposium,<sup>41</sup> et le contact permanent avec les milieux académiques italiens rendent cependant plus que probable qu'il y eut à Buda aussi des réunions académiques régulières. En tout cas, l'idée d'académie a pris racine en Hongrie car, peu après la mort du roi et le départ de la plupart des humanistes italiens, un nouveau groupe de savants se constitua, disposant déjà d'une certaine organisation, la *Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana*.

L'initiative était venue de l'extérieur, et la plupart des participants étaient des étrangers, mais l'humanisme hongrois s'articula désormais sur le mouvement académique international. L'organisateur de la société, Conrad Celtis, avait connu, lors de son séjour en Italie, l'activité de l'*Academia Platonica* et de l'*Academia Romana*

et, sur le modèle de celles-ci, il projeta la fondation, en Allemagne, d'une académie platonique. C'est à Heidelberg d'abord, qu'il créa une société d'érudits, ensuite, appelé, en 1497, à la chaire de l'université de Vienne, il y organisa sans tarder la *Sodalitas Litteraria Danubiana*<sup>42</sup>. Cette année même celle-ci fit paraître à Vienne sa première publication dédiée à Celtis : l'œuvre pseudo-aristotélique intitulée *De mundo ad Alexandrum*. Parmi les présentateurs figurent plusieurs humanistes étrangers qui séjournaient en Hongrie, tels Girolamo Balbi, Jan Šlechta, Augustinus Moravus Olomucensis ; le président, c'est-à-dire le princeps, était hongrois : c'était János Vitéz junior, évêque de Veszprém, qui était alors administrateur de l'évêché de Vienne. Les humanistes de Buda invitèrent Celtis à la fin de l'année dans la capitale hongroise, et ne manquèrent pas, à titre de *captatio benevolentiae*, de faire mention des vins de Szerém. La visite eut effectivement lieu, et permit la création à Buda d'une filiale, d'un *contubernium* comme on disait, de la *Sodalitas*.<sup>43</sup> Le nom *contubernium* fut souvent utilisé pour désigner des groupes académiques ; Callimachus appela ainsi par exemple la société réunie dans la maison de Vitéz au début des années 1440. Le groupe de Buda est aussi mentionné sous le nom de « *coetus* », par le grand poète tchèque Bohuslav Lobkovic Hasištejnski par exemple, qui, dans une lettre adressée à Jan Šlechta, le désigne aussi par le terme d'« *academia* », quand il prend congé de son ami par ces mots : « *Vale et tecum tota academia* ». La plupart des renseignements qui nous sont parvenus sur les réunions régulières de cette *sodalitas*, ou *contubernium*, *coetus*, ou, si on veut, *academia* de Buda, viennent également de Lobkovic qui, lors de son séjour à Buda de 1502 à 1503, avait pris — comme il l'écrit — grand plaisir à fréquenter la société des fidèles de Phoebus et de Minerve.<sup>44</sup>

La *Sodalitas* disparaît vers les années 1510, et les événements tragiques des décennies suivantes ne favorisèrent pas l'épanouissement du mouvement académique hongrois. Les recherches futures devront encore déterminer s'il y eut quelque continuité, à la façon des rivières souterraines, entre la *Sodalitas* et le mouvement académique qui prit un nouvel élan à partir des années 70. Une telle entreprise ne paraît pas stérile, si nous pensons aux réunions savantes à la résidence de György Szathmári à Pécs, aux humanistes rassemblés à la Cour de Ferenc Várdai à Gyulafehérvár, ou aux rapports personnels et littéraires entre Jacobus Piso (ancien membre de la *Sodalitas*) et Georg Wernher d'abord, et entre ce dernier et Zsigmond Gyalui Torda ensuite. Ce qui est certain, c'est que dans les années 1550 et 1560, dans l'entourage de Miklós Oláh, archevêque et chancelier, apparaît une génération d'excellentes humanistes qui sera à l'origine, au début des années 1570, d'une nouvelle société dont le fonctionnement répondra de façon indiscutable aux critères de l'activité académique.

Il s'agit du groupe savant de Presbourg d'István Radéczy, évêque d'Eger, et lieutenant général du royaume, qui se réunissait dans le jardin du prélat humaniste — véritable *hortus Musarum* déjà —, à l'ombre d'un tilleul dédié à Apollon.<sup>45</sup> Les participants les plus remarquables ont tous des rapports étroits avec le mouvement académique

international. Le plus illustre, János Zsámboky, avait été l'élève de Dorat à Paris, en 1551, et avait même prononcé une conférence au Collège de Coqueret, ce berceau du mouvement académique français ; plus tard, à Padoue, à Florence et à Rome, il fréquenta plusieurs sociétés académiques et lia des amitiés durables avec des membres aussi éminents des académies italiennes que le padouan Robortello, le florentin Vettori et le romain Fulvio Orsini.<sup>46</sup> Un autre participant, Miklós Istvánffy, qui consacra plusieurs poèmes au célèbre tilleul et au groupe humaniste, avait été membre, lors de ses études à Padoue, de la sodalitas poétique qui se réunissait à la Villa Noniana, sous le fameux platane de Pietro Bembo — c'est peut-être lui qui suggéra l'idée du tilleul symbolique.<sup>47</sup> L'excellent philologue flamand installé à Presbourg, Nicasius Ellebodus, avait été, pour sa part, un des membres prépondérants de la société déjà mentionnée, de Gian Vincenzo Pinelli, digne du titre d'académie ; il conserva jusqu'à la fin de sa vie des relations avec les milieux académiques padouans.<sup>48</sup> Bien que les poèmes d'Istvánffy, principales sources de nos connaissances sur « l'académie du tilleul » de Presbourg, exaltent surtout l'activité poétique en latin du groupe — comme il sied dans ce genre —, les discussions ont probablement embrassé tout l'éventail des sciences. Zsámboky et Ellebodus furent parmi les meilleurs éditeurs et commentateurs des textes antiques, le second surtout de ceux d'Aristote, mais ils étaient aussi médecins, tout comme leur ami presbourgeois, le poète Purkircher,<sup>49</sup> et nous savons aussi qu'ils s'occupaient de sciences naturelles. C'est ce qui put fonder leur amitié avec l'un des fondateurs de la botanique moderne, Clusius, qui séjourna à Vienne entre 1573 et 1588, fit de fréquents voyages en Hongrie, et devint une sorte de membre associé du cercle presbourgeois.<sup>50</sup> Dans un sens plus large, nous pouvons aussi compter parmi les membres l'aristocrate hongrois le plus cultivé de l'époque, le savant Boldizsár Batthyány, et le professeur viennois Elias Corvinus, ancien condisciple à Padoue de Purkircher et d'Ellebodus, qui s'adonnait avec Batthyány à des expériences alchimiques, et qui consacra également un poème au célèbre tilleul.<sup>51</sup> Malgré l'absence de statuts, d'une liste des membres, et même d'un nom permanent que le groupe se serait donné, la société qui se réunit régulièrement sous le tilleul presbourgeois doit être considérée comme l'assemblée académique hongroise la plus importante depuis le cercle de János Vitéz.

Si nous laissons de côté cette fois l'examen des initiatives de l'époque en Transylvanie, l'étape suivante du mouvement académique hongrois sera la société hongroise qui fonctionna à Wittenberg dans la seconde moitié des années 1580. Le coetus des jeunes Hongrois qui poursuivaient leurs études dans la ville de Luther et de Melanchthon assumait, depuis sa création en 1555, en dehors de tâches sociales et de la défense des intérêts de ses membres, la formation de ceux-ci, par des séances régulières de discussions, portant principalement sur des questions théologiques.<sup>52</sup> Dans les années 80, cette activité atteignit provisoirement un niveau plus élevé, déjà scientifique, probablement grâce à la présence simultanée de plusieurs étudiants exceptionnellement



doués. Un autre fait dut aussi y concourir : tandis qu'auparavant les fils d'aristocrates hongrois n'étaient venus qu'exceptionnellement à l'université de Wittenberg, entre 1586 et 1589 on en compte plusieurs qui voulurent bien sans doute se charger des frais indispensables à l'activité plus exigeante de la société. On peut observer en Italie aussi que, de temps en temps, un étudiant noble, qui assume le rôle de mécène, se trouve à l'origine de la création d'une académie, ou d'un groupe académique. Nous pouvons attribuer un rôle semblable à Mihály Forgách, arrivé en 1587 de Strasbourg à Wittenberg, dont l'oncle, Imre Forgách, finançait alors les études que poursuivaient dans cette ville plusieurs jeunes Hongrois doués, et assumait les frais de plus d'une publication scientifique, telle l'*Album Zrínyi*.<sup>53</sup> En tout cas, c'est avec l'apparition de son neveu que commence une nouvelle forme d'activité dans la société : les discours académiques. Nous avons vu que ces derniers, avec les discussions qu'ils entraînaient, devinrent, dans la seconde moitié du siècle, la forme principale de l'activité académique. Nous connaissons cinq discours académiques prononcés au cœtus hongrois de Wittenberg, entre 1587 et 1589 qui furent tous publiés. Il n'y en a qu'un seul qui porte sur un sujet théologique, les autres traitent de questions de philosophie, de philosophie naturelle ou de philosophie morale ; il ne s'agit donc pas de disputes, exercices habituels qui accompagnaient l'enseignement théologique. Remarquons aussi que les auteurs, à une exception près, ne sont pas des bourgeois venus de bourgades et se destinant à la profession de prédicateur, mais des nobles.<sup>54</sup> Cette initiative dut avoir un écho important car, en 1589, le professeur, de Leipzig, Matthaëus Dresser, à l'occasion du départ d'un des étudiants hongrois, exalta longuement, dans sa lettre d'adieu, les discours et les discussions du cœtus, fort profitables pour l'érudition et la sagesse.<sup>55</sup>

Des cinq discours académiques de Wittenberg, le premier et le dernier furent prononcés par Mihály Forgách lui-même, l'un sur la pérégrination, et l'autre sous le titre de *De magnanimitate*.<sup>56</sup> Ce dernier sujet avait déjà inspiré, sous le même titre, un discours prononcé à l'*Académie de Palais* d'Henri III,<sup>57</sup> ce qui prouve également que l'entreprise de Forgách et de ses compagnons s'insère dans le contexte international des tentatives académiques. Du point de vue des conséquences, le geste le plus important de Forgách fut cependant une lettre qu'il adressa de Wittenberg à la plus grande autorité de l'humanisme tardif européen, Juste Lipse qui, non seulement prit la peine de lui répondre, mais publia aussi sa lettre en 1590, dans le second volume de sa correspondance.<sup>58</sup>

Cette lettre, devenue à juste titre célèbre, fut connue en Hongrie en 1592, alors que Forgách, déjà revenu d'Italie, séjournait dans le château de Trencsén de son oncle Imre. C'est là qu'accoururent, avec la correspondance imprimée de Lipse, Péter Révay, premier historien et théoricien de la sainte couronne hongroise, rentré depuis peu de Strasbourg, et le jeune János Rimay qui reconnut, mieux que personne, l'importance de la lettre adressée à Forgách.<sup>59</sup> C'est que la lettre du jeune baron hongrois, à la

culture étendue et raffinée, avait fourni un prétexte à Lipse pour formuler sa position concernant la véritable noblesse et la vocation de l'aristocratie. Comme il n'avait guère estimé jusque là les membres de la classe dominante, son idée, selon laquelle c'est de celle-ci que devaient sortir « les hommes appelés à gouverner l'État » était nouvelle. La condition en est cependant une véritable noblesse, assurée non par la gloire des aïeux, mais seulement par les « studia litteraria ac sapientiae ». L'idée humaniste de la « vera nobilitas » était connue depuis longtemps en Hongrie, mais les Hongrois, et particulièrement les aristocrates élevés dans l'univers de la Renaissance, s'efforçaient de la mériter par leur vaillance, plutôt que par leur savoir. La compagnie, composée surtout de jeunes aristocrates qui se sentaient une vocation politique, mais s'y préparaient non par la carrière militaire, mais par des études humanistes, se réjouit à juste raison, en ce mois d'août 1592, à Trencsén, de l'encouragement et de la justification que leur apportait le message du grand savant. D'autant plus qu'ils sentaient que ce message s'adressait directement aux Hongrois, à eux-mêmes. C'est que Lipse avait remarqué que la lettre qu'il avait reçue avec tant de plaisir, venait justement d'un jeune aristocrate hongrois. Forgách n'avait pas manqué d'insister dans sa missive : « quaeritur, ut noscas esse etiam in gente nostra Martius potius quam Palladis studiosa, qui te colant admirentur, suspiciant » ; et Lipse répondit à l'éloge de son admirateur hongrois par cette question enthousiaste : « ille vester remotus, et vere Martialis tractus, educat ac profert Palladias istas proles ? »<sup>60</sup>

Le vieux topos, selon lequel les Hongrois s'adonnent aux armes plutôt qu'aux sciences, reçut alors un sens nouveau : la nation de Mars devait être gouvernée par les fils de Pallas, une élite humaniste recrutée dans la noblesse, et qui devait se préparer à sa mission par l'étude de la littérature et des sciences. Par son heureuse formule, l'humaniste flamand disait tout haut ce que la petite compagnie de Trencsén et ses alliés absents pressentaient ou pensaient en secret.

Cela nous conduit à une nouvelle étape du mouvement académique hongrois. Si les deux Forgách, Révay et Rimay, ne dressèrent pas de procès-verbal ni, à notre connaissance, s'élaborèrent de statut, leur rencontre ressemble pourtant à ce que fut la fondation des académies à la Renaissance. Rappelons que des académies devenues aussi célèbres que la *Lincoi* ou la *Leopoldina* naquirent des réunions privées de quatre personnes seulement. La lettre que Rimay adressa à Juste Lipse, le 20 août 1592, sur les lieux mêmes de leur rencontre, et dans laquelle il lui rend compte de leurs discussions, témoigne en tout cas d'une certaine conscience de groupe.<sup>61</sup> Il appelle leur société « notre troupe » (*nostra turba*), et il n'entend pas par là la réunion occasionnelle de quelques amis : le prouve le fait que, trois ans plus tard, dans la célèbre lettre de recommandation qu'il adresse à Kristóf Darholcz, il énumère de nouveau les mêmes noms, y ajoutant ceux de membres plus récents, tel celui de Miklós Istvánffy, ancien participant des réunions du jardin presbourgeois, et fait mention de « la famille de ceux qui se consacrent, comme eux, à l'étude des humanités ».<sup>62</sup> Cette fois il nomme le

groupe, employant la formule lipsienne : proles Palladias — fils de Pallas. La fameuse lettre de Lipse devint le fil conducteur de leur activité, une sorte de manifeste ; son prestige fut tel, qu'ils la firent transcrire en vers par Johannes Bocatius.<sup>63</sup> Ils choisirent aussi les sujets de leurs discussions conformément au programme lipsien : selon les lettres de Rimay, on traita surtout des questions de philosophie morale et de théorie politique.

Nous savons peu de chose concernant les réunions des fils de Pallas ; la distance qui séparait leurs domiciles respectifs ne dut pas les faciliter. Rimay, dans sa lettre à Darholcz que nous avons déjà mentionnée, parle cependant de ces réunions qui se tenaient probablement dans les manoirs du comitat de Sáros. Plusieurs des membres vivaient là, à une distance de quelques heures les uns des autres, tels Darholcz lui-même et son savant prédicateur de cour, János Tolnai Balog, Bocatius, maître d'école à Eperjes, Zsigmond Péchy, auteur de l'un des discours académiques de Wittenberg, et Mihály Forgách lui-même venait souvent séjourner dans la maison de son père à Hertnek. De plus, le comitat de Sáros reçut, entre 1592 et 1594, les visites fréquentes de Bálint Balassi, le plus grand de son temps, qui venait voir son fils élevé chez sa sœur.

Le poète de Vénus et de Mars, qui était déjà alors disciple de Mars et de Pallas, l'ancien étudiant du collège de Braunsberg, Balassi, qui lisait Machiavel et s'intéressait à la théorie politique, apparaît dans les écrits de Rimay comme le princeps de l'académie que constituaient les fils hongrois de Pallas. En tout cas, Rimay essaya de le faire apparaître comme tel, dans sa lettre adressée à Darholcz, dont nous savons qu'elle servit de préface à l'épicedion consacré au poète mort au champ d'honneur. Aussi les fils de Pallas, énumérés dans la lettre, figurent-ils comme les « dignes héritiers de son éternelle gloire naturelle ». Cette gloire revient à Balassi non seulement parce qu'il répondait à l'idéal lipsien, et que, aristocrate savant, « il fut un soutien puissant de notre État chancelant et près de tomber en ruine », mais aussi parce qu'il « imprégna notre langue du miel de la rhétorique et l'éleva au sommet de l'éloquence ».

Nous arrivons là à l'étape la plus importante de la pensée académique : à la nécessité reconnue et au programme du culte de la langue maternelle. Relativement tard, par rapport aux Italiens et au Français, en Hongrie aussi fut finalement inscrit à l'ordre du jour le passage du latin au hongrois. Une littérature de langue hongroise existait déjà depuis longtemps, mais il n'y avait pas d'éloquence hongroise, et la langue des œuvres hongroises ne pouvait rivaliser avec la richesse du latin classique, n'étant pas encore « imprégnée du miel de la rhétorique ». C'est pour cela que le latin resta dominant, jusque dans les années 1590, dans le mouvement académique hongrois, et seuls les fils de Pallas commencèrent à passer au bilinguisme et, plus tard, s'efforcèrent consciemment, suivant l'exemple de Balassi et l'initiative de Rimay, d'employer exclusivement la langue maternelle.

Le souci de cultiver la langue hongroise remontait déjà à un passé de plusieurs décennies, depuis Gábor Pesti, Sylvester et Bornemisza jusqu'à Balassi, mais seule

l'œuvre de ce dernier, le cycle de Julia en particulier et les poèmes ultérieurs, fournirent la preuve que « notre langue fort rude pouvait revêtir une robe plus convenable ». <sup>64</sup> Avec cette reconnaissance, Rimay entra dans le sillage des académies italiennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, de la *Pléiade* et du mouvement académique français qui lui succéda, fut le contemporain de ceux qui, en Espagne et en Angleterre, firent des efforts semblables, et précéda les Allemands, chez qui Opitz allait bientôt professer les mêmes idées. Comme l'avaient fait les Italiens de Pétrarque, les Français de Ronsard, les Espagnols de Garcilaso de la Vega, Rimay fit de Balassi un modèle à suivre. Il développa cette théorie dans un écrit en hongrois, impossible à dater avec précision, qui est le document le plus mûr du mouvement académique hongrois de la Renaissance, mais en est aussi le chant de cygne, malheureusement ; c'est la préface qu'il écrivit pour les poèmes de Balassi. <sup>65</sup>

Il y caractérise le XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle comme l'époque de la diffusion des sciences et de l'illustration de « la langue du doux pays de chacun », il souligne ainsi ce qui était le but et le mérite principal du mouvement académique. Et que ce « cadeau » fut aussi le partage de la langue hongroise, ce sont « les chants savants écrits par un cerveau érudit... feu M<sup>onsieur</sup> Bálint Balassi, sieur de Gyarmat » qui en témoignent. Selon Rimay, la poésie, telle que l'avait cultivée Balassi — et conformément à la conception platonisante des académies italiennes et françaises — est une science dans laquelle le poète « avait conservé et l'or brillant et resplendissant de la théologie... et le nectar de la philosophie » et, par là, « avait élevé notre langue indigente et nécessiteuse, qui n'eût pu approcher auparavant le Parnasse, . . . à une vertu, un courage, un honneur et une intelligence tels... qu'elle peut désormais comprendre la parole des Muses chantant à l'ombre plaisante de la forêt de l'Hélicon, et peut même converser avec elles ». Voilà la définition d'une poésie savante de langue hongroise égalant les Antiques : l'équivalent hongrois des programmes de la *Fiorentina*, des académies padouanes, de la *Pléiade* ou de l'*Académie de poésie et de musique*.

Le mouvement académique hongrois, évoluant parallèlement avec ceux des pays plus développés, arriva, à la fin du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, au seuil de la fondation d'institutions. Malgré ses résultats modestes, il n'est pas très en retard par rapport aux autres nations européennes. L'Italie mise à part, seule la France possède des académies au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, et encore à partir de 1570 seulement ; sinon, il n'y a d'académie régulière qu'en Espagne, la première datant de 1491. Chez les Anglais, les Allemands et les Polonais, le mouvement académique à la Renaissance ne présente que des groupes encore non structurés, pareils à ceux des Hongrois, et des tentatives témoignant que l'idée d'académie mûrit peu à peu. Si l'on considère les débuts, le contubernium de János Vitéz, la Hongrie se distingue même par une initiative surprenante par sa précocité.

Cela ne peut cependant pas compenser l'absence du pas décisif, la fondation d'une académie. A la société de Rimay succède une carence de plus d'un siècle, sinon du travail intellectuel, du moins de sa forme académique ; mais aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles,

les académies étaient les forces organisatrices les plus importantes de la vie scientifique, et c'est à cela que la Hongrie dut renoncer. Il manquait une condition fondamentale : la présence permanente, dans un espace géographique restreint, d'un nombre suffisant d'intellectuels érudits aux conditions d'existence assurées. Sans cela, une académie régulière, même privée, ne pouvait exister. A plus forte raison, il ne pouvait pas être question d'une académie d'État au service des intérêts nationaux.

Bien qu'il soit impossible de rétablir la continuité entre le mouvement académique hongrois précoce et les nouvelles tentatives qui se manifestèrent au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, nous devons considérer comme des antécédents de l'académie hongroise actuelle la préhistoire hongroise de l'idée d'académie, et les efforts, dignes de notre estime et de notre souvenir, des prédécesseurs des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles : ceux de János Vitéz, de János Zsámboky, de Mihály Forgách, de János Rimay et des autres grâce auxquels, durant un siècle et demi, ne fût-ce que dans un milieu restreint, les studia litteraria ac sapientiae et leur forme académique se maintinrent, en Hongrie, au niveau des pays plus avancés.

#### Notes

1. *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia másfél évszázada. 1825-1975*, éd. Zsigmond Pál Pach (Budapest, 1975).
2. Ágnes R. Várkonyi, « A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia megalapítása 1825-1831 », *ibid.*, p. 15.
3. Joseph Ben-David, *The Scientist's Role in Society* (Englewood Cliffs [New Jersey], Prentice-Hall, 1971), pp. 59-60; August Buck, « Die humanistischen Akademien in Italien » in *Der Akademiegedanke im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Hrsg. Fritz Hartmann, Rudolf Vierhaus (Bremen-Wolfenbüttel, 1977), p. 11 (Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 3); Ezio Raimondi, « Introduzione » in *Università, Accademie e Società scientifiche in Italia e in Germania dal Cinquecento al Settecento*, éd. Laetitia Boehm, Ezio Raimondi (Bologna, 1981), pp. 7-19 (Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento, 9).
4. Voir la synthèse monumentale des données relatives à l'histoire des académies italiennes: Michele Maylender, *Storia delle Accademie d'Italia, I-V* (Bologna, 1926-1930; repr. Bologna, 1976).
5. Cfr. Peter Eckhard Knabe, « Die Wortgeschichte von Akademie », *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CCXIV (1977), pp. 245-261.
6. Maylender, *op. cit.* V, pp. 418-420.
7. *Ibid.*, II, pp. 84-93; Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 12.
8. Arnaldo Della Torre, *Storia dell'Accademia Platonica di Firenze* (Firenze, 1902); Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.
9. Maylender, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 443-448; IV, pp. 320-337; I, pp. 125-130; Buck, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.
10. Armand L. de Gaetano, « The Florentine Academy and the Advancement of Learning through the Vernacular : The Orti Oricellari and the Sacra Accademia », *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, XXX (1968), pp. 20-52; Id., *Giambattista Gelli and the Florentine Academy. The Rebellion Against Latin* (Firenze, 1976), pp. 87-136 (le chapitre IV du livre est une variante revue et corrigée de l'étude précédente).
11. Maylender, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 430-503; Giuseppe Olmi, « In esercizio universale di contemplazione, e pratica: Federico Cesi e i Lincei », in *Università, Accademie...*, *op. cit.* dans la note 3, pp. 169-235.
12. Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1947; repr. Nendeln [Liechtenstein], 1973).

13. Robert J. Sealy, S. J., « The Palace Academy of Henry III », *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* XL (1978), pp. 61–83; variante augmentée parue en livre: *The Palace Academy of Henry III*, (Genève, 1981) (Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, CLXXXIV).
14. Jürgen von Stackelberg, « Die Académie Française », in *Akademiegedanke...*, *op. cit.* dans la note 3, pp. 27–34.
15. Pierre Costil, *André Dudith, humaniste hongrois. 1533–1589* (Paris, 1935), p. 94.
16. Maylender, *op. cit.*, III, p. 350; IV, p. 335.
17. Alessandra Del Fante, « L'Accademia degli Ortolani », in *Le corti farnesiane di Parma e Piacenza, 1545–1622*, II, éd. Amedeo Quondam, (Roma, 1978), pp. 149–170.
18. Cfr. Terry Comito, *The Idea of the Garden in the Renaissance* (New Brunswick, [New Jersey], 1978), pp. 64–88.
19. Gioacchino Paparelli, *Callimaco Esperiente (Filippo Buonaccorsi)*, 2 éd. (Roma, 1977), pp. 35–61.
20. De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli...*, p. 17.
21. Del Fante, *op. cit.*, pp. 169–170.
22. L'académie de Cosimo, première expérience importante d'une politique culturelle d'État à l'époque moderne, a inspiré de nombreuses études récentes: De Gaetano, *The Florentine Academy...*, *op. cit.* dans la note 10; Michel Plaisance. « Affirmation de la politique culturelle de Côme I<sup>er</sup>: La transformation de l'Académie des « Humidi » en Académie Florentine (1540–1542) », in *Les écrivains et le pouvoir en Italie à l'époque de la Renaissance (Première Série)*, éd. André Rochon (Paris, 1973), pp. 361–438 (Centre de Recherche sur la Renaissance italienne, 2); Claudia Di Filippo Bareggi, « In nota alla politica culturale di Cosimo I: l'Accademia Fiorentina », *Quaderni Storici*, VIII (1973), pp. 527–574; Michel Plaisance, « Culture et politique à Florence de 1542 à 1551: Lasca et les « Humidi » aux prises avec l'Académie Florentine », in *Les écrivains et le pouvoir en Italie... (Deuxième Série)*... 1974, pp. 148–242 (Centre de Recherche... 3); De Gaetano, *Giambattista Gelli...*, *op. cit.* dans la note 10; Cesare Vasoli, « Cultura e 'mitologia' nel principato (considerazioni sulla 'Accademia fiorentina') », in C. V., *La cultura delle corti* (Bologna, Cappelli, 1980), pp. 159–189; Id., « Le Accademie fra Cinquecento e Seicento e il loro ruolo nella storia della tradizione enciclopedica », in *Università, Accademie...*, *op. cit.* dans la note 3, pp. 81–115.
23. Stackelberg, *op. cit.* dans la note 14.
24. Frances A. Yates, *The Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, 2<sup>e</sup> éd. (Boulder [Colorado], 1978), pp. 182–183.
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## INSURGENCY DURING THE WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION: THE RÁKÓCZI REVOLT

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During the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714), insurrections in the Cévennes, in Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and in Hungary disrupted the war effort. Whether in Spain, France, or Hungary, these struggles were part of a general crisis of the 17th century, differing manifestations of the particularistic struggle against the creation of a *Gesamtstaat*. In France the revolt centered in the Cévennes. The campaign to eradicate Calvinism amounted to a “deculturation” of the Protestants in that area. This religious oppression coupled with a general impoverishment caused by taxes, an underlying economic crisis and disruptions triggered by epidemics ignited the revolt. Prophetic neuroses, religious hysteria, and an apocalyptic mentality played a role in this struggle for freedom of conscience, a struggle not without political and social overtones. The government rightly feared both the spread of revolt and the intervention of foreign powers. Hatred of the French and political grievances, some of them long-standing, motivated the rebels in Spain while the Hungarians fought to redress both political and religious grievances. All obtained some degree of outside support from their sovereign’s enemies, but not enough to ensure success. Only the Hungarians received some diplomatic support from the Habsburgs’ allies. The last of these was also probably the most disruptive. This insurrection was led by Francis II Rákóczi,<sup>1</sup> a member of a prominent Hungarian noble family. In 1703 Rákóczi joined forces with Tamás Esze, a fugitive serf, to conduct a national war of independence. For eight years Rákóczi and his men would fight for “God, Fatherland, and Freedom.”<sup>2</sup> The Hungarians resented the abrogation of their constitution, the levying of taxes on the nobility, the abolition of the right of resistance, and the establishment of hereditary succession to the Hungarian crown in the male Habsburg line. The high taxes levied during the war and the religious persecution aggrieved peasant and noble alike. The numerous grievances which they had against Leopold I and later Joseph I motivated them to fight—and fight they did in 1703, capitalizing on the Habsburgs’ preoccupation with that much larger conflict to the West, the War of the Spanish Succession. But in order to be successful, Rákóczi realized that he had to transform a small localized struggle into an international one, to make the Hungarian insurrection a European affair. For that he needed the military, financial, and diplomatic support of

other powers. He turned to Leopold's enemies, France, Bavaria, and the Turks. He also had recourse to neutrals like Augustus II of Poland, Charles XII of Sweden and Peter I of Russia. For diplomatic pressure, he even appealed—and in part successfully—to Leopold's allies, England, the United Provinces and Brandenburg-Prussia.

Comparatively, Rákóczi had little success with Louis XIV of France who did subsidize the insurrection with approximately 50,000 *livres* per month, the payment of which was terminated in 1708. But this covered the pay of only 2,000 soldiers out of a total army of 80,000. Diplomatically, Louis XIV tried to encourage the Turks to ally with the Hungarians, but did little else except dissuade Rákóczi from settling with or even negotiating with the Habsburgs. Militarily, the insurgents did more for France for they collaborated with the French and the Bavarian armies, giving Louis more leverage in the war. In 1704, for example, the *kuruc* advance into Styria and toward Vienna coincided with the French thrust toward Passau. To the East in Poland, Russia, and Sweden, Rákóczi had less success; Peter, Charles and Augustus, bogged down in the ongoing Northern War (1700–1721), would not alienate the Habsburgs who might be provoked to intervene in the conflict in the North.<sup>3</sup>

Paradoxically, with Leopold's allies Rákóczi was more successful for through them pressure was exerted on Leopold and later Joseph to negotiate with the insurgents. The Maritime Powers were able to pressure the Habsburgs to negotiate because the Austrians were dependent on the Maritime Powers for both military and financial assistance. They were effective too because they presented a united front to the Austrians; they acted in concert, often submitting joint memorials. England, the dominant partner in the alliance, tended to express the views of both while the Dutch merely echoed English concerns. But at times the Dutch did pressure the English to act. It was the States-General who argued as early as 1704 that a special commission of Charles Spencer, Earl of Sunderland (1643–1722) and Count Adolf Hendrik Rechteren, Baron D'Almelo (1658–1731) should be sent to Vienna to buttress the efforts of their representatives George Stepney (1663–1707) and Jacob Jan Hamel-Bruyninckx (1662–1738). And it was the States-General from 1707 to 1709 who urged John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, the allied commander, to press the emperor to accept Anglo-Dutch mediation yet again.<sup>4</sup>

But why did the English and Dutch pressure their ally to negotiate with the insurgents? As protestant states and constitutional governments, England and the United Provinces felt a special kinship with the Hungarians whom they saw struggling against popery and despotism. Rákóczi frequently appealed to the so-called "Evangelical alliance" among protestant states and depicted himself not as a champion of toleration, but of Protestantism. He completely underplayed the multi-confessional nature of Hungary and won over both the English and the Dutch representatives stationed at Vienna. They in turn would support the views of

persuasive publicists like Henry St. John, viscount Bolingbroke, that "a spirit of bigotry, tyranny, and avarice" had caused the troubles in Hungary.<sup>5</sup> Hamel-Bruyninx importuned the States-General to act, arguing that never again would there be "such a good opportunity to reestablish Protestant rights and privileges."<sup>6</sup> Throughout the insurrection the Maritime Powers' and Prussia's sympathies at best only indirectly revealed through the press, remained with the Hungarians, "who were fighting only to protect their religion and liberty."<sup>7</sup>

The Maritime Powers were also trying to safeguard the imperial war effort. They feared that the Habsburgs, by withdrawing troops from the Rhine to Hungary could only prolong the war with France.<sup>8</sup> Imperial resources, they argued, were already overtaxed. The emperor could not carry on a war in Italy, the Rhine, and Hungary simultaneously. The emperor did not even fulfill his quota of troops—and those he did supply were so poorly equipped that the imperial commander, Prince Eugene of Savoy, threatened to resign on more than one occasion.<sup>9</sup> Financially, Austria was on the brink of bankruptcy. The insurgents' raids on the empire had further ruined trade reduced the imperial tax yields.<sup>10</sup> Lastly, the Maritime Powers feared that the Turks might, at French instigation, launch yet another conflict with their old enemy, Austria.<sup>11</sup>

Thus the English and the Dutch did pressure the Habsburgs to negotiate, but neither Leopold nor Joseph intended to honor Hungarian constitutionalist demands; they negotiated with the insurrectionists only in order to gain time for a military solution. The emperor never agreed to grant the Hungarians concessions which would diminish and/or endanger Habsburg power in the Danubian lands. In February 1704 Leopold accepted the Maritime Powers' mediation because his military and financial dependence necessitated it and because the involvement of other powers, such as Poland, Prussia, or Sweden was even less palatable.<sup>12</sup> Ironically, throughout the ill-fated negotiations both the imperialists and the Hungarians distrusted the Anglo-Dutch mediators, George Stepney and Hamel-Bruyninx—the Hungarians because of their alliance with the Habsburgs and the imperialists because of their belief, not unfounded, of allied partiality for the Hungarians.<sup>13</sup> For example, the imperialists knew Stepney's attitude because, unbeknownst to him, they intercepted his mail, a not uncommon practice of the day. But in order to appease their allies, the Habsburgs did negotiate with the Hungarians intermittently from the spring of 1704 to the summer of 1706. Truces were periodically concluded, commissioners empowered to treat. But neither Leopold nor later Joseph would agree to sanction a foreign guarantee of the agreement, something on which Rákóczi insisted, or to abolish the hereditary succession, or to recognize Rákóczi as prince of Transylvania. They often negotiated only under allied pressure, harboring the illusion that once diplomacy had failed the Maritime Powers would provide them with not only financial but military assistance as well to quell the insurrection. The Maritime Powers were equally unrealistic in

thinking that they could impel either Leopold or Joseph to grant the Hungarians civil and religious liberties.

By the summer of 1706 an impasse had been reached and the negotiations broken off again. The emperor dispatched four regiments from the Rhine to Hungary to quash the uprising, arousing a storm of protest from the allies, who feared that such action would only prolong the war with France. The imperialists, however, argued that the "rebels" had grown more insolent and obstinate. Only force, they pointed out, would end the insurrection.<sup>14</sup> By withdrawing his troops the emperor could end the war in Hungary and after that could concentrate his forces in the war with France. These arguments, however, did not propitiate the allies, who pointed out that the Austrians had never fulfilled their commitment. After 1706 the imperialists refused to countenance even the possibility of yet another allied mediation. One of Joseph's ministers, Wratislaw, pointedly told Marlborough that nothing, in his view "was more capable of retarding the peace in Hungary" than the prospect of another allied mediation. Still later, he plainly told the English commander that the imperial court would not "admit a foreign mediation under any pretext."<sup>15</sup> The imperialists went even further and intermittently attempted to persuade their allies, especially the English, to send troops to Hungary.<sup>16</sup> These demands only served to highlight the vast gulf between the emperor and the Maritime Powers. The Maritime Powers on their part, continued to insist, as late as the summer of 1711, but unavailingly, on the withdrawal of troops from Hungary. Even though the allied representative spoke "plainly and warmly" about the necessity of withdrawing the troops from Hungary and dispatching them to the Rhine, the troops remained in Hungary—even after Szatmár.<sup>17</sup>

The Austrians had as little success in countering the propaganda efforts of the Hungarians. They were never able to correct allied misconceptions about Hungary. The religious issue, for example, was one that the Hungarians did not hesitate to exploit. As late as 1709, Rákóczi would argue in a letter to the allied commander, Marlborough, that the Protestant religion would be extirpated in Hungary unless a settlement was reached with the emperor before the conclusion of a general peace.<sup>18</sup> And still later, Rákóczi would attempt to have the Hungarian issue discussed at Utrecht, two years after the settlement at Szatmár. In the English press, there appeared—in English—pamphlets listing the demands of the malcontents.<sup>19</sup> Both Hoffmann and Gallas, the Austrian representatives to England, tried, but in vain, to counter the erroneous conception that the emperor's persecution of the Protestants was the principle *casus belli*. Joseph found himself both astonished and enraged over the English attitude.<sup>20</sup> He resented their earlier interference and subsequent offers of mediation even more. Frustratingly aware of the English attitude toward the Hungarian Protestants, Wratislaw, one of Joseph's advisers, warned the imperial representative Gallas as late as 1708 to take particular care when reproaching the English for anti-Catholic laws in

Ireland not to mix this issue with that of the Hungarian Protestants.<sup>21</sup> Both Wratislaw and Gallas knew that the issue of the Hungarian problem was poisoning the alliance and hoped for a speedy resolution.<sup>22</sup> They had little chance of successfully countering allied misconceptions because both Stepney and Hamel-Bruyninx did all they could to foster them. In an eloquent letter to the States-General, Hamel-Bruyninx urged them to offer their mediation because he argued "there would never again be such a good opportunity to reestablish Protestant rights and privileges."<sup>23</sup> Queen Anne's mistaken belief at the outset of the revolt that the majority of the Hungarians were Protestant and only wanted liberty of conscience persisted in the minds of many in both England and the United Provinces.<sup>24</sup>

In spite, or perhaps because, of this misconception, the governments of England, the United Provinces and Prussia remained empathetic to the plight of the Hungarians after the failure of the negotiations in 1706 and even after the settlement of Szatmár in 1711. In February 1711 Frederick would even offer his protection to Rákóczi and his followers who wanted to settle in Brandenburg-Prussia.<sup>25</sup> A combination of genuine empathy for the Hungarians and *Realpolitik* considerations had motivated the allies to intervene in 1704 even though they realized that the emperor would be offended by such a move. By 1706 they could only acknowledge that their intervention had been futile and had merely alienated the Habsburgs without accomplishing anything. The erosion of popular support for Rákóczi in the latter years of the revolt, the insoluble economic problems which the insurgents faced, and the subsequent imperial victories convinced the allies that the Hungarians no longer endangered the empire and that it was only a matter of time before the Habsburgs would overpower them.

The Habsburgs had determined to quash the revolt militarily and refused unconditionally to accept any further mediation from foreign powers be it England, the United Provinces, Prussia, Russia, or Sweden. The emperor ignored the allied protest that force alone would not end the insurrection.<sup>26</sup> After the failure of the 1706 negotiations, however, Rákóczi reversed his stance. He had earlier opposed the use of Anglo-Dutch diplomats because they were too closely tied to the Habsburgs' interests. In 1706, 1707, 1709, 1710, and 1711, he urged both the English and the Dutch to offer their mediation yet again and to pressure Joseph to accept.<sup>27</sup> He even went so far as to write to Queen Anne personally, urging her intercession for his "oppressed" people.<sup>28</sup> Sir Philip Meadows, English envoy extraordinary to Vienna, in a classic understatement maintained that the court was "not very fond of" treating with the malcontents and that malcontents were just as averse to treating with the imperial court. He went on to query how the mediating powers, England and the United Provinces, hoped to accomplish anything. He opposed, he said, "one pathetic offer more", but was willing to sound out the court.<sup>29</sup> In subsequent dispatches he made very clear that the imperial court had not changed its collective mind; they were as opposed as ever to allowing

another mediation. The English ministers realized the sensitivity of the issue and ordered Palmes, Meadows's successor, in 1710 not to offer the mediation directly, not even to mention it unless there was a chance of success. Palmes was instructed to "soften as much as possible the obstinacy of those ministers" and "smooth the way" for the mediation. But this proved more than a Herculean task—it proved an impossible one.<sup>30</sup> The Habsburgs insisted on treating with the Hungarians without the intercession of any foreign power and adamantly refused to sanction a foreign guarantee of the settlement. The imperial court was equally determined to keep secret the ongoing negotiations with the Hungarians; they did not keep any of the diplomats apprised of the discussions, determined not to let other powers meddle in their "domestic concerns".<sup>31</sup> Major General Francis Palmes reported much the same to the English secretary of state in 1709/1710. "Further solicitation, on behalf of the malcontents", he warned, "would not be hearkened to".<sup>32</sup> The English ambassador at Berlin, Thomas Wentworth, Baron Raby, took a different view, urging the allies to continue pressuring the Habsburgs. "The more pressing we are in offering our mediation", he wrote, "the more ready (the Habsburgs) will be of concluding without it".<sup>33</sup>

But even though both Palmes and the Dutch representative Hamel-Bruyninx knew of the imperialists' aversion toward Anglo-Dutch, indeed toward any foreign interference in the Habsburg affairs regarding Hungary, they could not overlook the chance of possibly aiding their fellow Protestants. Together they urged the emperor to assure the Hungarian Protestants of their religious liberties. This, they argued was the surest way to end the troubles in Hungary. The imperial ministers had stingingly rebuked them, pointing out that the religious issue was not the main concern in Hungary.<sup>34</sup> But even after this, Palmes would report home that he feared that the Protestants would be the ones who suffered the most in the upcoming settlement. As late as June 1710 Baron Raby again urged the English government to intervene. He forwarded Rákóczi's proposals for peace in Hungary to the English ministry, urging the government to do something for the Hungarian Protestants for if we do not "we can answer neither to God nor man".<sup>35</sup> Just such sentiments were echoed by the Berlin Court. Rákóczi's representatives urged the sympathetic court preacher Jablonski, the brilliant foreign minister Ilgen, and the wily courtier Wartenberg to press Rákóczi's case. They found in Frederick I a man committed to the Evangelical cause. A man, moreover, who would urge his allies to redress Protestant grievances. As late as June 1711, Ilgen drew up a project for peace in Hungary stressing: (1) mediation of Prussia, England and the United Provinces; (2) Hungarian recognition of the emperor as legitimate king and hereditary ruler; and (3) general amnesty for all the insurgents.<sup>36</sup> This was after the negotiated settlement at Szatmár for even after Szatmár, Rákóczi did not give up the hope of obtaining allied assistance.

He even cherished the illusion that he could convince the great powers to help the Hungarians at the subsequent peace conference. Rákóczi was well informed about the machinations, intrigues, and manipulations, ever present at peace conferences like Getruydenberg and later Utrecht and counted on convincing the allies of his "just pretensions". Again using the issue of Habsburg persecution of the Protestants, he hoped to prod the allies into aiding him. To that end he sent his own diplomatic agents, men like Domokos Brenner and János Klement, to present his position, particularly to the English. Thomas Wentworth, the English representative at Utrecht, was sympathetic as was his fellow envoy John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol. Realizing this, Rákóczi urged Brenner in December of 1711 to exploit the issue of Protestant persecution when he appealed to the English emissaries.<sup>37</sup> Strafford talks at length—as indeed he does about everything—of the conversations he held with the Hungarians. Rákóczi also sent his agents directly to the United Provinces, to Prussia, and to England. Again, particularly to the latter for he was convinced that the Tories, the English peace party, would play an important role in the subsequent treaty negotiations and that they in turn would help Rákóczi reach a settlement with Vienna. Taking advantage of both the English and Dutch empathy with the Hungarian Protestants, Rákóczi sent representatives from the Hungarian churches directly to the Protestant churches abroad in order to pressure the government. In England both the bishops of Ely and York, particularly the latter, John Sharpe, pressed Queen Anne and the parliament to intercede for the Protestants. Queen Anne even sent one of Sharpe's assistants, Robert Hales, an active member of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, to investigate the condition of the Protestants in Hungary. It was not the first time that Hales had so acted for earlier he had investigated the conditions of the Protestants in France, the Palatinate, and Silesia. He had travelled widely in the service of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, seeking to aid his coreligionists by printing religious books and giving succor to Protestants in the galleys. It was because of such men that the Anglican bishops again urged the queen to press the emperor about the Protestant issue. Deputies from the Protestant churches in Hungary went to The Hague and to London to press their case. They were moderately successful for they did convince the ungainly and usually exasperatingly slow acting States-General to urge the emperor to accept their mediation in 1709 and in 1710.<sup>38</sup> Rákóczi also wrote directly to the queen and to the States-General and even sent cases of the highly prized Tokay as a gesture of his esteem.

But in spite of all this pressure both direct and indirect by Rákóczi and through his agents, Rákóczi did not succeed in making the Hungarian insurrection a European affair. The Habsburgs had refused even to discuss the situation in Hungary with the allies after 1706. They had deliberately refused to keep the allies informed about the course of the imperial negotiations with the insurrectionists and so it remained. After the failure of the peace negotiations in 1706 and particularly after the conclusion of the

settlement at Szatmár in 1711, allied strategic concerns were not involved in Hungary. Rákóczi's hopes of persuading the allies to intervene were completely unrealistic. He deluded himself in thinking that they would, or could do anything about the Hungarian situation particularly after 1711. As the war progressed, the allies had less and less leverage over the imperial court. The recall of George Stepney, the English representative from Vienna, the dismissal of the imperial representative Gallas from the English court (October 1711), and the failure of Prince Eugene's mission to England in 1712 illustrated the widening fissures within the alliance. The notorious Restraining Order of May 1712, enjoining the English commander-in-chief, the Duke of Ormonde, not to fight, meant the English abandonment of her allies. The English and the Dutch would conclude a separate peace with France and Spain at Utrecht in 1713. Austria and the Holy Roman Empire would fight on alone until 1714 when they too concluded separate peace treaties with France and Spain at Rastadt and Baden. Rákóczi had tried, but failed, to merge a local national war into the ongoing international conflict in the West. Many, such as Wentworth, felt that the allies could not "in conscience refuse doing something for these people at a General Peace".<sup>39</sup> Brenner maintains that the allies had promised to include Rákóczi in the general peace.<sup>40</sup> This is extremely doubtful and probably not true for the English knew very well the attitude of the imperial court toward Hungary. Joseph had made it quite clear that Rákóczi would have nothing to hope for in the general peace. In his view, the Hungarian War had nothing to do with the War of the Spanish Succession.<sup>41</sup> The allies had given Rákóczi no false promises as they had the Catalans. Both the English and Charles VI, Holy Roman Emperor, had assured the Catalans that they would secure their rights at the general peace. Emboldened by such a promise, the Catalans had fought on desperately on their own even after the allied withdrawal. Philip V's forces did not take Barcelona until 1714 more than a year after Utrecht was signed. But the imperial and English promises were not kept. The Catalans had continued to fight and Rákóczi to hope. But both were chimeras. Rákóczi had continued to hope the international situation would change and that Hungary would benefit from it. The international situation did change, but not for the better, at least not for the Hungarians. Hungary did not become an international issue, but the Hungarians had undoubtedly benefitted from Habsburg commitment to the War of the Spanish Succession. By 1711, the Viennese court, concerned about the upcoming general peace, was anxious to conciliate the Hungarians and end the war. Although Rákóczi had failed to establish an independent Hungarian state, the war had ensured an autonomous position for Hungary within the Habsburg lands. The *Gesamtstaat* had triumphed in France and Spain, but not in the Danubian monarchy. Thus, in an important sense though Rákóczi lost, he won as well.

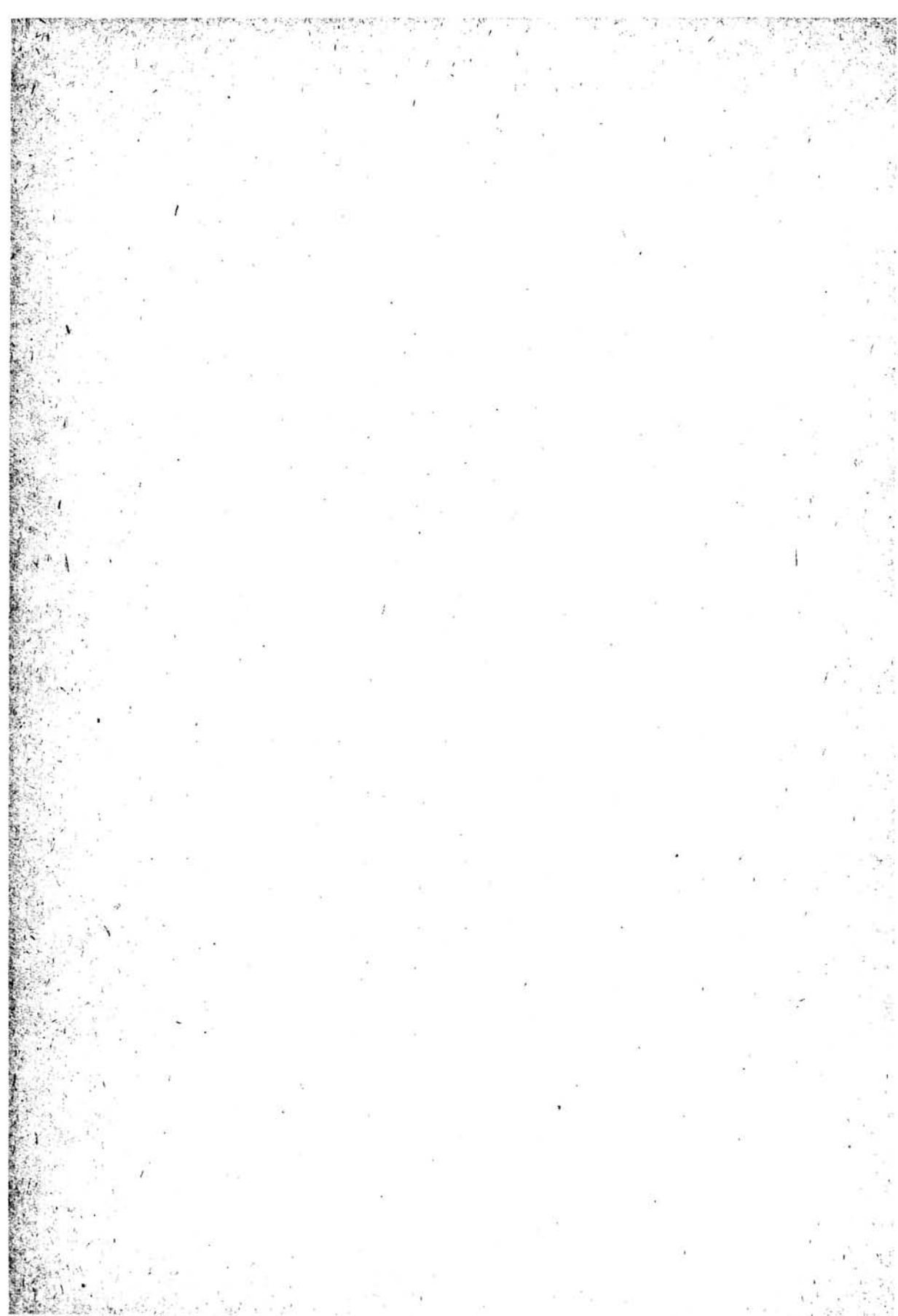


## Notes

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## MIHÁLY BABITS: "ALL GREAT POETS ARE DECADENT"

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Mihály Babits was born in 1883 and died of cancer in 1941, by which time he had achieved recognition as one of the most outstanding and influential writers in Hungary—and this was a period rich in good writers there. He was a poet and translator, experimental novelist and short-story writer, fine essayist and literary historian, as well as editor for a number of years of the literary journal *Nyugat* (West). He rapidly won the title of *poeta doctus*, and deserved it, since his work is unashamedly intellectual and he makes no concessions to his readers. It was in 1908 and 1909 that his verse began to demand attention, first in a controversial anthology *A Holnap* (Tomorrow), published in Nagyvárad, then in an independent volume, *Levelek Írisz koszorújából* (Leaves from the Garland of Iris), which appeared in Budapest under the aegis of the then new journal *Nyugat*. In the same year he contributed thirteen poems to a second *Holnap* anthology, this time published in Budapest. Contemporary critics, still battered and bruised by the sudden appearance of Endre Ady's *Új versek* (New Poems) in 1906, were totally baffled: they did not know what to make of yet another, younger and quite different rebel and iconoclast. Intellectually, Babits was obviously superior to Ady, and he seemed to have sprung, like Athene, fully armed into the literary world. His technique was formidable and his themes wide-ranging and not particularly Hungarian. Here was a lyric poet who appeared to lack romantic inspiration, who did not parade his emotions in the expected fashion, and whose verse preserved an objectivity that was somehow disturbing, together with a philosophical content that was new and unexpected. In short, he wrote "difficult" verse, whose message was often hard to extract, though his language was crystal-clear. And where Babits's message was evident, it was uncomfortable. Quite clearly he could not be dismissed simply as a new young poet-under-instruction who in time would learn the good old traditions, so for the most part the critics of the period relegated him to a secondary role—he did not make such fierce demands for recognition as did their arch-enemy, Ady.<sup>1</sup> They were wrong, but Babits did remain a controversial figure all his life; after his death and the political changes in Hungary after World War II, he was given scant recognition until the centenary of his birth in 1983, when at last his extraordinary achievements in the whole realm of Hungarian literature were acknowledged.

What happened before he emerged as a major new poet is instructive, and helps to illustrate the peculiarities of the Hungarian cultural scene at the turn of the century. Babits was the son of the equivalent of a county-court judge, and was born in the small Transdanubian town of Szekszárd. His education was conventional, beginning in Pest and continuing in the southern town of Pécs, where he attended the Cistercian *gimnázium*. He was a studious boy, a voracious reader; shy and undersized, he was no sportsman and curiously enough for a budding poet whose sense of rhythm and of musicality of language was marked, he was tone-deaf and remained so to the end of his life. He also had problems with language-learning—again an oddity in one who produced some of the finest translations of poetry from many languages. His father's death when he was fifteen was a fearful blow, for he did not get on well with his mother, and this perhaps may have sown the seeds of the rebellion from family tradition that occurred when he went to Budapest University. He wrote poetry at school, mainly connected with his flirtations there, but it was of no particular merit.<sup>2</sup>

It was at the university that his ideas began to take shape. First, he determined not to study law (the family tradition), but to train as a teacher—though at first it was by no means clear to him what subjects he would teach, and only later did he train in Hungarian and classics. He thirsted, he writes, “to know about higher laws than those created by man.”<sup>3</sup> He does not specify these “higher laws”, but it is worth noting here that he already possessed two traits which remained part of his nature throughout his life: his Catholicism and his inclination to philosophize, which became a deep love of philosophy. He went through a deeply religious phase at school, and though he rebelled in youth against conventional Catholicism, he retained a love of its artistic values, mysticism and universality and gradually progressed to a deep personal faith at the end of his life.<sup>4</sup> His love of philosophy led while he was studying to a lasting interest in psychology.

Recalling this period of his life, Babits wrote:

“The passage of my days at this time resembled a rather boring, slow novel into which briefer and much more interesting episodes were inserted (. . .) My own life did not give me much excitement. It seemed far too smooth; it gave no promise of any surprises. My course was predetermined, as far as both family and career were concerned. Around me the world stagnated peacefully. Hungary sulked like a spoiled child, an oriental princess who had been forced into marriage with the Austrian tyrant. Long ago Vörösmarty had concluded that boredom is what usually makes Hungarians readers and so poets too.”<sup>5</sup> Then he adds, referring to his own escape into the world of books:

You must not believe that someone who escapes to books necessarily wants to flee from life. Often his desire is rather to broaden his life: he thirsts for more life than his period and fate have allotted him. In this Hungarian globe, life sometimes contracts and grows impoverished in a peculiar way. This is what was happening then, though only intellectually, for in other things there was

abundance here. We played cards, drank, entertained and talked politics, but in the meantime nothing happened year after year.<sup>6</sup>

This is a good description of the state of Hungarian culture at the beginning of the century. The millennium was celebrated in 1896 with great pomp and ceremony. Budapest, with its new and splendid buildings, fine boulevards and the first underground railway on the continent of Europe was a brash, new, thriving metropolis, growing rapidly and with all the signs of new industry and commerce in its midst. On the surface, at least, there was prosperity and security. Economic progress since the *Ausgleich* of 1867 had been startling. Politically, however, a succession of weak governments did nothing to allay the eternal Hungarian suspicion that Vienna's word was really paramount. There were increasing signs of unrest among the national minorities, which had not been helped by the intensification of magyarization, and there was above all the ever-present problem of the social structure of the country, now aggravated by the increased mechanization of agriculture.

In literature the stagnation mentioned by Babits was only too apparent. It must be remembered that over the previous century it had become a *littérature engagée*; writers, and poets in particular, were seen as prophets, leaders of the people, and they felt themselves to be responsible for the well-being of the nation. So the determination to be a writer was an important decision, and his reception by critics and public was governed by criteria that were at least as political as literary. Now despite the challenge of the big city and a newly-rich urban population, the aging custodians of what they felt to be the genuine Hungarian literary tradition obviously still saw their readers as mainly country-bred petty gentry, schoolmasters and clerics basking in the sunshine of a well-ordered, comfortable, even gently-decaying existence. And these literary arbiters were firmly entrenched in the Academy, the university<sup>7</sup>, the theatre and publishing-houses. Younger writers who strove to meet the challenge of a new age and circumstances were frustrated when they were simply told to model themselves on the great figures of the earlier nineteenth century. Árpád Zempléni (1865–1919) expressed their discontent in a poem beginning:

We're uncertain poets, are we;  
It's very easy to be bored with us.  
We don't even know what we should like,  
We plough the seas as the wind blows us.<sup>8</sup>

And he goes on to lament the passing of an age in which poets had a real aim; modern poets have none. What he does not say is that the *Ausgleich* of 1867 had neatly removed one of those aims, opposition to Austria, which had fed so much into Hungarian literary activity during the earlier nineteenth century.

But for the majority of the reading public, there was plenty of comfortable reading-matter. About this Babits writes:

This was the age of the Antal Váradis and Emil Ábrányis, and on the other hand that of the Szabolcskas and Pósas. We, critical youths, took a very dismissive view of the whole of contemporary verse. In our eyes it was nothing but empty rhetoric or vulgar sentimentality. Platitudes on the one hand and popular songs on the other. But the public in general had become used to finding nothing else in verse but platitudes and popular songs. Poetry-reading had gone more and more out of fashion. At most poetry could be declaimed or sung. And the average taste did not make distinctions: even Petőfi was simply popular song, and Vörösmarty too was for declamation.<sup>9</sup>

This was the mood in which Babits began his studies in Budapest.

I arrived at Pest University with many confused dreams, little education and even less knowledge of life. My soul was drenched in Catholicism, but shaken in its faith, and sought a new dogma to latch on to. For a time I was an enthusiastic socialist, then I threw myself into philosophy. At that time I thought I should become a philosopher... This was a time of feverish study. My eyes, suddenly opened, gazed around the whole world.<sup>10</sup>

And in an interview he gave in 1923 he declared that at that period he had scarcely any doubt that he would solve the secrets of the world.<sup>11</sup> He joined the Hungarian Philosophical Society and wrote reviews for its journal—his first original studies.<sup>12</sup> He read Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*, and Schopenhauer, like so many other would-be intellectuals in the Austro-Hungarian lands; he became interested in Spinoza and Hume, but then comes something of a surprise. He writes:

My positive inclination from childhood towards psychology and the conviction that my special subject, philology, could be developed further in future through a greater and more precise use of psychology, the basis of all scientific knowledge, gave me support. But I did not spend much time on the German trend of Wundt; instead I sought to become acquainted with French, and more particularly American modern psychology. I read James with great enthusiasm (...) As for modern philosophy, in the strict sense of the term, I read Spencer (the *Epitome*), Nietzsche and Mach—hardly anyone else.<sup>13</sup>

From Babits's frequent references to him later, it is clear that William James was a strong influence on him, and it was James's main work, *The Principles of Psychology*, published in 1890, that was his guide. In this James outlines five principles, which Babits absorbed and applied in his poetry as well as in his theoretical studies on literature:

1. Every thought tends to be part of a personal consciousness.
2. Within each personal consciousness thought is always changing.
3. Within each personal consciousness thought is sensibly continuous.
4. It always appears to deal with objects independent of itself.
5. It is interested in some parts of those objects to the exclusion of others, and welcomes or rejects—chooses from them, in a word—all the while.<sup>14</sup>



This facility to select, reject and combine thoughts became an important idea in Babits's writing, as does James's emphasis upon the "stream of thought".<sup>15</sup>

Budapest University at this period was not a place of great stimulation, except for one remarkable seminar, or discussion-group, held weekly under the tutelage of the then 40-year old László Négyesy. Négyesy, who had written books on the vexed problem of Hungarian versification<sup>16</sup>, was by no means a radical thinker, but allowed the students free expression of opinion and talked with them in language they could understand, not wielding his professorial authority from a great height.<sup>17</sup> His knowledge of literature, impartiality and approach drew huge crowds of students from all faculties to what became virtually a literary salon and one of the mainsprings of modern literary development in Hungary. Here Babits became friendly with Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936) and Gyula Juhász (1883–1937), who had also come up from the provinces to study. They encouraged and criticized each other—an important process in Babits's development, since he had a desire to write, but feared publicity; he was unsure of himself and found it hard to take criticism, as he wrote in an unpublished poem of 1902, describing how the Muse will not let him out of her clutches and refuses to leave him in peace.<sup>18</sup> So it was here that he began to write in earnest, first for his friends' eyes, incorporating the results of his reading and study, in an attempt to break away from the dead Hungarian traditions.

He wrote of this time:

Anyone who longed for the decadence of real poetry looked abroad. They became fanatical about French and English poets, modern and hyper-modern poems, ostentatiously taking a wide berth around all the clichés of platitudinous verse and the suspicious simplicity of popular verse alike. Baudelaire and Verlaine, Poe and Swinburne, Mallarmé and Rilke—these were the names that hovered on the lips of the scruffy young "westerners". New worlds of poetry opened wide before their childish and adventuresome snobbery. Colours and flashes and lights and musics.<sup>19</sup>

This last phrase is important. Babits's poetry is shot through with references to colour, light and music, and it was these elements that attracted him particularly to foreign verse. The list of names may appear very ordinary for a young man of that age seeking inspiration outside his own tradition. But it is worth noting that this Catholic and classical scholar with an interest in philosophy and psychology, seeking for a new line in literature, the voracious reader of foreign works, did not for one moment consider going to Vienna to find out what was happening there, particularly in psychology, which as we have seen he then regarded as the basis of his other studies. The reason is significant for all Hungarian culture at that period: it is the suspicion of anything Austrian. The revolution of 1848 and its suppression left a deep scar on Hungary, and this did not apply only to the politics. The *Ausgleich* of 1867 was passed over in utter silence by a literature which reacted sharply to national feelings. And there was always a reluctance, if not a psychological stop, in the minds of Hungarians

to acknowledge that any good could possibly come from Vienna. It might be argued that one of the reasons for the deadness of Hungarian literature towards the end of the last century was precisely the fact that 1867 had driven Austria and Hungary (Babits's sulking oriental princess) into marriage and removed a popular theme from the writers' list of subjects. It was thus quite normal to overlook Vienna, and only when the journals *Huszadik Század* and *Nyugat* appeared was there a shift of balance. The only one of Babits's friends to go to Vienna to study was Kosztolányi, and he was extremely disappointed by the experience, as his letters to Babits indicate only too clearly.<sup>20</sup>

Babits's correspondence with Juhász and Kosztolányi reflects his interest in decadence—a term which he does not define and appears to have been used in a very broad sense indeed. He tells them what he has been reading—and reading was the inspiration of much of his work, rather than real life. In 1904 he is trying to write classical odes, but has become “the man of *l'art pour l'art*”<sup>21</sup>. Then he translates Poe, notably *The Bells*<sup>22</sup>, which Kosztolányi declares is the first of his translations really to appeal to him.<sup>23</sup> Then in the summer of 1904 there appears to have been a letter from Babits mentioning his love of the decadent poets. Kosztolányi's reply is intriguing. He describes how he read through a batch of Babits's poems and was delighted with them at first, but then he “put aside those which smelt of decadence (. . .) Shakespeare and Arany will always be greater than Edgar Poe and Baudelaire, and in the expression of his thoughts Hume a thousand times more so than Nietzsche. So the decadents are among those I detest from the bottom of my heart (. . .) Even the great Baudelaire, who is a giant of a poet and unique, even Jean Richepin whom I have read recently and who in a certain respect stands high as an ideal—not to mention the empty Mallarmé and the sickly Verlaine—To Hell with them! They destroy one's sense of beauty, they blacken one's view of the world for the sake of a French rhyme—for apart from filth, they are chiefly fond of rhymes.” And Kosztolányi continues his lengthy and detailed denunciation, ending significantly, “The reason why I'm informing you of this change of view is that you have known me as someone who has a general inclination towards decadence, and I shouldn't like misunderstandings to come between us in the future.”<sup>24</sup>

Babits does not reply to this immediately. He writes instead about rediscovering the classics (though at this stage he means Latin) as a source of inspiration. But on 15 September 1904 he returns to the subject of decadence:

My opinion about decadents does not differ from yours, but my opinion about decadence does. This week I happen to have read a great many of the decadents: almost the whole of Verlaine, then Mallarmé, Maeterlinck, Jean Moréas (he's perhaps the most reasonable), also Rimbaud and Paul Fort—who isn't so very decadent. These gentlemen have one fundamental fault in common: all of them are poets of very small calibre. Baudelaire is a giant spirit and a classic compared with them. The majority of them are deadly dull and produced a surprisingly stupefying effect on me; I couldn't get through all I had of a single one of them. But having said this I have not declared my

opinion of decadence. Indeed it is my secret conviction that all great poets are decadent and all really poetic language is decadent language. And if you happened to cite János Arany to oppose the decadents, I declare that I could easily prove that János Arany and his language in particular (...) are decadent. But now perhaps it's not worth my while chasing this up; you yourself will find without any trouble (and not as an exception) lines in the finest pages of our greatest writers far more daring and radically decadent than, for example, the "coloured vowels" of Rimbaud. You will discover what I mean, though I can't explain it, or rather I'm too lazy to do so now,—that the essence of poetry is the same as that of decadence. And it was not in vain that some decadents sought for really decadent expressions in the ancient classical word: classical and decadent are not far apart.<sup>25</sup>

This is an important statement in Babits's development, for the mixture of classical and decadent in his early volumes of verse is striking, and when he wrote this letter he was working on some of the poems concerned. János Arany (1817–1882) was a poet after Babits's own heart, indeed he regarded him as his Hungarian model. Kosztolányi disagrees with this comparison, referring to Arany's language as "sacred and marble", which he could certainly not term decadent. "True, I said that all one could recognize as the success of decadence was a certain realism in language, which however they always carried to excess and never used with a healthy intellect."<sup>26</sup>

Then he points out that this realism in language is shared by the real classics such as Arany, Dante and Shakespeare, "but in their case it is allied with thought. All I want to say is that there is no justification in calling the honourable and serious father by the name of the unruly and mischievous son; (...) it's stupid to learn language from the decadents when we have available the ancient source from which we can draw at will."<sup>27</sup> And he goes on to make comparisons, to the detriment of the French decadent writers.

Babits makes no detailed reply to this, and Kosztolányi returns to his theme in the following year, when he concludes that both of them have been too keen on mere novelty in verse, and that he has recovered from this in two stages—first by his rejection of the decadents, and now by a true love of philosophy. He then goes on to advise Babits to look back over the poems he most liked and he would see that they were all the result of inspiration. "For my part, under the influence of reading Nietzsche, I chased away such moments when they came. I regarded it as weakness to capture them, and most probably you did too."<sup>28</sup> He tells Babits to put "the delight of creativity" at the top of his priorities, to write a lot and grasp at moments of inspiration.

Babits does not reply directly. He then declares that he is "trying to write poetry objectively, like others taking themes from the Bible and from Boccaccio."<sup>29</sup> This reference to objectivity is taken up later in 1905 when he writes to his other friend Juhász commenting favourably on his "objective art", adding "Please don't continue with lyric verse, which you've had just as much cause to be bored with as I have. I'd like to deliver philippics, in public, against this accursed tendency of the spirit, that is, lyric, which has no right whatsoever to lay claim to the eternal life of the arts—for after all,

it's a completely new disease! Hardly two hundred years old. There weren't any lyric poets in ancient times (. . .) Before the nineteenth century, lyric was never included among the arts (. . .)

Don't misunderstand me: I must explain that what I'm fighting is not so much the genre called lyric as the accursed spirit of lyric. And here I don't mean the individual. The objective poets of every age saw the world in an individual way; the subjective poets, so-called lyricists, expressed their individual reactions—Pindar his enthusiasm, Catullus his wrath, Propertius his sensual impulses—but always for the world and against the world. Not even the timorous Tibullus ever thought of shutting his eyes."<sup>30</sup>

Again, this is an important statement, since it shows Babits wrestling with what his first critics found so difficult to comprehend: the objectivity of lyric verse. And it was here that he received encouragement from an equally difficult poet whose works retained their fascination for him throughout his life—Robert Browning.<sup>31</sup> He saw in Browning a poet of intellectual power, far removed from the 'lyric spirit' he despised, and objective in his approach. And, as his essay of 1912 celebrating the centenary of his birth demonstrates, he appreciated the disharmony and questioning of accepted norms that so often appear in Browning's work.<sup>32</sup> He did not, however, call him a decadent in so many words, though he found in him many of the characteristics that would have fitted his earlier enthusiastic defence of decadence.

In 1905 Babits left the university and the intellectually stimulating company of his friends for six years of teaching in the provinces. He began in the Cistercian gimnázium at Baja in south Hungary where he "quarrelled with the boys and drank with the priests" as he put it.<sup>33</sup> And it was during this year that Ady's *Új versek* appeared, causing such a storm that Kosztolányi wrote that any plans they had made for the reformation of Hungarian literature were now totally upset by the appearance of "an unbearable and empty poseur, Endre Ady."<sup>34</sup> Babits replied in kind—incidentally his only real outburst against Ady, alongside whose verse his own was to appear in the anthology *A Holnap*,<sup>35</sup> and with whom he was to be compared whether he liked it or not. Unlike Kosztolányi, who never came to terms with Ady's writing or personality, Babits soon realized that their poetic methods were totally different, though they both wished to see the rejuvenation of Hungarian literature, and he did not see him as a deadly rival.

From Baja Babits was moved after a year to Szeged, and from there he went to what he regarded as virtual exile in Fogaras, Transylvania. It was during this period that he buried himself in books and reached out beyond France to Britain in earnest. Meredith, Swinburne, Tennyson and Oscar Wilde satisfied his tastes in literature, and in art he became a subscriber to *The Studio*. He grew weary of Wilde after a time, but both Tennyson and Swinburne captivated him with their use of language and their technical skill. But there was something else that he discovered in English Victorian poetry, and that was the inspiration of Greek, as opposed to Latin, classical verse.<sup>36</sup>

Babits had wrestled with Greek at school and at university, but had found its grammar difficult<sup>37</sup>; it was in his isolation in Fogaras that he took it up seriously once more, largely because of his English reading. He too came to a realization of its inspiring force and maintained his love for it throughout his life.

This is the complicated background that lies behind Babits's arrival on the Hungarian literary scene. It is the personal quest of a shy intellectual, a born poet with a strong sense of all that makes good poetry—language, form and rhythm, allied with themes that showed immense variety. His approach was European rather than specifically Hungarian; this meant in effect that he was something of a cultural aristocrat. He did not proclaim the expected national message (or, for that matter, attack his nation like Petöfi and Ady); he was certainly a radical, but this did not involve political commitment, and those who expected a clear social message were made to search for it.

Babits was by no means a prolific poet. He was a severe editor of his own works. At the time of his death in 1941 he had published some 320 poems in all (excluding translations and his play in verse, *Laodameia*), but had rejected well over 300 poems, which remain, for the most part, in manuscript. His first book of verse contained 39 poems, five of which had appeared in *A Holnap*. These verses had been written from 1904 onwards, and many of them had been discussed by his friends before appearing in various journals. It is worth recalling this volume, since it gives some clue to the bafflement of Babits's early critics.

The very first poem is a programme-verse with a Latin title, *In Horatium*, beginning with a Hungarian translation of 'Odi profanum vulgus et arceo'—not exactly the most appropriate way, one would have thought, to court popularity in 1909. And it goes on to attack Horace's comfortable philosophy of golden mediocrity: "Let me sing today verse never heard before... for strong young ears", writes Babits, and "Let me sing today the hymn of eternal dissatisfaction". The metre is impeccably alcaic—which harks back to the early nineteenth century and such poets as Berzsenyi, but the thought, the attack on Horace and all that he stands for, combined with the concept of eternal movement and the dependence of life on death, the long and often complicated sentences that weave their way through the stanzas, make for disturbing reading. When this is followed by an Ode to Sin (*Óda a Bűnhöz*)—perhaps Vice would be a better translation—in impeccable Sapphics, the reader is on good decadent ground. This and the succeeding Hymn to Iris (*Himnusz Íriszhez*) are full of the colour, light and music that Babits so much admired in his reading of foreign poets. The language is lush, unashamedly erotic, and once again attacks the stagnation of the world he sees about him, but there is no reference in so many words to conditions in Hungary.

It is no surprise that there are poems about Europe; there is a kaleidoscopic view of eight countries (Far, far away: *Messze... Messze*), and what Babits calls a fantasy entitled *Paris*, best described as a collage, held together by a galloping rhythm and

immensely long sentences, and quite clearly inspired by Ady's poetry concerning Paris, as indeed Babits admits,<sup>38</sup> though the style and tone are very different. *Fires (Tüzek)* is a good Baudelairean series of pictures of various types of fire, ending with the fire of hell; this leads to several poems which have night as their theme—Babits was a bad sleeper and had horrifying nightmares. *Sunt lacrimae rerum* evokes the spirit of material things. Only in the ninth poem in the book does a personally-inspired theme appear, "On my mother's name" (*Anyám nevére*), but any reader expecting a romantic poem by a devoted son will be disappointed: it is a bleak little verse which suggests the truth—that Babits did not get on with his mother—and reveals much more about his state of mind than anything concerning his family. That verse ends with a suggested epitaph for himself, and this leads naturally to the next poem with its title, *Epitaph (Sírvers)*, with its refrain of "There's no world better than the next world," because that is the non-world, and that is far better than the world of nerves and flesh, "which is so bitter and foolish."

There are some dramatic monologues, like *The Night-Haired Girl of Aliscum (Aliscum éjhajú lánya)*, in which a whore from his home town dreams of the glories of Rome—the theme is that of La Fontaine's 'Courtesan in Love'. Or there is the folk-style dramatic monologue of the soldier in the Inn at Golgotha (*Golgotai csárda*) who plays dice and wins Christ's cloak; here it appears that Babits knew Browning's "How it strikes a Contemporary". There are Christian and Buddhist contrasted hymns, Nietzschean stanzas based on Tannhäuser (and Babits was fond of Wagner, despite his tone-deafness), and a Turanian March (*Turáni induló*), which might appear to be a good contemporary Hungarian theme, but in fact is a straight translation of Jean Richepin's *Marches Touraniennes*, composed while waiting for a train,<sup>39</sup> and a weak verse compared with the others in the volume. It is ironic that this should be the first poem in the book to contain the word "magyar".

There is a surprise poem, showing how good Babits could be when it came to pastiche. It is an unashamedly cabaret verse (this was a time when literary cabaret was fashionable in Budapest), written for the then very young cabaret-singer Vilma Medgyaszay in a splendid mixture of eighteenth-century French, German and Hungarian. Several poems have an Italian flavour, though this may be misleading; though *Recanati* is subtitled "Leopardi's birthplace", the scene is Szekszárd and the poet Babits and the theme his own search for happiness. There are some magnificent sonnets—indeed, Babits was a master of this form. *Market (Vásár)* paints a vivid picture of the market in Fogaras, and this is followed by two *Still Lifes (Csendéletek)*, in one of which he conjures up a scene evoked by a cloud—14 lines containing six classical references! The other is a bleak catalogue of the debris at the bottom of a desk-drawer. Modernity is well represented by a poem called *Movie (Mozgófénykép)*, which gallops through an American melodrama, effectively evoking the hiccups in the projection of an early silent film. The philosophical concept of eternal return is present

at the double ending—the end of the film itself, and the longing of the poet to go to America, which in effect takes the reader back to the beginning. Babits, incidentally, was a great film fan, but at the time when he wrote it (1906–7) this was not a “poetic” theme.

There are some townscapes, but certainly not depicting the attractions of urban life. Old Hotel (*Régi szálloda*) is about a hotelier who murders a rich guest and hides his body under the floor: life goes on above, while “beneath the dark wood covering the corpse disintegrates without a sound”, as the refrain has it—until the final section, which points to the time when “beneath a white stone covering your corpse will disintegrate without a sound.” End of the Town (*Városvég*) is a precise series of scenes of desolation and neglect which evokes a sense of stifled terror. And Lichthof (*A világosság udvara*) is a deliberately “unpoetic” evocation of the dank hole at the back of a tenement-block: there is no attempt to preach a social message, the poem is almost prosaically objective, yet the reader cannot fail to react the poet’s final questions “What is there in it? What is it that upsets me so much in it?”

The only real love-poem in the collection is a meditation on the beauty of the female body, Ray (*Sugár*), as sensual as anything the French decadents wrote—and to be compared with Blood-sucking girls (*Vérivó lányok*), the poem which precedes it, which after an erotic beginning ends with part of the Litany of Loreto, thus suddenly turning it into something mystical and—in the eyes of Babits’s contemporaries—blasphemous.

There are visions in plenty, prefaced by a short introductory poem, With Closed Eyes (*Húnyt szemmel*): “Grasp the slippery pearls of dreams, you who are tired of reality: embroider out of them a pearly cover for your freezing soul.” These visions are disturbing: a black country where not only the visible signs are black, but whose inside, unseen elements are black too—an idea from Poe’s ‘The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym’; The Eternal Corridor (*Az örök folyosó*) depicts the fate of the individual as a journey down an unending labyrinthine corridor full of identical arches, with a nightmarish figure in pursuit—the idea can be traced to both Nietzsche and William James. The penultimate poem is the vision of a church that gradually turns into a bird and flies off, leaving nothing but a “silent square” on the ground (*A templom! Repül!*). The last poem, written as early as 1904, is revealing. It is entitled The Lyricist’s Epilogue (*A lírikus epilógja*), and is in Babits’s favourite sonnet form.

Only I can bear to be a hero of my verse,  
First and last in every song of mine.  
I long to put the universe in verse,  
But so far I’ve not got beyond myself.

And I now believe there’s nothing outside of me,  
but even if there is, God knows if there is.  
To be locked like a blind nut within a nut  
and to wait to break out—oh, how that nauseates me.

There's no way I can break out of my magic circle.  
 Only my arrow can pierce it through: desire—  
 but I well know, the suggestion of my desire is deceptive.

I remain: to myself a prison,  
 for I am the subject and the object,  
 alas! I am the omega and the alpha.

This poem would provide a splendid examination-piece for budding philosophers and psychologists, as indeed would much of this first volume. But remembering Babits's strictures on Hungarian poetic traditions, it is easy to see why critics were nonplussed. The Hungarian flavour was minimal, and the expected revelations of a lyric poet were suppressed: where the verse was not sensuous and erotic, instinct, emotion and experience were subjected to a very exacting process of reasoning and calm thought. It was a kind of objectivized lyric that nevertheless allowed glimpses of a poet wrestling with ideas rather than emotions, yet the poet himself was often a witness, a photographer or a man who could address himself in the second person, as from outside.

One of the best contemporary critics, János Horváth, wrote:

Here is a poet who goes about the world, not only that of the present, but the great age of antiquity of history and culture; he reviews and observes with sensitive body and spirit. He catches sounds and scenes, he hears the speech of men living and dead, of market folk and great artists; he hears the speech of stones, statues and paintings, the individual voices of towers, houses, towns, peoples and countries; to him the silent landscape and the passing seasons speak with meaning, for him everything that lives in a visible significance, an audible expression. Yet where is *he*? Where is *his* speech? He who has listened to everything—who hears *him*? Has he no significance? Has he no individual expression?<sup>40</sup>

Horváth goes on to praise his brevity, his sense of form and style and his ability to evoke atmosphere, but notes that one of his serious weaknesses is his tendency to let words run away with him and to allow his train of thought to be debased into mere play upon words. Yet he clearly sees Babits as a force in the confusion that followed the arrival of Ady:

In an age of formless poetic creations, he idolizes form. Among those who stammer out their incomprehensible subjectivism, he is the precisely-spoken poet of objective views; among the muddled naturalists of the subconscious world, he is clear, responsive, trained artistic consciousness in person.<sup>41</sup>

Two years later, Babits produced yet another slim volume, *Prince, Suppose Winter Comes Too!* (*Herceg, hátha megjön a tél is!*). This contained a similar mixture of poems, yet in an extended range. Once more there were tantalizing glimpses of the poet's ideas about his craft:



These are cold sonnets. All cleverness  
 And passionless, just virtuosity.  
 Though nowadays there's no nobility in work,  
 these are just work, just carving.

If he's a poet who displays his feverishness, here you are!  
 here I stand wanton, undressed! Look at me!  
 this is not poetry, but goldsmiths' work!  
 and though it's not sincere, it's not comedy.

Every sonnet is a miniature altar,  
 who loves words of blood, in disarray,  
 let him not read my verse henceforth.

Who long ago were the key to so many hearts,  
 sonnet, golden key, lock up my heart,  
 firmly, so that only my relative may open it.<sup>42</sup>

Again here are the classical references, including a wild Bacchic revel (*Bakháns lárma*) and a poem on the Danaids (*A Danaidák*) which by sheer monotony and repetition depicts their dismal fate. And again there are the philosophical poems and the precise nature-scenes. But much more to the fore is the poet himself, still wrestling with his doubts and fears, a lonely and apparently friendless figure. Sándor Sík, the Catholic priest, poet, later professor and mentor of many young poets and writers characterized him most aptly at this time:

These poems lead a double life. On the outside, there are musical rhymes, sparkling, booming, lulling music; on the inside, hidden deeply away is a storm-tossed hermit-soul, a strange and agitated intellect full of feverish struggles.<sup>43</sup>

And after noting that Babits's classicism is unusually Greek, he declares that there are "few poets who can make us sense the struggles of modern man, see the depths of his problems and feel and make felt his emotions in their entirety with such tempestuousness as this artist of form who appears so cold."<sup>44</sup>

Sík comes near to the truth, and as Babits developed, this slowly came to be recognized. The war of 1914–1919 caused him to regard himself—just as Ady did—as a preserver of ancient virtues; his anti-war poems, highly unpopular at the time, were directed not against the Hungarian war effort, but against war itself as the destroyer of culture. During the revolution of 1919 he accepted a university post and gave a series of remarkable lectures on the theory of literature, known today only through the notes of those who attended them.<sup>45</sup> For his purely literary activity during this period he was punished by being pensioned off as a teacher and henceforth he lived entirely by his writing and editorial duties. Like all other thinking people in Hungary, he was badly shaken by the effects of the Treaty of Trianon; but he was equally aware of the dangers

of fascism. It is quite wrong to see him at this time as an isolated observer of the Hungarian scene. Whether he liked or not, he was bound to accept the responsibility of being a Hungarian writer and editor, which meant that he had to play, however unwillingly, a public role. Zsigmond Móricz, the novelist who was six years his senior and his uneasy co-editor of *Nyugat* for a time, described him aptly as a very delicate wild beast from the woods, whose black eyes flamed with terror, yet who stood his ground valiantly.<sup>46</sup>

Babits was much more than a poet breaking new ground. He was an experimental novelist—his first work in this genre was a study of a schizophrenic (*The Stork Caliph: A gólyakalifa*, 1916) and his last a horrifying vision of the future (*Elsa the Pilot, or the perfect society: Elza pilóta vagy a tökéletes társadalom*, 1933). He was a prolific translator, ranging from Dante and Shakespeare, Sophocles and medieval Latin hymns to an anthology of erotic verse (*Erato*) that was duly banned. Above all, he was a superb essayist in what one may rightly call the English tradition, and he encouraged younger writers in this art. The work of Antal Szerb, Gábor Halász and László Cs. Szabó shows the extent of his influence. And here his *History of European Literature (Az európai irodalom története)*, first published in 1934, but later revised, deserves special mention. He wrote it, he says, for his own delight, but it shows admirably the breadth of his knowledge of European culture and how he saw Hungarian literature in the European context. He planned a reader to accompany this history, but at the time of his death had written little more than the introduction to the classical Greek section.<sup>47</sup>

Viewed as a Hungarian writer who began his literary career as the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was in its last days, Babits is intriguing as someone who tried to find an individual response to the challenge of the times not in the Hungarian tradition—with the notable exception of János Arany—but in classical and west European culture. It was fortunate for him that the journal *Nyugat* was started, for its editorial policy allowed freedom of theme and treatment provided that the writing was good in the eyes of the editor. His tragedy was that while he was finding his own voice, his world was wrecked by World War I, the revolution of 1919 and Trianon, and his ever-sensitive spirit became a mass of wounds. He was always a man of contradictions in an age that was equally contradictory—and his statement “Who’ll catch me? I’ll slither away like a fish” is entirely in keeping with his attitude. Yet he does inherit certain Hungarian literary traits, the most notable being his conviction that literature was destined to demonstrate opposition. (“For you are nothing, if you are not resistance”) And he believed in battling against “the blind forces of the world and the doubts and emotions of my own spirit,”—these latter as often as not connected with the fearful bouts of illness that he suffered from time to time, culminating in the agony of cancer of the throat that killed him.

Some idea of the esteem in which his fellow-writers held him can be gained from the

memorial volume, edited by Gyula Illyés, that appeared very shortly after his death. Over 70 contributors presented their views of him as poet, novelist, essayist, as educator and editor. All of them had come under his spell, some willingly, others reluctantly. He began his career as a teacher, and remained one all his life: one of the youngest writers to contribute to the Memorial volume, György Bálint, declared:

"He was a great educator. Today the influence he had on the generation of Hungarian writers after the first world war and on the youngest one today cannot be measured. In time it will grow like the ever-widening circles from a stone dropped into the water. I think there is no Hungarian writer of any worth of the last twenty years who has not learnt from him. This does not mean following his themes or style. Like every great master, he did not breed imitators; it was his example that had the greatest influence. His intellectual methods, his whole mentality and—in recent times—his life, too. At the end of the thirties, on the brink of the forties, during a time of whirlwind destruction of spiritual values many young Hungarian writers were strongly influenced by the very fact that Mihály Babits was alive. To be his contemporary was in itself something that compelled one to be conscientious and maintain standards. Gorki wrote that it was impossible to lie in the company of Tolstoy. We may declare that with Babits around it was impossible to write carelessly and unconscientiously. The pen in the hand of a young writer often stopped in the middle of a slipshod thought, a loose sentence: 'What would Babits say to that?'"<sup>48</sup>

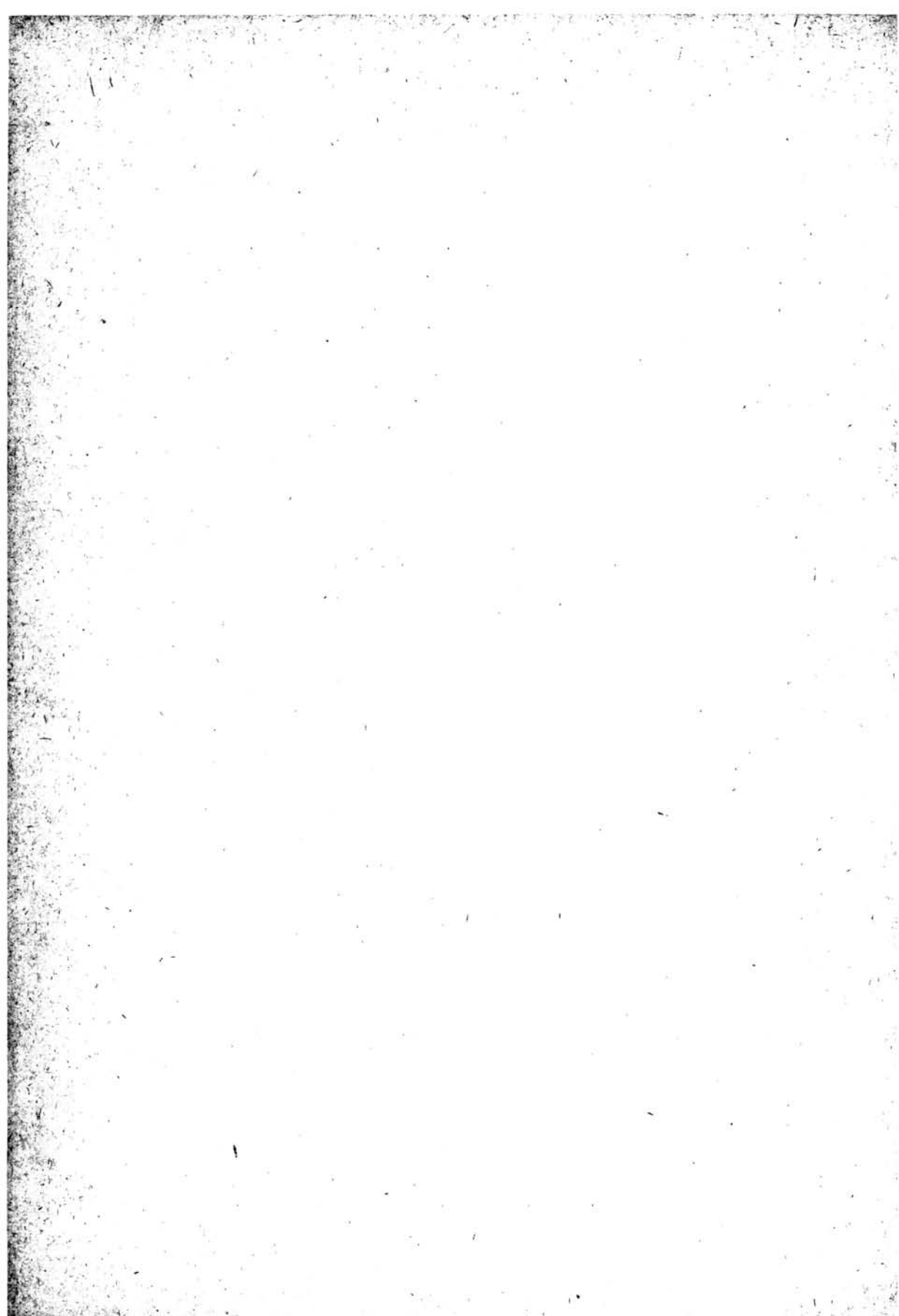
Today Babits can be seen as a writer who early in life broke with the literary values of his age and absorbed something much broader and deeper from the whole range of European culture. The result was intellectual poetry and prose of a kind rarely seen in the Hungarian tradition: it was never popular, nor was it intended to be. But, as the young György Bálint noted, it did set standards at a time when the European world was in turmoil and Hungary in particular was shaken by a series of disasters unthinkable at the turn of the century. And although it is customary to regard Ady as the poet with "new songs for new times", as he puts it<sup>49</sup>, he was a lone voice with no followers and no school. Babits's influence was immeasurably greater; it is good to see proper recognition of his work beginning to emerge today after many years of neglect. As a postscript, it is intriguing to observe how well Babits the poet fits in with the English literary tradition—indeed, he is the most accessible twentieth-century Hungarian poet for English readers nurtured on, say, T. S. Eliot.

#### Notes

1. For an interesting comment on the critical reception of Babits, see Lengyel, Balázs, "A Babits élmény nyomában" in *Mint különös hírmondó* (Budapest, 1983), p. 229.
2. Belia, György, *Babits Mihály tanulóévei* (Budapest, 1983), pp.129–30.
3. Cited in Pók, Lajos, *Babits Mihály* (Budapest, 1967), p. 30.
4. Németh, G. Béla, "Világkép és irodalomfelfogás Az európai irodalom történetében", in *Mint különös hírmondó* (Budapest, 1983), pp. 21–36.
5. Babits, Mihály, *Keresztül-kasul az életemen* (Budapest, 1939), p. 12.

6. Babits, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
7. See Babits's comments on Pál Gyulai, whose lectures he attended in his first year at university, "Az igazság Gyulai Párról", *Esszék, tanulmányok* (Budapest, 1978), vol. I, p. 200.
8. Zempléni, Árpád, "Bizonytalan költők", in *Századvegi költők* (Budapest, 1959), vol. II, p. 127.
9. Babits, *op. cit.*, pp. 113–114. Of the four poets mentioned, Antal Váradi (1854–1923) was the author of countless now forgotten poems for recitation, Emil Ábrányi (1850–1920) wrote much patriotic verse, but was a superb translator, Mihály Szabolcska (1862–1930) wrote village idylls, though some of his more serious poetry deserves recognition, and Lajos Pósa (1850–1914) composed songs and is chiefly known as editor of a children's paper and writer of verse for children.
10. Pók, Lajos, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
11. Belia, György, *op. cit.*, p. 141.
12. Reviews of *The Monist*, *The American Journal of Psychology*, *Magyar Philosophiai Társaság Közleményei* XVI, 1905, pp. 32–39.
13. Babits's draft on an autobiographical sketch, cited in Pók, Lajos, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–38.
14. James, William, *The Principles of Psychology* (New York, 1950), vol. I, p. 271.
15. Rába, György, *Babits Mihály költészete* (Budapest, 1981), p. 55.
16. *Magyar verstan* (Budapest, 1886); *A mértékes magyar verselés*, 1892.
17. See Kosztolányi, Dezső, "Négyesy László" in *Egy ég alatt*, ed. Réz, Pál (Budapest, 1977), pp. 38–40.
18. 'Lévé', cited in Belia, György, *op. cit.*, pp. 185–186.
19. Babits, *Keresztül-kasul az életemen*, Budapest, 1939, p. 114.
20. *Babits–Juhász–Kosztolányi levelezése*, ed. Belia, György (Budapest, 1959), p. 51 and p. 59.
21. *ibid.*, p. 10.
22. *ibid.*, p. 11–12.
23. *ibid.*, p. 20.
24. *ibid.*, p. 25–26.
25. *ibid.*, p. 41.
26. *ibid.*, p. 44.
27. *ibid.*, p. 45.
28. *ibid.*, p. 81.
29. *ibid.*, p. 89.
30. *ibid.*, p. 92.
31. *ibid.*, p. 96.
32. 'Browning', *Nyugat*, 1912, Vol. I, p. 892.
33. *Babits–Juhász–Kosztolányi levelezése*, ed. Belia, György (Budapest, 1959), p. 103.
34. *ibid.*, p. 109.
35. *ibid.*, p. 112.
36. For a fuller account of this connection, see G. F. Cushing, "Babits and the English Classical Tradition", *Acta Litteraria Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 27 (1985), pp. 440–446.
37. *Babits–Juhász–Kosztolányi levelezése*, p. 54.
38. Rába, György, *op. cit.*, p. 147.
39. *ibid.*, p. 208.
40. Horváth, János, "Babits Mihály", *Babits Mihály száz esztendeje*, ed. Pók, Lajos (Budapest, 1983), pp. 61–62.
41. *ibid.*, p. 72.
42. "Szonettek", 1909.
43. Sík, Sándor, "Herceg, hátha megjön a tél is", in *Babits Mihály száz esztendeje*, ed. Pók, Lajos (Budapest, 1983), p. 49.
44. *ibid.*, p. 50.

45. "Az irodalom elmélete", in Babits, Mihály, *Esszék, tanulmányok* (Budapest, 1978), vol. I, pp. 553–645. Another version of the same lectures: Kelevéz, Ágnes and Sárdy, Jánosné, "Babits irodalomelméletének öt egyetemi előadása Szabó Lőrinc lejegyzésében", in *Mint különös hirmondó* (Budapest, 1983), pp. 241–271.
46. Móricz, Zsigmond, "Babits Mihály", in *Babits Emlékkönyv*, ed. Illyés, Gyula (Budapest, 1941), pp. 139–141, based on a shorter version published in *Nyugat*, 1924.
47. Babits, Mihály, *Az európai irodalom olvasókönyve*, ed. Gál, István, (Budapest, 1978).
48. Bálint, György, "A nevelő", *Babits Emlékkönyv*, ed. Illyés, Gyula (Budapest, 1941), p. 103.
49. Ady, Endre, "Góg és Magóg fia vagyok én", introducing *Új versek* (Budapest, 1906).



# TEXTUAL PROBLEMS OF MIKLÓS RADNÓTI'S BOR NOTEBOOK

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For those seriously interested in the poetry of Miklós Radnóti, one of the most important literary events of the postwar period was surely the publication in facsimile of the poet's *Bori notesz* (Bor Notebook).<sup>1</sup> The Serbian exercise book, in sextodecimo, into which the deported poet wrote his last poems, testifies to a man of such courage, a poet of such abiding faith in moral intelligence and craftsmanship, that the facsimile could only have exerted deep emotional appeal on all who have been privileged to view it. In his preface to the printed booklet accompanying the facsimile Gyula Ortutay (1910–1978), the distinguished ethnologist and Radnóti's close friend, interprets the *Notebook's* emotional and moral significance in exactly this light:

... a kis szerb iskolásfüzet költeményeinek facsimile kiadása nem filológiai részletek közlésére sarkall. Nem a füzet külső formájának, méreteinek leírása a célom, s még az se, hogy milyen "olvasati" problémáink voltak eleinte: Lager Heidemann vagy Heidenau-e a helyes olvasat, s a többi efféle filológiai kérdés, aminek a maga helyén értelme, súlya van. De nekem az abdai tömegsír s ez a kis füzet más példázatot mondott, más kérdéseket adott föl. ... Mire tanít ez a kis füzet?

A haza szemérmes szeretetére. Mikor már szinte mindenből kitagadta a hivatalos haza, mikor prédának dobta oda, akkor is magához ölelte a haza, az otthon elérhetetlennek tűnő képeit éberén s álomban is ...

(... the facsimile edition of the poems in the little Serbian school copybook does not spur me on to publication of philological details. My purpose is not to describe the notebook's external form or its dimensions, nor indeed the sort of problems in "readings" we experienced at the beginning; whether the correct reading is Lager Heidemann or Heidenau, and all the remaining textcritical problems of this nature, which in their proper place carry meaning and weight. No—to me the mass grave at Abda and this little notebook narrated another parable, put different questions. ... What does this little notebook teach us? Non-demonstrative love of country. At a time when the official fatherland excluded him from practically everything, when it tossed him as prey, even then he embraced the seemingly unattainable pictures of homeland and home, in waking as well as in dream ...<sup>2</sup>)

Ortutay is right—in viewing the moral and social lessons of the *Bor Notebook* in what those last heroic poems express. He is also wrong—in separating textual study from this course of lessons, in assigning philological investigations their "proper place" and failing to note the central role that textual study plays, and should be allowed to play,

in imparting lessons of precisely such a nature. For if a part of the poet's ethical steadfastness is communicated in the craftsmanship of the poems, and even in the precision and beauty of the handwriting (neither of which has eluded critical notice), then it seems self-understood that ethical aspects of reception of the canon are inseparable from our responsibility to the text. And such responsibility makes sense only if it can express itself in concern with the minutiae of textual scholarship—indeed with the difference between “Lager Heidemann” and “Lager Heidenau”, along with a number of other such differences and their implications.

In what follows I would like to offer, for the first time, to my knowledge, a critical edition of the *Bor Notebook*: a complete description of the document, accompanied by variant apparatus and textual commentary. This is on the one hand a timely undertaking; more than a decade following the first appearance of the facsimile, an interested reading public deserves to have its attention called to all the details of the *Notebook* whose communicability lies beyond reasonable doubt. To an extent, such an effort at textual study may also help satisfy the expectations of scholars who have repeatedly either called for a critical edition or have made attempts at textual study themselves.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand it is a hazardous undertaking, and can lay claim to preliminary validity at best. The original manuscript of the *Bor Notebook*, while it was obviously released to a publisher for purposes of publication in facsimile, is to this day not available for viewing and use by individual scholars; at least Mrs. Radnóti, the poet's widow, has not permitted me to examine it. The same is true of the originals of the copies that the poet prepared at camp for a campmate, the sociologist Sándor Szalai.<sup>4</sup> In the descriptive portions of the edition, then, I will be examining not actual manuscripts but rather a facsimile (of the *Notebook*) and a printed text (of the Szalai copies), respectively; both of these available documents are treated below as hyparchetypes. In addition it must be borne in mind that problems of discriminability may be compounded by the presence of a halftone prepared by means of screening; how severe such difficulties are, only an eventual comparison of facsimile with the original can determine. For the time being I am satisfied that the diplomatic transcription given in part II of this paper includes every feature that editors of the *Bor* poems also include. At the same time it goes beyond demands posed by the general reader, and calls attention to a number of features that have gone unobserved until now. It may prove instructive to compare a diplomatic transcription with the contents of the printed booklet accompanying the facsimile. To mention only one major difference: the booklet omits printing the preliminary draft of *Nyolcadik ecloga* (“Eighth Eclogue”), limiting notice of it to brief mention in Tibor Szántó's afterword (booklet, p. 31).

One important point the booklet makes is that it would not be possible to reconstruct the texts of some of the poems in the *Notebook*, were it not for the existence of separate copies. They are of five of the most substantial poems: *Hetedik ecloga*



("Seventh Eclogue"), *Levél a hitveshez* ("Letter to My Wife"), *À la recherche . . .*, *Nyolcadik ecloga* ("Eighth Eclogue"), and *Erőltetett menet* ("Forced March"). Sándor Szalai, the sociologist (1912–1983), for whom Radnóti prepared these copies at one of the Bor camps, was in a unit liberated by the Tito partisans in early to mid-October of 1944; on his journey back home, Szalai published some of the poems in provincial newspapers, preeminently at Temesvár. On arrival in Budapest, he delivered his manuscript copies of the five texts to authorized persons, most probably either to Ortutay or to Mrs. Radnóti; the copies then served as bases for the first publication of these poems in Radnóti's posthumous collection, *Tajtékos ég*.<sup>5</sup> This took place probably no later than May of 1946, prior to the discovery of the manuscript of the *Notebook*. The latter was found upon exhumation of Radnóti's remains on 23 June of that year. We recall that the poet was executed and buried in the mass grave at Abda on or about 8 November 1944. Moisture, during its subterranean stay of nearly twenty months, damaged the *Notebook*, rendering a goodly portion of the entries in the lower fourth of the document illegible.<sup>6</sup> As simple inspection will show, however, only the texts of the five poems of which Radnóti had prepared copies were seriously affected. This enabled the 1948 editor of Radnóti's poems, Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel, to print the five texts the poet had not copied—*Gyökér* and the set of four *Razglednici* ("Picture Postcards")—using as his editing copy the *Notebook* itself. Even here, not all editorial decisions remain unchallenged, but there is no question that Trencsényi-Waldapfel had a far easier time of it with *his* five texts than either he or Radnóti's subsequent editors would have had with the initial five, had they had to rely on the state of the evidence in the damaged *Notebook* alone.

The edition of the *Bor Notebook* offered here proceeds in five parts: I. a list of special signs used, followed by sigla and description of sources; II. a diplomatic transcription of the contents of the *Notebook*, along with an apparatus of variant readings; III. textual commentary; IV. the constituted text of the *Notebook*; and V. an appendix, offering the texts of the *Notebook* in English translation. This last part differs in only a few particulars from English translations of Radnóti's ten last poems as printed in my translated edition of the complete poems of Miklós Radnóti.<sup>7</sup> A translation of the initial draft of "Eighth Eclogue" is offered here for the first time. Smaller variants are not translated; the aim of the appendix is to furnish a textually and poetologically sound equivalent for the constituted text as printed in part IV. Such equivalence broaches its own problems; in both substance and spirit I follow principles of verse translation as discussed both in my 1980 translation and in an article published in *The Kenyon Review* in 1982.<sup>8</sup>

While problems of decipherment and the evaluation of readings are the subject of the commentary in part III, it might be useful here to offer a prefatory remark on mechanics of procedure. A decipherment and transcription concentrate, and invite concentration, upon visual particulars. In the diplomatic text as given in part II, every

attempt is made to reproduce spatial relations in Radnóti's manuscript with as much fidelity as a typographical accounting for a handwritten text will allow. Fortunately, Radnóti's holograph shows an even hand, eminently legible in places where the penciled handwriting is preserved; in very few instances does difficulty in decipherment arise on paleographic grounds alone. A second point to be borne in mind is that in the numberings for pages and lines added, no attempt is made to approximate normal line numbering for a text; in the edition below, line 1 is always the first line on the page, as often as not the title of the given poem.<sup>9</sup>

### *I. Signs, Sigla, Description of Sources*

#### *Special signs used in this edition:*

[ . . . ]	illegible due to moisture
[xxXx]	crossed out by poet, illegible (X = lower-case, with ascender)
[word]	crossed out by poet, legible; also: legible despite moisture
#word#	off margin of notebook; emended (shown in apparatus only)
<word>	emendation within text (shown in apparatus only)
[word]/word	editorial addition or comment

In [ . . . ] an attempt is made to bring the number of dots in line with the number of missing letters, punctuation marks, and spaces.

#### *Description of sources on which the edition is based:*

##### *B Bori notesz (description after published facsimile only):*

Notebook, square ruled (28 × 17 lines), 16mo (157 × 97 mm), 16 leaves (32 pages) including covers; probably stapled. On cover the word *Avala* (trade name) printed in Cyrillic capitals; below it, the number 5 (paper size, or number of format). One small sheet (x-ray photo, measuring 128 × 87 mm; verso only visible) tipped in before back cover (between pp. [30] and [31]). The notebook is not paginated in any manner.

Entries are in pencil, all of them in Radnóti's hand, some passages rendered illegible by moisture. Seepage affects legibility of entries in lower fourth to third of notebook (on most pages, minimum 22 to maximum 46 mm); in texts entered oblong (on pp. [8–11], [16–24], and [26–27]), the left-hand sides of lines are affected. Further damage: tear, 31 mm deep, at bottom of cover sheet, left of center, fanning out to jagged, semicircular opening at bottoms of some of the remaining pages (presumably caused by passing bullet), most clearly visible on pages [13–26], with no loss of text.

Contents: pages [1–2]: cover. [3–4]: instructions to “finder” of notebook in five languages (Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian, German, French [3]; English [3–4]). Rest of [4] and all of [5] blank. [6–7]: “Hetedik ecloga”. [8–11]: “Nyolcadik

- ecloga", first draft, entered oblong and cancelled. [12–13]: "Levél a hitveshez". [14–15]: "Gyökér". Rest of [15] blank. [16–19]: "À la recherche . . .", entered oblong. Rest of [19] blank. [20–24]: "Nyolcadik ecloga", definitive version, entered oblong. [25]: "Razglednica" [no. 1]. Rest of [25] blank. [26–27]: "Erőltetett menet", entered oblong. Rest of [27] blank. [28]: "Razglednica 2". Rest of [28] blank. [29]: "Razglednica 3". Rest of [29] blank. [30]: blank. On sheet tipped in between [30] and [31]: "Razglednica 4". [31] and [32]: blank.
- T* Radnóti Miklós, *Tajtékos ég. Versek*. Budapest, Révai, 1946. Pages 105–06: "Levél a hitveshez"; 107–08: "Hetedik Ecloga"; 109–11: "Nyolcadik Ecloga"; 112: "Erőltetett menet"; 113–14: "À la recherche" [these five poems only].
- V* Radnóti Miklós *Versei*. Sajtó alá rendezte Trencsényi-Waldapfel Imre. Gyoma, Kner, 1948. [In addition to the five Bor poems already printed in *T*.] Page 212: "Gyökér"; 216: "Razglednica" [no. 1]; 218: "Razglednica 2". through "Razglednica 4".
- K* Radnóti Miklós *Összes versei és műfordításai*. (Sajtó alá rendezte Koczkás Sándor.) Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1959.  
*Koczkás's third edition, based, as were his editions of 1954 and 1956, on V.*
- M* Radnóti Miklós *Művei*. (A szöveggondozás és a jegyzetek Réz Pál munkája.) Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1978. *The edition in current use.*

Not considered are the newspaper and anthology appearances of the poems, as made possible by Szalai and others;<sup>10</sup> and the plain-text editions of Radnóti's works that have appeared since 1952, with the exceptions of *K* and *M*. *B* and *T*, as pointed out above, are treated as hyparchetypes of the unavailable autograph manuscripts: the original of the *Notebook* and the Szalai copies, respectively. On page [3] of *B*, since the poet made no copies of his polyglot instructions, it was not possible to reconstruct with certainty portions of the French and English texts. For conjectural emendation of the English text, see the variant apparatus in part II below.<sup>11</sup>

## II. Diplomatic Transcription and Variant Readings

### Transcription

- [3] Ez a jegyzőkönyvecske Radnóti Miklós magyar költő verseit tartalmazza. Kéri a megtalálót, hogy juttassa el Magyarországra, *Ortutay Gyula* dr egyetemi magántanár címére: *Budapest*,
- 5 *VII. Horánszky u. 1. I.*

Ovaj notes sadrži pesme madjarskog pesnika Radnóti Miklósa. On moli nalazni

da istog pošalje na adresu sveučilišnog  
profesora *Ortutay Gyula, Budapest, VII.*

10 *Horánszky u. 1. I. Madjarska.*

Es wird höfl. ersucht dieses Buch, welches  
die Gedichte des ungarischen Dichters *Miklós  
Radnóti* enthält, dem Herrn Universitäts-  
professor *Gyula Ortutay* wohnhaft in  
15 *Budapest (VII. Horánszky u. 1. I.)* zukommen  
lassen zu wollen. Verbindlichste [Hochacht.]

Prière de bien vouloir faire parvenir ce  
cahier, [. . . .] contenu est [. . . . .]  
[. . . . .] écrivain hongrois *Miklós Rad*  
20 [. . . . .] *Gyula Ortutay* (professeur  
[.] l'Université Budapest) Budapest, VII.  
[. . . . .] Merci à l' [. . . . .]

[Please forward . . . . . which]

[4] contains the poems of the Hungarian poet,  
*Miklós Radnóti*, to Mr. Gyula Ortutay, Budapest  
University lecturer, *Budapest, VII. Horánszky u.  
1. I.* Thank you in anticipation.

[5] [blank]

[6] Hetedik ecloga

Látod-e, esteledik s a szögesdróttal beszegett, vad  
tölgykerítés, barak oly lebegő, felszívja az este.  
Rabságunk keretét elereszti a lassu tekintet  
5 és csak az ész, csak az ész, az tudja a drót feszülését.  
Látod-e drága, a képzelet itt, az is így szabadul  
csak,  
megtöretett testünket az álom, a szép szabadító  
oldja fel és a fogolytábor hazaindul ilyenkor.  
10 Rongyosan és kopaszon, horkolva repülnek a foglyok,  
Szerbia vak tetejéről bűvó otthoni tájra.  
Bűvó otthoni táj! Ó megvan-e még az az otthon?

Bomba sem érte talán? s *van*, mint amikor be-  
vonultunk?

- 15 És aki jobbra nyöszörg, aki balra hever, hazatér-e?  
Mondd, van-e ott haza még, ahol értik e hexa-  
metert is?

Ékezetek nélkül, csak sort sor alá tapogatva,  
[.....]rom itt a homályban a verset, [..]nt ahogy

- 20 [.....]  
[..]ksin, hernyóként araszolgtatván [....]píron[.]  
zseblámpát, könyvet, mindent [..ett.k.....]  
[...i] s posta se jön, köd [.....]  
[.....]

- [7] 25 [.....ncia], lengyel,  
hangos olasz, szakadár szerb, méla zsidó a hegyekben  
szétdarabolt, lázas test s mégis *egy* életet él itt,  
jóhírt vár, szép asszonyi szót, szabad emberi sor  
sot,  
5 s várja a véget, a sűrű homályba bukót, a cso-  
dákat.

Fekszem a deszkán, férgek közt fogoly állat, a bol  
hák

- 10 ostroma meg-megujúl, de a légsereg elnyugodo  
már.

Este van, egy nappal rövidebb, lásd, újra a fogság  
és egy nappal az élet is. Alszik a tábor. A tájra  
rásüt a hold s fényében a drótok újra feszülnek  
s látni az ablakon át, hogy a fegyveres őrszemek

- 15 .....árnya  
lépdél a falra vetődve az éjszaka hangjai közbe

Alszik a tábor, látod-e drága, suhognak az ál  
mok,

- 20 horkan a [....]iadó, megfordul a [....] helyen és m  
[.]jr[.] elal[.....]lik az arca. [Cs..] én ülök ébr  
[.....] csókokod  
[.....]  
[.....] nélküléd  
immár.

- 25 [.....]

[8]

## Nyolcadik ecloga

[Költő:]

Üdvözlégy, jól bírod e vad hegyi úton a járást  
szép öregember. Szárny emel-é, avagy üldöz az ellen?

- 5 [..]árny emel, indulat űz s a szemedből lobban a villám,  
[.d.öz]légy, agg férfiu, látom már hogy a régi  
[....]haragú próféták egyike vagy, de melyik, mondd?  
[.....]

- [.....] Náhum vagyok, Elkós városa szült és  
10 [zengtem.....t] asszír Ninivé buja városa ellen,  
zengtem az isteni szót, a harag teli zsákja valék én!

[.....]

[.....] dühöd, mert fennmaradott, amit írtál.

[9]

[.....]

[.....]ott. De a bűn szaporább, mint annakelőtte,  
[.....i] a célja az Úrnak, senkise tudja ma sem még.

- 5 [.....] megmondta az Úr, hogy a bő folyamok kiapadnak,  
[.....]n a Kármel, a Básán és a Libánon  
[.....] a hegy megrendül, a tűz elemészt majd  
[.....]gy is lőn.

[.....]

Gyors nemzetek öldösik egymást

- 10 [..]nt Ninivé, úgy meztelenül le az emberi lélek,  
fáklya a templom tornya, kemence a ház, a lakója  
[..]gsúl benne, a gyártelepek fölszállnak a füstben.  
[....né]ppel az utca rohan, majd bűgva elájul,  
s fortyan a bomba nagy ágya, kiröppen a súlyos ereszték;  
15 [..]y lőn minden, ahogy te megírtad. Az ősi gomolyból  
[.on]dd, mi hozott most mégis e földre?

[10]

[.....]ta:

A düh. Hogy az ember

[.....] s azóta is árva az emberforma pogányok  
[had....]gében. S látni szeretném újra a bűnös

- 5 [.....] elestét s mint tanu szólni a kései kornak.

[.....]  
 [.....]tál. S megmondta az Úr régen sza[v]aidban,  
 [.....aj.a.]rédával teli várnak, ahol tetemekből  
 [.....]a, de mondd, évezredek óta lehet, hogy  
 10 [.....] a düh? Irigyellek. Az én kis időmet  
 [.....]rodhoz? akár vadsodru patakban  
 [.....ödő] kavicsot, úgy koptat e röpke idő is.  
 [.....]  
 [.....]rem újabb verseid. Éltet a méreg.

[11] [.....]ühe oly rokon, étek a népnek  
 [.....]ló! Él[...ne belőle, ki élni akar, míg  
 [.....]szág, amit ígért amaz ifju tanítvány,  
 [.....] ki bétöltötte a törvényt és szavainkat.  
 5 [.....]lem, hogy már közelít az az óra,  
 [.....] ország. Hogy mi a célja az Úrnak,  
 [.....] ország. [—]Útrakelünk, gyere gyűjtsük  
 [.....] mess botokat s menj asszonyodért, hozd. —  
 [.....]n ott a botom, mert jobb szeretem, ha göcsörtös.

10 [...er] Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. 1944./VII. 22.

[12] Levél a hitveshez

A mélyben néma, hallgató világok,  
 üvölt a csönd fülemben s felkiáltok,  
 de nem felelhet senki rá a távol,  
 5 a háborúba ájult Szerbiából  
 s te messze vagy. Hangod befonja álmom,  
 s szívemben nappal újra megtalálom, —  
 hát hallgatók, míg zsong körém felállván  
 sok hűvös érintésű büszke páfrány. (——)  
 10 Mikor láthatlak újra, nem tudom már  
 ki biztos voltál, súlyos, [...]t a zsoldár  
 s szép mint a fény és oly [.....i]nt az árnyék  
 s kihez vakon, némán [...elta]lálnék,  
 most bujdokolsz a táj[ban.....]re  
 15 belülről lebbensz, [.....] az[elme]

- [.]alóság voltál, álom [.]jettél uj[ra]  
 (— kamaszkorom kútjába visszahullva —)  
 féltékenyen vallatlak, hogy [szeretsz-]e [.]  
 s [....] ifjuságom csúcán [.....]  
 20 a hitvesem leszel, — [.....]  
 s az éber lét útjára [vissza.....]  
 [.]udom, hogy [.....]  
 [.....]  
 [.....]  
 25 [.....]  
 [13] Csodákban hittem s napjuk elfeledtem,  
 bombázórajok húznak el felettem;  
 szemed kékjét csodáltam épp az égen,  
 de elborult [x] s a bombák fönt a gépben  
 5 zuhanni vágytak. Ellenükre [xxxxxxx] élek, —  
 Mindent, amit  
 [immár]<sup>s</sup> fogoly vagyok. [Amit] ([reméltem]<sup>re</sup>mélek  
 [szivembenxxxxxxxxxxde már egy hűvös hullám]  
 [a 2 × 2 józansága hull rám.]  
 10 fölmértem s mégis eltalálok hozzád,  
 [Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben]  
 megjártam érted én a lélek hosszát  
 [1944. VIII.]  
 (— s országok útjait. Bíbor parázson, —)  
 15 zuhanó  
 Ha kell, [sokágu] lángok közt varázslom  
 majd át magam, de mégis visszatérek,  
 ha kell, szívós leszek, mint fán a kéreg,  
 s a folytonos veszélyben, bajban élő  
 20 vad férfiak fegyvert s hatalmat érő  
 nyugalma nyugtat s [mint] egy hűvös hullám  
 a 2 × 2 józansága hull rám.

Lager Hei[...au], Žagubica fölött a hegyekben.  
 1944. VIII. [...]



[14]

Gyökér

A gyökérben erő surran,  
esőt iszik, földdel él,  
és az álma hófehér.

- 5 Föld alól a föld fölé tör,  
kúszik s ravasz a gyökér,  
karja akár a kötél.

- 10 Gyökér karján féreg alszik,  
gyökér lábán féreg ül,  
a világ megférgesül.

De a gyökér tovább él lent,  
nem érdekli a világ  
csak a [lomb közt a virág] lombbal teli ág.

- 15 Azt csodálja, táplálgatja,  
küld neki jó ízeket,  
[.]des égi ízeket.

Gyökér [.....] magam is [.....]  
féreg között élek [...]  
[.....]

[15]

Virág voltam, gyökér lettem,  
súlyos, sötét föld felettem,  
sorsom elvégeztetett,  
fűrész sír fejem felett.

- 5 Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben  
1944. VIII. 8.

[16]

A la recherche...

- Régi, szelíd esték, ti is emlékké nemesedtek!  
 [K]öltőkkel s fiatal feleségekkel koszorúzott  
 tündöklő asztal, hova csúszol a múltak iszapján?  
 5 hol van az éj, amikor még vígan szürkebarátot  
 ittak a fürge barátok a szépszemű karcsu pohárból?

- [...ss...ok] úsztak a lámpák fénye körül, ragyogó, zöld  
 jel[zók] ringtak a metrum tajtékos taraján és  
 éltek a holtak s otthon voltak a foglyok, az eltűnt  
 10 drága barátok, verseket írtak a rég elesettek,  
 szívükön Ukrajna, Hispánia, Flandria földje.

←√\*

[17]

- V[...], ahová lepecsételt marhakocsikban utaztak,  
 dermedten s fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezőkön,  
 [s...olt...ová] önként mentek, fegyverrel a kézben,  
 [...án], mert tudták, az a harc, az az ő ügyük ott lenn, —  
 5 s [ost.a.zaba]dság angyala őrzi nagy álmuk az éjben.

- [...lt,.a]hová... mindegy. Hova tűntek a bölcs borozások?  
 [...ltak.a.gy]ors behívók, szaporodtak a verstöredékek,  
 [és.] szapor[.]dtak a ráncok a szépmosolyú fiatal nők  
 ajka körül s szeme alján; elnehezdedtek a tündér-  
 10 léptű leányok a háboru hallgatag éveit közben.

%

[18]

- Hol van az éj, az a kocsmá, a hársak alatt az az asztal?  
 és akik élnek még, hol vannak a harcra tiportak?  
 hangjuk hallja szívem, kezem őrzi kezük szorítását,  
 művük idézgetem és torzóik aránya kibomlik,  
 5 s [m]érem (néma fogoly), — jajjal teli Szerbia ormán.

- [Hol] van az éj? az az éj már vissza se jő soha többé,  
 [m...t.] ami volt, annak más távlatot ad a halál már. —  
 [Úlnak az] asztalnál, megbujnak a nők mosolyában,  
 [.....i]sznak majd poharunkba, kik eltemetetlen,  
 10 [távoli] erdőkben s idegen legelőkön alusznak.

[Lager Heiden]u, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. 1944. VIII./17.

[19] [...] [.....]kat csikorítva rohantak a tűzben,  
 [.....]sak az[.]rt, mert ellene mitse tehettek,  
 [.....] [XxxXxXxx] taludt körülöttük a század a mocskos Triadozva  
 [.....]tt, a szobájuk járt az eszükben,  
 5 [.....] barlang volt nekik e társadalomban.

[20] [N....]adik ecloga

[.....]  
 [.....égy], jól bírod e vad hegyi úton a járást  
 [.....öregemb...] Szárny [xx] emel-é, avagy üldöz az ellen?  
 5 [.....]el, indulat űz s a szemedből lobban a villám,  
 [.....légy.] agg férfiú, látom már, hogy a régi  
 [.....haragú] proféták egyike vagy, de melyik, mondd?

[.....]  
 [..... Náhum] vagyok, Elkos városa szült és  
 10 [.....sszí.] Ninivé buja városa ellen,  
 [.....ni szót], a harag teli zsákja valék én!

[.....]  
 [.....rt] fennmaradott amit írtál.

[21] [.....]

[.....t. De] a bűn szaporább, mint annak előtte,  
 [.....a...lja] az Úrnak, senkise tudja ma sem még.  
 [.....g.ondta] az Úr, hogy a bő folyamok kiapadnak,  
 5 [.....] a Kármel, a Básán, és a Libánon  
 [.....d,] a hegy megrendül, a tűz elemészt majd  
 [.....] úgy is lőn.

[.....] Gyors nemzetek öldöszik egymást,

10 [.....nt.Nini]vé, úgy meztelenül le az emberi lélek.  
 [.....h.sznál]tak a szózatok és a falánk, fene sáskák  
 [.....] mit ért? hisz az ember az állatok alja!  
 [.....] itt is, amott is a pötty csecsemőket,  
 [.....a.tem]plom tornya, kemence a ház, a lakója  
 15 [.....ül. be...], a gyártelepek fölszállnak a füstben.  
 [.....pel az ..ca roha]n, majd bűgva elájul,

[22] [.....an a bomba] nagy ágya, kiröppen a súlyos ereszték  
 [.....nt legelő...] a marhalepény, úgy megsugorodva  
 [.....]ernek a holtak a város téerein, ismét  
 [.....nden], ahogy te megírtad. Az ősi gomolyból  
 5 [.....mi.] hozott most mégis e földre?

[.....]

A düh. Hogy az ember

[.....is] árva az [.mb.r]forma pogányok  
 [.....eg...n.] — S látni szeretném újra a bűnös  
 10 [.....é]t s mint tanu szólni a kései kornak.

[.....]

[.....m.]gmondta az Úr régen szavaidban,  
 [.....éd]ával teli várnak, ahol tetemekből  
 [.....] mondd, évezredek óta lehet, hogy  
 15 [.....] düh? ilyen égi, konok lobogással?

[23] [.....]  
 [.....] torz számat is érintette, akárcsak  
 [.....ai..é]t, szénnel az Úr, lebegő parazsával  
 [.....a]tta a szívem; a szén izzó, eleven volt,  
 5 [.....f.....fo..val] s: „nézd, imhol vagyok én, hívj  
 [.....l,] hirdetni igédet,” — szóltam utána.  
 [.....] az Úr elküldött, nincs kora annak,  
 [.....ny]jugodalma, a szén, az az angyali, égeti ajkát.  
 [.....] az Úrnak, mondd, ezer év? csak pille idő az!

10 [.....]

[.....va]gy atyám! irigyellek. Az én kis időmet  
 [.....szörnyü] korodhoz? akár vadsodru patakban  
 [.....ödő.kavicsot], már koptat e röpke idő is.

∕

- [24] [P...éta:]  
 [....hi..ed. Ismerem.uj]abb verseid. Éltet a mérég.  
 [.....]s költők dühe oly rokon, étek a népnek,  
 [.....aló!] Élhetne belőle, ki élni akar, míg  
 5 [.....az] ország, amit ígért amaz ifju tanítvány,  
 [.abbi.] ki bétöltötte a törvényt és szavainkat.  
 [Jö....rdetn]i velem, hogy már közelít az az óra,  
 [.....ület]őben az ország. Hogy mi a célja az Úrnak, —  
 [.....?.] lásd az az ország. Útrakelünk, gyere, gyűjtsük  
 10 [.....pet, .hoz]d feleséged s mess botokat már.  
 [.....] társa a bot, nézd, add ide azt ott,  
 [.....gyen.ott] az enyém, mert jobb szeretem, ha göcsörtös.

[La.....]agubica fölött a hegyekben 1944. VIII. 23.

[25] Razglednica

- Bulgáriából vastag, vad ágyuszó gurul,  
 a hegyerincre dobban, majd tétováz s lehall;  
 torlódik ember állat, szekér és gondolat,  
 5 az út nyerítve hőköl, sörényes ég szalad.  
 Te állandó vagy bennem e mozgó zürzavarban,  
 tudatom mélyén fénylesz örökre mozdulatlan  
 s némán, akár az angyal, ha pusztulást  
 csodál,  
 10 vagy korhadt fának odván temetkező bogár.

1944. aug. 30. A hegyek közt.

[26] Erőltetett menet

- [...nd,] ki földre rogyván fölkél és újra lépked,  
 [.n]dorló fájdalomként mozdít bokát és térdet,  
 [.e] mégis útnak indul, mint akit szárny emel,  
 5 [.hiába] hívja árok, maradni úgyse mer,  
 [.ha.kér]dezed, miért nem? még visszaszól talán,  
 [... vár]ja őt az asszony s egy bölcsebb, szép halál.  
 [...ig] bolond a jámbor, mert ott az otthonok

[.....ó]ta már csak a perzselte szél forog,  
 10 [hanyattf. .üdt] a házfal, eltört a szilvafa,  
 [és félelemtől] bolyhos a honni éjszaka.  
 [.....ha] hinni tudnám: nemcsak szívemben hordom  
 [....aszt,..] mit érdemes még, s van visszatérni otthon;  
 [.....!] — s mint egykor a régi hűs verandán

[27] [.....]öngne, míg hűl a szilvalekvár,  
 [.....csö]nd napozna az álmos kerteken,  
 [a lomb] között gyümölcsök ringnának meztelen,  
 [...Fanni] várna szókén a rőt sövény előtt,  
 5 [s.....] írna lassan a lassú délelőtt, —  
 [.....t] talán még! a hold ma oly kerek!  
 [.....j] tovább, barátom, kiálts rám! s fölkelek!

[Lager Rhön], Bor

1944. szept. 15.

[28] Razglednica ②

Kilenc kilométerre innen égnek  
 a kazlak és a házak,  
 s a rétek szélein megülve némán  
 5 riadt pórok pipáznak.  
 Itt még vizet fodroz a tóra lépő  
 apró pásztorleány  
 s felhőt iszik a [tóra] vizre ráhajolva  
 a fodros birka nyáj.

10 Cservenka, 1944. okt. 6.

[29] Razglednica ③

Az ökrök száján véres nyál csorog,  
 az emberek mind véreset vizelnek,  
 a század bűzös, vad csomókban áll.  
 5 Fölöttünk fú a förtelmes halál.

Mohács, 1944. okt. 24.

[30] [blank]

[before Razglednica ④

31] Mellézuhamtam, átfordult a teste  
s feszes volt már, mint húr, ha pattan.  
Tarkólövés. — Igy végzed hát te is, —  
5 sugtam magamnak, — csak feküdj nyugodtan.  
Halált virágzik most a türelem. —  
Der springt noch auf, — hangzott fölöttem.  
Sárral kevert vér száradt fülelem.

Szentkirályszabadja, 1944. okt. 31.

[31] [blank]

[32] [blank]

*Variant Readings*

*Note: Special signs used by the poet in his manuscript (title underlines, stanza, insertion, and overleaf markers), as shown in the foregoing transcription, are not discussed in either apparatus or commentary. Nor are line breaks, occasioned by lack of space, regarded as affecting the integrity of the text, either in the manuscript or in any of the printed editions. In the apparatus below, the two versions of "Eighth Eclogue" are treated consecutively, following the variants for "À la recherche . . ." Siglum B is used only for extended variants and drafts; single entries for lemmata are left unmarked. As in standard practice, the sign ] separates lemma from variant reading. Emendation may appear on either side of ]*

## [3–4], Instructions

[3] 7 nalazni ] nalazni#ka# 16 [Hochacht] ] Hochacht#ung# 19 Rad ] Rad## 23 [Please forward . . . . . which] ] Please forward <this notebook.> which emendation here

## [6–7], "Hetedik ecloga":

*Division into stanzas of 13, 10, 7, 6 lines ] 13, 10, 7, 6 lines T 13, 5, 5, 7, 6 lines K 7, 6, 5, 5, 7, 6 lines M [6] | Title: ecloga ] Ecloga T ECLOGA K ECLOGA M 3 barak ] bakra (misprint) K 5 tudja ] tudja, (misprint) T V K tudja M 12 Ó ] Ó, T V K M 19 <ügy i>rom ] ügy irom T <mi>nt ] mint T 20 <élek,> ] élek, T 21 <va>ksin, ] vaksin, T <a pa>piron<.> ] a papíron; T K M 22 <elv>ett<e>k<a Lager> ] elvettek a Lager T K M 23 <öre>i ] őrei T K M <száll le csupán> ] száll le csupán T 24 <barakunkra.> ] barakunkra. T K M 25 <Rémhírek és férgek közt él itt francia, lengyel, ] Rémhírek és férgek közt él itt francia, lengyel, T M Rémhírek ] Rémhírek K francia, ] farancia, (misprint) K [7] | zsidó ] zsidó, K zsidó M hegyekben ] hegyekben, T K M 2 itt, ] itt, — T K M 3 sor ] sor#—# emended here 6 bol ] bol#—# emended here 9 elnyugodo ] elnyugodo#tt# emended here 13 feszülnek ] feszülnek, T K M 16 közbe ] közbe#n.# emended here közben. T K M 17 ál ] ál#—# emended here 19 m ] m#ár# emended here <felr>iadó ] felriadó, T K M <szük> ] szük T K M 20 <u>jr<a> ] újra T K M elal<szik s fény>lik ] elalszik s fénylik T K M Cs<ak> ] Csak T K M ébr ] ébr#en,# emended here ébren, T K M*

21 <féligszítt cigarettát érzek a számban a>] féligszítt cigarettát érzek a számban a *T K M 22* [...] (*entire line*) ] ize helyett és nem jön az álom, az enyhethadó, mert *T K M 23* [...] ] nem tudok én meghalni se, élni se *T K M 25* [...] (*illegible place and date*) ] 1944. aug. Bor *T Lager Heideman, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben.* / 1944 július *K Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben,* / 1944. július *M*

[12–13], "Levél a hitveshez":

[12] 1 Title: Levél a hitveshez ] *Levél a hitveshez* (*in spaced type*) *T LEVÉL A HITVESHEZ K LEVÉL A HITVESHEZ M 2* világok, ] virágok, *T világok, V K M 6* álom, ] álom, — *K 7* megtalálom, — ] megtalálom, *M 9* érintésű ] érintésű *T K M 10* már, *T K M 11* <min>t ] mint *T K M zsoldár* ] zsoldár, *T K M 12* <szép m>int ] szép mint *T K M árnyék* ] árnyék, *T K M 13* <is> ] is *T K M 14* <és szemem>re ] és szememre *T K M 15* <így vetít> ] így vetít *T K M <elme>*; ] elme; *T K M 16* <v>alóság ] valóság *T K M <l>ettél* ] lettél *T K M 18* szeretsz-e <?> ] szeretsz-e? *T K M 19* <hogy> ] hogy *T K M <majdan, egyszer,>* ] majdan, egyszer, *T K M 20* <remélem újra> ] remélem újra *T K M 21* vissza<hullva> ] visszahullva *T K M 22* <t>udom, ] tudom, *T K M <az vagy. Hitvesem s barátom, —>* ] az vagy. Hitvesem s barátom, — *T K M 23* [...] (*entire line*) ] csak messze vagy. Túl három vad határon. *T K* csak messze vagy! Túl három vad határon. *M 24* [...] (*entire line*) ] *S* már öszül is. Az ősz is ittfelejt még? *T K M 25* <A csókjainkról élesebb az emlék.> ] *A* csókjainkról élesebb az emlék; *T K M [13] / 1* Csodákban ] csodákban *T K M 2* bombázórajok ] bombázó rajok *T V* bombázórajok *K M*

[13], lines 5–13 (1), followed by lines 5–24 (2):

[13] 5–13:

- 5: zuhanni vágytak. Ellenükre (1) remény<kedem,>  
7: immár fogoly vagyok. Amit reméltem  
8: szivemben *illegible word or words* de már egy hűvös hullám  
9: a 2 × 2 józansága hull rám.  
11: Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben  
13: 1944. VIII.

[13] 5–24:

- 5: Ellenükre (2) élek, —  
6/7: s fogoly vagyok. Mindent, amit remélek  
10: fölmértem s mégis eltalállok hozzád,  
12: megjártam érted én a lélek hosszát  
14: s országok útjait. Bibor parázson,  
15/16: ha kell, (a) sokágu (b) zuhanó lángok közt varázslom / 16: (a) *poss. sokujju B*  
17: majd át magam, de mégis visszatérek,  
18: ha kell, szívós leszek, mint fán a kéreg,  
19: s a folytonos veszélyben, bajban élő  
20: vad férfiak fegyvert s hatalmat érő  
21: nyugalma nyugtat s <mint> egy hűvös hullám  
22: a 2 × 2 józansága hull rám.  
23: Lager Hei<den>au, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben.  
24: 1944. VIII. [...] *B*

[13] 10 hozzád, ] hozzád; *T* hozzád, *K* hozzád; *M 12* hosszát ] hosszát, — *T K* hosszát, *M 14* útjait. Bibor ] útjait; bibor *T K M 16* kell] kell *T V K* kell, (a) *poss. sokujju B 17* visszatérek,] visszatérek *T K M 18* kell,] kell *T K* kell, *M 21* <mint> ] mint *T K M* hullám ] hullám #:# *B* hullám: *T K M 22* 2 × 2 ] kétszerkettő *T 2 × 2 K M 23–24* place and date, as above ] 1944 aug.—sept. Bor *T Lager Heideman, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben.* / 1944 augusztus—szeptember. *K Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben,* / 1944. augusztus—szeptember *M*



[14–15], "Gyökér":

[14] 3 él, ]él V K M 12 világ ]világ, V K M 13 csak a (1) lomb közt a virág (2) lombbal teli ág B 16 <é>des ]  
édes, V K M 17 <vagyok> V K M <most.> ] V most, K M 18 <én.> ] én, V K M 19[....] (entire  
line appears blank in MS) ] ott készül e költemény. conjectural emendation V followed by K M [15] 5–6 place  
and date ] Lager Heideman, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. / 1944 augusztus 8 K Lager Heidenau, Žagubica  
fölött / a hegyekben, / 1944. augusztus 8 M

[16–19], "À la recherche...":

[16] 1 Title: A la recherche... ] A la recherche (in spaced type) T A LA RECHERCHE K À LA  
RECHERCHE... M 4 múltak ] multak T K múltak M 7 <ver>ss<or>ok ] vessorok T K M ragyogó, ]  
ragyogó M 11 insertion mark following line ] stanza on p. [19] to be inserted here B [17] 1 V<olt>, ] Volt,  
T K M 3 s <v>olt, <ah>ová ] s volt, ahová T K M 4 <ném>án, ] némán, T K M 5 <μ>ost a <s>zabadság ] s  
most a szabadság T K M 6 <s vol>t, ] s volt, T K s volt M 7 <szál>ltak ] szálltak T K M 8 szapor<o>dtak ]  
szaporodtak T K M [18] 2 harcra tiportak? ] harcratiportak? T harcra tiportak? V K M 7 m<er>t ] mert  
T K M 8 mosolyában, ] mosolyában T K M 9 <és bele>isznak ] és beleisznak T K M 11 place and date ] 1944  
aug.—szept. Bor T Lager Heideman, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. / 1944 augusztus 17 K Lager Heidenau,  
Žagubica fölött a hegyekben, / 1944. augusztus 17 M [19] 1 illegible insertion mark most probably to the left  
of line, referring to corresponding mark following p. [16], line 11 B 1 <Voltak, akik fogu>kat ] Voltak, akik  
fogukat T K M 2 <s harcoltak, c>sak ] s harcoltak, csak T K M az<é>rt, ] azért, T K M 3 <s mig> ] s mig  
T K M crossed-out word to immediate left of insertion mark most probably horkolva B riadozva inserted after  
crossed-out word ] horkolva T riadozva K M 4 <éj fedezéke ala>tt, ] éj fedezéke alatt, T K M 5 <mely sziget  
és> ] mely sziget és T K M

[8–11], "Nyolcadik ecloga", first draft: unless otherwise indicated, readings in B; conjectural emendation  
only; agreement with T as witness is understood.

[8] 5 <sz>árny 6 <ü>d<v>özlégy, 7 <nagy>haragú 8 <Próféta:> 9 <Hogy melyik-é?> 10 <a szó>t 12 <Költő:>  
13 <Ismerem ősi> dühöd, ] Ismerem ősi dühödöt, T K M [9] 1 <Próféta:> 2 <Fennmarad>ott. 3 <s hogy m>i  
4 <Mert> 5 <hogy megroggya>n 6 <disze lehervad.> 7 <mindent. S ú>gy 8 <Költő:> 10 <mi>nt ] s mint T K M  
12 <me>gsúl 13 <Égő> 15 <ú>gy 16 <m>ondd, [10] 1 <Prófé>ta: 3 <ujra> 4 had<ere>gében. 5 <várad> 6  
<Költő:> 7 <Már szól>tál. 8 <hogy j>aj 9 <épül a bástya>, 10 <igy él benned> 11 <mérném szörnyü ko> 12  
<gömböly> 13 <Próféta:> 14 <Csak hiszed. Isme> [11] 1 <Próféták s költők d> 2 <s inniva><het> 3 <eljön az  
or> 4 <rabbi,> 5 <Jöjj hirdetni ve> 6 <már születőben az> 7 <kérdém? lásd az az> 8 <össze a népet,> 9 <az  
legye> 10 <Lag> B

[20–24], "Nyolcadik ecloga":

[20] 1 Title: N<yolc>adik ecloga ] Nyolcadik Ecloga (in spaced type) T NYOLCADIK ELOGA K  
NYOLCADIK ELOGA M 2 <Költő:> ] Költő: T (without colon) K M 3 <Üdvözlé>gy, ] Üdvözlégy,  
T K M 4 <szép> öregemb<er.> ] szép öregember, T V K M Szárny ] szárny T V K M 5 <szárny em>el, ] szárny  
emel, T K M 6 <üdvöz>légy<,> ] üdvözlégy, T K M 7 <nagy>haragú ] nagyharagú T K M 8 <Próféta:> ]  
Próféta: T (without colon) K M 9 <Hogy melyik-é?> ] Hogy melyik-é? T K M Elkos ] Elkős T K M 10  
<zengtem a szót a>sszír<r> ] zengtem a szót asszír T K M 11 <zengtem az iste>ni ] zengtem az isteni T K M 12  
<Költő:>] Költő: T (without colon) K M 13 <Ismerem ősi dühödöt, me>rt ] Ismerem ősi dühödöt, mert T K M  
line in gutter of notebook; impossible to determine whether fennmaradott is followed by a comma ]  
fennmaradott, T K M [21] 1 <Próféta:> ] Próféta: T (without colon) K M 2 <Fennmaradot>t. ]  
Fennmaradott. T K M előtte, ] előtte K 3 <s hogy mi> a <cé>lja ] s hogy mi a célja T K M 4 <Mert  
me>g<m>ondta ] Mert megmondta T K M 5 <hogy megroggyan> ] hogy megroggyan T K M Básán, ] Básán  
T V K M 6 <disze leherva>d, ] disze lehervad, T K M 7 <mindent. S> ] mindent. S T K M 8 <Költő:> ] Költő: T  
(without colon) K M 9 egymást, ] egymást (at end of justified line) K egymást, M 10 <s mi>nt ] s mint T K M  
11 <Mit>h<a>sználtak ] Mit használtak T K M falánk, ] falánk K M 12 <zöld felhője> ] zöld felhője T K M 13

<Falhoz verdesik> ] Falhoz verdesik *T K M 14* <fáklya> ] fáklya *T K M 15* <megsül be(nne)> ] megsül benne, *T K M 16* <Égő nép>pel az <ut>ca ] Égő néppel az utca *T K M [22]* 1 <s forty>an ] s fortyan *T K M 2* <s mi>nt legelő(kön) ] s mint legelőkön *T K M 3* <szertehev>ernek ] szertehevernek *T K M 4* <ügy lön mi>nden. ] úgy lön minden, *T K M 5* <mondd,> ] mondd, *T K M 6* (*actually, on same level in MS as line 7*) <Próféta:> ] *Próféta: T (without colon) K M 8* <ujra> ] újra *T K újra M* <s azóta> ] s azóta *T K M* <e)mb(e)rforma] emberforma *T K M 9* <hadser>eg(ébe)n. — ] hadseregében. — *T K M 10* <váarak elest>ét] ] váarak esését *T K M 11* <Költő:> ] *Költő: T (without colon) K M 12* <Már szóltál. S>m<egmondta ] Már szóltál. S megmondta *T K M 13* <hogy jaj a pr>édával ] hogy jaj a prédával *T K M 14* <épül a bástya, de> ] épül a bástya, de *T K M 15* <igy él benned a> ] így él benned a *T K M [23]* 1 <Próféta:> ] *Próféta: T (without colon) K M 2* <Hajdan az én> ] Hajdan az én *T K M 3* <bölcs Iz>ai(ás)ét, ] bölcs Izaiásét, *T K M* szénnel ] szénnel. (*misprint*) *K* parázsával ] parázsával (*misprint*) *K 4* <ügy vall>atta ] úgy vallatta *T K M 5* <angyal>(ogta)fo(gó)val ] angyal fogta fogóval *T K M 6* <engem is e>], ] engem is el, *T K M* igédet, ] igédet, ] *T K M 7* <És akit egyszer> ] És akit egyszer *T K M 8* <s nincs> ] s nincs *T K M 9* <S mennyi> ] S mennyi *T K M* mond, ] mond *K 10* <Költő:> ] *Költő: T (without colon) K M 11* <Mily fiatal> ] Mily fiatal *T K M 12* <mérném> ] mérném *T K M 13* <gömböly>ödő ] gömbölyödő *T K M [24]* 1 P <róf>éta:] *Próféta: T (without colon) K M 2* <Csak hi>(sz)ed. ] Csak hiszed. *T K M 3* <Próféták> ] proféták *T K M 4* <s inniv> aló! ] s innivaló! *T K M 5* <eljön> ] eljön *T K M 6* <r>abbi<,> ] rabbi, *T K M 7* Ió<jj hi>rdetni ] Jöjj hirdetni *T K M 8* <már sz>ületőben ] már születőben *T K M 9* <kérdém?> ] kérdém? *T K M 10* <össze a né>pet, ] össze a népet, *T K M 11* <Vándornak jó> ] Vándornak jó *T K M 12* <Az> ] Az *T K M 13* La<ger Heidenau, Ž>agubica ] Lager Heidenau, Žagubica *M (entire place and date)* ] 1944 aug. 23 Bor T Lager Heideman, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. / 1944 augusztus 23 K Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. / 1944. augusztus 23 M

[25]. "Razglednica [1]":

*Poem precedes "Eröltetett menet" V follows it K M*

[25] 1 Title: Razglednica (*singular*) ] Razglednica V Razglednicák (*plural*), *subsuming the four "postcard" poems under this title and numbering them (1), (2), (3), and (4) K M 4* ember ] ember, V *K M 6* zürzavarban, ] zürzavarban, V *K M 11* date and place ] 1944 augusztus 30, a hegyek közt. K 1944. augusztus 30. A hegyek közt M

[26–27]. "Eröltetett menet":

[26] 1 Title: Eröltetett menet ] *Eröltetett menet (in spaced type) T ERÖLTETETT MENET K ERÖLTETETT MENET M 2* <Bolo>nd, ] Bolond, *T K M* újra ] újra *T K M 3* <s vá>ndorló ] s vándorló *T K M 4* <de> ] de *T K M 5* <s> hiába ] s hiába *T K M 6* <s> ha ] s ha *T K M 7* <hogy> várja ] hogy várja *T K M 8* <Ped>ig ] Pedig *T K M 9* <fölött rég>óta ] fölött régóta *T K M 10* hanyattf(ek)üdt ] hanyattfeküdt, *misprint*) *K* hanyattfeküdt *T M 12* <Ó, hogy>ha ] Ó, hogyha *T K M 13* <mind>azt, ] mindazt, *T K M 14* <ha volna még>! — ] ha volna még! *T K M* verandán ] verandán, *K [27]* 1 <a béke méhe z>öngne, ] a béke méhe zöngne, *T K M 2* <s nyárvégi> ] s nyárvégi *T K M 3* meztelen, ] nesztelen *T* meztelen, *K M 4* <és> Fanni ] és Fanni *T K M* előtt, ] előtt *T* előtt, *K M* s <árnyékot> írna ] s árnyékot írna *T K M* délelőtt, — ] délelőtt, *T* délelőtt, — *K M 6* <de hisz lehe> ] de hisz lehet *T K M* még! ] még? *K még! T M 7* <Ne men> ] Ne menj *T K M 8* Place and date ] <Rhön> poss. <Berlin> or <Brünn> *B 1944 szept. 15, Bor T Bor, 1944 szeptember 15 K Bor, 1944. szeptember 15 M*

[28]. "Razglednica 2":

[28] 8 s felhőt iszik a (1) tóra (poss. bir(ka)) (2) vizre ráhajolva *B* vizre ] vizre *V K M 9* birka nyáj ] birkanyáj *V K M 10* Place and date ] Cservenka, 1944 október 6 K Cservenka, 1944. október 6 M

[29]. "Razglednica 3":

[29] 6 Place and date ] Mohács, 1944 október 24 K Mohács, 1944. október 24 M

[before 31] "Razglednica 4":

[before 31] 4 Igy ] Így *V K M 5* sugtam ] súgtam *V K M 9* Place and date ] Szentkirályszabadja, 1944 október 31 K Szentkirályszabadja, 1944. október 31 M

## III. Commentary

As suggested by the foregoing transcription and variant apparatus, Miklós Radnóti's textual problems, caused or aggravated by conditions that threaten the integrity of his text, began months before that gloomy November day when, along with twenty-one of his companions, he was shot and buried in the mass grave near Abda. They began, in fact, at Bor, most probably at Lager Rhön, the minute the poet became his own, pressed and evidently somewhat hasty, copyist. Here, on or about 15 September, the poet met old colleagues and friends "Justus Pállal, Mária Bélával és Szalai Sándorral. Addig írt verseinek egy másolati példányát—kivéve a *Gyökért* és az *I. Razglednicát*—átadta Szalai Sándornak, arra az esetre, ha maga nem kerülne haza." ("Pál Justus, Béla Mária, and Sándor Szalai. A second copy of the poems he had written by then—with the exception of *Root* and the first *Razglednica*—he gave Sándor Szalai, against the eventuality that he himself should not return home").<sup>12</sup> The poem "Forced March" bears a completion date of 15 September; since on the following day the men were being organized into echelons and prepared for the long forced march back to Hungary (and parts beyond), the 15th seems to be generally accepted as the date when Radnóti prepared the Szalai copies as well. In any case those copies, as evidenced by the text in *T*, contain a number of major variants, not all of which, to put it mildly, could represent the poet's well-considered attempts to revise the poems. In fact, some of them represent trivializations of sound first textual decisions. For this reason, an editor's efforts to reconstruct the poet's intentions will do well to take the form of attempting to identify, in each doubtful instance, the *lectio difficilior*. This can best be done by ruling in favor of what I have earlier called "artistically active" textual solutions.<sup>13</sup> If this seems a unilateral approach, it must be borne in mind that the Szalai copies are themselves unavailable; future textual critics may well find that these copies have been further corrupted by the printing of the text in *T*.

The, so to speak, indirectly visible side of the entire question of the integrity of the Bor poems, problems that surface only upon comparison of *B* with printed texts, represents, of course, but one chapter in the textual history of Radnóti's last works. We have a basis for deciding what is acceptable in *T* (or *K*, or *M*) and what should be rejected, eminently in instances where corresponding passages in *B* are clearly legible, or at least decipherable beyond reasonable doubt. The direct, almost shockingly physical, side of the question becomes clear simply when we open the facsimile of the *Notebook* and realize the extent to which seepage and staining have succeeded in obliterating some of the writing. If despite this an amazing amount of the material within the affected areas (as specified in the description of *B* in part I.) remains either legible or decipherable, we will do well to reflect that the text qua text of these poems does not represent a first discovery. We come to the Bor poems as preserved in *B*, so to speak, knowing what to expect.

Surprises for the textual investigator lie in store in two distinct senses. First, interestingly enough, he may find that he has to disagree with the witness as available in *T* even in passages that are illegible in *B*. A specific instance of this disagreement is discussed below in connection with "Letter to My Wife". Second, merely a careful scrutiny of the contents of *B*, strictly from the point of view of bibliographic description apart from comparison with printed sources, brings a great deal of hitherto overlooked material to light. While the editors of the *B* facsimile at least acknowledge the existence of a first draft for "Eighth Eclogue" (and that, as written down and cancelled on pages [8] through [11], is indeed hard to ignore), they say nothing of the extensive draftings and crossings-out of lines on page [13] (lines 5, 7, 8, 9, 11, and 13; see the variants above). I find, to my delight, that not only are these passages legible, but that they also represent a partial early draft for the poem "Letter to My Wife".

Most surprising and puzzling is the state of the text on the following page, where the line "Ott készül e költemény", tacitly accepted since the appearance of *V* as constituting a genuine passage in "Root", is missing in *B* altogether (in both the second and third editions of the facsimile, *B* [15] 19 is occupied by white space). This makes me wonder about the soundness of Gábor Tolnai's speculation concerning the reasons for Radnóti's not having made a copy of "Root" and the first "Razglednica". In his detailed 1969 account of the poet's experience at Bor, Tolnai writes:

Hogy az ugyancsak befejezett *Gyökér* című remekét és az 1. *Razglednicá*-t miért nem adta át Szalainak, nem tudjuk. Meddő következtetésre van csupán mód. Talán a *Gyökéren* még dolgozni óhajtott? A sírből előkerült kéziraton ugyanis van javítás. Az első képeslap-verset pedig nem tartotta volna önmagában lezárt egésznek? Már ekkor alakult volna benne a másfél hónap alatt tragikusan teljessé vált kompozíció? Ki tudja?!

(Why he did not hand over to Szalai his likewise completed masterpiece "Root", or "Razglednica 1", we do not know. We can merely draw conclusions. Is it perhaps that he still wished to work on "Root"? In the manuscript, recovered from the grave, there is, to be sure, a correction. And that, on the other hand, he would not have viewed the first postcard poem an integral whole? Would the composition, become a tragic whole during that month and one half, have taken shape within him already then? Who knows?!<sup>4</sup>)

Indeed, who can make conclusive statements concerning the poet's mental processes, especially during those terminal straits? But we can make intelligent guesses, as assisted by the evidence. Tolnai is by no means right in speculating that the reason Radnóti refrained from copying "Root" is that that poem contained a correction; the presence of far more extensive crossings-out and second thoughts did not keep the poet from preparing a copy of "Letter to My Wife", or indeed of "À la recherche...". More convincing is the thought that Radnóti did not consider "Root" finished. The best way to view the overall question of why Radnóti completed copies of some poems and not of others is to take the, to me very sensible, position that he was copying and entrusting to Szalai the last poems by which he wished to be remembered ("the poems that Mr. Radnóti wishes to preserve", as jacket copy might put it), and that these, by definition, would have to be the finest texts in the lot. That "Root", *pace* Tibor Melczer's well-

liked analysis,<sup>15</sup> could not, in that context, compete with "Seventh Eclogue" or with "À la recherche . . .", should seem to any sensitive critic of these poems to be a foregone conclusion.<sup>16</sup>

Four categories of variant readings are identified in the apparatus: misprints; minor variants, having mostly to do with punctuation; major variants of the species capitalization, punctuation, and spelling; finally, major variants in the area of changes, either in wording or in the morphological composition of words (e.g., the distinction between *harcra tiportak* and *harcra tiportak*). Misprints, once identified, are of no further interest in the present study, except to note that *K* is particularly guilty of them. In the numerous plain-text editions of Radnóti's works available (since 1952 they have been appearing, on the average, once every two years) there are, needless to say, a great many more; not until someone undertakes an extensive study of the printing and proofreading of Radnóti's poems will we have the full data.<sup>17</sup> Such a study might well serve as a valuable preliminary to the long-awaited critical edition. It should show, among all else, places where the question of a clear misprint shades over into that of a punctuation variant worthy of some note. For stanza one, line four of "Seventh Eclogue", for example, the variant apparatus has:

[6] 5 tudja ] tudja, (*misprint*) *T V K* tudja *M*

Now clearly, as the constituted text shows, that comma does not belong after "tudja":

és csak az ész, csak az ész, az tudja a drót feszülését.

*T* initiates the misprint; *V* and *K* pick it up; *M* corrects it. This, it is safe to say, is a simple and obvious typographical error. Less obvious, even bemusing, may be the occasional substitution of one punctuation mark for another, as in "Forced March"; in apparatus:

[27] 6 még! ] még? *K* még! *T M*

At this point the tradition is, to be sure, every bit as corrupt as in the foregoing example, but, interestingly enough, we can plead a point of intrinsic logic. Certainly we would not question it, had Radnóti written the concluding two lines of "Forced March" as follows:

de hisz lehet talán még?	a hold ma oly kerek!
Ne menj tovább, barátom,	kiálts rám! s fölkelek!

Knowing that he did not, we are in a position to offer a counter-argument—those four exclamation points, deployed in two adjacent lines, carry a relentless logic of their own.

They also remind us that a poet never works and arrives at textual decisions *in vacuo*; it can be said that, in this instance, the mixture of despair and hope that those four exclamation points stand for, stands to be diluted by the introduction of other graphic symbols. If need be, it is also possible to rule against the poet; at [13] 21, the penultimate line of "Letter to My Wife", I follow my three printed sources, who agree that the word "hullám" should be followed by a colon. Certainly, the effectiveness of the passage is enhanced by the introduction of a colon; we also note that in *B* there is no space left to complete the line with a punctuation mark. I thus read:

[13] 21 hullám ] hullám#:# *B* hullám: *T K M*

which in the constituted text becomes:

nyugalma nyugtat s mint egy hűvös hullám:  
a 2 × 2 józansága hull rám.

What appears to have been countervailing the poet's intentions turns out to be an act of reconstructing them at a place where he had no room to indicate them in the first place.

Major variants are discussed in a series of interpretive notes below, under separate headings for the various poems. Entry words indicate the lemma in *B* followed by the variant contained in the source as indicated.

#### *Levél a hitveshez* ("Letter to My Wife")

[12] 2 világok ] virágok *T* Assuming that "virágok" ("flowers") was written by Radnóti in the Szalai copy and not inadvertently substituted by the *T* printer, we may regard the new word a trivialization of original "világok" ("worlds"), or at least a wholly inappropriate alternative. In contrast to flowers he names specifically, as in *Koranyár* ("Early Summer"),<sup>18</sup> the word *virág* is useful to Radnóti in three contexts: where it intends poem (as in "Írás közben" ["While Writing"], line 4: "Virágszülőként kezdtem én el" ["I started out by parenting flowers"]); where it is a metaphor for poet and harmless citizen feeling himself exposed to violence from the law (prose accompanying "From the Stanzas of Eaton Darr");<sup>19</sup> where it is a somewhat less complicated metaphor for poet, as in "Root" (opening line of the seventh stanza: [15] 1). "Virág voltam, gyökér lettem" ("Once a flower, I have turned root"); partly in view of this self-identification the poet suppresses a *világ* / *virág* rhyme in the fourth stanza, at [14] 12-13. He may also have felt the rhyme itself to be too facile. *Virág* in the above contexts cannot possibly be intended in the opening stanza of "Letter to My Wife"; superficially, the image also clashes with that of ferns in the stanza's closing line. The word *világok*, however, harmonizes throughout, both with imagery and with overall

intention, not only in the present poem but in the entire Bor canon as well. "Seventh Eclogue" and "Forced March" show incisively how concerned the poet remains with the "worlds" of others, in addition to being preoccupied with his own fate and the fates of his campmates. The image of "silent worlds in the deep" harmonizes, then, not only with that of "Serbia, fallen into a swoon of war" (stanza one, line four: [12] 5), but with the far greater overall image of those "taciturn war years" ("À la recherche . . .", stanza five, line five: [17] 10). The reading "világok" is thus accepted here as the one the poet originally intended.

[12] 25 / [13] 1 emlék. / Csodákban ] emlék; / csodákban *T K M* also: [13] 14 útjait. Biber ] útjait; bíbor *T K M* In both these major punctuation variants I rule in favor of the lemma. In the former reading, capital C of "Csodákban" and in the latter, both punctuation and capitalization are clearly visible in *B*. To all evidence, printed sources follow the Szalai copy, which here, if anywhere, allows poetic style to lay down witness to the conditions of scribal labor. Lack of terminal punctuation at the two points in question creates an impression of breathlessness that Radnóti clearly did not intend. In contrast to the method of "À la recherche . . .", a poem in which the five-line stanza constitutes a unit of utterance, with each stanza ending on terminal punctuation, "Letter to My Wife" alternates between terminal closure and inter-stanzaic enjambement. In either instance, punctuation as an aspect of style is in the service of a powerful eloquence, helping express the emotional content of the particular piece.

[13] 2 bombázórajok ] bombázó rajok *T* bombázórajok *K M* As perceived correctly also by *K* and *M*, Radnóti is here writing about bombing squadrons as air force units; not, however, about squadrons in the midst of dropping bombs. This would contradict stanza four, lines four and five: [13] 4-5 "a bombák fönt a gépben / zuhanni vágytak" ("up in that machine / the bombs were aching to dive").

[13] 23-24 *Place and date* Here as throughout the datings of the five major poems of which Radnóti made copies, the short version of a date, ending on "Bor", as in *T*, seems to reflect what the poet wrote down for Szalai. "Lager Heidemann", as in *K*, alludes to the misunderstanding referred to also by Ortutay in his preface to the printed booklet accompanying the facsimile of *B*.

#### Gyökér ("Root")

[14] 19 [ . . . ] (*entire line appears blank in MS*) ] ott készül e költemény. *conjectural emendation V* followed by *K M* At a University of Michigan conference on textual criticism held in March 1974 one of the official participants, Professor D. R. Shackleton Bailey of Harvard, reminded us of a statement once made by Moriz Haupt to the effect that, if need be, he would emend *o* to *Constantinopolitanus*. Those are

fighting words by one of the great editors of the nineteenth century. Even Haupt, however, would not have written an eight-syllable word where he simply saw a blank. Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel's decision to write an entire line of poetry where, literally, absolutely nothing but blank space is visible in the MS, must surely be regarded as one of the strangest instances of editorial arbitrariness in the history of the editing of twentieth-century literary texts. Or so we must view his work at this point until more information, crucially, the original of *B* itself, becomes available for direct examination.<sup>20</sup> Such direct examination is all the more imperative with texts of which Radnóti made no copies; in addition, in contrast to realia surrounding *K* and *M*, the editor of *V* is no longer alive.<sup>21</sup> Very possibly (however, speculative this may sound), Trencsényi-Waldapfel may have felt that since the poem's preceding five stanzas each contain three lines, a missing line should be restored. Who, on the other hand, could responsibly have suggested to him the wording, is anyone's guess. I do not, in any case, consider the line in question to be worthy of Radnóti, or even particularly felicitous.<sup>22</sup> For the time being, then, deletion of a line of questionable authenticity seems a preferable course of action; the overall quality of the poem, interestingly enough, seems improved by the resulting moment of silence.

*À la recherche . . .*

[19] 3 riadozva inserted after crossed-out word ] horkolva *T* riadozva *KM* That crossed-out word in line three of the inserted third stanza of the poem, while not legible, is most probably "horkolva", as suggested by the clearly visible pattern of ascenders: [XxxXxXxx]. Why did Radnóti return to this earlier solution in the Szalai copy? We can but surmise that some corresponding wording from "Seventh Eclogue" may still have been in his mind as he weighed the present alternative. In the second line of the closing stanza of that earlier poem, at [7] 19, we have: "horkan a felriadó" ("starting up, one man snorts"), uniting, in a single penthemimeric, both lexical possibilities. In the original copy, at [19] 3, he seems to have preferred "riadozva" on both semantic and metrical grounds; the new word replaces an earlier spondee with a dactyl. Radnóti's preference for the dactyl over the spondee in hexameter composition is well known from his autobiographical memoir, *Ikrek hava* ("Month of Twins") where, in conversation with an imaginary friend, he records his pride at having performed just such a service in translating Tibullus 1.10, line 8; in Latin: "faginus adstabat cum scyphus ante dapes"; in Hungarian: "míg kopogó fapohár járta a vig lakomán".<sup>23</sup> In any case, I agree with *K* and *M* that "riadozva", as we read it in *B*, is the intended reading.



*Nyolcadik ecloga* ("Eighth Eclogue")

[20] 4 szép öregember. Szárny ] szép öregember, szárny *T K M* Terminal punctuation and capitalization are clearly visible in the MS. Once again, as in the two major punctuation variants in "Letter to My Wife" discussed above (at [12] 25 / [13] 1 and at [13] 14), punctuation and capitalization have stylistic import. Only sensible pauses can prevent the long, Homeric greeting at the opening of "Eighth Eclogue" from sounding either out of breath or downright perfunctory.

[21] 5 Básán, ] Básán *T K M* Although either interpretation may seem admissible, I prefer comma following "Básán". In the catalogue of three place names in the present line, to be sure, only "Kármel" refers to a mountain; the other two are names of mountainous provinces. It seems best to try to follow the poet's imagination and to interpret the line thus: "hogy megroggyan a Kármel, [megroggyan] a Básán, és [hogy] a Libanon / dísze lehvadv". For metrical reasons, the translation groups names the other way.<sup>24</sup>

*Razglednica [1]* ("Picture Postcard [1]")

[25] 6 zürzavarban, ] zürzavarban, *K M* The assumption here is that of length for the initial vowel, by dint of a metrical rule that Radnóti observes carefully. In contrast, a word like *ujra*, as at [7] 20, may be left with short initial vowel, since the initial syllable of such words may be long either by nature or by position. See also [16] 4 "múltak", read short in *T* and *K*, with length of the opening vowel restored in *M*.

*Erőltetett menet* ("Forced March")

[27] 3 meztelen, ] nesztelen *T meztelen K M* Here is an example for misunderstanding, or misconstruing of the ductus, one which is analogous to the "Heidenau" / "Heideman" misprision. In Radnóti's pearl-like, peculiarly contracted, handwriting it is not difficult to misread *sz* for *z*, or *n* for *m*. In addition it seems useful to note that manner and place of articulation demand that *z* of *meztelen* be pronounced *sz* (English *s*). This helps make for a, not un-amusing, bit of confusion in minimal phonological contrast where, semantically, nothing but the negative morpheme ties the two words together. It seems doubtful whether the reading "nesztelen" is Radnóti's; more convincing seems the possibility that the typesetter for *T* misread copy (whether the Szalai copy itself or, more probably, a typewritten copy of that hyparchetype MS). It could be argued that both words are rather obvious characterizations for "gyümölcsök" ("fruits"), "meztelen" ("naked") describing the fruit itself and "nesztelen" ("soundless") the swaying back and forth on the branch. If so, "meztelen" is to be preferred in view of the poet's clear desire to lend his recalled

image of home and garden a warmly sensuous quality. Beyond that, nothing would change the "nakedness" of tree-grown fruit (presumably, the poet has in mind such fruits as cherries, peaches, or plums),<sup>25</sup> while swaying or rocking (one of Radnóti's favorite images associated with the peacefulness of home), as caused by a breeze, could not under all conditions remain "soundless".

[27] 8 <Lager Rhön> in *B* could also read <Berlin> or <Brünn>; Rhön, however, is where Radnóti is said to have met campmates, some of whom subsequently wrote about him.<sup>26</sup>

*Razglednica [2] ("Picture Postcard [2]")*

[28] 9 birka nyáj ] birkanyáj *VKM* The printed sources clearly correct an error in the original. I bring up this variant for comparison with two foregoing readings of a similar nature. At [13] 2 bombázórajok ] bombázó rajok constitutes an instance of major morphological contrast, while at [18] 2 harcra tiportak ] harcratiportak seems to amount to little more than difference in emphasis.

In *Textual and Literary Criticism* Fredson Bowers reminds us of the importance of placing textual criticism before literary analysis, and not after it. Only so can we hope to avoid the embarrassment of knowing that we have placed a cherished valuation upon a passage that is not, in fact, by the poet. F. O. Matthiesen's high-sounding interpretation of a passage in Melville which, Matthiesen thought, contained the phrase "soiled fish of the sea" is well known; so is Bowers's response:

The only difficulty with this critical *frisson* about Melville's imagination, and undemonstrable generalisations such as 'nobody but Melville could have created the shudder', and so on, is the cruel fact that an unimaginative typesetter inadvertently created it, not Melville; for what Melville wrote, as is demonstrated in both the English and American first editions, was *coiled* fish of the sea.<sup>27</sup>

Somewhat ironically, Bowers concludes the matter: "It is disheartening to find the enthusiasm of critics so easily betrayed" (loc. cit.). If the love for their subject of Radnóti's critics has not yet been extensively betrayed, it is thanks in part to alert critics, in part to later editors who have restored some of the correct readings. A great deal of work remains still to be done. I hope that the present, strictly preliminary, investigation into the integrity of the text of the *Bor Notebook* shows above all that it is none too early to begin concerning ourselves quite systematically with the question of what Miklós Radnóti wrote.

## IV. Constituted Text

[Instructions (in Hungarian only)]:

Ez a jegyzőkönyvecske *Radnóti Miklós* magyar költő verseit tartalmazza. Kéri a megtalálót, hogy juttassa el Magyarországra, *Ortutay Gyula* dr egyetemi magántanár címére: *Budapest, VII. Horánszky u. 1. I.*

## HETEDIK ECLOGA

Látod-e, esteledik, s a szögesdróttal beszegett, vad  
tölgykerítés, barak oly lebegő, felszívja az este.  
Rabságunk keretét elereszti a lassu tekintet  
és csak az ész, csak az ész, az tudja a drót feszülését.  
Látod-e drága, a képzelet itt, az is így szabadul csak,  
megtöretett testünket az álom, a szép szabadító  
oldja fel és a fogolytábor hazaindul ilyenkor.  
Rongyosan és kopaszon, horkolva repülnek a foglyók,  
Szerbia vak tetejéről bűvó otthoni tájra.  
Bűvó otthoni táj! Ó megvan-e még az az otthon?  
Bomba sem érte talán? s *van*, mint amikor bevonultunk?  
És aki jobbra nyöszörg, aki balra hever, hazatér-e?  
Mondd, van-e ott haza még, ahol értik e hexametert is?

Ékezetek nélkül, csak sort sor alá tapogatva,  
úgy írom itt a homályban a verset, mint ahogy élek,  
vaksin, hernyóként araszolgatván a papíron;  
zseblámpát, könyvet, mindent elvettek a *Lager*  
őrei s posta se jön, köd száll le csupán barakunkra.  
Rémhírek és férgek közt él itt francia, lengyel,  
hangos olasz, szakadár szerb, méla zsidó a hegyekben,  
szétdarabolt, lázas test s mégis *egy* életet él itt,  
jóhírt vár, szép asszonyi szót, szabad emberi sorsot,  
s várja a véget, a sűrű homályba bukót, a csodákat.

Fekszem a deszkán, férgek közt fogoly állat, a bolhák  
ostroma meg-megujúl, de a légsereg elnyugodott már.  
Este van, egy nappal rövidebb, lásd, újra a fogság  
és egy nappal az élet is. Alszik a tábor. A tájra  
rásüt a hold s fényében a drótok újra feszülnek

s látni az ablakon át, hogy a fegyveres őrszemek árnya  
lépdel a falra vetődve az éjszaka hangjai közben.

Alszik a tábor, látod-e drága, suhognak az álmok,  
horkan a felriadó, megfordul a szűk helyen és már  
ujra elalszik s fénylik az arca. Csak én ülök ébren,  
féligszított cigarettát érzek a számban a csóкод  
íze helyett és nem jön az álom, az enyhétadó, mert  
nem tudok én meghalni se, élni se nélküled immár.

Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben.

1944. július.

### LEVÉL A HITVESHEZ

A mélyben néma, hallgató világok,  
üvölt a csönd fülemben s felkiáltok,  
de nem felelhet senki rá a távol,  
a háborúba ájult Szerbiából  
s te messze vagy. Hangod befonja álmom,  
s szivemben nappal újra megtalálom, —  
hát hallgatok, míg zsong körém felállván  
sok hűvös érintésű büszke páfrány.

Mikor láthatlak újra, nem tudom már,  
ki biztos voltál, súlyos, mint a zsoldár  
s szép mint a fény és oly szép mint az árnyék,  
s kihez vakon, némán is eltalálnék,  
most bujdoskolsz a tájban és szememre  
belülről lebbensz, így vetít az elme;  
valóság voltál, álom lettél újra,  
kamaszkorom kútjába visszahullva

féltékenyen vallatlak, hogy szeretsz-e?  
s hogy ifjuságom csúcsán majdan, egyszer,  
a hitvesem leszel, — remélem újra  
s az éber lét útjára visszahullva  
tudom, hogy az vagy. Hitvesem s barátom, —  
csak messze vagy. Túl három vad határon.  
S már őszül is. Az ősz is ittfelejt még?  
A csókjainkról élesebb az emlék.

Csodákban hittem s napjuk elfeledtem,  
bombázórajok húznak el felettem;  
szemed kékjét csodáltam épp az égen,  
de elborult s a bombák fönt a gépben  
zuhanni vágytak. Ellenükre élek, —  
s fogoly vagyok. Mindent, amit remélek  
fölmértem s mégis eltalálok hozzád,  
megjártam érted én a lélek hosszát

s országok útjait. Bíbor parázson,  
ha kell, zuhanó lángok közt varázslom  
majd át magam, de mégis visszatérek,  
ha kell, szívós leszek, mint fán a kéreg,  
s a folytonos veszélyben, bajban élő  
vad férfiak fegyvert s hatalmat érő  
nyugalma nyugtat s mint egy hűvös hullám:  
a 2 × 2 józansága hull rám.

Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. 1944. augusztus

### GYÖKÉR

A gyökérben erő surran,  
esőt iszik, földdel él,  
és az álma hófehér.

Föld alól a föld fölé tör,  
kúszik s ravasz a gyökér,  
karja akár a kötél.

Gyökér karján féreg alszik,  
gyökér lábán féreg ül,  
a világ megférgesül.

De a gyökér tovább él lent,  
nem érdekli a világ,  
csak a lombbal teli ág.

Azt csodálja, táplálgatja,  
küld neki jó ízeket,  
édes, égi ízeket.

Gyökér vagyok magam is most,  
férgesek között élek én.

Virág voltam, gyökér lettem,  
súlyos, sötét föld felettem,  
sorsom elvégeztetett,  
fűrészes sír fejem felett.

Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben.  
1944. augusztus 8.

#### À LA RECHERCHE . . .

Régi, szelíd esték, ti is emlékké nemesedtek!  
Költőkkel s fiatal feleségekkel koszorúzott  
tündöklő asztal, hova csúszol a múltak iszapján?  
hol van az éj, amikor még vígan szürkebarátot  
ittak a fürge barátok a szépszemű karcsu pohárból?

Verssorok úsztak a lámpák fénye körül, ragyogó, zöld  
jelzők ringtak a metrum tajtékos taraján és  
éltek a holtak s otthon voltak a foglyok, az eltűnt  
drága barátok, verseket írtak a rég elesettek,  
szívükön Ukrajna, Hispánia, Flandria földje.

Voltak, akik fogukat csikorítva rohantak a tűzben,  
s harcoltak, csak azért, mert ellene mitse tehettek,  
s míg riadozva aludt körülöttük a század a mocskos  
éj fedezéke alatt, a szobájuk járt az eszükben,  
mely sziget és barlang volt nekik e társadalomban.

Volt, ahová lepecsételt marhakocsikban utaztak,  
dermedten s fegyvertelen álltak az aknamezőkön,  
s volt, ahová önként mentek, fegyverrel a kézben,  
némán, mert tudták, az a harc, az az ő ügyük ott lenni, —  
s most a szabadság angyala őrzi nagy álmuk az éjben.

S volt, ahová . . . mindegy. Hova tüntek a bölcs borozások?  
szálltak a gyors behívók, szaporodtak a verstöredékek,  
és szaporodtak a ráncok a szépmosolyú fiatal nők  
ajka körül s szeme alján; elnehezedtek a tündér-  
léptü leányok a háboru hallgatag éveit közben.

Hol van az éj, az a kocsma, a hársak alatt az az asztal?  
és akik élnek még, hol vannak a harcra tiportak?  
hangjuk hallja szívem, kezem őrzi kezük szorítását,  
művük idézgetem és torzóik aránya kibomlik,  
s mérem (néma fogoly), — jajjal teli Szerbia ormán.

Hol van az éj? az az éj már vissza se jő soha többé,  
mert ami volt, annak más távlatot ad a halál már. —  
Ülnek az asztalnál, megbujnak a nők mosolyában,  
és beleiszznak majd poharunkba, kik eltemetetlen,  
távoli erdőkben s idegen legelőkön alusznak.

Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. 1944. augusztus 17.

#### NYOLCADIK ECLOGA [*First Draft*]

Költő:

Üdvözlégy, jól bírod e vad hegyi úton a járást  
szép öregember. Szárny emel-é, avagy üldöz az ellen?  
Szárny emel, indulat űz, s a szemedből lobban a villám,  
üdvözlégy, agg férfiu, látom már, hogy a régi  
nagyharagú próféták egyike vagy, de melyik, mondd?

Próféta:

Hogy melyik-é? Náhúm vagyok, Elkós városa szült és  
zengtem a szót asszír Ninivé buja városa ellen,  
zengtem az isteni szót, a harag teli zsákja valék én!

Költő:

Ismerem ősi dühöd, mert fennmaradott, amit irtál.

Próféta:

Fennmaradott. De a bűn szaporább, mint annakelőtte,  
s hogy mi a célja az Úrnak, senkise tudja ma sem még.  
Mert megmondta az Úr, hogy a bő folyamok kiapadnak,  
hogy megroggyan a Kármel, a Básán és a Libánon  
dísze lehervad, a hegy megrendül, a tűz elemészt majd  
mindent. S úgy is lőn.

Költő:

Gyors nemzetek öldösik egymást  
mint Ninivé, úgy meztelenül le az emberi lélek,  
fáklya a templom tornya, kemence a ház, a lakója  
megsül benne, a gyártelepek fölszállnak a füstben.  
Égő néppel az utca rohan, majd bűgva elájul,  
s fortyan a bomba nagy ágya, kiröppen a súlyos ereszték;  
úgy lőn minden, ahogy te megírtad. Az ősi gomolyból  
mondd, mi hozott most mégis e földre?

Próféta:

A düh. Hogy az ember  
ujra s azóta is árva az emberforma pogányok  
hadseregében. S látni szeretném újra a bűnös  
várak elesét s mint tanu szólni a kései kornak.

Költő:

Már szóltál. S megmondta az Úr régen szavaidban,  
hogy jaj a prédával teli várnak, ahol tetemekből  
épül a bástya, de mondd, évezredek óta lehet, hogy  
így él benned a düh? Irigyellek. Az én kis időmet  
mérném szörnyü korodhoz? akár vadsodru patakban  
gömbölyödő kavicsot, úgy koptat e röpke idő is.

Próféta:

Csak hiszed. Ismerem újabb verseid. Éltet a méreg.  
Próféták s költők dühe oly rokon, étek a népnek  
s innivaló! Élhetne belőle, ki élni akar, míg  
eljön az ország, amit ígért amaz ifju tanítvány,  
rabbi, ki bétöltötte a törvényt és szavainkat.  
Jöjj hirdetni velem, hogy már közelít az az óra,  
már születőben az ország. Hogy mi a célja az Úrnak,



kérdém? lásd az az ország. — Útrakelünk, gyere gyűjtsük  
össze a népet, mess botokat s menj asszonyodat, hozd.  
Az legyen ott a botom, mert jobb szeretem, ha göcsörtös.

Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben.

1944. július 22.

### NYOLCADIK ECLOGA

Költő:

Üdvözlégy, jól bírod e vad hegyi úton a járást,  
szép öregember. Szárny emel-é, avagy üldöz az ellen?  
Szárny emel, indulat űz s a szemedből lobban a villám,  
üdvözlégy, agg férfiu, látom már, hogy a régi  
nagyharagú próféták egyike vagy, de melyik, mondd?

Próféta:

Hogy melyik-é? Náhum vagyok, Elkós városa szült és  
zengtem a szót asszír Ninivé buja városa ellen,  
zengtem az isteni szót, a harag teli zsákja valék én!

Költő:

Ismerem ős dühödöt, mert fennmaradott, amit írtál.

Próféta:

Fennmaradott. De a bűn szaporább, mint annak előtte,  
s hogy mi a célja az Úrnak, senkise tudja ma sem még.  
Mert megmondta az Úr, hogy a bő folyamok kiapadnak,  
hogy megroggyan a Kármel, a Básán, és a Libánon  
dísze lehervad, a hegy megrendül, a tűz elemészt majd  
mindent. S úgy is lőn.

Költő:

Gyors nemzetek öldösik egymást,  
mint Ninivé, úgy meztelenül le az emberi lélek.  
Mit használtak a szózatok és a falánk, fene sáskák  
zöld felhője mit ért? hisz az ember az állatok alja!  
Falhoz verdesik itt is, amott is a pötty csecsemőket,  
fáklya a templom tornya, kemence a ház, a lakója  
megsül benne, a gyártelepek fölszállnak a füstben.

Égő néppel az utca rohan, majd bűgva elájul,  
s fortyan a bomba nagy ágya, kiröppen a súlyos ereszték  
s mint legelőkön a marhalepény, úgy megsugorodva  
szertehevernek a holtak a város térein, ismét  
úgy lőn minden, ahogy te megírtad. Az ősi gomolyból  
mondd, mi hozott most mégis e földre?

Próféta:

A düh. Hogy az ember  
újra s azóta is árva az emberforma pogányok  
hadseregében. — S látni szeretném újra a bűnös  
várak elestét s mint tanu szólni a kései kornak.

Költő:

Már szóltál. S megmondta az Úr régen szavaidban,  
hogy jaj a prédával teli várnak, ahol tetemekből  
épül a bástya, de mondd, évezredek óta lehet, hogy  
így él benned a düh? ilyen égi, konok lobogással?

Próféta:

Hajdan az én torz számat is érintette, akárcsak  
bölcsh Izaiásét, szénnel az Úr, lebegő parazsával  
úgy vallatta a szívem; a szén izzó, eleven volt,  
angyal fogta fogóval s: „nézd, imhol vagyok én, hívj  
engem is el hirdetni igédet”, — szóltam utána.  
És akit egyszer az Úr elküldött, nincs kora annak,  
s nincs nyugodalma, a szén, az az angyali, égeti ajkát.  
S mennyi az Úrnak, mondd, ezer év? csak pille idő az!

Költő:

Mily fiatal vagy atyám! irigyellek. Az én kis időmet  
mérném szörnyü korodhoz? akár vadsodru patakban  
gömbölyödő kavicsot, már koptat e röpke idő is.

Próféta:

Csak hiszed. Ismerem újabb verseid. Éltet a méreg.  
Próféták s költők dühe oly rokon, étek a népnek,  
s innivaló! Élhetne belőle, ki élni akar, míg  
eljön az ország, amit ígért amaz ifju tanítvány,  
rabbi, ki bétöltötte a törvényt és szavainkat.

Jöjj hirdetni velem, hogy már közelít az az óra,  
 már születőben az ország. Hogy mi a célja az Úrnak, —  
 kérdém? lásd az az ország. Útrakelünk, gyere, gyűjtsük  
 össze a népet, hozd feleséged s mess botokat már.  
 Vándornak jó társa a bot, nézd, add ide azt ott,  
 az legyen ott az enyém, mert jobb szeretem, ha göcsörtös.

Lager Heidenau, Žagubica fölött a hegyekben. 1944. augusztus 23.

### RAZGLEDNICA

Bulgáriából vastag, vad ágyuszó gurul,  
 a hegyerincre dobban, majd tétováz s lehull;  
 torlódik ember, állat, szekér és gondolat,  
 az út nyerítve hőköl, sörényes ég szalad.  
 Te állandó vagy bennem a mozgó zúrzavarban,  
 tudatom mélyén fénylesz örökre mozdulatlan  
 s némán, akár az angyal, ha pusztulást csodál,  
 vagy korhadt fának odván temetkező bogár.

1944. augusztus 30.

A hegyek közt.

### ERŐLTETETT MENET

Bolond, ki földre rogyván fölkel és újra lépked,  
 s vándorló fájdalomként mozdít bokát és térdet,  
 de mégis útnak indul, mint akit szárny-emel,  
 s hiába hívja árok, maradni úgyse mer,  
 s ha kérdezed, miért nem? még visszaszól talán,  
 hogy várja őt az asszony s egy bölcsebb, szép halál.  
 Pedig bolond a jámbor, mert ott az otthonok  
 fölött régóta már csak a perzselt szél forog,  
 hanyattfeküdt a házfal, eltört a szilvafa,  
 és félelemtől bolyhos a honni éjszaka.  
 Ó, hogyha hinni tudnám: nemcsak szívemben hordom  
 mindazt, mit érdemes még, s van visszatérni otthon;  
 ha volna még! — s mint egykor a régi hűs verandán  
 a béke méhe zöngne, míg hül a szilvalekvár,  
 s nyárvégi csönd napozna az álmos kerteken,

a lomb között gyümölcsök ringnának meztelen,  
 és Fanni várna szökén a rőt sövény előtt,  
 s árnyékot írna lassan a lassu délelőtt, —  
 de hisz lehet talán még! a hold ma oly kerek!  
 Ne menj tovább, barátom, kiálts rám! s fölkelek!

Lager Rhön, Bor.

1944. szeptember 15.

### RAZGLEDNICA 2

Kilenc kilométerre innen égnek  
 a kazlak és a házak,  
 s a rétek szélein megülve némán  
 riadt pórok pipáznak.  
 Itt még vizet fodroz a tóra lépő  
 apró pásztorleány  
 s felhőt iszik a vízre ráhajolva  
 a fodros birkanyáj.

Cservenka, 1944. október 6.

### RAZGLEDNICA 3

Az ökrök száján véres nyál csorog,  
 az emberek mind véreset vizelnek,  
 a század bűzös, vad csomókban áll.  
 Fölöttünk fú a förtelmes halál.

Mohács, 1944. október 24.

### RAZGLEDNICA 4

Mellézuhanam, átfordult a teste  
 s feszes volt már, mint húr, ha pattan.  
 Tarkólövés. — Így végzed hát te is, —  
 súgtam magamnak, — csak feküdj nyugodtan.  
 Halált virágzik most a türelem. —

Der springt noch auf, — hangzott fölöttem.  
Sárral kevert vér száradt füleimen.

Szentkirályszabadja, 1944. október 31.

V. Appendix: *The Bor Poems in English Translation*

[Instructions (in English only)]:

Please forward this notebook, which contains the poems of the Hungarian poet, *Miklós Radnóti*, to Mr. Gyula Ortutay, Budapest University lecturer, *Budapest, VII. Horánszky u. 1. I.* Thank you in anticipation.

SEVENTH ECLOGUE

See how evening descends and around us the barbed-wire-hemmed, wild  
oaken fence and the barracks are weightless, as evening absorbs them.  
Slowly the glance lets go off the frame of our captive condition,  
only the mind, it alone is alive to the tautness of wire.  
See, Love: phantasy here, it too can attain to its freedom  
only through dream, that comely redeemer, who frees our broken  
bodies—it's time, and the men in the prison camp leave for their homes now.  
Ragged, with shaven heads, these prisoners, snoring aloud, fly,  
leaving Serbia's blind peak, back to their fugitive homesteads.  
Fugitive homesteads—right. . . . Oh, does that home still exist, now?  
Still untouched by bombs? as it stood, back when we reported?  
And will the men who now groan on my right, lie left, make it home yet?  
*Is there a home, where people can hear this hexameter line, too?*

No diacritical marks; just groping, line under line, and  
barely, as I am alive, I write my poem in half-dark,  
blindly, in earthworm-rhythm, I'm inching along on the paper.  
Flashlights, books: the guards of the *Lager* took everything from us,  
nor does the mail ever come. Only fog settles over the barracks.  
Here among rumors and worms all live, be they Frenchmen or Polish,  
loud-voiced Italian, partisan Serb, sad Jew, in the mountains,  
bodies fevered, hacked; yet it's *one* life all live in common:  
waiting for good news, a womanly word, for a fate free and human,  
waiting the end plumbing viscous dusk, or miracles — maybe.

Worm-ridden, captive beast: that is just how I lie on the bunk board.  
 Fleas will renew their siege; the battalion of flies is asleep now.  
 Evening is here; once again our serfdom has grown a day shorter,  
 so have our lives. The camp is asleep. On mountain and valley  
 bright moon shines; in its light, once more all the wires pull tighter,  
 and through the window you see how the shadows of camp's armed, pacing  
 sentries are thrown on the wall in the midst of the night's lone voices.

Camp is asleep, dear one: can you see it? the dreams come rustling;  
 starting up, one man snorts on his narrow bunk, turns over,  
 sleeping again, and his face shines. Lonely the vigil I'm keeping;  
 in my mouth I taste that half-smoked cigarette, not your  
 kisses, and dreams won't come, no sleep will come to relieve me,  
 since I can face neither death nor a life any longer without you.

Lager Heidenau, over Žagubica in the mountains.

July 1944

#### LETTER TO MY WIFE

Down in the deep, dumb worlds are waiting, silent;  
 I shout; the silence in my ears is strident,  
 but no one can reply to it from far  
 Serbia, fallen into a swoon of war,  
 and you are far. My dream, your voice, entwine,  
 by day I find it in my heart again;  
 knowing this I keep still while, standing proudly,  
 rustling, cool to the touch, many great ferns surround me.

When may I see you? I hardly know any longer,  
 you, who were sure, were weighty as the psalter,  
 beautiful as a shadow and beautiful as light,  
 to whom I would find my way, whether deafmute or blind;  
 now hiding in the landscape, from within,  
 on my eyes, you flash — the mind projects its film.  
 You were reality, returned to dream  
 and, fallen back into the well of my teen years,

jealous, I question you: whether you love me,  
 whether, on my youth's summit, you will yet be  
 my wedded wife—once again, I hope,  
 and, fallen back on life's awakened road,  
 I know you are all this. My wife, my friend, and peer—  
 only, far. Beyond three wild frontiers.  
 It is turning fall. Will fall forget me here?  
 The memory of our kisses is all the clearer.

I believed in miracles, forgot their days;  
 high up above me, bomber squadrons cruise.  
 I was just admiring, up there, your eyes' blue sheen,  
 when it clouded over, and up in that machine  
 the bombs were aching to dive. Despite them, I am alive—  
 a prisoner; and all that I had hoped for, I have  
 sized up, in breadth. I will find my way to you;  
 for you I have walked the spirit's full length as it grew,

and highways of the land. If need be, I will render  
 myself, a conjurer, past cardinal embers,  
 amid nose-diving flames, but I will come back,  
 if need be, I shall be resilient as the bark  
 on trees. I am soothed by the peace of savage men  
 in constant danger: worth the whole wild regimen  
 of arms and power; and, as from a cooling wave of the sea,  
 sobriety's 2 × 2 comes raining down on me.

Lager Heidenau, over Žagubica in the mountains.

August 1944

### ROOT

Power flashes in a root;  
 it drinks rain, lives with earth below,  
 and its dreams are white as snow.

From under earth it breaks upward;  
 it climbs, and is sly, that root,  
 its arm is just like a rope.

On a root's arm, a worm asleep;  
 on a root's leg sits a worm;  
 the world becomes plagued with worms.

But in the deep the root lives on.  
 It cares not a hang for the world,  
 only for a branch that leaves have filled.

This it admires and nurses,  
 sends it excellent flavors,  
 good, sweet sky-flavors.

I am now a root myself—  
 it's with worms I make my home.

Once a flower, I have turned root,  
 heavy, dark earth over hand and foot;  
 fate fulfilled, and all is said,  
 a saw now wails above my head.

Lager Heidenau, over Žagubica in the mountains.  
 8 August 1944

#### À LA RECHERCHE...

Old, gentle evenings, you too are ennobled to deep reminiscence!  
 Gleaming table, crowned as by laurels with poets and young wives,  
 where are you sliding on marshes of irretrievable hours?  
 Where are the nights when spry friends were still cheerfully drinking  
 grayfriar out of bright-eyed, thin-stemmed, delicate glasses?

Lines of verse swam high round the light of the lamps, with bright green  
 epithets bobbing up-down foaming crests of the meter;  
 those now dead were alive and the prisoners, still at home; those  
 vanished, dear friends, long since fallen, were writing their poems;  
 on their hearts the Ukraine, the soil of Spain, or of Flanders.

There were those who, gritting their teeth, ran ahead in the fire,  
 combat-trained, and only because they were helpless against it,



and while the company slept its troubled sleep under shelter:  
soiled night, their rooms made the rounds of their wakeful dreaming,  
rooms that in this society had served them as island and cavern.

Places there were where some went in sealed-off cattle cars; places  
where they, stiff with fear and unarmed, stood erect in the minefields;  
places where, rifle in hand, not a few of them went of their own will,  
silent, because they felt that war, down there, was their own cause—  
Angel of Freedom, you'll guard their enormous dreams in the night now.

Places too . . . never mind. Where did sage wine nights disappear to?  
Flying, the callups came round; the poems left scraps grew in numbers,  
as did wrinkles swarm at corners of mouths, under eyes: young  
women with beautiful smiles; and the girls with the fairy tale-princess  
steps: how heavy they grew in the course of the taciturn war years!

Where is the night and that tavern, that table set out under lindens?  
those still alive, whom war's heel flat-ground for grueling combat?  
This heart hears their voices; my hand holds the warmth of their handshakes.  
Quoting their work, I watch the proportions of torsos unfold; I  
measure them (prisoner, mute)—up in sigh-filled Serbia's mountain.

Where, where indeed is the night? that night which shall never return now,  
for, to whatever is past, death itself lends another perspective.  
Here at the table they sit, take shelter in smiles of the women,  
and will yet take sips from our glasses, those many unburied  
sleeping in forests of foreign, on meadows of faraway places.

Lager Heidenau, over Žagubica in the mountains.

17 August 1944

#### EIGHTH ECLOGUE [*First Draft*]

Poet:

Greetings! you're keeping in fine form, walking the mountain's wild trail,  
handsome old man; is it wings bear you high, or do enemies give chase?  
Wings lift, emotions pursue you, and lightning flashes from both eyes.  
Welcome up, wizened man; I can see you are one of those ancient  
prophets, of mountainous wrath, but which of that line, can you tell me?

Prophet:

Which, you say? Nahum's my name, and Elkosh the city that bore me;  
singing I railed against Nineveh, lustful Assyrian city,  
singing the word of God: I was known as the stuffed bag of anger!

Poet:

I know your ire of old, for your words have survived, and we have them.

Prophet:

Yes, they've survived. But abundant vice is around, more than ever,  
and the design of the Lord is a mystery now, as it was then.  
Surely, the Lord did say: that the richest of rivers would run dry;  
that Mount Carmel would fall; that the flower of Lebanon, Bashan  
was to wither; that mountains would shake and that fire would consume all.  
All came to pass.

Poet:

Swift nations work hard killing off one another;  
here as at Nineveh, it's the spirit of man going naked;  
belfries are torches; apartment buildings are ovens; the tenant  
bakes inside; and factories fly into air in a smoke cloud.  
Streets run amok with burning citizens, faint with the sirens;  
bomb craters boil over as, heavily, girders plunge, fly;  
all took place as you wrote that it would. Despite that: what brought you  
back to this earth from the ancient cumulus?

Prophet:

Rage did. That men stand  
orphaned again—have stood since!—in armies of man-shaped pagans.  
And, once again, I'd like nothing better than seeing the guilty  
citadels' fall, and to speak to a latter-day age as a witness.

Poet:

That you have done. And God did, long ago, say through your own words:  
Woe to the fortresses filled with prey, where they pull up that bastion  
using corpses as building stone! but tell me: could anger  
live for millennia so? I envy you. Dare I compare my  
vanishing days with your awesome age? Yet, just as a wild brook  
rounds down a pebble, this fugitive moment is wearing me flat, too.

Prophet:

Think it. I know your recent poems. Fury sustains you.  
 Anger of prophets, of poets: they're closely related, and peoples  
 find them their food and drink. Those who'll live, could live on it, till that  
 kingdom arrived which a certain youthful disciple had promised:  
 rabbi, who came and fulfilled our law and the word of the prophets.  
 Come, proclaim with me that the hour is close, very close—that  
 kingdom is being born—wait! What is God's plan and what is his purpose?  
 I once asked, and see: it's that kingdom.—We'll take to the road. Come,  
 let's go gather the tribe, cut sticks, and go, bring your beloved.—  
 Do let that stick there be mine; I prefer having one with the deep knots.

Lager Heidenau, over Žagubica in the mountains.

22 July 1944

### EIGHTH ECLOGUE

Poet:

Greetings! you're keeping in fine form, walking the mountain's wild trail,  
 handsome old man; is it wings bear you high, or do enemies give chase?  
 Wings lift, emotions pursue you, and lightning flashes from both eyes.  
 Welcome up, wizened man; I can see you are one of those ancient  
 prophets, of mountainous wrath, but which of that line, can you tell me?

Prophet:

Which, you say? Nahum's my name, and Elkosh the city that bore me;  
 singing I railed against Nineveh, lustful Assyrian city,  
 singing the word of God: I was known as the stuffed bag of anger!

Poet:

I know your ancient rage, for your words have survived, and we have them.

Prophet:

Yes, they've survived. But abundant vice is around, more than ever,  
 and the design of the Lord is a mystery now, as it was then.  
 Surely the Lord did say: that the richest of rivers would run dry;  
 that Mount Carmel would fall; that the flower of Lebanon, Bashan  
 was to wither; that mountains would shake and that fire would consume all.  
 All came to pass.

Poet:

Swift nations work hard killing off one another;  
 here, as at Nineveh, it's the spirit of man going naked.  
 What were all speeches worth; what good were the hog-pestilential  
 green clouds—locusts—then? Of all beasts, aren't humans the lowest?  
 Here, as there, they'll be splattering droplet babes on the ramparts;  
 belfries are torches; apartment buildings are ovens; the tenant  
 bakes inside; and factories fly into air in a smoke cloud.  
 Streets run amok with burning citizens, faint with the sirens;  
 bomb craters boil over as, heavily, girders plunge, fly,  
 and as on pastures cow pies, so on the squares of the city,  
 shrunken the dead lie about; once again all the grief you predicted  
 happened just as you wrote that it would. Despite that: what brought you  
 back to this earth from the ancient cumulus?

Prophet:

Rage did. That men stand  
 orphaned again—have stood since!—in armies of man-shaped pagans.  
 And, once again, I'd like nothing better than seeing the guilty  
 citadels' fall, then to speak to a latter-day age as a witness.

Poet:

That you have done. And God did, long ago, say through your own words:  
 Woe to the fortresses filled with prey, where they pull up that bastion  
 using corpses as building stone! but tell me: could anger  
 stoke you for thousands of years? with such heavenly, obstinate fire?

Prophet:

Ages ago, once, the Lord touched my distorted mouth, too,  
 as he did wise Isaiah's, with coals, with his fluttering embers,  
 making my heart confess, and the coals were alive, incandescent  
 —angel held them with tongs—and: "Behold I am present now: take me,  
 call on me too to be preaching your word!" I spoke, as he vanished.  
 And whom the Lord has once sent out—that man, become ageless,  
 lives without sleep. What burns his lips are those coals of the angel.  
 What, after all, are a thousand years to the Lord? Time is moths' wings!

Poet:

Oh, you are young, my father! I envy you. Dare I compare my  
 vanishing days with your awesome age? Yet, just as a wild brook  
 rounds down a pebble, this fugitive moment is wearing me flat, too.

Prophet:

Think it. I know your recent poems. Fury sustains you.  
 Anger of prophets, of poets: they're closely related, and peoples  
 find them their food and drink. Those who'll live, could live on it, till that  
 kingdom arrived which a certain youthful disciple had promised:  
 rabbi, who came and fulfilled our law and the word of the prophets.  
 Come, proclaim with me that the hour is close, very close—that  
 kingdom is being born—wait! What is God's plan and what is his purpose?  
 I once asked, and see: it's that kingdom. We'll take to the road. Let's  
 gather the tribe, bring your wife, and start cutting sticks for the journey.  
 Wanderers find companionship in a walking stick; look:  
 do let that one there be mine; I prefer having one with the deep knots.

Lager Heidenau, over Žagubica in the mountains.

23 August 1944

### FORCED MARCH

The man who, having collapsed, rises, takes steps, is insane;  
 he'll move an ankle, a knee, an errant mass of pain,  
 and take to the road again as if wings were to lift him high;  
 in vain the ditch should call him: he simply dare not stay;  
 and should you ask, why not? perhaps he'll turn and answer:  
 his wife is waiting back home, and a death, one beautiful, wiser.  
 But see, the wretch is a fool, for over the homes, that world,  
 long since nothing but singed winds have been known to whirl;  
 his house wall lies supine; your plum tree, broken clear,  
 and all the nights back home horripilate with fear.  
 Oh, if I could believe that I haven't merely borne  
 what is worthwhile, in my heart: that there is, to return, a home;  
 would that it were still all there! the cool verandah; bees  
 of peaceful silence buzzing, while the plum jam cooled;  
 where over sleepy gardens summer-end peace sunbathed,  
 and among bough and foliage fruits were swaying naked;  
 and, blonde, my Fanni waited before the redwood fence,  
 with morning slowly tracing its shadowed reticence. . . .  
 But all that *could* still be— tonight the moon is so round!  
 Don't go past me, my friend— shout! and I'll come around!

Lager Rhön, Bor.

15 September 1944

## PICTURE POSTCARD

From Bulgaria thick, wild cannon pounding rolls.  
 It strikes the mountain ridge, then hesitates and falls.  
 A piled-up blockage of thoughts, animals, carts, and men;  
 whinnying, the road rears up; the sky runs with its mane.  
 In this chaos of movement you're in me, permanent,  
 deep in my conscious you shine, motion forever spent  
 and mute, like an angel awed by death's great carnival,  
 or an insect in rotted tree pith, staging its funeral.

30 August 1944. In the mountains.

## PICTURE POSTCARD 2

Nine kilometers from here the haystacks and  
 houses are burning;  
 sitting on the fields' edges, speechless, some scared  
 poor folk are smoking.  
 Here a little shepherdess, stepping on the lake, still  
 ruffles the water;  
 the ruffled sheep flock at the water drinks from  
 clouds, bending over.

Cservenka, 6 October 1944

## PICTURE POSTCARD 3

Bloody saliva hangs on the mouths of the oxen,  
 blood shows in every man's urine,  
 the company stands in wild knots, stinking.  
 Death blows overhead, revolting.

Mohács, 24 October 1944

## PICTURE POSTCARD 4

I fell beside him; his body turned over,  
 already taut as a string about to snap.  
 Shot in the nape. That's how you too will end,  
 I whispered to myself: just lie quietly.  
 Patience now flowers into death.  
*Der springt noch auf*, a voice said above me.  
 On my ear, blood dried, mixed with filth.

Szentkirályszabadja, 31 October 1944

## Notes

1. Radnóti Miklós, *Bori notesz*, (Hasonmás kiadás, szerkesztette Réz Pál és Szántó Tibor), 2. és 3. kiadás (Budapest, Magyar Helikon, 1971, 1974). Két kis kötetben: (1) a bori notesz hasonmása, (2) tartalma szedés-nyomtatásban, Ortutay Gyula előszavával.
2. Ortutay, Preface, p. 9.
3. András Lengyel, at the end of a recent first publication of unknown Radnóti translations, writes: "*Pál Réz*, we may safely state, has achieved with his *Radnóti Miklós Művei* [the 1978 edition of the poet's works] all that it is possible to achieve in this so-called popular edition. However: if we wish to make further strides, *we must by all means prepare a critical edition*. This work would surely bring to light numerous writings, but at the very least variant versions by Radnóti and, what is more important: we could at long last have a secure overview over the entire life's work". "Elfelejtett fordítástörödékek. Megjegyzések Radnóti Miklós műveihöz". *Magyar Hírlap*, 1979. május 20, vasárnap, p. 10.
4. As Mrs. Radnóti has told me in conversation, the original of the *Notebook* is extremely fragile, and may suffer further damage from exposure to light. The five poems that Radnóti copied for his friend and campmate, Sándor Szalai, are: *Hetedik ecloga*, *Levél a hitveshez*, *À la recherche . . .*, *Nyolcadik ecloga*, and *Erőltetett menet* ("Seventh Eclogue", "Letter to My Wife", "À la recherche . . .", "Eighth Eclogue", and "Forced March"). Of the poems that were written by the time he met Szalai at Bor, Radnóti prepared no copy of *Gyökér* ("Root") and the first *Razglednica* ("Picture Postcard"). On this, see especially Gábor Tolnai, "A 'Meredek út' végső szakasza. Második közlemény." *Irodalomtörténet* 51 (1969): 463-497, p. 474, and Ábel Kőszegi, *Törödékek. Radnóti Miklós utolsó hónapjainak krónikája* (Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1972), pp. 34-35.
5. Radnóti Miklós, *Tajtékos ég. Versek* (Budapest, Révai, 1946). Used as source *T* in the edition of the *Bor Notebook* offered in this paper. See the description of sources in part I.
6. See the quotation from a letter by Dr. Miklós Ruppenthal concerning the finding and cleaning of the MS, Kőszegi, p. 69.
7. Miklós Radnóti, *The Complete Poetry*, ed. and trans. Emery George (Ann Arbor, Ardis Publishers, 1980), pp. 269-277.
8. Radnóti, *The Complete Poetry*, "Introduction", pp. 41-43; Emery George, "Translating Poetry: Notes on a Solitary Craft". *The Kenyon Review*, Vol. 4. no. 2 (Spring 1982), pp. 33-54.

9. The constituted text and the poems in English translation do not bear line numberings, since I did not wish to cause the reader undue difficulty in telling apart conflicting systems of reference. If necessary to cite stanza and line as distinct from *B*, I do so very sparingly, always spelling out a citation (as, e.g., in "stanza four, line three", or: "the penultimate line of 'Seventh Eclogue'").
- The textcritical procedure below follows principles as summarized in: Paul Maas, *Textual Criticism*, trans. from the German by Barbara Flower (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1958), and in: Gunter Martens and Hans Zeller (eds.), *Texte und Varianten. Probleme ihrer Edition und Interpretation* (Munich, C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1971). The reader is also referred to two earlier studies of my own: "Some New Hölderlin Decipherments from the 'Homburger Folioheft.'" *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 80 (1965): 123–140, and "A Family of Disputed Readings in Hölderlin's Hymn 'Der Rhein.'" *The Modern Language Review* 61 (1966): 619–634.
10. These serial and anthology sources are cited in full in the Notes to *The Complete Poetry*, pp. 390–391.
11. The fact of the indecipherable state of some of the instructions is noted also by Tibor Szántó in the printed booklet accompanying the facsimile, p. 31.
12. Tolnai, *Irodalomtörténet* 51 (1969): 474.
13. *The Modern Language Review* 61 (1966): 623.
14. Tolnai, p. 474.
15. Tibor Melczer, "Radnóti Miklós Gyökér című verséről." *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 74 (1970): 721–733.
16. Interestingly, "Seventh Eclogue" and "À la recherche . . ." are the two most frequently published in serial form prior to their appearance in *T*. See *The Complete Poetry*, pp. 390–391.
17. One, amazingly tenacious, misprint comes in *Montenegrói elégia* ("Montenegrin Elegy"), line 22: "cipókon" for "cipókön"; it crops up in the editions of Radnóti's poems that appeared in 1966, 1970, 1972, and 1974. The 1976 *Művei* then restores a correct reading not seen since the 1963 edition of the poems, published by Magyar Helikon (p. 89). Lines 21–22 könnyű / cipókon lovagolnak" ("they ride light / breadloaves") is, thanks to Mrs. Radnóti, correctly construed in *The Complete Poetry*, p. 367.
18. An early poem in *T; M*, pp. 158–159. See especially the rich nomenclature in section 2 (line 1 "kőköröcsin" ["meadow anemone"]; 2 "kankalin" ["primrose"]; 6 "törökszegfű" ["sweet William"]).
19. Mrs. Miklós Radnóti (ed.), "Radnóti Miklós kiadatlan versei." *Új Írás*, Vol. 10, no. 5 (May 1970), pp. 67–69; under the prose section "Eaton Darr, a költő", p. 69.
20. Since, as Mrs. Radnóti has informed me, the facsimile of *B* faithfully reproduces the original in all details, there does not seem to be any great hope for the possibility that, where the facsimile shows blank space, writing will come into view in the original. The extremely faint smudge occupying the white space in *B*, at [14] 19, differs in no way from show-through smudges distributed all over those portions of [14] not occupied by writing.
21. Imre Trencsényi-Waldapfel, a distinguished classicist, was born in 1908 and died in 1970. He was a close friend of the Radnóti's.
22. For what they are worth, I offer two alternatives of my own; both rhyme with [14] 18, in Hungarian as well as in English: "s szivem, lelkem kökemény" ("heart and soul are hard as stone"); or: "így dúsul a televény" ("thus producing richer loam"). It is always possible to do this, and it seems frighteningly true that even bad lines such as these two can grow on a reading public over the years and decades. For one analogous instance of editorial substitution, and honest admission that it was done, see László Kálnoky, "Nyomozás egy verssor után." *Kortárs* 19 (1975): 771–773.
23. See the printing of the memoir in *M*, pp. 512–542, p. 527. Achieving a high degree of frequency of dactyls is also regarded as an aspect of distinction in the Homer translations of Gábor Devecseri (1917–1971).
24. The language of the Book of Nahum is not of much assistance at this point, in either the Károli or the King James Version; at chapter I, verse 4 we read: "Elfonnyad a Básán és a Kármel, és a Libánon virága elfonnyad" ("Bashan languisheth, and Carmel, and the flower of Lebanon languisheth"). But the comma preceding "és" is present.



25. See such poems as "7 July 1932" or *Alvás előtt* ("Before Sleep"). In "Forced March" reference to plums occurs twice in indirect ways: at [26] 10 "szilvafa" ("plum tree") and at [27] 1 "szilvalekvár" ("plum jam"). A plum tree in the garden on Istenhegy, in the Buda hills, is also playfully referred to in the poem *Számadás* ("Accounting"). See my article "Radnóti Miklós Ignotus-vonatkozásairól". *Irodalomtörténet* 64 (1982): 1–19, pp. 9–11.
26. See Béla Mária, "Radnóti utolsó bori napjairól". *Kortárs* 8 (1964): 1829–1830; idem, "A meredek út végső szakasza". *Kortárs* 19 (1975): 1990–1991.
27. Fredson Bowers, *Textual and Literary Criticism*, (Cambridge, at the University Press, 1959), pp. 29–30, p. 30. See also his *Bibliography and Textual Criticism: The Lyell Lectures, Oxford, Trinity Term 1959* (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1964).



# DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER FINNOUGRISTIK IM DEUTSCHSPRACHIGEN RAUM\*

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0. Ein kurzer historischer Abriss soll zunächst einige Hinweise geben und Erinnerungen an die Vorläufer der Finnougristik, deren es eine Reihe in Deutschland oder mit deutschem Ausgangspunkt gibt, vermitteln. Damit wird die Zeit bis etwa zum Ersten Weltkrieg behandelt.

Der zweite Teil wird die Entwicklung einer institutionalisierten Finnougristik in Deutschland behandeln; der Zweite Weltkrieg schließt die erste Epoche der deutschen Finnougristik ab, im zweiten Abschnitt wird über die Gründung der heute vorhandenen Institute im deutschsprachigen Raum gesprochen mit einer Bestandsaufnahme zum gegenwärtigen Zeitpunkt und einem Ausblick.

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1. Aus Hamburg kommend, kann ich nicht ohne Stolz melden, daß als „Geburtsort“ der Finnougristik zumindest in Deutschland Hamburg angesehen werden muß, als Geburtsjahr kann zu Recht und ziemlich genau das Jahr 1669 bestimmt werden. Dies ist sicherlich einem glücklichen Umstand zu verdanken: Martinus Fogelius Hamburgensis, wie er sich selbst nannte und seine Briefe zu unterzeichnen und seine Bücher zu kennzeichnen pflegte, der berühmte Polyhistor und Mediziner (1634–1675) stellte auf Bitten von Fürst Cosimo III von Etrurien einen „Nomenclator Latino Finnicus“ zusammen; Cosimo, den Fogelius auf seinen Reisen in Italien kennengelernt hatte, bezeugte Interesse an fremden Sprachen. Der Nomenclator allein ist nicht geeignet, den Ruhm von Fogelius als Entdecker der finnisch-ungarischen Sprachverwandtschaft und somit des ersten Finnougristen zu begründen, denn er stellt im wesentlichen eine Abschrift aus dem Werk „Variarum rerum vocabula Latina cum Svetica et Finnonica interpretatione“ dar, und zwar aus der Ausgabe von 1668, denn diese Ausgabe findet sich in Fogels Bibliothek, und es ist leicht erkennbar, daß Fogelius auch die Druckfehler mit übernommen hat. Fogelius versah jedoch den Nomenclator darüber hinaus mit einer Einleitung „De Finnicæ lingue indole observationes“, die einerseits von seinem Bemühen zeugt, das Finnische mit anderen Sprachen genetisch zu verknüpfen, zum anderen aber auch zeigt, daß Fogelius auf dem richtigen Wege war

und die Verwandtschaft zwischen dem Finnischen und Ungarischen nicht nur durch eine Reihe von lexikalischen Übereinstimmungen vorgeführt, sondern zugleich auf strukturelle Gemeinsamkeiten des Finnischen und Ungarischen aufmerksam gemacht hat. Wie wiederholt in der Fachliteratur nachgewiesen ist, hält ein hoher Prozentsatz seiner Etymologien auch einer heutigen kritischen Prüfung stand; es ist auch geklärt worden, welche Quellen Fogelius benutzt hat, die ja im wesentlichen in seiner Bibliothek, die durch Vermittlung von Leibniz 1678 nach Hannover gelangt ist, erhalten sind. Über Fogelius ist in Hamburg 1968 auf dem Symposium auch von ungarischer Seite durch György Lakó ausführlich berichtet worden, so daß ich hier nur erwähnen möchte, daß aufgrund von Fogels „Zettelkasten“, Korrespondenz und einigen Entwürfen deutlich wird, daß er an eine Fortsetzung dieser Arbeit dachte — im Entwurf war sie auf neun Kapitel konzipiert. Infolge seines frühen Todes konnte er das Unternehmen nicht realisieren.<sup>1</sup>

Trotz der Kenntnis der Arbeit von Fogelius hat Leibniz ihn später offenbar vergessen, vielleicht auch deswegen, weil Leibnizens Sprachvergleichung in erster Linie etymologisch ausgerichtet war und er mit Fogels strukturalistischen Methoden nichts anzufangen wußte, wie in der diesbezüglichen Literatur vermutet wurde. Es mußten über zweihundert Jahre verstreichen, bis die Arbeit Fogels entdeckt wurde und über sie berichtet wurde;<sup>2</sup> der finnische Finnougrist Emil Nestor Setälä hat im Jahre 1902 auf dem Internationalen Orientalistenkongreß in Hamburg einen Vortrag über Fogel gehalten; einige Jahre zuvor hatte Emilio Teza die Handschrift, die sich in Florenz befindet, ediert.<sup>3</sup>

2. Im 17. Jahrhundert gab es auch sonst nirgendwo eine Finnougristik; hundert Jahre seit der Abhandlung von Fogelius, die in Vergessenheit geraten war, mußten vergehen, bis Joannis Sajnovics in seinem bekannten Werke „*Demonstratio. Idioma Ungarorum et Lapponum idem esse*“ (1770) und etwas später Samuel Gyarmathi mit seiner „*Affinitas linguae Hungaricae cum Linguis Fennicae originis grammaticae demonstrata*“ (1799) grundlegende Forschungen vorlegten, die dann dazu beigetragen haben, das Interesse einiger Forscher auch auf diese Sprachen zu lenken. Beide Forscher waren Ungarn, jedoch ist es unstrittig, daß Gyarmathi für seine Arbeit Impulse und Material in Göttingen bekam.<sup>4</sup>

3. Gab es also noch keine diesbezüglichen sprachwissenschaftlichen Untersuchungen im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert, so hat doch eine Reihe von Wissenschaftlern, Historikern zumeist, ihr Interesse an den finnougrischen Völkern bekundet und entsprechende Forschungen unternommen. Auf zum Teil abenteuerlichen Reisen und Expeditionen wurde allmählich Material von und über finnougrische Völkerschaften eingebracht; in dieser ersten Phase waren es vornehmlich Nicht-Finnougrier, zumeist Deutsche, die den Belangen ihre Aufmerksamkeit schenkten. Nur einige Namen seien genannt: Nicolaes Witsen (1641–1717), Philipp Johann von Strahlenberg (1676–1747), Daniel Gottlieb Messerschmidt (1685–1735), Johann Eberhard Fischer (1697–1711) und Gerhard Friedrich Müller (1705–1783).

Hierbei handelte es sich um Gelehrte, die zum Teil von der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften nach St. Petersburg berufen worden waren, um dort zu wirken oder an den Expeditionen teilzunehmen. Daß die Anregungen hierzu teilweise noch auf Leibniz zurückgingen, sei noch am Rande erwähnt.

4. Das ausgehende 18. Jahrhundert zeitigte fruchtbare Tätigkeiten zur Sprachvergleichung: auf Veranlassung von Katharina II. wurde von Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811) das umfängliche Werk „Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa“ (St. Petersburg 1786/1789) mit einem Material aus 200 Sprachen, darunter auch 22 finnougriechen und 15 samojedischen Sprachen bzw. Dialekten zusammengestellt, das auch kurzfristig in der Öffentlichkeit ein lebhaftes Echo auslöste, ihm wurde insgesamt jedoch wohl kaum die Bedeutung beigemessen, die ihm zweifellos zukam. Heute ist dieses Werk im Nachdruck leicht zugänglich und erweist sich nach wie vor als eine ergiebige Quelle, zumal die schriftliche Überlieferung in den meisten uralischen Sprachen ja erst relativ spät einsetzt.<sup>5</sup>

5. Von Wichtigkeit für die Kenntnis von den finnougriechen Völkern war auch die Tätigkeit von August Ludwig Schläzer (1735–1809), auf die ich hier nicht näher eingehen kann. Eine Reihe von Beiträgen, so von Julius v. Farkas<sup>6</sup>, Günter J. Stipa<sup>7</sup> und kürzlich Michael W. Weithmann<sup>8</sup> geben hierüber ausführlich Auskunft.

6. Die Entwicklung der Indogermanistik und Orientalistik in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert führte dazu, daß auch die mehr oder weniger zugänglichen uralischen Sprachen erforscht wurden. Waren es zunächst vielfach nationale Interessen in der Nachfolge romantischer Bestrebungen bei den einzelnen Völkern, die zu einer intensiveren Befassung mit der Muttersprache der Ungarn, Finnen, Esten und anderer Völker führten, so wurden doch alsbald ungarischer- und finniseherseits Expeditionen einzelner Forschungsreisender zu den „Verwandten“ in den verschiedenen, zum Teil sehr entlegenen Gebieten des Russischen Reichs unternommen. Auch deutsche Gelehrte nahmen an solchen Forschungsreisen teil, um Material über Sitten und Gebräuche, vor allem aber sprachliches Material zu sammeln. Gab es auch noch keine finnougriechischen Institutionen, so wurden doch von einer Reihe deutscher Philologen, die zum Teil außerhalb des Reiches tätig waren, schon früh finnougriechische oder uralische oder sogar ural-altaische Sprachen in die Untersuchung einbezogen. Die diesbezüglichen Forschungen einzelner Wissenschaftler in Ungarn, Finnland, Estland und Rußland zeigten ihre Wirkungen.

7. Hier möchte ich nur auf einen Privatgelehrten eingehen, der besonderes Interesse beanspruchen darf, jedoch fast gänzlich in Vergessenheit geraten zu sein scheint. Hans Conon von der Gabelentz (1807–1874), von Haus aus Jurist, seinem Stande nach sachsen-altenburgischer Ministerpräsident, später Landschaftspräsident, interessierte sich in hohem Maße für philologische Fragen, besonders für ausgefallene Sprachen, in denen und über die er eine vorzügliche Bibliothek kollektionierte. Gelegentlich zitiert wird noch sein umfängliches Werk über das Passiv, allzu leicht vergessen wird jedoch,

daß auch fünf Arbeiten zur Finnougristik aus seiner Feder stammen: neben einer syrjänischen Grammatik sind es Aufsätze zum Čeremissischen, Mordvinischen und Votjakischen sowie die Analyse eines samojedischen Textes.<sup>9</sup> Alle diese Arbeiten sind entstanden, als es weder in Ungarn noch in Finnland eine institutionalisierte Finnougristik gab. Zwar gab es inzwischen Akademien und Gelehrte Gesellschaften, es gab auch Lehrstühle für Ungarisch und Finnisch, es sollte jedoch in Ungarn bis zum Jahre 1872, in Finnland bis 1892 dauern, bis Lehrstühle für Finnougristik an den Universitäten eingerichtet wurden.

Neben Hans Conon von der Gabelentz<sup>10</sup> wären von den Forschern, die sich auch mit der einen oder anderen finnougrischen Sprache in komparativer Fragestellung befaßt haben, vor allem Wilhelm Schott (1802–1889), Anton Boller (1811–1869), August Leskien (1840–1916), Franz Misteli (1841–1903), Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927) und Franz Nikolaus Finck (1868–1910) zu nennen.

8. Indes, alle Forschungsarbeiten in Deutschland, die man der Finnougristik zurechnen könnte, verfolgten in erster Linie akademische Ambitionen. Waren in Ungarn, Finnland und Estland bis weit ins 19. Jahrhundert hinein die jeweiligen Amtssprachen nicht-finnougrisch, so ist es nicht weiter verwunderlich, daß auch in Deutschland den Idiomen der finnougrischen Bevölkerung kein allgemeineres Interesse entgegengebracht wurde.

Wie die Angaben in Emil Nestor Setäläs Aufsatz „Die finnisch-ugrischen Studien als Universitätsfach“ aus dem Jahre 1901 belegen<sup>11</sup>, hat es vereinzelt in Berlin, Leipzig und in Wien im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts auch Lehrveranstaltungen zum Ungarischen, Finnischen oder gar den finnougrischen Sprachen gegeben; eine Kontinuität läßt sich jedoch nicht nachweisen. Einige Momente möchte ich kurz erwähnen: Peter Feddersen Stuhr (1787–1851) hielt im Sommersemester 1847 in Berlin einen Kursus ab „über das Kalevala und die finnische Mythologie“, Wilhelm Schott hat im Wintersemester 1846/47 in Berlin Vorlesungen gehalten „de linguis quae dicuntur Fennicae“ und zu ähnlichen Themen im Laufe seiner Lehrtätigkeit bis 1882/83.

Für Österreich ist in Wien ab 1836/37 Unterricht in der ungarischen Sprache belegt durch Josef Márton, der im übrigen auch Privatlehrer von Wilhelm von Humboldt in dessen Wiener Jahren als preußischer Gesandter 1810–1813 gewesen war.

Anton Boller z. B. las im Wintersemester 1854/55 „über vergleichende Grammatik der finnischen Sprachen mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Magyarische“ und im Wintersemester 1855/56 „Formenlehre des Magyarischen in ihrem organischen Zusammenhange mit den finnischen Sprachen“.

Ein Kuriosum, das Setälä als solches hervorhebt, möchte auch ich nicht unerwähnt lassen: der Lehrer Johann Markovits hielt in Wien 1864–66 Kurse über „ungarische Stenographie“ ab.

9. Schließlich sei in diesem Zusammenhang kurz erwähnt, daß — wie natürlich

hinlänglich bekannt ist — der erste Professor für Finnougristik an der Universität Budapest der Deutsche Joseph Budenz war, der 1836 in Rasdorf in Hessen geboren wurde, in Göttingen Indogermanistik studiert hatte und eigentlich durch einen Zufall auf die ungarische Sprache aufmerksam wurde und 1858 nach Pest gelangte. Hier verschrieb er sich dem Ungarischen und der Erforschung der verwandten Sprachen und magyarisierte sich, so daß er, der eine Reihe namhafter Schüler hatte, mit der Tradition brach, das sprachwissenschaftliche Schrifttum auf deutsch zu publizieren, und seine Hauptwerke in ungarischer Sprache verfaßte und herausgab.<sup>12</sup>

10. Seit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts gab es außerhalb Deutschlands rege Bestrebungen in der Aufklärung der Sprachverwandtschaftsverhältnisse des Ungarischen, die oft in schroffer Gegensätzlichkeit ausgetragen wurden, wenn man nur an die Dispute zwischen Budenz und Vámbéry denkt. Die Forscher in Deutschland, um die Aufklärung der indogermanischen Fragen bemüht und eher an der klassischen Orientalistik interessiert, nahmen hier nur bescheidenen Anteil an der Forschung. So scheint ja auch die bessere Materiallage, über die ungarische, finnische und estnische, zum Teil auch baltendeutsche Forscher in Reval/Tallinn, Dorpat/Tartu und St. Petersburg verfügten, u. a. ein Grund dafür gewesen zu sein, daß z. B. Hans Conon von der Gabelentz seine finnougristischen Arbeiten nicht fortsetzte, als in Helsinki und anderswo Arbeiten erschienen, die auf soliderem Material fußen konnten, als es von der Gabelentz zur Verfügung gestanden hatte. So ist auch neben vereinzeltten Arbeiten der oben schon erwähnten deutschen und österreichischen Forscher bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs kaum von einer Finnougristik in Deutschland zu sprechen. Forscher, die später auf diesem Gebiet tätig werden sollten wie z. B. Ernst Lewy (1881–1966) oder Hermann Jacobsohn (1879–1933), waren ihrer Ausbildung nach Indogermanisten, die sich später, durch den Reiz dieser angezogen oder aus anderen Umständen, ihnen zuwandten. Im Jahre 1883 wurde in Helsinki die Suomalais-ugrilainen Seura, die Finnisch-Ugrische Gesellschaft gegründet, deren Centenarium wir Anfang Dezember vorigen Jahres in Helsinki feierlich begehen konnten. In den ersten Bänden des Journals dieser Gesellschaft hat ihr Gründer, Otto Donner, für die Jahre 1883–1888 jeweils Bericht erstattet über die Fortschritte der finnisch-ugrischen Studien;<sup>13</sup> diese Dokumentation wurde erst zwölf Jahre später in den von Emil Setälä begründeten Finnisch-Ugrischen Forschungen wieder aufgenommen und bis zum Jahre 1914 fortgeführt.<sup>14</sup> In all diesen Jahren ist von Lehrveranstaltungen außer einigen sporadischen Sprachkursen und sonstigen Forschungsarbeiten im Rahmen der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft zur Finnougristik in Deutschland kaum etwas Nennenswertes zu vermelden.

11. An den finnougrischen Feldforschungen, an der Einbringung von Sprachmaterialien waren deutsche Forscher nur in geringerem Maße beteiligt gewesen; zum einen in der Vorphase in der ersten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, zum anderen im Baltikum. Eine Ausnahme macht hier in neuerer Zeit Robert Pelissier (geboren 1886 in Idstein);

er hatte ab 1906 Indogermanistik mit späterem Schwerpunkt des Russischen und im Rahmen der allgemeinen und vergleichenden Sprachwissenschaft auch etwas Finnougristik in Berlin studiert, zu seinen Lehrern gehörten u. a. Wilhelm Schulze und Ernst Lewy. Unmittelbar nach seiner Promotion (mit einer Dissertation aus dem Bereich der klassischen Philologie) hatte Pelissier eine Forschungsreise nach dem russischen Osten unternommen. Von dieser ersten über ein Jahr währenden Reise hatte er reichlich Material mitgebracht, außerdem hat er ausführlich in Briefen (die im wesentlichen später auch publiziert worden sind) an seine Eltern von dieser Reise berichtet. Schon bald nach seiner Rückkehr hatte Pelissier sich auf eine zweite Forschungsreise in dieselben Gegenden vorbereitet; doch der Ausbruch des Krieges vereitelte sein Vorhaben: bereits am 13. September 1914 ist Robert Pelissier gefallen. Nach seinem Tode haben sich Pelissiers Kollegen und Lehrer seines Nachlasses angenommen und diesen publiziert.

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12. Es mutet eigenartig an, daß gerade im Ersten Weltkrieg die Fundamente für die Etablierung der Finnougristik als Wissenschaft in Deutschland geschaffen worden sind; hierbei sind zwei unterschiedliche Bestrebungen, die letztlich doch zeitweise zusammengeflossen sind, hervorzuheben. Die eine, auf die ich zunächst kurz eingehen möchte,<sup>15</sup> ist allgemeinerer Art und weithin unbekannt, die zweite wird uns etwas länger in Anspruch nehmen.

13. Wilhelm Doegen, der u. a. bereits am 27. Februar 1914 einen Antrag an das Preußische Kultusministerium gerichtet hatte, um ein „Lautmuseum“ zu schaffen, das „wissenschaftlichen, unterrichtlichen, volkskundlichen, ja völkerverbindenden Zwecken dienen sollte“, kam „kurze Zeit nach Ausbruch des Weltkrieges... der Gedanke, den unfreiwilligen Aufenthalt der in Deutschland untergebrachten Kriegsgefangenen für lautliche Sprachaufnahmen zu benutzen. ... Ende 1915 wurde eine gelehrte Lautkommission, die Kgl. Preußische Phonographische Kommission, vom Kultusministerium eingesetzt, um die Sprachen, die Musik und die Laute aller in deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern weilenden Völkerstämme nach methodischen Grundsätzen systematisch auf Lautplatten in Verbindung mit den dazugehörigen Texten festzulegen“. Zu den einzelnen Gruppen wurden Mitarbeiter herangezogen, in einer Gruppe waren u. a. Wilhelm Schulze, Hermann Jacobsohn und Ernst Lewy tätig. Die Gesamtzahl der in deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern gemachten Lautaufnahmen beträgt 1651. Etwa 215 Sprachen und Mundarten, die sich über die ganze Erde erstrecken, wurden aufgenommen.

In diesen Lagern — Jacobsohn hat zum Beispiel während seiner dreijährigen Tätigkeit zwölf besucht — befanden sich unter den „Russen“ auch Angehörige anderer Völker, darunter vornehmlich Finnougrier, die in einer auf den Forschungen



der Mitarbeiter dieser Gruppen basierenden „Völkerkunde“ in der Einleitung so geschildert werden:

... prächtige Esten offenen Charakters und mittelgroße, ehrenwerte Finnen aus dem nördlichen Ingermanland und Karelien; weiter gewissenhafte Mordwinen, sowohl Mokscha wie Erza; orthodoxe und heidnische Tscheremissen; schwerfällige syrjänische Bauern, vereinzelt stämmige Permjakten aus den unermeßlichen Urwäldern des Gouvernements Perm; mittelgroße, verschlossene Wotjaken mit spärlichem Bartwuchs, stumpfe ostjakische Fischer aus Sibirien.

Derartige Forschungen wurden nicht nur in deutschen Kriegsgefangenenlagern durchgeführt, ähnliche Unternehmungen gab es mit reicher Ausbeute auch in Ungarn und in Österreich. Von deutschen Forschern hat Ernst Lewy vornehmlich volgafinnische Texte und Grammatik gesammelt und publiziert, während Jacobsohn das Material in erster Linie in seiner 1922 erschienenen Monographie „Arier und Ugrofinnen“ und einigen kleineren Beiträgen verwendet hat. Eine Nachwirkung ist insofern zu verzeichnen, als Jacobsohn nach Rückkehr aus dem Kriegsdienst im November 1918 beim Indogermanischen Seminar in Marburg eine Abteilung für slawische und finnisch-ugrische Sprachen einrichten konnte.

14. Die zweite Bestrebung war ganz anderer Art und hatte eine überaus nachhaltige Wirkung:

„Nach verschiedenen Anregungen aus Berliner Universitätskreisen wurde am 14. März 1916 im Preußischen Abgeordnetenhaus der Antrag gestellt, die ‚Staatsregierung zu ersuchen, an der Universität Berlin baldigst einen Lehrstuhl für ungarische Sprache und Geschichte einzurichten‘. Dieser Antrag, von vielen bekannten Persönlichkeiten aus den führenden Kreisen Deutschlands unterstützt, wurde günstig aufgenommen. Am 15. August 1916 erfolgte die offizielle Berufung des Prof. Dr. Robert Gragger aus Budapest an die Universität Berlin. Damit war der erste Lehrstuhl für ungarische Sprache und Literaturgeschichte in Deutschland gegründet.

Im November 1916 wurde dem Lehrstuhl ein Seminar für ungarische Sprache und Literatur angegliedert.“<sup>16</sup>

Im Dezember 1917 wurde das Ungarische Seminar erweitert zu einem „Ungarischen Institut an der Universität Berlin“ mit entsprechend vergrößertem Programm: zu dem ursprünglichen Arbeitsfeld — Sprache und Literatur — kamen im Sinne der Denkschrift des preußischen Kultusministeriums über die Auslandsstudien noch hinzu: Geschichte, Länder- und Völkerkunde, Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft, Volkswirtschaft, Kunst. . . . Im Frühjahr 1922 wurden im Rahmen des Instituts ein Finnisches Lektorat errichtet und der Bibliothek eine finnische Abteilung angegliedert; kurze Zeit später wurden zusätzlich eine estnische und eine ural-altaische Abteilung angegliedert. Ab 1921 hatte Robert Gragger auch gelegentlich Lehrveranstaltungen mit finnougri-schen Bezügen abgehalten, ab 1923 fanden neben Finnisch- und Estnisch-Kursen nicht nur Übungen zum Mordwinischen und Čeremissischen und

anderen kleineren finnougriichen Sprachen von Ernst Lewy statt, sondern auch altaistische Lehrveranstaltungen von Willy Bang-Kaup.

Das Schwergewicht lag aber eindeutig entsprechend den intentionen der Gründung und seines ersten Direktors auf dem Gebiet der Hungarologie; unterstützt wurde die Arbeit des Instituts durch die „Gesellschaft der Freunde des Ungarischen Instituts e. V. Berlin“, die im November 1917 unter dem Ehrenvorsitz des preußischen Kultusministers Dr. F. Schmidt-Ott, des ungarischen Kultusministers Dr. Graf Albert Apponyi und des österreichisch-ungarischen Botschafters Prinz zu Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst gegründet worden war. Diese Gesellschaft stieß in breiten Kreisen nichtamtlicher Art auf Wohlwollen und Förderung. Es seien einige Abschnitte aus der Satzung zitiert:

„Die Gesellschaft der Freunde des Ungarischen Instituts zu Berlin“ verfolgt den Zweck, durch Förderung des Ungarischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin die kulturellen Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und Ungarn zu pflegen. Eine Betätigung auf politischem, privatwirtschaftlichem oder religiösem Gebiet ist ausgeschlossen.

Die Gesellschaft soll die wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten des Ungarischen Instituts auf folgenden Gebieten fördern:

1. Sprachwissenschaft und Literatur,
2. Geschichte,
3. Länder- und Völkerkunde,
4. Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft,
5. Volkswirtschaft,
6. Kunst.

Es war von vornherein beabsichtigt, ein entsprechendes Publikationsorgan zu schaffen. Ab 1921 sind die „Ungarischen Jahrbücher“ jährlich mit einem stattlichen Band erschienen, zunächst herausgegeben von Robert Gragger, nach dessen frühem Tode ab Band 8 (1928) durch Julius v. Farkas. Die Gesellschaft führte eine rege Tätigkeit durch; in Verbindung mit dem Ungarischen Institut wurde nicht nur die Zeitschrift, sondern auch die Ungarische Bibliothek mit verschiedenen Abteilungen herausgegeben.

Die Arbeit der Gesellschaft wurde finanziell wie auch ideell von Deutschland und Ungarn unterstützt, so kam es zur Gründung eines Collegium Hungaricum in Berlin, an dem Stipendiaten aus Ungarn, die an Berliner Hochschulen studierten, eine Wohnung und darüber hinaus ein geistiges Zentrum fanden. Es war sicherlich günstig, daß der preußische Kultusminister Heinrich Becker von Haus aus Orientalist war, der nicht nur im Präsidium der Gesellschaft mitwirkte, sondern beispielsweise auch die Totenrede auf den so früh verstorbenen Robert Gragger (1887–1926) in der Berliner Universität gehalten hat.<sup>17</sup> Entsprechend der Zielsetzung der Gesellschaft brachten die Ungarischen Jahrbücher Beiträge zu den genannten Bereichen, erst im Laufe der dreißiger Jahre kam es mehr und mehr zu einer Bevorzugung philologischer Themen.

Nachfolger als Professor für Ungarische Sprach- und Literaturwissenschaft und als Direktor des Ungarischen Instituts wurde 1928 Julius v. Farkas, der schon vorher als Lektor für Ungarisch an diesem Institut tätig gewesen war. Eine Reihe von Kollegen erweiterte den Lehr- und Forschungsbetrieb, der allmählich, vor allem durch die Tätigkeit von Ernst Lewy, in die Finnougristik einmündete, dabei jedoch die Hungarologie keineswegs vernachlässigte. Daneben waren auch zahlreiche ausländische Gelehrte, vornehmlich aus Ungarn, aber auch aus Finnland, zeitweise als Gastprofessor oder Lektor an dem Institut tätig.

Das Institut erlebte eine Blütezeit, wovon die jährlich in den Ungarischen Jahrbüchern abgedruckten Berichte (sowohl über das Institut mit Details über die Lehrveranstaltungen, Publikationen, Forschungsaktivitäten, Bibliothekserweiterung etc. als auch über die Gesellschaft) Zeugnis ablegen. Und eindrucksvoll wird die Feier aus Anlaß des 20-jährigen Jubiläums im Jahre 1937 geschildert. Aber zu jener Zeit lagen schon Schatten über dem Institut und der deutschen Finnougristik: Angehörige des Instituts wie Ernst Lewy oder Absolventen wie Wolfgang Steinitz waren emigriert, was — ähnlich wie der schon 1933 erfolgte Freitod von Hermann Jacobsohn — zu einer schweren Einbuße der deutschen Finnougristik führte.

Die „Gesellschaft der Freunde des Ungarischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin“ wurde am 23. Mai 1941 aufgelöst bzw. in die im April 1940 gegründete Deutsch-Ungarische Gesellschaft überführt. Diese neue Gesellschaft verfügte über Zweigstellen in Wien, München und Stuttgart. Berichte über die Tätigkeit wurden ebenfalls in den Ungarischen Jahrbüchern abgedruckt, der letzte in Band 23 (1943).

Zum Abschluß sei der Hinweis angebracht, daß es sehr gut in den interdisziplinären Rahmen der Ungarischen Jahrbücher paßte, daß im ersten Band ein Nachruf auf den am 8. April 1919 verstorbenen Physiker Roland v. Eötvös veröffentlicht wurde, der ja der Namensgeber dieser Universität ist.<sup>18</sup>

Meine knappen Ausführungen über das Ungarische Institut in Berlin, über das berufene Zeitzeugen Auskunft geben können — es sei auch nachdrücklich auf den umfangreichen Aufsatz von Béla Szent-Iványi „Finnisch-ugrische Sprachwissenschaft und Ungarnkunde an der Berliner Universität“ (1959/60) hingewiesen<sup>19</sup>—sollen ergänzt werden durch Hinweise auf einige andere Institute mit finnougristischer Ausrichtung in Deutschland.

15. In München wurde im November 1929 ein ungarisches Lektorat gleichzeitig mit der Gründung eines Ungarischen Instituts eingerichtet, daneben wurde auch finnischer Sprachunterricht erteilt.<sup>20</sup> An der Universität Leipzig wurde 1935 ein ungarisches Lektorat begründet, das 1941 in ein „Institut für ungarische Sprache“ umgewandelt wurde, das in gewisser Verbindung mit dem Indogermanischen Institut stand.<sup>21</sup>

16. 1920 wurde das Nordische Institut der Universität Greifswald in die Regionalabteilungen Schweden, Norwegen, Dänemark, Island und Finnland gegliedert, und

somit wurde in Greifswald auch eine „Abteilung Finnland“ geschaffen. Grund hierfür waren die frühen wissenschaftlichen Verbindungen zu Finnland gewesen, in der Folgezeit führte es zu einer Umwidmung in „Institut für Finnlandkunde“. Hier wurden ab 1921 finnische Sprachkurse durchgeführt, Rückgrat der Arbeit war aber die rasch anwachsende Institutsbibliothek, die sich zur größten Fennica-Sammlung außerhalb Finnlands entwickelte. Das Institut wurde 1945 geschlossen; heute besteht in Greifswald ein Nordisches Institut, an dem die Arbeit in gewissem Rahmen fortgeführt wird. Eine andere Nachfolgeinstitution, begründet durch Fritz Keese, findet sich in dem zunächst privaten Finnland-Institut, das später von der Universität Köln als Abteilung des Nordischen Instituts übernommen wurde.<sup>22</sup>

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17. Für die letzte Epoche, d.h. vom Ende des Zweiten Weltkrieges bis zur Gegenwart, möchte ich zunächst kurz auf die Neugründungen finnougriester Lehr- und Forschungsstätten eingehen, die zur Institutionalisierung geführt haben. Dies geschieht in chronologischer Anordnung, die zugleich mit der alphabetischen Reihenfolge übereinstimmt. Aus verständlichen Gründen gehe ich auf die hierbei zu erwähnenden lebenden Wissenschaftler nicht näher ein.

Aus der Retrospektive ist es erstaunlich, wie relativ rasch die Finnougristik in Deutschland sich nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg wieder entwickeln konnte, allerdings unter gänzlich anderen Umständen als zwischen den Kriegen.

18. Das Ungarische Institut in Berlin, das den Krieg überstanden hatte, wurde bei Rückkehr von Wolfgang Steinitz aus der Emigration 1946 in ein „Finnisch-Ugrisches Institut“ an der Humboldt-Universität umgewidmet, nunmehr auch mit anderer Zielsetzung, einer Verschiebung der Forschungs- und Lehrtätigkeiten auf den Bereich der Philologie und Volkskunde. Es war naheliegend, daß sich in Berlin unter der Leitung von Steinitz ein Zentrum zur Erforschung des Ostjakischen bilden sollte, aus dem eine Reihe von diesbezüglichen Spezialisten hervorgegangen sind. Die hervorragende Rolle, die Steinitz im gesellschafts- und wissenschaftspolitischen Bereich in der DDR einnahm, verschaffte ihm auch die Möglichkeiten, der Finnougristik eine vornehmliche Förderung angedeihen zu lassen, unterstützt auch durch seine internationalen Beziehungen in der finnougriester Fachwelt, wovon letztlich auch eine große Zahl von Ehrungen Zeugnis ablegt, die ihm zuteil geworden sind. Aus finnougriester Sicht ist zu bedauern, daß er seine Hauptarbeit nicht mehr der Finnougristik widmen konnte, sondern diese mehr auf die Gebiete partei- und gesellschaftspolitischer Tätigkeit mit großem Engagement verlagerte, andererseits aber auch beispielsweise für die Einführung strukturalistischer Arbeitsweisen im Bereich der Germanistik, Volkskunde und anderer Bereiche die Fundamente legte. Im Bereich der Finnougristik, vornehmlich der Obugriester, hat er seine Forschungen infolge seines frühen Todes 1967 nicht abschließen können; sein hinterlassenes Erbe hat im Zusammenhang mit der Interpretation und dem Versuch der Aufklärung

obugrischer Lautverhältnisse zu heftigen Kontroversen geführt, die auch schon zu seinen Lebzeiten ausgetragen, jetzt in einer Form fortgeführt werden, die zu bedauerlichen Konfrontationen geführt hat, in die eine Reihe von deutschen und ungarischen Finnougristen verstrickt sind.

Umfunktioniert zu einem Finnisch-Ugrischen Institut und damit in gewisser Weise die schon im Ungarischen Institut in der Zwischenkriegszeit aufgenommenen Tendenzen fortführend, war das Berliner Institut das erste dieser Art auf deutschem Boden. Unterstützt von seinen Mitarbeitern konnte Steinitz die Lehre in den Bereichen der allgemeinen Finnougristik, Obugristik sowie mit einem weiteren Schwerpunkt Hungarologie und finnischen Sprachkursen durchführen. Da über diese Entwicklung relativ ausführliche Berichte existieren, zum einen durch die umfängliche Schilderung von Béla Szent-Iványi,<sup>23</sup> zum anderen in den Würdigungen von Steinitz gute Dokumentationen vorliegen, spare ich hier weitere Ausführungen aus. Nach dem Tode von Steinitz wurde der Versuch unternommen, die Finnougristik fortzuführen; da jedoch keiner seiner Schüler die Nachfolge antreten konnte, kam es zu einer Verwaisung, Spezialisierung oder Einschränkung auf Hungarologie, die sich inzwischen weitgehend auf die Ausbildung von Sprachmittlern konzentriert, wobei Berlin in dieser Hinsicht das Zentrum für die DDR bildet.<sup>24</sup>

Die Ausbildung zum Sprachmittler für Finnisch findet, in gewisser Fortführung älterer Traditionen, in Greifswald statt. Die ostjakologische Forschung, dokumentiert in erster Linie durch die Fortführung des umfänglichen Ostjakischen Wörterbuchs, von dem zu Lebzeiten Steinitz' noch drei Lieferungen erscheinen konnten, wird unter der Leitung seines Schülers Gert Sauer jetzt in einer Arbeitsstelle an der Akademie der Wissenschaften der DDR fortgesetzt. Daß dieses Unternehmen fortgeführt werden kann, ist sicherlich zu einem gewissen Grade dem nachhaltenden Einfluß von Wolfgang Steinitz zu verdanken, der u. a. von 1954 bis 1963 Vizepräsident der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften gewesen war.<sup>25</sup>

Eine Finnougristik im umfassenden Sinne gibt es zur Zeit in der DDR nicht mehr, und auch die hungarologischen Bestrebungen dienen in erster Linie praktischen Zielen.<sup>26</sup>

19. Durch Julius v. Farkas, der bis zum Kriegsende Direktor des Ungarischen Instituts in Berlin gewesen war, wurde eine Tradition der deutschen Finnougristik fortgeführt, zwar nicht an der alten Wirkungsstätte, sondern nur durch seine Person. Er war zunächst in München als Professor mit einem Lehrauftrag tätig; gleichzeitig gab es in Göttingen und München Bestrebungen, ihn als Ordinarius zu gewinnen, was die Neueinrichtung eines Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars zur Folge haben sollte. Seitens der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität München war der Antrag auf Einrichtung einer Professur Ende 1946 glatt genehmigt worden, die zuständigen Stellen der Hochschulverwaltung zögerten jedoch, und als aufgrund eines inzwischen (Ende Dezember 1946) ergangenen Rufes an Julius v. Farkas an die Universität Göttingen

mit der Verleihung der Lehrbefugnis für finnisch-ugrische Sprachen, insbesondere Ungarisch, dennoch in München versucht wurde, ihn zu halten, scheiterte dieses Vorhaben letztlich an der ablehnenden Haltung des Bayerischen Staatsministeriums der Finanzen, wie Julius v. Farkas in einem Brief vom 10. Mai 1947 mitgeteilt wurde.<sup>27</sup> Es sollte nahezu zwanzig Jahre dauern, bis auch in München Finnougristik institutionalisiert wurde.

Unter Julius v. Farkas kam es in Göttingen zur Gründung eines Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars zum Wintersemester 1947/48, und anknüpfend an die älteren Traditionen, die die Georgia Augusta im Hinblick auf finnougristische Interessen in der Vorphase aufweisen konnte, fand er hier ein reiches Betätigungsfeld, und gerade die Arbeiten der frühen fünfziger Jahre zeigen ein deutliches Interesse von Julius v. Farkas an der Aufarbeitung von Materialien zur frühen Finnougristik; hier sei nur an seine Arbeiten über Gyarmathi und Schlözer erinnert.

Aus bescheidenen Anfängen konnte er zusammen mit seinen Mitarbeitern ein international renommiertes Institut als Lehr- und Forschungsstätte schaffen, wobei zwar immer noch das Schwergewicht auf der Hungarologie lag, aber zugleich die Finnougristik immer stärker ausgebaut wurde. Die einzelnen Phasen der Entwicklung sind vor allem durch die verschiedenen Berichte von Marie-Elisabeth Schmeidler, einer Schülerin von Julius v. Farkas noch aus der Berliner Zeit, die von Anfang an in Göttingen als Lektorin für Finnisch dabei war, belegt.<sup>28</sup> Neben seinem Wirken für die Finnougristik in Göttingen im engeren Sinne ist aber im Schaffen von Julius v. Farkas sein organisatorischer Einsatz für die Disziplin im nationalen und internationalen Rahmen hervorzuheben: bereits im Jahre 1950 richtete er ein Memorandum an die Universität Hamburg, man möge auch dort eine Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für Finnougristik einrichten. Ich komme darauf später noch zurück.

Und um dem Fach in der schweren Nachkriegszeit auch ein wissenschaftliches Forum zu verschaffen, unternahm er alle Anstrengungen, um die Zeitschrift „Ungarische Jahrbücher“, die er bis zum Jahrgang 23 (1943) von Berlin aus herausgegeben hatte, wieder zu beleben. Es kam zu erfolgreichen Verhandlungen mit dem Verlag Harrasowitz in Wiesbaden, der in der Folgezeit zu einem der führenden Verlage auf dem Gebiet der Finnougristik werden sollte, es gelang des weiteren, Druckkostenbeihilfe von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft zu erhalten, und ab 1952 konnte die Zeitschrift fortgesetzt werden unter Fortführung der Bandzählung, aber nunmehr mit dem neuen umfassenderen Titel „Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher“, so daß damit auch der sonst der Orientalistik zugerechneten Disziplin Altaistik (also Turkologie, Tungusologie und Mongolistik) neben der Uralistik ein Publikationsorgan zur Verfügung stand.<sup>29</sup> Um die Zeitschrift einerseits in gewisser Weise zu institutionalisieren und andererseits auch unabhängig von den Universitäten zu machen, gleichzeitig aber auch eine Art Interessengemeinschaft zu bilden, wurde auf seinen Vorschlag im Jahre 1952 im Rahmen des Deutschen Orientalistentages in Bonn die Societas Uralo-Altica mit folgender Zielsetzung gegründet:

Zweck der Gesellschaft ist

1. Organisation der Studien auf dem Gebiet der Uralischen (finnisch-ugrischen und samojedischen) und Altaischen (türkischen, tungusischen, mongolischen, koreanischen) Philologie,
2. Förderung der Zusammenarbeit aller Gelehrten aus dem Fachgebiet der Uralischen und Altaischen Philologie im Geiste gegenseitiger Hilfsbereitschaft.<sup>30</sup>

Diese Gesellschaft war von Anfang an international ausgerichtet, und vergleicht man Satzung und Zielsetzung, so ist unverkennbar, daß Julius v. Farkas auch hier an eine Fortsetzung der in den zwanziger und dreißiger Jahren so hilfreichen „Gesellschaft der Freunde des Ungarischen Instituts Berlin“ dachte. Die Organisation und die Leitung der Societas Uralo-Altaica und die Herausgabe der Zeitschrift wurden von Julius v. Farkas bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1958 wahrgenommen.

Zwischen dem Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminar in Göttingen einerseits und der Redaktion der „Ural-Altäischen Jahrbücher“ und der Societas Uralo-Altaica andererseits war es zu einer äußerst fruchtbaren Symbiose gekommen. Nach einer Vakanz von zwei Jahren — der Lehrbetrieb wurde zeitweilig durch eine Gastprofessur des finnischen Gelehrten Aulis J. Joki fortgeführt — wurde im Jahre 1960 Wolfgang Schlachter aus München nach Göttingen berufen. Seine Schwerpunkte waren anderer Art, und es ist naheliegend, daß gerade bei kleinen Fächern Lehre und Forschung, aber dadurch auch die Bibliothek durch den jeweiligen Fachvertreter geprägt werden. So kam es neben der allgemeinen Finnougristik zu einer besonderen Schwerpunktbildung auf dem Gebiet des Lappischen. Seit Mitte der sechziger Jahre wurde unter der Leitung von Wolfgang Schlachter an der Zusammenstellung einer Bibliographie der uralischen Sprachwissenschaft für den Zeitraum 1830–1970 gearbeitet. Hierfür bestanden in Göttingen gute Voraussetzungen, da die Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen das Fach Finnougristik als Sondersammelgebiet von der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft subventioniert bekommt.<sup>31</sup> Auch nach seiner Emeritierung im Jahre 1976 hat Wolfgang Schlachter<sup>32</sup> die Arbeit an der Bibliographie fortgesetzt, die vor wenigen Monaten mit dem Erscheinen des zehnten Faszikels abgeschlossen wurde. Seit 1974 ist in Göttingen der weitere István Futaky, zunächst als Dozent, ab 1980 als Professor für Finnougristik tätig. Auf den Lehrstuhl wurde 1977 János Gulya aus Budapest berufen.

Erwähnen möchte ich hier noch, daß István Futaky zusammen mit einigen studentischen Mitarbeitern an die Tradition von Julius v. Farkas anknüpfend den Versuch erfolgreich unternommen hat, unter dem Titel „Hungarica Gottingensia“ ein Verzeichnis der Ungarn betreffenden Archivbestände in Göttingen (1734–1945) zusammenzustellen und zu publizieren (1978).<sup>33</sup>

20. In Hamburg reichen die Bemühungen um die Begründung einer finnougristischen Lehr- und Forschungsstätte bis in den September 1950 zurück.<sup>34</sup> Damals übersandte Julius v. Farkas ein Memorandum über die Bedeutung der Finnougristik

nach Hamburg, das kurz darauf der Philosophischen Fakultät eingereicht wurde. In diesem Memorandum sind bereits Hinweise auf die Vielfältigkeit und zugleich auf eine interdisziplinäre Ausrichtung des Faches, wie sie heutigentags unter dem Terminus „Uralistik“ verstanden wird, enthalten. Zum Zeitpunkt des Memorandums gab es in Hamburg bereits bescheidene Anfänge finnougriischer Studien in Gestalt von Ungarisch-Kursen, die später durch Finnisch-Kurse ergänzt wurden. Im Jahre 1952 wandte sich Julius v. Farkas erneut an die Philosophische Fakultät und führte u. a. aus: „... halte ich die Schaffung eines Ordinariats für finnisch-ugrische Sprachen und Kultur an der Universität Hamburg für außerordentlich wichtig, nicht nur für Ihre Universität, sondern für die ganze deutsche Wissenschaft“. In diesem Jahre setzten auch die Bemühungen von Paul Johansen, damals Extraordinarius für hansische und osteuropäische Geschichte an der Universität Hamburg, um die Etablierung der Finnougristik ein. Am 6. Dezember 1952 schrieb er an den Dekan der Philosophischen Fakultät: „Der überraschende Erfolg, den die ... angekündigten finnischen Lektorenkurse gezeitigt haben, läßt den lange gehegten Plan der Gründung eines Seminars für finnisch-ugrische Sprachen und Finnlandkunde reale Gestalt gewinnen.“ Zugleich stellte er den Gründungsantrag mit ganz bescheidenen Wünschen hinsichtlich der Ausstattung. Die Philosophische Fakultät faßte einen entsprechenden Beschluß und bestellte bereits am 13. Dezember 1952 Paul Johansen zum Leiter des neuen Seminars.

In Befürchtung finanzieller Weiterungen stimmte die Hochschulabteilung jedoch nicht zu, und so kam es zunächst zu einer Zwischenlösung, indem eine Abteilung für Finnisch-Ugrische Sprachen und Finnlandkunde beim Orientalischen Seminar gebildet wurde.

In den folgenden Jahren ist eine relativ rege Tätigkeit dieser kleinen Abteilung zu verzeichnen; neben den Sprachkursen, die von Lektoren bzw. Lehrbeauftragten durchgeführt wurden, hielt Paul Johansen regelmäßig Kolloquien zu ausgewählten Themen ab, die sich eines regen Besuches erfreut haben. Beim Zustrom zahlreicher ungarischer Studenten 1956 und 1957 nach Hamburg wurde beschlossen, daß eine Art Betreuung von dieser Abteilung ausgehen sollte. Hinzu kam dann die Gastprofessur von Julius v. Farkas in Sommersemester 1957, die ihn im Anschluß zu einem neuerlichen Memorandum veranlaßte. Im Jahre 1958 wurde erneut ein Antrag auf Einrichtung eines Seminars gestellt, am 5. Juli 1958 wurde eine entsprechende Kommission gebildet, und es wurde in Aussicht genommen, eine zu schaffende Planstelle eines Oberassistenten mit Gyula Décsy, damals Lektor für Ungarisch in Göttingen, zu besetzen. Der plötzliche Tod von Julius v. Farkas am 12. Juli 1958 brachte erneut einen Einschnitt in die Entwicklung der deutschen Finnougristik. Der gerade von der Fakultät beschlossene Antrag wurde zurückgenommen, wohl weil ein Teil der Argumente hinfällig geworden war. Gleichwohl kam zum Sommersemester 1959 Gyula Décsy nach Hamburg, wo er sich habilitierte und bis zum Ende des Sommersemesters 1977 lehrte und wirkte.



Schließlich im September 1959 wurde auf Antrag von Paul Johansen die Abteilung in ein selbständiges „Finnisch-Ugrisches Seminar“ umgewandelt. Bis zu seinem frühen Tode im Jahre 1965 hat Johansen sich stetig für den Ausbau der Finnougristik eingesetzt, und der Stellenbestand konnte durch die Etatisierung von Lektorstellen für Finnisch und Ungarisch und die Schaffung einer Assistentur (planmäßig allerdings erst ab 1967) erweitert werden. Bis zur Universitätsreform 1969 war Hans Hartmann kommissarisch Direktor des Seminars, danach mit längeren Unterbrechungen bis 1977 Gyula Décsy.

Die Ernennung von Wolfgang Veenker zum Professor im Juni 1977 versetzte dieses Seminar für zwei Semesterwochen in ein Zwei-Professoren-Seminar; kurz darauf erfolgte der Fortgang von Gyula Décsy nach Bloomington.

Durch das Universitätsgesetz von 1969 trat eine Reform in der Universitätsstruktur ein, die sich auch auf das Finnisch-Ugrische Seminar auswirkte. Im Jahre 1976 war vom Fachbereich Sprachwissenschaften der neue Studienplan „Finnisch-Ugrische Philologie“ verabschiedet worden,<sup>35</sup> der den modernen Bedürfnissen Rechnung trägt und vor allem für die Nebenfachstudenten neue Perspektiven eröffnete, die von den Studenten dankbar aufgegriffen worden sind und werden. Trotz der noch immer bescheidenen Stellenausstattung kann gleichwohl durch die Gewinnung von Lehrbeauftragten besonders auf dem Gebiet der Hungarologie ein über Semestersequenzen hin breitgefächertes Lehrangebot gemacht werden. Die Zuweisung großzügiger Räumlichkeiten im Jahre 1981 hat es immer mehr ermöglicht, das Seminar zu einer Stätte internationalen Austausches werden zu lassen, umfangreiche Buchschenkungen von ungarischer und finnischer Seite haben zu einer Ausstattung der Bibliothek führen können, die im Urteil aller Besucher des In- und Auslandes gerühmt wird. Durch den Abschluß des Partnerschaftsabkommens zwischen den Universitäten Budapest und Hamburg haben sich die Kontakte zu den Forschungsstätten und Kollegen in Budapest in optimaler Weise ausbauen und festigen lassen.

21. Die Absicht, Julius v. Farkas im Jahre 1947 an die Universität München zu berufen und somit eine institutionalisierte Finnougristik zu schaffen, scheiterte am Bayerischen Finanzministerium, und v. Farkas, der bereits eine gewisse Lehrtätigkeit in München ausgeübt hatte, folgte zum Winter 1947 dem Ruf an die Universität Göttingen. In den fünfziger Jahren setzte die Lehrtätigkeit von Wolfgang Schlachter in München ein, der sich für das Fach Finnisch-Ugrische Philologie habilitiert hatte; Hans Fromm, der als Germanist mehrere Jahre in Turku Lektor für Deutsch gewesen war, habilitierte sich in München und bekam die *venia* sowohl für Germanistik als auch Finnougristik. Er war es, der sich immer wieder für Gastvorlesungen einsetzte, die vor allem von ungarischen Gelehrten gehalten wurden, und schließlich kam es im Jahre 1965 zur Gründung eines Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars;<sup>36</sup> auf den Lehrstuhl wurde Gerhard Ganschow berufen, der früher als Schüler von Steinitz in (Ost)Berlin tätig gewesen und von 1961 bis 1965 in Hamburg Assistent gewesen war. Bei seinem

Amtsantritt gab es bereits Lektorate für Ungarisch und Finnisch. Rein quantitativ ist heute München die Lehrstätte für Finnougristik mit dem umfangreichsten Lehrangebot, was auch durch die hohe Zahl an Lehrenden begünstigt wird. Schwerpunktmäßig wird entsprechend den Forschungsinteressen von Gerhard Ganschow in München auch in der Lehre Obugristik betrieben.

Neben dem Institut für Finnougristik an der Universität München gibt es ein Ungarisches Institut, das sich jedoch nur in geringerem Maße mit philologischen Fragestellungen befaßt und an dem keine Lehre durchgeführt wird.<sup>7</sup>

Ein moderner Studienplan liegt aus dem Jahre 1982 vor; die obugristische Ausrichtung wird auch dadurch dokumentiert, daß der Besuch obugristischer Lehrveranstaltungen zu den Pflichtveranstaltungen gehört, denen sich der Student unterziehen muß.<sup>37</sup>

22. In zeitlicher Abfolge die letzte Gründung eines Instituts für Finnougristik im deutschsprachigen Raum erfolgte in Wien; die geographische Nachbarschaft und die historische Verknüpfung mit Ungarn legten die Schaffung eines Instituts mit hungarologischer Schwerpunktbildung nahe. Der eigentlichen Gründung gingen Gastprofessoren vornehmlich ungarischer Gelehrter über mehrere Jahre voran. Im Jahre 1974 wurde Károly Rédei aus Budapest nach Wien berufen, der seitdem dieses Institut mit den ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Mitteln und auch mit ungarischer Unterstützung zu einer leistungsfähigen Lehr- und Forschungsstätte ausgebaut hat, die neben der allgemeinen Uralistik und ungarischen Sprachwissenschaft vor allem auch im Bereich der ungarischen Literaturwissenschaft in der Lehre eine markant herausragende Rolle im deutschen Sprachraum einnimmt. Über die Arbeiten dieses Instituts sind in den vergangenen Jahren gleichfalls diverse zum Teil sehr detaillierte Berichte vorgelegt worden, auf die ich in diesem Rahmen nicht weiter eingehen möchte.<sup>38</sup> Erwähnt sei noch, daß im Juli 1983 der sehr informative Studienplan für die Studienrichtung Finno-Ugristik an der Geisteswissenschaftlichen Fakultät der Universität Wien ausgegeben wurde.<sup>39</sup>

23. Es hat nicht an Versuchen gefehlt, eine Koordinierung zwischen den einzelnen Instituten im Hinblick auf die Ausgestaltung des Faches zu erzielen. Zu nennen sind hier die Finnisch-ugrische Arbeitstagung in Göttingen im Jahre 1963<sup>40</sup> und weitere Zusammenkünfte der Professoren für Finnougristik in den Jahren 1977 und 1978 in Göttingen. Jedoch lassen die unterschiedlichen Rahmenbedingungen bei sehr individuell ausgerichteten Forschungsinteressen, die ihre Widerspiegelung auch im Lehrangebot finden, eine Vereinheitlichung kaum zu. Die divergierenden Lehrdeputate sowohl im Bereich der Lektoren als auch der Professoren an den einzelnen Universitäten führen schon quantitativ zu beträchtlichen Unterschiedlichkeiten; hinzu kommen die abweichenden Prüfungsordnungen. Hilfreich bis zu einem gewissen Maße ist die Societas Uralo-Altaica, der alle Finnougristen der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Österreichs als Mitglieder angehören. Als Geschäftsführender

Präsident stand Julius v. Farkas als Finnougrist dieser Gesellschaft von 1952 bis 1958 vor; danach waren die Altaisten Omeljan Pritsak, Annemarie v. Gabain und Gerhard Doerfer die Vorsitzenden; mit der Wahl von Wolfgang Veenker im Jahre 1979 wurde wieder ein Uralist mit diesem Amt betraut.

In den frühen siebziger Jahren wurde vom Hochschulverband eine Bestandsaufnahme über die sog. „Kleinen Fächer“ in der Bundesrepublik durchgeführt, der Finnougristik ist dabei ein entsprechender Abschnitt gewidmet.<sup>41</sup> Einige Punkte, die auf detaillierter Kenntnis des konsultierten Berichterstatters beruhen, haben heute noch ihre Gültigkeit, ansonsten sind die Aussagen, die sich zum Teil nur auf Vermutungen stützen, nicht ganz zutreffend bzw. heutzutage überholt, weil sich inzwischen teilweise beträchtliche Veränderungen vollzogen haben. Dies betrifft neben den Forschungsschwerpunkten auch die für die Ausgestaltung der Lehre veränderte Situation der Studentenzahlen sowie die Einführung neuer Studienpläne.

24. Als Bilanz kann folgendes festgestellt werden: im deutschsprachigen Raum gibt es heutzutage vier Finnisch-Ugrische Institute an den Universitäten, die ein breites Lehrangebot vorlegen und an denen ein akademischer Abschluß im Haupt- oder Nebenfach möglich ist. In gewisser Weise kann man für die DDR Berlin und Greifswald, für die Bundesrepublik Köln, Bonn und Münster noch gesondert hervorheben, wo neben dem Angebot an Finnisch- und Ungarisch-Kursen zusätzlich — zumindest zeitweise — Vorlesungen oder Seminare abgehalten werden, die zur Finnougristik im eigentlichen Sinne gerechnet werden können. Studienabschlüsse in Finnougristik gibt es aber in Köln, Bonn und Münster nicht, in (Ost)Berlin und Greifswald steht die Ausbildung zum Sprachmittler im Vordergrund.<sup>42</sup> Daneben gibt es an einer ganzen Reihe von Universitäten in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland ein zum Teil sehr breitgefächertes Angebot an Sprachkursen in Finnisch und/oder Ungarisch, und zwar in (West)Berlin, Bochum, Freiburg, Gießen, Kiel und Marburg.

Im Zusammenhang mit der Herausgabe der neuen Zeitschrift „Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen“ wird die Berichterstattung und Dokumentation über finnisch-ugrische Lehrveranstaltungen seit Sommersemester 1977 wieder aufgenommen, beschränkt allerdings auf die Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Österreich.<sup>43</sup> Mit dem Risiko einer geringen Fehlerquote wird hier doch eine repräsentative Erhebung geboten, die den Umfang der entsprechenden Tätigkeit erkennen läßt.

Nach den mir zur Verfügung stehenden Unterlagen<sup>44</sup> wurden im Zeitraum der letzten zehn Semester, also vom Sommersemester (SS) 1979 bis zum Wintersemester (WS) 1983/84, an *allen* Universitäten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Österreichs Lehrveranstaltungen von insgesamt 2700 Semesterwochenstunden angeboten, das bedeutet ein durchschnittliches Lehrangebot von 270 Semesterwochenstunden (SWS) pro Semester. Die Aufteilung nach fachlichen Kriterien ergibt folgendes Bild:

Ungarisch (= UNG)	37,4 %
Finnisch (= FIN)	42,2 %
Sonstiges (incl. allgemeiner Finnougristik)	20,4 %

Der hohe Prozentsatz der finnischen Lehrveranstaltungen ist durch eine Reihe von Lektoraten mit einem beträchtlichen Lehrdeputat (z. B. Bonn, Köln, Münster) zu erklären.

Eine Analyse des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an den vier Universitäten Göttingen, Hamburg, München und Wien führt zu folgendem Ergebnis:

Lehrangebot durchschnittlich pro Semester  
180 SWS bei 28 Lehrpersonen insgesamt,  
davon entfallen  
53% auf Vorlesungen und Seminare  
47% auf Sprachkurse

Eine Aufgliederung nach Fachgebieten insgesamt sieht so aus:

Uralistik/Finnougristik	11,6 %
Ungarisch	39,7 %
Finnisch	31,1 %
Estnisch	5,5 %
kleinere uralische Sprachen	10,8 %
übriges	0,4 %
Examenskolloquien	1,0 %

Diese Aufgliederung habe ich auch für die einzelnen Universitäten für einen Zeitraum von zehn Semestern ermittelt; hier nenne ich nur die jeweiligen Anteile des Ungarischen im gesamten Lehrangebot:

Göttingen	33,0 %
Hamburg	46,9 %
München	29,4 %
Wien	52,1 %

25. Regelmäßig — vor allem von Außenstehenden — wird die Frage nach der Zahl der Studenten gestellt; zuverlässige Zahlen habe ich nur für Hamburg. Diese beziehen sich auf die von mir im WS 1983/84 durchgeführte Erhebung:

Hauptfachstudenten	18
davon 2 Doktoranden mit Magister-Examen	
5 Doktoranden ohne vorheriges Examen	
1 Magister-Kandidat	
Nebenfachstudenten	21
Sonstige: Kursteilnehmer, Gasthörer	29
	<hr/>
	68

Im Wintersemester 1983/84 haben in Hamburg 6 Lehrpersonen 18 Lehrveranstaltungen mit 41 SWS durchgeführt, insgesamt haben sich 125 Hörer in die Teilnehmerlisten eingetragen.

Die Auswertung der offiziellen Belegstatistik für die Semester WS 1977/78 bis SS 1982 ergibt in Hamburg im Semesterdurchschnitt 18 Lehrveranstaltungen mit 39 SWS, die Zahl der Hörer betrug im Schnitt 126.

26. Neben der Lehrtätigkeit sei noch auf zwei weitere Bereiche eingegangen; seit Ende des Krieges ist eine ganze Reihe von wissenschaftlichen Konferenzen und Symposien durchgeführt worden, deren wichtigste hier kurz erwähnt seien:

- 1963 Finnisch-ugrische Arbeitstagung in Göttingen<sup>45</sup>
- 1965 Symposion über Volksepen der uralischen und altaischen Völker in Hamburg<sup>46</sup>
- 1968 Martinus Fogelius Hamburgensis-Gedächtnis-Symposion in Hamburg<sup>47</sup>
- 1969 Symposion über Syntax der uralischen Sprachen in Reinhausen bei Göttingen<sup>48</sup>
- 1974 Symposion „Phonologische Analyse der uralischen Sprachen“ in (Ost)Berlin<sup>49</sup>
- 1979 Symposion über „Sprache und Volk im 18. Jahrhundert“ in Reinhausen bei Göttingen<sup>50</sup>

Schließlich sei erinnert an die wissenschaftlichen Kolloquien der ungarischen Wirtschafts- und Kulturtagung 1982 in Hamburg.<sup>51</sup>

Geplant sind für dieses Jahr [1984]:

Dritte Tagung für uralische Phonologie im Juni in Eisenstadt/Österreich und das Symposion „Dialectologica Uralica“ im September in Hamburg.

Bei einigen der genannten Veranstaltungen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland war auch die Societas Uralo-Altaica als Veranstalter beteiligt; darüber hinaus sind die im dreijährlichen Turnus stattfindenden Mitgliederversammlungen zu nennen, die eben-

falls zu einem wissenschaftlichen Austausch führen und neben den internationalen Kongressen die Kontaktaufnahme vornehmlich auch unter der jüngeren Nachwuchswissenschaftlern erleichtern.

27. Die Forschungsleistungen, die von den Finnougristen erbracht werden, sind größtenteils in den jeweiligen Forschungsberichten der einzelnen Universitäten nachgewiesen. In den letzten Jahren hat sich eine umfangreiche Publikationstätigkeit ergeben; heute stehen den Wissenschaftlern zwei Zeitschriften und eine stattliche Anzahl von Serien zur Disposition.

Julius v. Farkas führte ab 1952 die „Ungarischen Jahrbücher“ aus Berlin bei Beibehaltung der Bandzählung als „Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher“ fort; nach seinem Tode haben verschiedene Herausgeber bzw. Herausgeberkollegien die Arbeit fortgesetzt, bis Band 48 (1976) ist diese Zeitschrift in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland redigiert und publiziert worden. Ab 1981 erscheinen die „Ural-Altäischen Jahrbücher“ mit dem Zusatz „Neue Folge“ mit jährlich einem Bände im Umfang von ca. 20 Bogen; der dritte Band ist im Druck. Der uralische Teil wird ab Band 4 von Hans-Hermann Bartens und János Gulya, der altaische Teil von Klaus Röhrborn und Klaus Sagaster betreut.

Ab 1977 erscheint eine neue Zeitschrift „Finnisch-Ugrische Mitteilungen“, deren siebter Band im Umfang von ca. 16 Bogen soeben erschienen ist. Für die Herausgabe sind István Futaky und Wolfgang Veenker verantwortlich.

Alle Institute verfügen über eigene Schriftenreihen; ich nenne sie in der Reihenfolge der Institute:

- Berlin:** Finnisch-Ugrische Studien herausgegeben von Wolfgang Steinitz.  
In den Jahren 1950–1967 sind fünf Bände erschienen.
- Göttingen:** Von Julius v. Farkas wurde als Fortsetzung der „Ungarischen Bibliothek“ zusammen mit Omeljan Pritsak die „Ural-Altäische Bibliothek“ gegründet, deren Herausgeber später Omeljan Pritsak und Wolfgang Schlachter waren.  
In den Jahren 1955–1969 sind 17 Bände erschienen. Die Reihe wird nicht fortgesetzt.  
Im Jahre 1983 ist der erste Band der neuen Serie „Opuscula Fenno-Ugrica Gottingensia, redigit János Gulya“ erschienen.
- Hamburg:** In der Reihe „Hamburger Uralistische Forschungen“, herausgegeben von Wolfgang Veenker, sind seit 1975 drei Bände erschienen.  
Seit 1969 werden die „Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica“, herausgegeben von Annemarie v. Gabain und Wolfgang Veenker, von Hamburg aus betreut. Es sind bislang 17 Bände erschienen.  
Zu erwähnen sind noch fünf Hefte der „Mitteilungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica“, die gleichfalls von Hamburg aus in den Jahren 1968–1973 publiziert worden sind.

- München: In der von Gerhard Ganschow herausgegebenen „Finnisch-Ugrischen Bibliothek“ sind seit 1975 vier Bände publiziert worden. Daneben erscheinen unter der allgemeinen Herausgeberschaft von Gerhard Ganschow die „Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminars an der Universität München“ in drei Serien, und zwar:  
Serie A: Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn; bislang 17 Bände,  
Serie B: Beiträge zur Erforschung der obugrischen Sprachen, mit acht Bänden,  
Serie C: Miscellanea, mit bislang 15 Bänden.  
Außerhalb der Universität wird die Serie B unter dem neuen Titel „Ars Ob-Ugrica“ von den Herausgebern E. und L. Schiefer fortgeführt.
- Wien: In der von Károly Rédei edierten Reihe „Studia Uralica — Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Finno-Ugristik der Universität Wien“ sind seit 1978 zwei Bände publiziert worden.

Ohne jegliche Bindung an eine der Universitäten erscheint in Hamburg noch eine Serie „Fenno-Ugrica“, herausgegeben von Harald Haarmann unter Mitwirkung von Anna-Liisa Värri Haarmann und János Pusztay; in den Jahren 1974 bis 1981 sind hier sechs Bände publiziert worden.

In einer Reihe namhafter Verlage wie Harrassowitz, Buske, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Fink und Winter sind darüberhinaus einige Monographien außerhalb der Serien publiziert worden. Es sei erwähnt, daß sowohl die Ural-Altäischen Jahrbücher als auch eine Reihe von Monographien innerhalb und außerhalb der Serien mit Unterstützung der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft bzw. anderer Institutionen erschienen sind.

28. Ich komme zum Ende: es gibt keine Monographie über die „Geschichte der Finnougristik in Deutschland“, so ist das Material aus vielen einzelnen Beiträgen zusammengetragen worden. Es hat Ansätze gegeben, einzelne Epochen wissenschaftsgeschichtlich aufzuarbeiten, zu nennen sind hier die Arbeiten von Robert Gragger „Zur Geschichte der ugrofinnischen Sprachwissenschaft“ (1924),<sup>52</sup> Karl Bouda „Die finnisch-ugrischen Studien in Deutschland“ (1937),<sup>53</sup> Julius v. Farkas „August Ludwig Schlözer und die finnisch-ugrische Geschichts-, Sprach- und Volkskunde“ (1952),<sup>54</sup> die ungedruckte Dissertation von Alfred Stehr „Die Anfänge der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachvergleichung 1669–1771“ (1957),<sup>55</sup> Günter J. Stipa „Bahnbrecher der Finnougristik in der frühen Geschichte der Georg-August-Universität“ (1978)<sup>56</sup> und viele weitere Beiträge.<sup>57</sup> Über einzelne Wissenschaftler liegen entsprechende Würdigungen mit biographischen und bibliographischen Daten vor, für nahezu alle Seminare sind aus unterschiedlichem Anlaß Berichte veröffentlicht worden. Durch das Entgegenkommen meiner Kollegen von den anderen Universitäten, an denen Finnougristik betrieben wird, sind mir auch interne Berichte, Studienpläne und

ähnliches zugänglich gemacht worden, die zusammen mit den diversen angedeuteten Berichten und sonstigen Beiträgen mit zur Zeit ca. 300 Publikationen einen guten Grundstock für eine umfassendere Dokumentation zur deutschen Finnougristik bilden. Zu einem späteren Zeitpunkt wird sich vielleicht die Gelegenheit bieten, das Material einem breiteren Kreise zugänglich zu machen.

Die deutsche Finnougristik darf nicht isoliert gesehen werden; sie ist eng verbunden mit den Forschungsinstitutionen vornehmlich in den Ländern mit finnougrischer Bevölkerung. Auf der Finnisch-ugrischen Arbeitstagung 1963 in Göttingen hat Wolfgang Schlachter einen programmatischen Vortrag über „Stellung und Aufgaben der Finnougristik in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland“<sup>58</sup> gehalten. Seine Ausführungen haben weiterhin Gültigkeit. Da keines der genannten Institute aufgebläht ist, steht auch kaum zu befürchten, daß ein Personalabbau vorgenommen wird. Allerdings ist die Lage für den wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs nicht günstig, sie ist aber auch nicht ungünstiger als vor zwanzig Jahren. Die einzelnen Institute verfügen zum Teil über ausgezeichnete Bibliotheken; wenn ich auf meinen eigenen Tätigkeitsbereich eingehen darf, so kann ich mitteilen, daß trotz einiger Lücken die Bibliothek vornehmlich in einigen Schwerpunktbereichen — so etwa die uralischen Sprachen in der Sowjetunion — über einen ausgezeichneten Bestand verfügt, die Bibliothek ist in den letzten zwanzig Jahren mit ziemlichen Zunahmeraten angewachsen und umfaßt ca. 18 000 Bände. Daß hierbei der Austausch von Publikationen eine wesentliche Rolle spielt, ist angesichts des relativ bescheidenen Etats verständlich und zu begrüßen. Durch großzügige Schenkungen seitens des Ungarischen Kulturministeriums in den Jahren 1982 und 1983 konnten die Bereiche zur Hungarologie beträchtlich erweitert werden. Indem ich die günstige Gelegenheit nutze, auch vor diesem Auditorium noch einmal meinen Dank hierfür zu äußern, schließe ich meine Ausführungen ab.

#### Anmerkungen

- \* Dies ist der im wesentlichen unveränderte Text des Vortrags am 24. Januar 1984 in der ELTE im Rahmen der Kultur- und Wirtschaftstage der Bundesrepublik Deutschland in Budapest. In den Anmerkungen habe ich mich auf die wichtigsten Hinweise beschränkt.
1. Zu seinen Ehren wurde 1968 das internationale Martinus Fogelius Hamburgensis-Gedächtnis-Symposium durchgeführt; vgl. Veenker, W., *UJb* 40 (1968), 115–118, sowie die Würdigungen von M. Fogel durch Lakó, Gy., „Martinus Fogelius' Verdienste bei der Entdeckung der finnougrischen Sprachverwandschaft“, *UJb* 41 (1969), 1–13, und Kangro, H., „Martin Fogel aus Hamburg als Gelehrter des 17. Jahrhunderts“, *UJb* 41 (1969), 14–32. — Zu Ehren von M. Fogelius findet anlässlich seines 350. Geburtstages am 17. April 1984 im Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminar in Hamburg eine Feierstunde statt.
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  3. Teza, E., „Del «Nomenclator Finnicus» mandato da Martino Fogel in Italia“, in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, vol. II/10, (Roma, 1893),



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## ANHANG

Statistische Auswertung (Quelle siehe Anmerkung 44) über die  
Lehre vom SS bis WS 1983/84.

**Tabelle 1.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an allen Universitäten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Österreichs vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983-84 (Berlin [W], Bochum, Bonn, Freiburg, Giessen, Göttingen, Hamburg, Kiel, Köln, Marburg, München, Münster, Wien)

	SWS gesamt	Aufschlüsselung		
		UNG	FIN	cetera
SS 1979	207	75	81	51
WS 1979/80	269	101	107	61
SS 1980	263	94	109	60
WS 1980/81	270	103	110	57
SS 1981	273	94	125	54
WS 1981/82	274	105	122	47
SS 1982	283	106	120	57
WS 1982/83	289	114	114	61
SS 1983	287	109	127	51
WS 1983/84	286	110	124	52
	2701	1011	1139	551

durchschnittliches Lehrangebot je Semester	SWS gesamt	270,1
	davon UNG	101,1
	FIN	113,9
	cetera	55,1
das bedeutet eine Verteilung	UNG	37,43%
	FIN	42,17%
	cetera	20,40%

**Tabelle 2.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an allen Universitäten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Österreichs mit der Möglichkeit eines Studienabschlusses in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

(Göttingen, Hamburg, München, Wien)

	Lehr- personen	SWS gesamt	davon	
			Vorl./Sem.	Sprachkurse
SS 1979	27	172	93	79
WS 1979/80	28	180	101	79
SS 1980	28	177	93	84
WS 1980/81	29	181	97	84
SS 1981	28	176	94	82
WS 1981/82	27	174	88	86
SS 1982	29	185	95	90
WS 1982/83	30	194	103	91
SS 1983	30	183	98	85
WS 1983/84	30	186	98	88
	286	1808	960	848

durchschnittlich 28,6 Lehrpersonen pro Semester  
180,8 SWS pro Semester  
davon  
53,10 % Vorlesungen und Seminare  
46,90 % Sprachkurse

**Tabelle 3.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an der Universität Göttingen vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

	Lehr- personen	SWS gesamt	davon	
			Vorl./Sem.	Sprachkurse
SS 1979	7	49	27	22
WS 1979/80	7	45	23	22
SS 1980	8	43	21	22
WS 1980/81	8	45	25	20
SS 1981	7	44	22	22
WS 1981/82	6	41	19	22
SS 1982	7	46	24	22
WS 1982/83	7	47	23	24
SS 1983	6	39	19	20
WS 1983/84	6	37	15	22
	69	436	218	218

durchschnittlich 6,9 Lehrpersonen pro Semester  
43,6 SWS pro Semester  
davon  
50% Vorlesungen und Seminare  
50 % Sprachkurse

**Tabelle 4.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an der Universität Hamburg vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

	Lehr- personen	SWS gesamt	davon	
			Vorl./Sem.	Sprachkurse
SS 1979	6	38	21	17
WS 1979/80	6	42	25	17
SS 1980	5	42	24	18
WS 1980/81	5	41	23	18
SS 1981	5	35	19	16
WS 1981/82	4	31	15	16
SS 1982	6	40	20	20
WS 1982/83	5	40	23	17
SS 1983	6	41	26	15
WS 1983/84	6	41	25	16
	54	391	221	170

durchschnittlich 5,4 Lehrpersonen pro Semester  
 39,1 SWS pro Semester  
 davon  
 56,52 % Vorlesungen und Seminare  
 43,48 % Sprachkurse

**Tabelle 5.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an der Universität München vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

	Lehr- personen	SWS gesamt	davon	
			Vorl./Sem.	Sprachkurse
SS 1979	10	53	29	24
WS 1979/80	9	49	25	24
SS 1980	10	55	29	26
WS 1980/81	10	55	29	26
SS 1981	10	56	32	24
WS 1981/82	9	53	29	24
SS 1982	9	52	28	24
WS 1982/83	10	55	31	24
SS 1983	10	53	29	24
WS 1983/84	10	53	29	24
	97	534	290	244

durchschnittlich 9,7 Lehrpersonen pro Semester  
 53,4 SWS pro Semester  
 davon  
 54,31% Vorlesungen und Seminare  
 45,69% Sprachkurse

**Tabelle 6.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an der Universität Wien vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

	Lehr- personen	SWS gesamt	davon	
			Vorl./Sem.	Sprachkurse
SS 1979	4	32	16	16
WS 1979/80	6	44	28	16
SS 1980	5	37	19	18
WS 1980/81	6	40	20	20
SS 1981	6	41	21	20
WS 1981/82	8	49	25	24
SS 1982	7	47	23	24
WS 1982/83	8	52	26	26
SS 1983	8	50	24	26
WS 1983/84	8	55	29	26
	66	447	231	216

durchschnittlich 6,6 Lehrpersonen pro Semester  
44,7 SWS pro Semester  
davon  
51,68% Vorlesungen und Seminare  
48,32% Sprachkurse

**Tabelle 7.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an allen Universitäten der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Österreichs mit der Möglichkeit eines Studienabschlusses in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84 (Göttingen, Hamburg, München, Wien)

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete						
		FIU	UNG	FIN	EST	min	cet	exc
SS 1979	172	18	67	54	9	22	—	2
WS 1979/80	180	28	69	52	6	23	—	2
SS 1980	177	24	68	55	8	19	—	3
WS 1980/81	181	20	69	59	10	22	—	1
SS 1981	176	24	64	62	8	16	—	2
WS 1981/82	174	16	71	58	8	19	—	2
SS 1982	185	21	76	55	14	18	—	1
WS 1982/83	194	22	80	55	14	20	1	2
SS 1983	183	16	76	55	12	19	3	2
WS 1983/84	186	20	77	57	10	18	3	1
	1808	209	717	562	99	196	7	18

durchschnittlich 180,8 SWS pro Semester

davon

11,56% Finnougristik/Uralistik (=FIU) 5,48% EST(nisch)

39,66% UNG

10,84% linguae uralicae minores (=min)

31,08% FIN

0,39% cetera (=cet)

1,00% Examenskolloquien (=exc)



**Tabelle 8.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an der Universität Göttingen vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete						
		FIU	UNG	FIN	EST	min	cet	exc
SS 1979	49	9	15	14	4	6	—	1
WS 1979/80	45	7	17	14	2	4	—	1
SS 1980	43	7	15	14	—	6	—	1
WS 1980/81	45	9	13	16	—	7	—	—
SS 1981	44	10	12	18	—	4	—	—
WS 1981/82	41	8	13	18	—	2	—	—
SS 1982	46	10	14	17	2	3	—	—
WS 1982/83	47	7	16	18	2	4	—	—
SS 1983	39	5	15	12	2	4	—	1
WS 1983/84	37	3	14	16	—	4	—	—
	436	75	144	157	12	44	—	4

durchschnittlich 43,6 SWS pro Semester  
 davon  
 17,20% Finnougristik/Uralistik  
 33,03% UNG  
 36,01% FIN

2,75% EST  
 10,09% linguae uralicae minores  
 — cetera  
 0,92% Examenskolloquien

## Aufgliederung von linguae uralicae minores

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete					
		OSF	LAP	VFI	PRM	OBU	SAM
SS 1979	6	2	2		2		
WS 1979/80	4	4					
SS 1980	6	2			2	2	
WS 1980/81	7			2	2	3	
SS 1981	4		2			2	
WS 1981/82	2		2				
SS 1982	3		2		1		
WS 1982/83	4		2		2		
SS 1983	4				2	2	
WS 1983/84	4			2		2	
	44	8	10	4	11	11	—

OSF = Ostseefinnisch

PRM = Permisch

LAP = Lappisch

OBU = Obugrisch

VFI = Volgafinnisch

SAM = Samojedisch

**Tabelle 9.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an der Universität Hamburg vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete						
		FIU	UNG	FIN	EST	min	cet	exc
SS 1979	38	3	18	13	1	2	—	1
WS 1979/80	42	4	22	12	—	4	—	—
SS 1980	42	4	19	12	2	4	—	1
WS 1980/81	41	3	19	12	2	5	—	—
SS 1981	35	5	14	12	—	3	—	1
WS 1981/82	31	—	18	12	—	—	—	1
SS 1982	40	4	18	12	4	2	—	—
WS 1982/83	40	5	18	11	2	2	1	1
SS 1983	41	3	18	12	—	4	3	1
WS 1983/84	41	2	19	12	—	4	3	1
	391	33	183	120	11	30	7	7

durchschnittlich 39,1 SWS pro Semester  
davon  
8,44% Finnougristik/Uralistik  
46,80% UNG  
30,69% FIN  
2,81% EST  
7,67% linguae uralicae minores  
1,79% cetera  
1,79% Examenskolloquien

#### Aufgliederung von linguae uralicae minores

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete					
		OSF	LAP	VFI	PRM	OBU	SAM
SS 1979	2			2			
WS 1979/80	4		2	2			
SS 1980	4			2			2
WS 1980/81	5			2		2	1
SS 1981	3				2		1
WS 1981/82	—						
SS 1982	2					2	
WS 1982/83	2				2		
SS 1983	4	2			2		
WS 1983/84	4				2	2	
	30	2	2	8	8	6	4

Tabelle 10. Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-ugrischer Philologie an der Universität München vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete						
		FIU	UNG	FIN	EST	min	cet	exc
SS 1979	53	6	14	17	4	12	—	—
WS 1979/80	49	10	12	16	4	7	—	—
SS 1980	55	8	16	19	4	8	—	—
WS 1980/81	55	7	17	19	4	8	—	—
SS 1981	56	8	16	20	4	8	—	—
WS 1981/82	53	5	16	16	4	12	—	—
SS 1982	52	4	16	16	4	12	—	—
WS 1982/83	55	8	18	16	4	9	—	—
SS 1983	53	4	16	19	4	10	—	—
WS 1983/84	53	7	16	17	4	9	—	—
	534	67	157	175	40	95	—	—

durchschnittlich 53,4 SWS pro Semester  
davon  
12,55% Finnougristik/Uralistik  
29,40% UNG  
32,77% FIN  
7,49% EST  
17,79% *linguae uralicae minores*  
— cetera  
— Examenskolloquien

Aufgliederung von *linguae uralicae minores*

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete					
		OSF	LAP	VFI	PRM	OBU	SAM
SS 1979	12	2				8	2
WS 1979/80	7					7	
SS 1980	8					8	
WS 1980/81	8					8	
SS 1981	8				2	4	2
WS 1981/82	12		3			9	
SS 1982	12		3		2	4	3
WS 1982/83	9		3			4	2
SS 1983	10			2		2	6
WS 1983/84	9	2				7	
	95	4	9	4	2	61	15

**Tabelle 11.** Umfang des Lehrangebots in Finnisch-Ugrischer Philologie an der Universität Wien vom SS 1979 bis WS 1983/84

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete						
		FIU	UNG	FIN	EST	min	cet	exc
SS 1979	32	—	20	10	—	2	—	—
WS 1979/80	44	7	18	10	—	8	—	1
SS 1980	37	5	18	10	2	1	—	1
WS 1980/81	40	1	20	12	4	2	—	1
SS 1981	41	1	22	12	4	1	—	1
WS 1981/82	49	3	24	12	4	5	—	1
SS 1982	47	3	28	10	4	1	—	1
WS 1982/83	52	2	28	10	6	5	—	1
SS 1983	50	4	27	12	6	1	—	—
WS 1983/84	55	8	28	12	6	1	—	—
	447	34	233	110	36	27	—	7

durchschnittlich 44,7 SWS pro Semester

davon

7,61% Finnougristik/Uralistik

52,13% UNG

24,61% FIN

8,05% EST

6,04% *linguae uralicae minores*

— cetera

1,57% Examenskolloquien

Aufgliederung von *linguae uralicae minores*

	SWS gesamt	davon entfallen auf die Gebiete					
		OSF	LAP	VFI	PRM	OBU	SAM
SS 1979	2	2					
WS 1979/80	8	2		4		2	
SS 1980	1					1	
WS 1980/81	2					2	
SS 1981	1					1	
WS 1981/82	5	4				1	
SS 1982	1					1	
WS 1982/83	5				2	3	
SS 1983	1				1		
WS 1983/1984	1				1		
	27	8		4	4	11	

**Tabelle 12.** Belegung der Lehrveranstaltungen Finnisch-Ugrische Philologie an der Universität Hamburg

(a) nach offizieller Belegstatistik WS 1977/78 bis SS 1982

	Zahl der LV	SWS	Hörer	Auslastung (Produkt Hörer x SWS)
WS 1977/78	16	40	116	301
SS 1978	20	43	154	345
WS 1978/79	19	38	129	275
SS 1979	20	40	112	224
WS 1979/80	19	38	133	258
SS 1980	20	42	117	244
WS 1980/81	19	39	122	245
SS 1981	18	37	105	204
WS 1981/82	14	31	110	252
SS 1982	19	40	158	314
	184	388	1256	2662
Durchschnitt pro Semester	18,4	38,8	125,6	266,2

(b) nach interner Statistik WS 1982/83 bis WS 1983/84

	Zahl der IV	SWS	Hörer	Auslastung
WS 1982/83	19	40	135	300
SS 1983	19	41	157	344
WS 1983/84	18	41	125	325
	56	122	417	969
Durchschnitt pro Semester	18,7	40,7	139	323

Zahl der Studenten lt. interner Erhebung WS 1983/84

Hauptfach	Hauptfachstudenten	18
	davon Hamburger Doktoranden o. E.	5
	postgraduierte Doktoranden	1
	ext. postgrad. Doktoranden	1
	im MA-Examen	1
Nebenfach		21
Sonstige	(Teilnehmer nur an Kursen, Gasthörer)	29
		68



### THIRD ANGLO-HUNGARIAN CONFERENCE OF HISTORIANS

London, 20-23 September 1983

In September 1983 the Institute of Historical Research at the University of London hosted the 3rd Anglo-Hungarian conference of historians. Bearing the number of participants and the general atmosphere of the colloquium in mind, 'table talks' is the best term with which to characterize the event which fitted well into the network of international relations of both Academies. The sessions were chaired by Professors T. C. Barker, leader of the historical section of the British Academy and P. Zs. Pach, vice-president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Director of the Academy's Institute for Historical Research.

The papers to be discussed were grouped under three broad headings. The first was 'the Reformation and its impact on education'. R. A. Houlbrooke surveyed the latest results of English scholarship in this area, while K. Péter discussed the problem of education and intellectual curiosity in the Hungarian Reformation. This session was supplemented by a paper from Gy. E. Szönyi which dealt with English books which had found their way to Hungary in the 16th and 17th centuries.

The second theme was the 'mentality of the 19th century'. Clearly it aimed at utilizing the methods of the French historical school in English and Hungarian historiography. P. Hanák introduced the process of the 'embourgeoisement' of the nobility in 19th century Hungary. His paper contrasted historical reality with the way in which it was reflected in the mind and mentality of the aristocracy and the gentry. J. Obelkevich reviewed some recent English works which attempt to employ the methodology of 'mentality' research and pointed to further possibilities in this type of investigation.

The third session was devoted to problems of demography. R. Wall spoke about English population history in the 19th century while L. Katus surveyed population patterns and household structure in 18th and 19th century Hungary.

The form and framework of the conference were fairly informal. The papers had been xeroxed and distributed among participants in advance, so instead of long readings the authors were able to speak around the main tenets of their papers and the discussions after each presentation were vivid and fruitful.

In general, the colloquium served its purpose well: the historians of the two countries familiarized one another with their respective research-programs and methodologies, and even if there is little opportunity for joint research, the exchange of data and information remains of crucial importance and represents the prime benefit of this scholarly contact.

József Attila Tudományegyetem,  
Szeged

György E. Szónyi

### AMERICAN AND ENGLISH BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON HUNGARIAN STUDIES

The pursuit of Hungarian studies abroad generally requires the use of more bibliographical material than such study in Hungary itself. Books in the Hungarian language, or relating to Hungarian studies, are quite diversely spread and tend to lie hidden under a variety of keywords in different library catalogues. Nonetheless English and American libraries do in fact treasure very many important *Hungarica*. These can be divided into three groups: books printed in Hungary and sent to the respective libraries (either on terms of exchange or direct payment); books on Hungary printed abroad; and personal collections which later become part of public libraries. Obviously, the second group will involve a great number of publications unknown in Hungary. In spite of all the efforts of the Hungarian national libraries, they are unable to obtain all the Hungarian publications which appear in foreign countries. Where only a single copy of such a publication is available in Hungary, it will hardly be known to all the scholars working in its particular field. Personal collections of Hungarian books reflect the interests of the individual collector, and thus in many cases offer a context for Hungarian studies quite different from home perspectives. Finally, in order to be well-informed on any aspect of Hungarian culture one should know about the availability of Hungarian publications in one's nearest major library.

This purpose is served—naturally with certain differences—by bibliographies of Hungarian books in the United States, Canada and England. Some of the more recent works are listed below. *Hungarian Studies* intends to carry further reviews and additions in future numbers.

*Harvard University Library — Widener Library Shelf-list, 44*

Hungarian History and Literature. Classification Schedule — Classified Listing by Call Number — Chronological Listing — Author and Title Listing. Published by the Harvard University Library — Distributed by the Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1974. 186. p.



A practical aid to classifying (Hungarian) books, also good for computers. It was compiled by Systems Librarian Charles W. Husbands, assisted by Csilla Jacobson. It contains nearly 6,000 entries. The Widener library specialized in East European studies, especially history, literature, language.

### *The Hungarian Reference Shelf*

A series of inexpensive publications facilitating Hungarian-related research for the English-speaking scholar. It has been edited by the Hungarian Research Center—American Hungarian Foundation (117 Somerset Street, P.O. Box. 1084, New Brunswick, NJ 08903). Hitherto the following publications have appeared:

*Hungarian Ethnography. A Bibliography of English Language Sources.* Compiled by David R. Howell. University of Virginia, 1976. 24 p. (319 entries).

*Educational Motion Pictures. Filmstrips Related to Hungary and Hungarian Subjects.* Compiled by Joseph Széplaki. University of Minnesota, 1976. 4 p. (48 entries, issued at the same time as No. 11 of the *Hungarian Studies Newsletter*).

*Hungarian Economic Reforms: A Selective, Partially Annotated Bibliography* by Gabriel Horchler. Library of Congress, 1977. 190 p. (1620 entries).

*Master's Theses Related to Hungary and Hungarians in the United States and Canada.* Compiled by Joseph Széplaki. and *University Research on Hungarian-Canadians: A Preliminary Check List of Theses.* Compiled by John P. P. Miska. 1977. (41 entries issued at the same time as No. 13 of the *Hungarian Studies Newsletter*).

*Bibliography of Hungarian Linguistic Research in the United States and Canada.* Compiled by Andrew Kerek., 1979. 28 p. (249 entries)

### *Hungarian Historical Studies, Toronto.*

No. 1. *History of Hungary and Hungarians 1848–1971. A Select Bibliography. Vol. I.* Compiled by J. Telek. 1972, reprinted with additions 1980. V + 395. (4178 or more items).

No. 3. *History of Hungary and Hungarians 1848–1977. A Select Bibliography. Vol. II.* Compiled by J. Telek. 1978, reprinted with several corrections and additions 1981. xvi + 963 pp. (9374 or more items).

In the same Toronto series No. 2. is not of bibliographic character.

*Hungarians in the United States and Canada. A Bibliography Holdings of the Immigration History Research Center of the University of Minnesota.* Compiled and edited by Joseph Széplaki. 1977, VIII + (2) + 113 p. (916 items). One should mention that from 1976 on similar volumes appeared at the same Immigration History Research Center about the Serbs, Slovenes, and Ukrainians too. General editor of the series is Joseph D. Dwyer.

In the World Bibliographical Series which has also published books on Yugoslavia or Greece printed by Clío Press (Oxford, England — Santa Barbara, California), Thomas Kabdebo published a volume *Hungary* (vol. 15). 1980, p. lvi, 281. (1094 items).

A famous collection at the School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London was described in a separate volume: *Hungarica*. English Books, Prints, Maps, Periodicals etc., relating to Hungary collected by Béla Iványi-Grünwald. Catalogue compiled by Lóránt Czigány, introduction by Gregory Macdonald, foreword by G. H. Bolsover. Whitins, 1976. pp. 159. It contains 1130 items.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

*Vilmos Voigt*

### INFORMATION ÜBER DIE EDITION DER UNGARISCHEN LANDTAGSAKTEN

Die Edition der ungarischen Landtagsakten wurde in den 1870er Jahren auf Veranlassung der Historischen Kommission der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften im Rahmen der großen akademischen Quellenpublikation „*Monumenta Hungariae Historica*“ aufgenommen. Dafür wurde die dritte Abteilung der *Monumenta* vorgesehen, es wurden zwei Serien unter dem Titel *Magyar Országgyűlési Emlékek* — „*Monumenta Comititalia Regni Hungariae*“ (geläufige Abkürzung: MOE), bzw. *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek* — „*Monumenta Comititalia Regni Transylvaniae*“ (geläufige Abkürzung: EOE) herausgegeben.

In der Reihe der siebenbürgischen Landtagsakten erschienen im letzten Viertel des 19. Jahrhunderts, zwischen 1875 und 1898, insgesamt 21 Bände, die die siebenbürgischen Landtage von 1540, von der Regentschaft Isabella von Jagello angefangen bis 1699, bis zum Frieden von Karlowitz umfassen. Diese Reihe war das persönliche Werk des seinerzeit besten Kenners der Geschichte des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen, Sándor Szilágyi.

Die Edition der ungarischen Landtagsakten wurde 1874 von Vilmos Fraknói begonnen, der die ersten acht Bände allein veröffentlichte. Der neunte und zehnte Band war die gemeinsame Arbeit Fraknóis und Árpád Károlyis, den elften und zwölften gab dann Károlyi allein heraus. Diese 12 Bände — der letzte erschien während des ersten Weltkriegs, im Jahre 1917 — umfaßten die ungarischen Landtage von 1526 bis 1606, also von der Schlacht bei Mohács und der darauffolgenden doppelten Königswahl bis zum Ende des sog. 15jährigen Türkenkrieges und des Bocskai-Aufstandes in den Friedensschlüssen in und bei Zsitvatorok.

Zur Geschichte der verschiedenen ungarischen Landtage des 17.—19. Jahrhunderts

wurden im Laufe der Zeit mehrere Aufsätze und Quellen publiziert, unter ihnen ist István Hajnals Edition der Schriften des gescheiterten Landtags von 1642 hervorzuheben (Budapest 1930), doch wurde die systematische Arbeit mit dem Zusammenbruch der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie unterbrochen.

Erst vor 22 Jahren, also im Jahre 1962 faßte die Historische Kommission der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften den Entschluß, die „*Monumenta Comititalia Regni Hungariae*“ fortzusetzen und beauftragte gleichzeitig das Institut für Geschichte mit der Arbeit. 1963 wurde eine Redaktionskommission, unter dem Vorsitz des jeweiligen Direktors des Instituts gebildet. So stand bis zu seinem Tode im Jahre 1966 Erik Molnár an der Spitze des Unternehmens, seit 1967 Zsigmond Pál Pach. Die Forschungsarbeit leitet der Hauptredakteur der Serie, Kálmán Benda.

Das 1963 begonnene Unternehmen betrachten wir als Fortsetzung der ersten 12 Bände der „*Monumenta Comititalia Regni Hungariae*“. Da seinerzeit die Landtagsakten bis Ende 1606 veröffentlicht wurden, nahmen wir die Arbeit mit dem Jahr 1607 auf und wollen sie letzten Endes bis 1848, bis zur bürgerlichen Revolution, fortsetzen; vorläufig ist aber nur die Bearbeitung der ungarischen Landtage zwischen 1607/08 und 1790 geplant.

Obzwar das Unternehmen prinzipiell die Fortsetzung und Weiterführung der alten Serie sein soll, decken sich die Richtlinien nicht vollständig. Die Entwicklung der Geschichtswissenschaft hinterließ schon in den Bänden der alten Serie ihre Spuren. Fraknói schrieb noch kurzgefaßte Einleitungen zu den Akten der einzelnen Landtage und gab nur spärliche Anmerkungen und Erläuterungen. Károlyis Einleitungen zum 11. und besonders zum 12. Band sind schon detaillierte Monographien, die Akribie seiner Aktenpublikation entspricht vollständig den wissenschaftlichen Erfordernissen des 20. Jahrhunderts. Die neue Serie will in dieser Hinsicht Károlyis Beispiel folgen.

Die alte Serie bearbeitete auch die Geschichte der kroatischen Landtage. Das halten wir unsererseits nicht mehr für unsere Aufgabe, es fehlen in Ungarn auch die Vorbedingungen dazu. Ebenso denken wir nicht daran, die Serie der siebenbürgischen Landtagsakten fortzusetzen. Hingegen wollen wir den Begriff der Landtage in etwas breiterem Sinn auffassen und auch Ständeversammlungen, die in streng juristischem Sinne keine Landtage waren, in Betracht ziehen: die Versammlungen mehrerer Komitate, z. B. der oberungarischen Stände, die sog. palatinalen Konkurse, wo die Magnaten und die Komitatsabgeordneten die Steuer bewilligten, wie auch jene Landtage, die nicht vom König, sondern von den Führern der antihabsburgischen Aufständischen, von Bethlen, Thököly, Rákóczi einberufen worden sind.

Auch in der Auswahl der Akten sind gewisse Änderungen vorgesehen. Im 16. Jahrhundert war es noch möglich, alle erhalten gebliebenen Texte zu veröffentlichen. Im 17. und besonders im 18. Jahrhundert ist die Vollständigkeit kaum mehr durchführbar und auch nicht mehr wünschenswert. Man muß selektieren und man darf nur die wichtigsten Texte in vollem Umfang veröffentlichen. Und wir halten es vom

Geschichtspunkt der politischen und Sozialgeschichte für wichtig, die Instruktionen der Komitatsabgeordneten und die während der Landtage herausgekommenen Flugschriften und Pasquille, wie auch die Privatkorrespondenz der Zeitgenossen in Betracht zu ziehen.

Die Redaktions- und Editionsgrundsätze wurden von Kálmán Benda ausgearbeitet und veröffentlicht: *A Magyar Országgyűlési Emlékek sorozat 1607–1790 közti részének szerkesztési és forrásközlési szabályzata*. [Redaktions- und Editionsgrundsätze des die Jahre 1607–1790 umfassenden Teiles der Schriften des Ungarischen Landtags.] In: *Századok*. Bd. 108. 1974: 2. S. 436–475. Hier wurden die Struktur der einzelnen Bände, der gewünschte Inhalt der einleitenden Studie, die Auswahl der Akten, die Orthographie, bzw. die Transkription der Texte, die notwendigen philologischen, biographischen, verwaltungsgeschichtlichen usw. Anmerkungen und die verschiedenen Register festgelegt, die einheitliche technische Gestaltung vorgeschrieben.

Die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften unterstützte das Unternehmen von 1963 bis 1975 aus zentralen Mitteln jährlich mit 30 000, seit 1976 im Durchschnitt jährlich mit 80 000 Ft. (Letztere Summe entspricht dem Jahresgehalt eines wissenschaftlichen Hauptmitarbeiters.) Aus dieser Subvention wurden fachkundige Hilfskräfte beschäftigt, um die Landtagsakten der Jahre 1607–1790 in den verschiedenen inländischen Archivbeständen und Handschriftensammlungen herauszusuchen. Augenblicklich verfügen wir über einen beinahe vollständigen Zettelkatalog mit mehr als 10 000 Quellenangaben und über eine Fotothek mit mehr als 2000 Aufnahmen. Es wäre sehr erwünscht, eine ähnliche informative Zusammenstellung auch über das Material im Ausland zustandezubringen, aber dazu fehlen die finanziellen Mittel. Dieser Zettelkatalog erübrigt es jedenfalls, daß die einzelnen Forscher dieselben Bestände immer wieder durchblättern.

Der Hauptredakteur verfügt über die Arbeitszeit der fachkundigen Hilfskräfte, er verfügt aber nicht über die Arbeitszeit der einzelner Forscher, die die Geschichte eines Landtags schreiben und die Veröffentlichung der Akten vornehmen sollten. Für einen jeden selbständigen Mitarbeiter des Unternehmens ist diese Aufgabe nur eine unter vielen anderen. Das ist der Grund, daß in 20 Jahren kein einziger Band fertiggestellt werden konnte.

Für dieses Vorhaben steht nur ein ziemlich enger Kreis der Forschern zur Verfügung und die finanziellen Mittel sind auch sehr beschränkt. So schien es von Anfang an nicht dienlich, die einzelnen Landtage in der chronologischen Reihenfolge in Arbeit zu nehmen. Schwerpunkte wurden ausgewählt, mit Berücksichtigung der Erfordernisse anderer, parallel laufender Forschungsprojekte. Wir wollten zuerst jene Landtage bearbeiten, auf welchen möglichst viele verschiedene Probleme vielseitig ans Licht kamen, wie z. B. das Kräfteverhältnis zwischen Zentralgewalt und Ständetum, die Machtenfaltung der Grundherren den Bauern gegenüber. Es wurde bei der Auswahl

auch in Betracht gezogen, ob die Verhandlungen und die Gesetze des Landtags nur eine vorübergehende Geltung hatten, oder ob sie die Rahmen des politischen Lebens für längere Zeit festsetzen.

Alles in allem befindet sich jetzt die Geschichte dreier Landtage in Arbeit:

1) Der Landtag, genauer gesagt die Landtage der Jahre 1607–1680, wo aufgrund des Wiener Friedens der Ausgleich zwischen König und Ständen zustandegebracht und die ständisch-dualistische Staatsform des 17. Jahrhunderts im Zeichen der ständischen Hegemonie geschaffen wurde.

2) Der Landtag 1645–1647, wo aufgrund der siebenbürgischen Fürstenmacht und des mit Georg I. Rákóczi abgeschlossenen Linzer Friedens das ungarische Ständewesen seine Stellung der Zentralgemacht gegenüber noch zum letzten Mal behaupten konnte. Und

3) Der Landtag 1708–1715, wo in Abwehr des Rákóczi-Aufstandes und aufgrund des Szatmárer Friedens der neue Ausgleich zwischen König und Ständen formuliert und die ständisch-dualistische Staatsform des 18. Jahrhunderts, jetzt schon im Zeichen der königlichen Übermacht, geschaffen wurde.

Die Landtage der Jahre 1607–1608 bearbeitet Kálmán Benda. Die Arbeit steht vor dem Abschluß. Die Edition ist in zwei Bänden vorgesehen, mit einem Umfang von ungefähr 120 Druckbogen. Die wichtigsten Ergebnisse seiner diesbezüglichen Forschungen veröffentlichte Benda in seiner Studie „Absolutismus und ständischer Widerstand in Ungarn am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts“, in: *Südost-Forschungen*, Jg. 1974. (Bd. 33. S. 85–124.) Aus dieser Studie und aus mehreren kleineren Abhandlungen des Autors, die er ungarisch und auch in Fremdsprachen veröffentlichte, hat sich klar ergeben, daß zumindest die politische Geschichte dieser Jahre neu geschrieben werden sollte. Bendas Ergebnisse konnten im III. Band der 10bändigen Geschichte Ungarns (*Magyarország története 1526–1686. [Geschichte Ungarns 1526–1686].* Chefred. Zsigmond Pál Pach. Red. v. Ágnes R. Várkonyi. Teil 1–2. Budapest, 1985. Akadémiai Kiadó) schon berücksichtigt werden.

Den Landtag 1645–1647 bearbeiten Katalin Péter und József Bessenyei. Die Arbeit ist in der Phase der Materialsammlung und soll bis Ende der 1980er Jahre abgeschlossen werden.

Der Landtag 1708–1715 ist meine Aufgabe. Das Sammeln des Materials habe ich 1967 begonnen, mußte aber wegen anderer Aufgaben bald stilllegen. Ich habe die begründete Hoffnung, die Arbeit ab 1987 fortsetzen zu können.

So steht heute (d.h. 1984) unser Unternehmen, die Fortsetzung der „*Monumenta Comititalia Regni Hungariae*“.

## ORAL HISTORY — HUNGARIAN AND AUSTRIAN

### The Hungarian and Austrian Projects of Columbia University's Oral History Collection

The extensive Hungarica collections of Columbia University gave me the incentive to submit a proposal to Professor Louis M. Starr, then director of the Oral History Research Office, to collect reminiscences of Hungarian immigrants who had an influence on the cultural, scientific, economic life of the United States. His acceptance of this suggestion marked the beginnings of the Hungarian oral history project at Columbia University in 1974, working with in the following categories:

1. Interviews with artists, scholars, etc. of Hungarian origin, who completed their education in Europe and who subsequently made an impact on the cultural, scholarly, economic life of the United States.

2. Interviews with relatives or close friends of these outstanding personalities to complete our knowledge about their lives and accomplishments.

3. Interviews with persons able to report on contemporary historical events (mainly up to 1945), such as participation in anti-Nazi activities, resistance and rescue operations, and who, due to a lack of adequate English language skills, had difficulties with editing and publishing their memoirs and could not record them on paper. Some well-known political personalities can be viewed in a different light on the basis of these recollections. During World War II many of them were forced to display an officially acceptable attitude while their true and better self could find expression only in secret activities which often enabled them to save many lives at the risk of endangering their own.

The preparation for recording such memoirs is thorough. The present author submits a preferably documented proposal to the director of the Oral History Research Office about the person to be invited to participate as "oral author". If accepted, discussion with the oral author follows concerning the main topics to be covered and the time needed by both parties for preparation before interviewing and taping begins. This in turn benefits the interviews as they become better structured and more concise.

Special emphasis is placed on contacting older people whose recollections could be lost forever by delays in interviewing. It has proved best to visit them at their homes where familiar surroundings, the stimulus of memorabilia etc. greatly facilitate the collaboration. Due care is taken not to overburden them with too lengthy interviews in any one session. Furthermore, each person constitutes a psychological study: one follows a subject straight through and goes on to the next one, while another has to be given a choice of topics for the session and according to his/her mood selects the one best suited to the occasion.

The oral authors are sometimes shaken by recalling historical events and their feelings have to be respected and accepted with empathy. Many a valuable friendship is formed thus after the recording of memoirs is completed. It seems that the older age of the interviewer makes recall and communication easier: common emotional involvement recalling cultural events, common friends, or the events of World War II remembered, facilitate responsiveness. You hardly can open your heart to someone who has only read about such things in publications.

Following completion of a series of interviews the cassettes are transcribed by the Oral History Research Office, corrected by interviewer and by oral author. The latter then fills out a release form for use of the transcript. After the transcript is processed, it is incorporated into the Archives in Butler Library where it is made available to researchers.

Memoirs of Hungarians from earlier projects were already available in the Oral History Collection, e.g. Albert Szent-Györgyi, Eugene Wigner in the "Nobel laureates on scientific research" or Sándor Radó, Michael Bálint, Margaret Mahler in the "Psychoanalytic movement" projects. The bibliography *Hungarian Project of the Oral History Collection of Columbia University* by Rose (Rózsi) Stein, 1978, combined memoirs she had collected with those of other projects and thereby gave a more complete overview of the Hungarian contributions.

Among others, psychiatrists, musicians are well represented in the Hungarian Project. Some examples:

Otto Herz, the well-known pianist and accompanist of world-famous artists, was urged by his family to write about his experiences and his contacts with great musicians, but language difficulties and publishing problems prevented him from doing so. Our common work was finished at the last minute, as he was hospitalized and died shortly after we had completed his memoirs.

György Sándor, piano virtuoso, the most famous pupil of Béla Bartók and interpreter of his piano concertos, reported on Bartók's last years in the USA. This was of special value to Columbia, as this University invited the composer to work on South Slavic and Turkish musical collections, among others.

Due to the increasing volume of memoirs of Hungarians collected, I proposed to set up an Austrian oral history project.

An Austrian bibliography of the holdings was also published on the same basis as the Hungarian one, combining the recollections in the Austrian oral history project with those contained in the whole Oral History Collection, *Austrian Project of the Oral History Collection of Columbia University*/Rose (Rózsi) Stein, 1980. In addition, several subject lists, for example on Music, Psychoanalysts, Women, Anti-Nazi resistance, present an overview of the growing source material.

Judging by the wealth of, for example, "Music" recollections and their general cultural interest, it may be a good idea to combine the Hungarian oral history

recollections (duly edited) with illustrative material available in Hungarian libraries or archives and publish them in bi-lingual form: English and Hungarian. The pictorial material should have captions in both languages as well.

These memoirs would be of great use to institutions where musical or East European subjects in general are studied and also to the public at large, as they could be understood in so many parts of the world. Those Austrian memoirs which have some bearing on Hungarian history could also be included in such publications. Thereby a project would come under way which could bring information to the world about the contributions of these immigrants, so small in number, but so great in accomplishment.

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Butler Library, Columbia University, New York

Rose (Rózsi) Stein



Lóránt Czigány  
**The Oxford History of Hungarian Literature**  
 From the Earliest Times to the Present

Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1984. 582 pp.

Historiography has at least two clearly distinguishable facets: it organizes a certain amount of data into a narrative structure, establishing some connection between *explanandum* and *explanans*. Accordingly it is possible to criticize any work of historical writing on the basis of factual knowledge and on that of the theoretical concepts underlying the explanation of "data". As it must be taken for granted that a single author who sets himself the enormous task of writing the history of a national literature from the earliest times to the present, cannot achieve this end without lapses of inaccuracy. I shall focus primarily on the metahistorical aspects of this present work.

Lóránt Czigány is a critic who left Hungary in 1956. Living in the West, he pays regular visits to his native country. Because of his double allegiance, he is ideally suited to the writing of a history of Hungarian literature combining an international horizon and the familiarity with cultural changes in present-day Hungary. What the reader living in Hungary might expect is no less than a timely corrective to his parochialism and national complacency.

What kind of vision of Hungarian literature does a critic unbiased by local interests have? Looking at the table of contents, it is somewhat surprising to see that Petöfi (1823–1849) and Jókai (1825–1904) are the writers whose works are discussed in separate chapters. Petöfi is certainly one of the three most important Hungarian poets of the 19th century, and Jókai is no minor novelist, but few readers today would maintain that they are the most representative verbal artists of the Hungarian language. It is possible that Czigány has remained insensitive to the somewhat equivocal popularity of Jókai? Critics have always emphasized the latter's artistic inferiority to Zsigmond Kemény (1814–1875). Besides, statistical studies indicate that Jókai has lost much of his popularity in recent years, even among children, who used to represent the bulk of his reading public. In any case one cannot help observing that Czigány gives too much emphasis to Jókai's historical romances, which in the title of chapter XIII. he himself characterizes as a form of "national escapism" (p. 217.); whereas he pays much less attention to works written for a more serious public.

In general the book tends to make Hungarian literature seem much less "adult" and civilized than it actually is. We may justly draw examples from the 19th century, because this is the period with which Czigány seems most familiar. While the uneven, and sometimes rather superficially sensationalist fiction of Jókai is analyzed over 12 pages, the activity of Kemény, a major representative of psychological realism, is summed up over 4 1/2 pages. It is no wonder, then, that this sketchy outline is full of blind spots. Some of Kemény's major works are not even mentioned: the highly influential imaginative portraits of leading statesmen, *István Széchenyi* and *The Two Wesselényis* (both published in 1851), are ignored along with the long theoretical essay *Drama and the Novel* (1853), the *nouvelle* *Alhikmet the Old Dwarf* (1853), in which the hero dreams his second life, and the "romance" *Nightmares on the Mind's Horizon* (1853), a highly original experiment with narrative time and point of view. These facts are important, because they could have helped the reader understand the international aspect of 19th century Hungarian prose. Kemény's use of the genre of the historical portrait makes him a contemporary of Macaulay, his speculations concerning dramatic fiction foreshadow the theoretical essays of Henry James, his cult of the fantastic and the *Doppelgänger*, the

interdependence of chronotopes and point of view, and the techniques of presenting the consciousness of characters originate in the works of such Romantics as Hoffmann and anticipate later developments. Without such points of reference, a reader unfamiliar with Hungarian will hardly suspect that Hungary has at least one writer who can bear comparison with the major novelists of the 19th century. What is more, the brief characterization of Kemény's *œuvre* is also marred by factual errors. To mention but one example, it is incorrect to assume that before the revolution of 1848 Kemény supported the group of statesmen called the "Centralists".

The treatment of Kemény and Jókai is no more than one of the many cases which reveal an inappropriate use of value categories. The career of Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936), the only Hungarian writer who may be regarded as a major artist in both narrative fiction and lyric verse, is discussed over 4 1/2 pages, whereas the works of Ferenc Molnár (1878–1952), whose fame rests upon financially successful, but unquestionably light and superficial comedies, are granted almost as much space.

In his introduction Czigány is critical of earlier histories of Hungarian literature, both Marxist and non-Marxist. In principle there is nothing unsound or illegitimate in emphasizing the blindnesses of other scholars; the trouble is that this book is far too unfamiliar with revaluations made over the last two decades, and represents value-judgements that are somewhat outdated. It would not be taking the matter too far to suggest that outworn clichés of a simplistic Marxist interpretation of literature sometimes crop up in Czigány's evaluations, as for example when he remarks that in *Twenty Hours* (1964) Ferenc Sánta (1927–) cannot "provide a solution" (p. 467.), or when he praises Jókai in the following terms: "in the few masterpieces he produced he could be true to life and draw character as competently as the best of his realist contemporaries" (p. 217.).

It is enough to consult the index of the book to see that many important writers have been left out of this history of Hungarian literature. Pelbárt Temesvári (?–1504), a religious writer of European standing, Sándor Bölöni Farkas (1795–1842), the author of a highly influential *Voyage to North America* (1834), Miklós Wesselényi (1796–1850), one of the most important Liberal thinkers, and János Asbóth (1845–1911), an outstanding essayist and the author of *A Dreamer of Dreams* (1876), the most original Hungarian novel of its age, are not even mentioned. Misplaced emphasis often goes hand in hand with the total or partial neglect of works which scholars analyzed as major literary achievements. Thus, it must be taken as a serious omission that Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735) is treated only as a political figure and neither his Jansenism, nor his autobiographical works (*Confessions, Mémoires*) are taken into consideration; Dániel Berzsenyi (1776–1838), a major poet widely read today gets no more space than András Fáy (1786–1863), a lesser prose writer known only to experts; the activity of István Széchenyi (1791–1860) is summed up without a single reference to his *Diary*, which by general consent is a *chef-d'œuvre* of 19th-century literature; the lyric as well as the essays of János Arany (1817–1882) are neglected; neither the earlier nor the later book of Lukács on aesthetics is listed among his works; of all the volumes of Sándor Weöres (1913–), *Medusa* (1944), probably the most important is left unmentioned; the poetry of János Pilinszky (1921–1981) is briefly characterized on a single page, without even referring to his greatest poem *Apocrypha*; and Milán Füst (1888–1967), the author of strikingly individual dramatic monologues written in *vers libre*, is placed on the level of Oszkár Gellért (1882–1967), an eclectic minor poet.

Instead of enumerating further details, one should probe the reasons for the unevenness of this book. Of a number of possible explanations, the most pertinent may be the rather low level of conceptualization. At least two conditions are indispensable to a literary history: a sound terminology used in the analysis of individual works and an overall design. The former implies an ontology of the work of art, the latter a teleology. The author of this book seems to have less than enough of either. An expert on some details of literary history—in 1976 he published an extremely useful book on the reception of Hungarian literature in Victorian England—he is not well-versed in theory. He can speak of literary devices but has no individual conception of the semantic strata of a lyric poem or a novel. That is why he offers plot summaries but hardly ever analyzes a novel. He makes interesting remarks about prosody or characters, but works of art are never presented as structured wholes.

The absence of terminology may be partly responsible for certain problems of style. I am fully aware that it is very difficult to write in a language other than one's own, but cannot agree with the practice of overusing Hungarian words in a text written for English-speaking readers. If we speak of "the *istenes* poetry of Balassi" (p. 54.), a "blend of refined Rococo and *népies* elements" (p. 81.), "the birth of *irodalmi tudat*," "a *főrangú* poet" (p. 86.), "a *magyaros* trend" (p. 88.), or we add English suffixes to Hungarian words (*megyes*, *Honvéds*, *népszínműs*, *kurucs*, *kubikosos*, etc.), we not only create clumsy phrases but also give the impression that the Hungarian words are untranslatable technical terms. As this is not so, the frequent use of Hungarian words has no justification.

The stylistic coherence of a narrative will depend at least partly on how convincingly causal relations are developed in the text. In other words, the narrator must find organic connections between the phenomena he presents; otherwise his story-telling might seem arbitrary. The reading of meaning into the past is, without doubt, a complex, indeed risky business, but a history which fails to offer its readers direction will lack sense and purpose. This is not, of course, to demand that the literary historian seek continuities where there are none, but to insist that discontinuities themselves be interpreted by, and critically incorporated into, the narrative.

Material is not always well organized in this book, and again this shortcoming may be put down to the lack of a comprehensive terminology. Ordering is not simply unusual, but indefensible. Writers are taken out of context and discussed at a far later stage, damaging the coherence of the narrative. József Katona (1791–1830) is discussed in a chapter following one on Hungarian Romanticism, although his play *Bánk bán* (1820) anticipated Romanticism. The views of Széchenyi are expounded even later, despite the fact that his *Weltanschauung*, egotistical sublime, theory of national character, sense of irony, and visionary style exerted such a decisive influence on his age that by general consent he is regarded as the first Romantic writer in Hungary. The fiction of Ferenc Herczeg (1863–1954) is analyzed at the end of the chapter on Jókai, whereas Kálmán Mikszáth (1874–1910), the writer whose anecdotal technique of narration served as a model for Herczeg is discussed only in the next chapter.

Such radical departures from the usual ordering of material could only be justified by strikingly original explanations. Instead, we are presented with rather conventional classifications. It is enough to glance at the titles to see how old-fashioned the principles underlying the pattern are. Two of the most crucial chapters are called "The Writers of the *Nyugat* (I)" and "(II)", with subtitles as follows: "A View from the Ivory Tower: Mihály Babits," "Homo aestheticus: Dezső Kosztolányi," "A Poet of Loneliness: Gyula Juhász," "A Sophisticated 'Weltschmerz': Árpád Tóth," "The Minor Poets," "The Bitter World of Móricz," etc. Some of these labels may remind one of the dingy legacy of the 1950's. Today few critics would believe that Babits, a religious poet who fought for European community and Kantian moral standards was an artist of the ivory tower, or assume that Kosztolányi, struggling with post-Nietzschean nihilism, can be characterized as a *homo aestheticus*. As for the rest of the subtitles just quoted, their meaning is far too general, no matter how hard we may think about them.

The conclusion seems inescapable that the author of this book has no strikingly original conception of Hungarian literature as a whole. This becomes especially evident in the last chapters, where ordering is strictly formal. Transylvanian literature is discussed in two sections (before and since World War II), and a similar division is made in the final chapter on recent developments (before and since 1956). Ordering is political and/or geographical, for our critic does not wish to think in terms of artistic trends. Lost in the material, he falls back on enumeration: one writer follows another without any principled justification of the succession. No explanation is offered for the appearance of a given writer in one chapter rather than another. Of the writers living abroad since the last war, Sándor Márai (1900–) is put into "Survival of the *Nyugat* Tradition," while László Cs. Szabó (1905–1984) is mentioned in the last chapter, after many of his younger colleagues have been examined, none of whom have anything in common with the essay-writing of the 1930's, which should be the historical context for Cs. Szabó's work.

As suggested at the very outset of this review, there may be several levels of conceptualization in

historiography. The higher of these levels are absent from this book. Its genre is scissors-and-paste chronicle rather than history proper, because it reports facts in a rather narrow sense. Causal explanation is rarely given; it quite often happens that facts are not connected by explanatory links or incorporated into a historical narrative; and so the validity of this book depends entirely on the truth of its components, a set of facts. As a chronicle Czigány's work may be more useful for those who seek to know "pure facts," i.e. names and titles, than for readers curious to know how these are connected.

In literature Hungarians have produced less of lasting value than three or four of the biggest European nations, but their tradition is long enough to make it an almost impossible task for a single scholar to write the nation's entire history. If a scholar sets himself the task of publishing a work like this, it must be taken for granted that his knowledge will be uneven. Accordingly, I do not criticize Lóránt Czigány for not devoting more than 90 pages to the first 600 years of Hungarian literature, because he is obviously less familiar with the period 1200–1800 than with the last two centuries. It cannot be denied that a narrator who makes original value-judgements may constitute a form of linkage among the events entering into a particular history; and so the fact that a history of Hungarian literature is written by a single scholar may also be an advantage. The trouble is that no such focus can be felt in this book.

It is a further misfortune that Czigány's work was written between 1973–1978, and published without systematic updating. Some more recent data, however, are registered, and this makes it rather conspicuous that the author does not take note of the new generation of prose writers who emerged in the 1970's and brought a fairly radical reevaluation of the past. In general, he seems to be little aware of changes in taste, does not view history as an interaction between the present and the past, and does not seem to look upon Hungarian literature from a wider international perspective. As he pays little attention to some international trends in ideas or in art, his less informed readers may not appreciate the significant influence of Stoicism, the philosophy of Bergson, or *Jugendstil* on Hungarian culture. Furthermore, Czigány fails to avail himself of the advantage he has over his colleagues living in Hungary: strangely neglecting Hungarian literature written in Western countries, he gives a list of names rather than a summary of trends and an analysis of works. If a reader is interested in the work of Márai, whose work is largely inaccessible in Hungary, he will not find much more in Czigány's book about this writer than in Aladár Schöpflin's *History of Hungarian literature in the 20th Century*, published in 1937.

The aim of Oxford University Press was to fill a gap and bring out an authentic history of Hungarian literature. That intention as well as the author's courageous efforts to cope with the insurmountable difficulties of summarizing eight hundred years of literary tradition deserve our unqualified respect, but it must be admitted that this book falls short of fulfilling its extremely ambitious purpose. This is, of course, regrettable, especially if we consider the fact that in all certainty readers will have to wait for quite a long time before another important publisher commissions a scholar to write a judicious reappraisal of a literature little known to the world, because written in a language inaccessible to the majority of potential readers.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

Mihály Szegedy-Maszák

Sámuel Gyarmathi  
**Grammatical Proof of the Affinity of the  
 Hungarian Language with Languages of Fennic Origin**

Translated, annotated, and introduced by Victor E. Hanzeli

Amsterdam-Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1983. LX, 327 pp. (Amsterdam Studies in the Theory and History of Linguistic Science—Series I.—Amsterdam Classics in Linguistics, 1800-1925 — Volume 15.)

The Dutch Publishing Co., John Benjamins, has undertaken the estimate but laborious task of publishing and classifying the classical works of Linguistics. The publications—divided into several subseries—are currently edited by Prof. E. F. Konrad Koerner, from the University of Ottawa. Incidentally, this massive series has been widely recognized as *the* most important publication on the history of Linguistic science.

Thanks to the series, now the above, rarely seen but frequently quoted work by Sámuel Gyarmathi has been able to appear in English. (The original was published in Latin; "Affinitas linguae Hungaricae cum lingvis Fennicae originis grammaticae demonstrata" Göttingen, 1799). The volume is edited by Victor Hanzeli, from the University of Washington, Seattle, and a Hungarian by birth.

The publication, dedicated to Transylvania, begins with Gyarmathi's portrait, and beneath it the dates 1751-1830. The "translator's" introduction tells us that important notations and addenda has been omitted from a 1968 facsimile issue (Bloomington, Uralic and Altaic Series, Vol. 95), probably because of technical shortcomings. Thus, the present translation has come as close as possible to the 1799 original. It also includes A. H. Schlözer's letter to Gyarmathi (3rd appendix), which is found only in certain "Affinitas" issues, and Gyarmathi's corrections to the manuscript. The lengthy introduction (Gyarmathi and his *Affinitas*) is actually a self-contained study, discussing the author's orbit between home and Göttingen, from the time of the work's initial acceptance to its total acceptance.

It also dwells on the present situation of contemporary linguistics, as well as dealing with the development of international Finno-Ugrian studies. Besides being a many-sided etymological dictionary, *Affinitas* is placed in this framework as a basic writing, a covenant for posterity. The references cover all pertinent works in Hungary but also register international connections often unattainable to the Middle European researcher. Etymologically speaking, Gyarmathi's reasoning is especially important, particularly if one considers the fact that this science was just beginning to become important (and demonstrable) at the end of the 18th century.

The text begins with the facsimile cover of the first issue. It is followed by three appendixes that even mark the original page numbers. (The afore-mentioned Schlözer letter is also found in Appendix III., in German.) The book closes with the usual notes and references (most of them from the publishers, but there are more than 50 one-word insertions and marginal notes from Gyarmathi himself. The rest of the annotations identify sources, and people mentioned. The bibliography is quite extensive: there are about 15 separate headings, including sources of publication. The name index is helpful in providing quick information.

All in all, it is a fine compendium, because its apt commentary and references are certainly more useful, if not better, for researchers than the original. The tacit correction of numerous printing errors of the former issues should also be appreciated by today's professionals. But Hungarian linguists may find an added value in Gyarmathi's sensible book: it depicts two centuries of the circumstances of their activity.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
 Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

**The Széchenyi Memorial Days in 1980**  
**Széchenyi-émlénapok**

Edited by **Ádám Schmidt** and **Tamás Halm**

Budapest, Magyarok Világszövetsége (World Federation of Hungarians), 1983. 343 pp.

On the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the publication of *Hitel* (Credit), the first significant Hungarian work on economics, the Division of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, covering Economics and Jurisprudence, the World Federation of Hungarians, and the Hungarian Economic Association jointly organized a scientific session in Budapest between 26–30 August, 1980. Participants at the conference, devoted to the memory of István Széchenyi, included Hungarian economists and business executives as well as several economists of Hungarian descent who now live beyond the country's frontiers. The chairmen of the sessions were: Professors József Bognár, Béla Csikós-Nagy, head of the National Office for Prices and Materials; Ottó Gadó, chief adviser at the Hungarian Treasury; Professor Iván T. Berend, economic historian and Kálmán Kulcsár, director of the Institute of Sociology, member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

This volume records the events and lectures held during the memorial days. It was intended by the publisher and the editors to serve as a souvenir for those who participated in the memorial days and to provide a survey of events to all interested. It is a collection of papers catering for scholarly interested rather than the proceedings of the meeting. Therefore, the structure does not follow the chronology of the conference.

The volume opens with the inaugural address by J. Bognár, Member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and President of the World Federation of Hungarians. It is followed by a short summary of the lectures and contributions first in Hungarian and then in English. Then, under the title "Lectures, papers, contributions" the complete texts of the lectures are included in their original language—grouped under three major headings: "István Széchenyi and his economic ideas"; "The Hungarian economy and the world economy"; "Some present problems of the international economy". The editors had a difficult task in making the chapters of the volume more or less homogeneous. Besides a diversity in contents there is also a kind of diversity in form. From texts ready for the printer to such as were transcribed from tapes almost every variant occurred. As regards structure, it has to be noted that spontaneous reactions and contributions to the discussion were generally placed after the lecture or contribution that had been last referred to. In the introductory paper there is a closer link: here the contributions follow right after every lecture. All in all, in compiling the memorial volume the editors did not carry out a selection in the narrow sense of the term; they rather made efforts towards some purposeful systematic arrangement of diverse lectures. It was their conviction that only in this manner could the volume give a really true picture, acceptable also by scholarly standards of this conference which could be judged a success—even from the distance of three years.

Based mostly on the paper of Professor Antal Mátyás ("The path and problems of economic development in Hungary in the fundamental works of Széchenyi") and on the contributions of László Tóth and Professor Nicholas Kaldor, a rather broad consensus emerged at the conference as to the place of Széchenyi's economic ideas within a broader European context. Firstly, as is true of most economic thinkers, Széchenyi was concerned with finding viable answers and solution to problems of everyday life. Secondly, as Kaldor put it, while so doing, he joined western economic thinkers such as Adam Smith who, in modern terms, may be considered a development and growth oriented "Keynesian" in contrast to the allocation and equilibrium minded neo-classical economists. Thirdly, one of Széchenyi's main concerns was the inadequate feudal framework of economic development stifling the growth of the Hungarian economy; with special regard to the lack of a viable credit system and to the social background of this. This concern of his for an

adequate social framework of economic development put him, as both Kaldor and Mátyás emphasized, in a different position from that of the contemporary mainstream Western (British) economic thinking, inasmuch as for this latter, especially for Smith, the institutional framework did *not* pose a special problem, for it was already adapted to a modern capitalist economy.

So, while Széchenyi's ideas about a modern economy were clearly and heavily derived from the then prevalent British economic thinking (and the newly born capitalist prosperity of real Britain), their originality consisted in having depicted those special stumbling blocks for economic development that in Britain by this time did not exist and can be summed up as the feudal socio-economic system. For this reason, it is surely not far fetched to consider him as an early forerunner of XXth century, third-world development economists as well.

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*György Becsky*

**Demographie, Bevölkerungs- und Agrarstatistik  
(Demography, Population and Agrarian Statistics)**

**A Compendium of Papers of the First Scientific Session of the  
Austro-Hungarian Committee of Historians, Budapest, 1978**

**Edited by Gábor Erdődy**

Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982. 129 pp.

For more than four centuries the fate and history of Austria and Hungary was, for better or worse, closely intertwined. The minor partner of this liaison brought about by particular historical and geopolitical circumstances, was clearly Hungary, where, during these centuries, virtually nothing happened which was not strongly influenced or outrightly directed by Austria. This is not to say that the latter remained immune to Hungarian social and, more significantly, economic influences. How did this interplay of economic, social and cultural forces take place, and, what major differences remained of this interplay between the overall historical pattern of the two societies and cultures?—these were the questions addressed by the first scientific session of Austrian and Hungarian historians held in Budapest in September 1978.

The papers presented at this session, under the presidency of Zs. P. Pach, director of the Institute of History and member of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, were prepared partly by Austrian and partly by Hungarian historians, and dealt mostly with various aspects of economic history and demographic development in both countries. On the Austrian side all the papers—that of Professor R. G. Paschka (Research Institute for Eastern and South-Eastern Europe at the University of Vienna), entitled “The Sea in the South — A Common Emphasis in Hungarian and Austrian History”, that of Dr. B. Bolognese-Leuchtenmüller (Institute of Economic and Social History of the University of Vienna) entitled “Considerations on a Systematic Amalgamation of Demographic Problems with Economic and Social History” and finally, that of Dr. R. Sandgruber from the same institution, entitled “Hungary and Austrian Agriculture”,—dealt with various aspects of economic history and demography. Although not by any means neglecting these problems, the Hungarian participants encompassed a somewhat broader spectrum of problems. L. Katus and J. Puskás, both from the Institute of History analyzed problems linked with demography or agriculture (“The Problems of Demographic Transition in Hungary before WW I” and

"Trends and Growth Rates of Hungarian Farmland Crops between 1869 and 1913", respectively). The philosopher L. Mátrai concentrated on "Common Features of the History of Culture in Austria and Hungary" with paying special attention to the influence of the irrational philosophy of Kierkegaard and Nietzsche in neighbouring Austria and Hungary, respectively, at the turn of the 20th century.

His main conclusion is that while the growth of general existential uncertainties which provided an historical basis for the advance of Nietzschean irrational philosophy in Central Europe, was an element common to both Austria and Hungary, the two societies, for historical reasons, nonetheless responded differently in the sphere of philosophy. In Austria, after the old absolute truths had been lost, the irrational urge towards religion, irrationalism, expressionism, existentialism, etc., was only partly successful in filling the void. For this reason the best thinkers had to look for certainties in disciplines of exactitude such as the natural sciences and mathematics. In this respect the Vienna Circle was instrumental. In Hungary, the search for modern, absolute truths was also linked to research in mathematics and logic, but not to that in the natural sciences. Instead, leading figures of the avant-garde (Kassák) or philosophy (Lukács) were sooner or later to give a rather social, or even social-democratic, impetus to all the aesthetic novelties, or to the critique of old traditions originally brought about by irrational philosophy.

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György Becsky

Puskás Julianna

**Kivándorló magyarok az Egyesült Államokban 1880–1940**  
(Emigrant Hungarians in the United States 1880–1940)

Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982. 639 pp.

Julianna Puskás has provided a major contribution to American studies by exploring Hungarian emigration to the United States from the end of the 19th century to the Second World War. Considering that there has been no comparable study to date, and certainly not one on this scale, the book is all the more to be welcomed. Based on statistics, archival records, personal interviews, newspapers and other periodicals, the author presents us with a definitive account of an extremely complex and dramatic social-historical process.

Her main concern is the mass emigration which started in the 1880s. The process picked up in the last two decades of the 19th century and one of its main features was its multinational character. "From no other European country," the author points out, "not even from Czarist Russia, did such a medley of nationalities arrive to the USA from Hungary. At Ellis Island more than two-thirds of them declared themselves to be non-Magyars. The ratio of non-Magyars among the emigrants was proportionally higher than their share in the country's total population, and though the figures varied from one ethnic group to the other, this was true of all nationalities, not only the Slovaks, but the Germans as well."

Puskás gives a detailed breakdown of the sociological features of Hungarian emigrants. The majority of them were in their most productive years between 1905 and 1907; 61.5% of these who left were between 20 and 40, and many were under 20 (23.2%). The ratio between men and women varied between a mere 28% of women in 1907 and a maximum of 53.8% in 1913. The typical pioneers came from rural Hungary: village artisans, shopkeepers and craftsmen left in ever increasing numbers, particularly from the Magyar section of the population. Landed peasants and wage earners were mostly Croats and Slovaks. The literacy rate of The actual number of emigrants varied year by year according to economic changes within the United States: the American depressions of the mid-1880s and of 1907–1908 caused immediate breaks in the process. Some parts of the country produced many more emigrants than others and these "emigration



regions" had certain features in common. They were all remote from and impervious to the attraction of the principal industrial center of the country, Budapest, and had traditions of migration of some sort. Emigration was most intensive from those areas where there was an adequate channel of information.

The migration of over two million Hungarians resulted in a total population loss of 886,176 people in the thirty years between 1880 and 1910. The greater part of the people involved made several journeys to and from the United States and some 40% of the post-1908 emigrants returned to the country. Returners usually came back after three to five years with considerable savings which they used to build houses and buy land.

Hungarian government policy on emigration is amply discussed by the author. She describes this policy as inconsistent in the steps which were actually taken and notes that it was attacked from a number of quarters including the United States government, which accused the Hungarian government of conscious efforts to rid itself of the "superfluous" population of the country. The explicit anti-emigration propaganda of the Hungarian government coincided with a price war which led to a drastic lowering of the cost of travelling overseas. Legal restrictions were not significantly more stringent than those in other European countries such as Sweden or Italy.

United States policy did not substantially change as regards the relatively unrestricted influx of immigrants until the early 1920s. Certain sections of the middle classes felt that the "quality" of American society was threatened, while organized labor considered the unchecked invasion for extremely cheap labor a potential danger for the position of workers in America. It was the introduction of the quota-system that put an end to the mass immigration of "undesirables" from Hungary. Figures fell drastically: there were only some 100,000 people who left Hungary for the United States throughout the whole period of 1920-1945.

The second chapter of Puskás' book discusses the settlement, lifestyle and organizations of the Hungarian immigrants in the era before the First World War. It is interesting to learn that it was the intellectuals, merchants, journeymen and tradesmen, who were attracted by big cities like New York, Chicago and Cleveland while peasants headed for smaller industrial centers and mining camps and tried to stay together. Hungarian immigrants constituted a highly mobile group, the author points out. They went from one job to the other, particularly when a big firm opened up a new plant or a new mining site. The new-born Hungarian communities were founded not so much on the basis of a shared past in the same village, but rather on the more general community of the land of origin, language and a common sense of the future. Most of them were recruited by firms that badly needed unskilled manpower: steel mills, iron foundries and mines. Having arrived from industrially underdeveloped areas, it was most difficult for the immigrants to become accustomed to the physically and psychologically demanding lifestyle in big industry. Many of them lived in small groups of 8-10 in boarding houses. "It was a form of social organization that had its roots in the itinerant lifestyle of back home," Dr. Puskás argues; "it was economical, went some way toward being a family substitute, and was a flexible form of adaptation to the mobility dictated by a geographically expansive industry".

Working-class America looked at the newcomers with contempt and even indignation. Often used as strikebreakers, Hungarians shared the common lot of all new immigrants of having to fight a desperate struggle with the native-born. They also had to battle for higher wages, particularly after 1905, and Puskás has made some important findings here. To defend their rights in American society, local Hungarian organizations mushroomed; by 1911 some 1,339 of them were established. They belonged to three basically different kinds: *church societies* established to support a particular church or parish, *patriotic societies* of a secular character which had no definite political orientation and *fraternal organizations* set up for mutual aid, for companionship and the propagation of socialist ideals. All of them provided shelter in an alien environment, and some endeavoured to assert the numerical strength and significance of the Hungarian immigrant community, particularly at election times. They provided channels for the spread of literacy and culture as well as a chance for relaxation and entertainment. Hungarian-American culture can be best studied through the programs these organizations put on for the members.

Apart from Hungarian organizations, parishes played an important role in Hungarian community life. The author places special emphasis on their role and the basic differences between Hungarian American religious communities and those left at home. "The Hungarian American churches became centers of the immigrant community's social life as well: it was there that the parishioners and their children kept in touch with their native language, and with the 'national' traditions of the old country; it was there that they could turn when they had problems at work, or simply with adjusting themselves to the demands of the new environment. From the 1890s onward, the churches provided the framework for the Protestant 'Hungarian schools' in the form of Sunday schools and summer schools; some larger Roman Catholic parishes even had Hungarian day schools of their own." Lay participation was considerable in Hungarian American parishes and in this respect the differences between the old country and the new were again significant. Lay interference in church affairs, however, was something quite new for many Hungarian parishioners and occasionally gave rise to heated arguments. It is also interesting to note that quite a number of communities lacked an immigrant parish as such, leaving the fraternal organizations as the only forums for the social life of the immigrants.

One of the most interesting areas of Hungarian American community life that the author extensively reveals is the press. Puskás counts more than 200 Hungarian newspapers that were launched, most of them, however, without lasting success. Nevertheless, three papers could boast of an almost "nationwide" circulation, *Szabadság*, *Amerikai Magyar Népszava* and the Socialist *Előre*. The Hungarian papers were "the chief instigators of the setting up of communal buildings, the raisers of group consciousness, and the sources of information on the American environment and how to cope with it. Everything that appeared in print or involved the written word was the concern of the newspaper's editorial room: they printed and marketed books, functioned as a labour exchange, mediated the social services, provided legal counselling, and kept the immigrants in touch with their native culture." The author deals with the literary contents of the Hungarian papers as well, considering them important sources on the way of life of Hungarian immigrants at the turn of the century. Except for the Socialist papers, all the papers were nationalist and all took an oppositional stance towards the situation in Hungary.

In her concluding chapter Puskás dealt with the delicate issues of assimilation and the associated problems during the period 1920-1940. It was the First World War that served as a watershed between two distinct phases of Hungarian immigrant life in America. Almost until the United States entered the war it was relatively easy to act as a Hungarian American. Loyalties, however, became very much divided after 1917: America demanded assimilation at a time when a large portion of the immigrants still had their families at home in enemy Hungary. After the war even Hungarian immigrant organizations started to advocate Americanization; business interests rather than community life came to the foreground. In contrast, Hungarian organizations in the United States tried to render assistance, both political and material, to a Hungary partitioned by the peace treaty of Trianon.

Hungarian American institutions flourished throughout the 1920s. The Hungarian community seemed stable and self-conscious, with a relatively significant left-wing influence. Puskás is right, however, to point out that from the 1920s onwards it became increasingly clear that the social, cultural, and political differences among Hungarian immigrant communities were irreconcilable. "One of the issues on which consensus was out of question," she argues, "was the immigrants' attitude to Hungary. With the passing of time, the old 'peasant' immigrants tended to forget the injuries they had suffered at home; nostalgia for their youth coloured all their memories. The 'old Hungarian Americans' were unable to entertain this natural affection for their native land and at the same time repudiate the country's given system of government. The Communists and the Socialists, on the other hand, internationalists in their outlook, had absolutely no use for ethnic identification of any sort, especially not for the outward signs of such identification so typical of the Hungarian immigrant communities. They could not understand how important these had been in the process of their adjustment to life in the United States. Another cause of their impatience with such separation, of course, was their anxiety to quickly integrate in the American working-class movement so as to be able to help chart its course as soon as possible."

The severe economic problems at the end of the 1920s and in the early 1930s made it extremely difficult for Hungarian American communities to maintain their institutions. Accelerated Americanization was the answer offered by all parties, including the churches, which themselves became bilingual. Many of the Hungarian Americans were gravely affected by the Depression since they worked in the iron and steel industries. Consequently, they became staunch supporters of F. D. Roosevelt and the New Deal. It is to this period that the Democratic leanings of many Hungarian Americans can be traced back.

Generation problems began to appear at around the same time. Hungarian Americans born in the United States had very little to do with the ethnic links of their parents' generation. Puskás duly emphasizes the unfavourable climate surrounding children who "heard nothing but negative reflections on Hungarians both at school and in the streets. Hungary's 20th century political history still further alienated any sympathy a child growing up in a bourgeois democracy might have had for the land of his forefathers." The author goes on by way of conclusion: "Most of the second-generation Hungarian immigrants were prone to disown their past, and even changed their names in the attempt to show that they were Americans." It is consequently not surprising that the author found much higher social mobility in the second generation.

Puskás' excellent study is extremely richly documented: more than 200 pages of interviews, bibliographical and statistical data are attached. The book as a whole presents a basic critical reappraisal of the history of Hungarian emigration, arranging the vast material in a systematic and most convincing way. Dr. Puskás' genuine findings include the actual demographic loss Hungary suffered during the process, the geographical and ethnic distribution of regional emigration centers and the typical adaptation problems of immigrant Hungarians. One of the most important contributions to the study of emigration is the detailed analysis of Hungarian American organizations and the ways and means by which they sought to aid adaptation. The historiographical analysis at the beginning of the study gives a balanced view of methods and theories on emigration. All in all, Puskás has rendered very important services to the study of *Americanization*, the particular process whereby citizens of the United States established a national identity.

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Tibor Frank

### Ráckeve '83

International Workshop Seminar for Students of Architecture

Editor: Polinszky, Károly

Budapest, Műszaki Egyetem, [1984], 192 pp., ill.

According to a widely held view the architecture of our days is going through a crisis: the essence of this crisis can be defined so that the principles advocated by modernism half a century ago have mostly failed in reality. The shaping of the environment has entirely changed, unfortunately in an undesirable direction, consequently the historical and aesthetic values of the environment and the traditions of the settlement structure have been lost, as a result of which the settlements have become characterless, monotonous, and alienation has increased. The greatest ambition of the organizers of the Ráckeve workshop seminar, in all probability, was to offer the architects of the future something more than included in the curriculum of the faculty, to call their attention to values other than the ones they had been familiar with until then, to make the students reach a better understanding of the role and mission of architects.

If—on the basis of the program—we take into consideration the values that can be set the students as an example today (among whom there were foreigners as well), it is mostly the creations of the past that can be pointed out besides the contemporary works of art that created new value from the traditions. If we follow the excursions there is a scale of values taking shape that is by no means complete, but doubtlessly has a

character of its own: the reconstructed historical ensemble of the Buda Castle Hill, the preserved townscape of Szentendre, the Castle once erected by Prince Eugene of Savoy at Ráckeve restored with a view to its new functions, the recreational facilities at Visegrád by Imre Makovecz, the planning of Kecskemét and the new establishments there. The principles underlying this scale of values can be pointed out on the basis of the lectures: the lessons of the universal history and theory of architecture (a lecture by József Kerényi), the traditions handed down by the monuments of the Hungarian history of architecture (Jenő Rados, Miklós Horler), the model of folk architecture (Tamás Hofer, János Bitó).

For two reasons Ráckeve has proved to be an appropriate scene for translating all this into architectural design. On the one hand, there is a small town environment similar to Szentendre's in more than one aspects, where it is easy to find some outdated architectural-urbanistic phenomena ready for alteration. (Let us quote Horler: "There is an alarming example for this [outdated attitude—G. H.], the planning program of Ráckeve, a plan approved of and valid at present, which is completely strange to the traditional settlement structure and building pattern of the village..." etc. p. 38). On the other hand, the stage proper for the seminar was the magnificent Savoie Castle built by Hildebrandt, restored not long ago, and turned into a resthouse for architects. During their work the designers had tried to establish a development pattern corresponding to the potentialities of the neighbourhood (agricultural model) and suitable for new functions (recreation, ecology) starting from the values of the past (identity).

In the volume published about the workshop seminar the objectives and the program are outlined, the lectures delivered are published (also in the original foreign language), finally the accomplished plans are also presented on the nearly 200 pages. A merit of the book is that the editors have not left out of consideration the non-Hungarian readers either. Although most of the Hungarian texts have an English equivalent, texts in German and French can also be found in the volume. The high quality graphic representations have to be specially mentioned: through this it is not only the mental climate of the course that comes to life on the pages, but the world the participants moved about and created during their stay there gets visually represented as well.

Budapesti Műszaki Egyetem,  
Budapest

Gábor Hajnóczy

Csoóri Sándor

**Wings of Knives and Nails**

Translated by I. L. Halasz de Beky

Toronto, Vox Humana, 1981. 37 pp.

Kálnoky László

**Flash of Lightning**

Translated by I. L. Halasz de Beky

Toronto, Vox Humana, 1984. 27 pp.

I work as I live: without hope. When I sit down to write  
I never know where I'll end up. And it is only this  
risky and uncertain adventure itself which is capable  
of resolving my hopelessness.

This statement (from *A Half-confessed Life*) is not only representative as an expression of Sándor Csoóri's attitude to his activity as a writer, but is, more significantly, suggestive as to the nature of his popularity. Aphorisms—like anecdotes and essays, which form the larger part of Csoóri's popular *œuvre*—

enjoy a tone of irresistible definitiveness, without being subject to the rigours of detail or systematic thought. To say that Csoóri's writing is, in this sense, predominantly anecdotal is to do no more than recognize his proper place in a national literature in which the anecdote—from Miklós Bethlen to Péter Esterházy—has always played a leading generic role. What is more important to bear in mind in presenting a writer like Csoóri to an Anglophone readership is the degree to which anecdote is also decisive in the formation of his popularity and reputation. It is after all Csoóri the figure, rather than a body of specific texts, that has become a topical and popular, if controversial 'institution' of contemporary Hungarian cultural life. His sociographical essays, poems, prefaces and film-scripts are, where available, widely read, but, characteristically of the protagonist of anecdote, his popularity extends much further than, and is indeed to some degree detached from his writings themselves. His untiring sincerity regarding questions of the national past and present—as an *attitude*—is probably better known, and more unequivocally respected than any single poem or essay. Consequently, it is often the fact of his outspokenness, rather than what is actually spoken, that claims attention and applause.

Again, it is not unusual for a Hungarian writer to become a national 'phenomenon', to represent something intangibly larger than the sum of his own works, but that obscure space between text and significance clearly presents serious problems for translation.

One response is to insist upon the autonomy of the work of art, to privilege the text with an aesthetic integrity immune to history. Here, literature is raised to a giddy realm of universality—and thus translatability—above the real communities and conditions which constitute its practical life, an ideological leap similar to that from writer to phenomenal figure. Alternatively one can attempt to 'translate' or represent these conditions themselves, insisting that they are inseparable from the meaning of the literary work. Here, the space between text and significance is interrogated and interpreted within a causal narrative of cultural history.

I. L. Halasz de Beky seems to have opted for the first of these possibilities. Apart from a brief biographical paragraph on the inside cover of each volume, no other information is offered, and the poems are left to 'speak for themselves'.

Considering, however, that Csoóri's poetry is hardly the most challenging aspect of his work, it is far from sure in his case that the poems have much to 'say' to a western readership when taken out of context. Born of a familiar opposition between an ominous urban industrialism and an organic community of vitality and intimate sensibility ever receding into the irrecoverable past, ("only the countries of yesterday smell sweet." *Linger in Time Too*), his poetry is symptomatic of the country and city dilemma which has remained a crucial theme in Hungarian culture. It is not surprising then that the poems included in Halasz de Beky's collection are informed by a nineteenth century romanticism, updated with the psychological directness of modernism:

It is good, though, that I stayed below,  
on the same level as you, lilacs, grasses,  
the wind comes here amongst you,  
comes the rain.

Maybe I would have become a machine a long time ago,  
if I had striven further upward,  
carnival's feigned smile under the clouds,  
grave melancholy in bird.

.....  
Good horses, good fighters, good deaths,  
my ancestors bleeding to death again and again,  
here, earth-close  
even the memory is more immense...

.....  
(*Earth-Close*)

Halasz de Beky's translations have not assisted in at least presenting Csoóri's poems as accomplished realizations of their own genre. In aspiring to literal accuracy—and this with uneven success—the translations miss, or at least sacrifice subtleties of rhythm and tone. At times the poems read like somewhat clumsy prose:

The southern wind brushed me and made fingertips bud too in  
death's stack-yard, but undefeated I saw only a hen remained  
alive...

(*The First Moment of Resurrection*)

What is intense and compressed in Csoóri slackens into loose and pedestrian constructions:

even the air too and on the day after the space-carnival the orphan  
words...

Problems with the use of the article, and the word 'too' in these last quotations plague the translations as a whole. 'Too', used almost without exception to translate the polysemic Hungarian 'is', appears uncomfortably in nearly every poem in the volume; as in the title *Linger in Time Too*, or the line "the enemy stays far away today too" (*Message*), or the almost illiterate lines, "your name: the name of horror on bright day too, / your name: bright name on a lampless day too." (*The Fire's Resident Student*).

The effect of all this is not only to produce awkward syntax and spurious English, but also to confirm the impression that these poems were translated within a restricted and for this reason repetitive vocabulary. In addition to this it is unfortunate that the volume is further marred by printing errors. In one poem (*Your Time*) the repetition of a line is made to look intentional by a variation in spacing, while in the Hungarian the line appears once and once only.

To do the translator justice, not all of the weaknesses of the collection are due to his own linguistic shortcomings. As Csoóri does not engage his readers and translators with the emotional challenge of a Pilinszky or the formal dexterity of a Weöres, his poems might have been far more usefully presented in a critical and contextualizing edition as symptomatic representations of a complex and powerful attitude to culture and society still prominent in Hungary today.

As a craftsman László Kálnoky (born in 1912) has somewhat more to offer. Himself an experienced translator he possesses a keen sense of the possibilities of form and poetic device. An ironic approach to such themes as age and personal failure is coupled with a formal precision capable of exploiting the ironic and pathetic potentialities of rhythm and rhyme.

T. S. Eliot's telling comment that "the so-called *vers libre* which is good is anything but free" is pertinently true of much of Kálnoky's work. This is made quite clear by the shortcomings of his translator's 'liberties'. Again, the translations sacrifice vitality for a diluted, if literal, prosaicness. But as Kálnoky's poems are not merely blandly referential statements, precision in translation necessarily involves some kind of representation of the formal tensions they create. Halasz de Beky, however, does not pick up on the very significant uses of internal rhyme, assonance and falling rhythms which pervade the originals, and where Kálnoky employs a closed system of metre and rhyme the translator not only ignores the system, but also its *purpose* in mediating and qualifying what is said.

In *Memory of My Career* (*Pályám emlékezete*), for example, Kálnoky's wistful recognition that he is not the autonomous author of his own past and development is objectified by the use of rhyme, which at once orders his mediations from without and produces a sense of self-parody. Halasz de Beky's translation entirely ignores the formal scheme of its original, and although the power of the statement is not altogether lost, the worked composure and equivocality of the poet's contemplation disappears from the poem.

Again the translations are troubled by a deep uncertainty over the use of the article in English. One of many instances will suffice here:

With calcium narrows the vein, the heart, the brain  
but the self-knowledge keeps expanding,...

(*On my Birthday*)

It is far from clear why Halasz de Beky has chosen to omit the poem's fourth and final stanza from his translation. This is how his version continues:

while among the dead stiffened  
crabs and snails the sea-flood,  
retreating before winter, leaves me alone.

The aging faces's [*sic*] rag curtain  
conceals the young.  
If there is no reason, why should the soul fight,  
if there is only shadow-peopled shore,  
silt that nourishes no plants?  
Time-snatches scattered about by the wind,  
and the timeless cauldron boils,  
where the fresh marrow and blood keep cooking,  
while you will be castrated by genderless angels  
with stern silver faces.

and this, for the translator is the end of the poem. Here, for the record, is a prose version of the missing final stanza:

Shall I do as the would-be suicide, as the cowardly  
conjurer who has never hurt a fly, and, while dissolving  
tablets in the glass, knows that all the same he will not drink?

It is surely this stanza which interprets the rest of the poem, giving it a locatable subject and constituting its ironic conclusion. Has Halasz de Beky been working from an unknown earlier draft, or has he simply forgotten to turn the page in the *Collected Poems*?

It is, I think, unnecessary to offer further examples. Troubled by a quite fundamental clumsiness of style ("What you have done, / Nobody can ever do it") Halasz de Beky's Kálnoky is no less disappointing than his Csóóri. Whatever one's opinion of the status of these two poets, this fact is inevitably regrettable. After all, to any Anglophone interest in contemporary Hungarian culture Csóóri the phenomenon demands and deserves representation and explanation, while Kálnoky the fastidious craftsman merits sensitive and qualified translation.

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### **Bibliographia ethnographica Carpatobalcanica 1-3**

In 1959 Czechoslovakian and Polish ethnographers proposed the foundation of an international commission for the study of Carpathian and Balkanic ethnography. Since then, the following countries have participated in the meetings and research projects: Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia (and naturally the two proposing countries themselves). The Secretary General of the commission is Professor Václav Frolec (Brno). After several years of preparation the first issues of their international bibliographies appeared. In each of them participants from the member states send bibliographical items according to a special topic, and the (Czechoslovakian) editors arrange them into a book.

The commission (in Czech *Mezinárodní komise pro studium lidové kultury v Karpatech a na Balkáně*, its more used abbreviation is MKKKB) trusted Václav Frolec and Jaromír Kubiček with editing the bibliographies.

The bibliographies are important for Hungarian studies in their comparative aspect. All bibliographical entries are also translated either into German, or into French. The aim of the compilation was to select for publication only the most important works. That is why the importance of the issues cannot be doubted.

Svazek 1. *Lidová architektura*, Brno, MKKKB, 1981. 119 pp.

The book contains 1424 bibliographical entries concerning folk architecture. The material is grouped by country thus Hungary is on pp. 65–78 (nos. 768–987), in a section compiled by Endre Fűzes. At the end of the book there is an alphabetical list of authors.

Svazek 2. *Pastýrská kultura*, Brno, 1984. 127 pp.

1591 items on herdsmen's culture. The Hungarian chapter, compiled by Gyula Viga contains about 200 titles, but also in the first, general chapter there are Hungarian data. E.g. on the very first page two-thirds of the references concern Hungarian folk culture.

Svazek 3. *Folklórni tradice o zbojnicích*, Brno, 1984. 80 pp.

The volume contains 966 items on highwaymen's folklore. The Hungarian chapter (on pp. 43–46, nos. 495–552) was compiled by Imola Küllös. Since the brigand, highwayman or robber (usually referred to as *betyár*) is very popular in Hungarian folklore, we find important Hungarian data in chapters from other countries too.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

Kubová, Milada

**Bibliografia slovenskej etnografie a folkloristiky  
za roky 1976–1980**

Bratislava, Národopisný ústav SAV, 1984. 342 pp.

The Slovakian ethnographic (and folklore) bibliography has reached its third issue. While the first volume (for the years 1960–69) contained 1920 items, and the second (for the years 1970–75) 2699 items, the present volume indexes a total of 3134 items. Tables of contexts in Slovakian, Russian and German help to orientate the foreign reader. However, all the bibliographic data are only in Slovakian. The volume closes with a list of periodicals and journal referred to, a list of authors and a geographical register. Hungarian material or material of interest to Hungarians can be found from three sources. Publications in Hungary were excerpted for the bibliography — Hungarian scholars who have published in Slovakian publications, and some of whose works do not even appear in current Hungarian ethnographic bibliographies — and here the most important source is the common interest in ethnography and folklore.

Unfortunately no summarizing Rumanian, Croatian or Austrian ethnographic bibliography has been published in recent years. Thus only the present Slovakian book provides comparative material for all of our research topics. It is a pity that the book is an internal publication of the Institute of Ethnography at the Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava, thus inaccessible to all those interested. We should also mention that, in spite of the annual Hungarian bibliographies of ethnography and folklore (first in *Néprajzi Hírek*, then also in *Hungarológiai Értesítő*) we can not boast of a similar Hungarian publication. Why?

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ONOMASTIC PUBLICATIONS OF LORÁND EÖTVÖS  
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Important small booklets have been appearing since 1974 in Budapest, where the onomastic working group of the Institute of Hungarian Language at Loránd Eötvös University (*az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Magyar Nyelvészeti Tanszékcsoport Névkuiaió Munkaközössége*), under the guidance of Mihály Hajdú, collects and publishes personal names, place names and suchlike.

Small yellow issues under the series title *Magyar Személynévi Adattárak* (later also with a Latin title on the frontispiece: *Repertorium Nominum Hungarorum*), each from 15 to 190 pages in length, provide data on Hungarian personal names. At the beginning 250, then 300, or 350, and now 200–250 copies are sent to scholars and research institutions free of charge. The aim of the series is to publish material in a well-organized manner, keeping scholarly apparatus or specialist notes to a minimum. The publications cover the entire Hungarian language territory, including areas situated outside of Hungary. Historical material, although less frequently published, does appear in some of the publications.

What follows is a short bibliographical list of the first 74 issues. Since all the issues are from the above mentioned institute in Budapest, I shall only give the authors' name, title, year of publication and page numbers. The books do not contain summaries in a language other than Hungarian.

- [No.] 1. G. Dombai, Ágnes: *Seregélyes keresztnevei* (First names in village S.). 1974, pp. 56.
2. A. Fodor, Ágnes: *Cigánd mai család- és ragadványnevei* (Recent family names and nicknames in village C.). 1975, pp. 42.
3. Hajdú, Mihály: *A volt bukovinai Istensegits és Fogadjisten keresztnevei* (First names in two Bukovinan Hungarian villages, I. and F.) 1785–1940. 1975, pp. 68. (A thorough historical analysis.)
4. Németh, Marietta: *Vác környékének mai becézőnevei* (Diminutive first names in four villages near to Vác). 1975, pp. 57.
5. B. Gábor, Zsuzsa: *Visk magyar lakosainak történeti és mai családnevei* (Historical and recent family names in Village V., earlier county Máramaros). 1975, pp. 47.
6. Drótos, András: *Sajópetri mai ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village S.). 1975, pp. 15.
7. Hajdú, Mihály: *A volt bukovinai Hadikfalva keresztnevei* (First names in a Bukovinan Hungarian village H.) 1790–1940. 1975, pp. 62. (See above No. 3.)
8. Mízsér, Lajos: *Cserépfalu keresztnevei* (First names in village Cs.) 1731–1974. 1976, pp. 84.
9. Blanyár, Valéria: *Nagykálló mai ragadványnevei* (Recent nicknames in village N.). 1976, pp. 41.
10. Németh, Marietta: *Vác környékének mai keresztnevei* (First names in four villages near to Vác). 1976, pp. 56. (See above No. 4.)
11. Csapó, Irma: *Galambok mai becenevei* (Diminutive names in village G.). 1976, pp. 79. (On the cover incorrectly numbered 9.)
12. Hajdú, Mihály: *A volt bukovinai Józseffalva keresztnevei* (First names in a Bukovinan Hungarian village J.) 1836–1940. 1977, pp. 36. (See above 3. and 7.)

13. Gedai, Borbála: *Gyerekek kereszt- és becenevei Kőbölkúton* (Children's first and diminutive names in K., Slovakia). 1977, pp. 47.
14. Molnár, Mária: *Magyarlak mai ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village M.). 1977, pp. 32.
15. Balázs, Judit: *Rábaszentandrás mai család- és ragadványnevei* (Family names and nicknames in village R.). 1977, pp. 67.
16. Nagy, Géza: *Karcsa mai család- és Ragadványnevei* (Family names and nicknames in village K.). 1977, pp. 66.
17. [Mrs.] Hankovszky, Béláné: *Rábaszentmihály keresztnevei* (First names in village R.) 1725–1970. 1978, pp. 44.
18. Virág, Gábor: *Csantavér keresztnevei* (First names in village Cs., Yugoslavia) 1782–1970. 1978, pp. 76.
19. [Mrs.] Magyarovics, Lászlóné: *Szentgyörgymező mai ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in a district of the town Esztergom, Sz.). 1978, pp. 21.
20. Agg, Gábor: *Ragadványnevek 22 Zala menti faluból* (Nicknames from 22 villages by the River Zala). 1978, pp. 84.
21. Fazekas, Tiborc–Hajdú, Mihály: *A volt bukovinai Andrásfalva keresztnevei* (First names in a Bukovinan Hungarian village A.) 1801–1940. 1978, pp. 56. (See above 3., 7. and 12.)
22. Kovács, János: *Vásárosdombó mai család- és ragadványnevei* (Family names and nicknames in village V.). 1978, pp. 35.
23. Szekeres, Ilona: *Szajol mai ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village Sz.). 1978, pp. 34.
24. Pintér, Mária: *Mezőkövesd régebbi ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village M. before 1945). 1978, pp. 63.
25. Juhász, Dezső: *Nagykörű keresztnevei* (First names in village N.) 1700–1899. 1978, pp. 72.
26. Somlósi, Antónia: *Budapesti középiskolások szőlítőnevei az 1960-as évek elején* (Nicknames in Budapest secondary schools from the 1960s). 1980, pp. 36.
27. Mizser, Lajos: *Cserépfalu személynevei* (Personal names in village Cs.) 1548–1720. 1980, pp. 31. (See above 8.)
28. Karacs, Zsigmond: *Földes történeti és mai család- és ragadványnevei* (Historical and recent family names and nicknames in village F.). 1980, pp. 89.
29. Rigler, János: *Párkány iskolás korosztályának kereszt- és becenevei* (First names and nicknames of schoolchildren in village P., Slovakia). 1980, pp. 71.
30. Hajdú, Mihály: *Az 1646–47. évi Bandinus-féle összeírás névstatisztikái* (Statistics of the 1646–47 list of Moldavian personal names by bishop Bandinus). 1980, pp. 53.
31. Szabó, Imre: *Kurd történeti és mai ragadványnevei* (Historical and recent nicknames of village K.). 1980, pp. 72.
32. Csoknyay, Judit: *Szamosangyalos keresztnevei* (First names in village Sz.) 1777–1970. 1980, pp. 61.
33. Tóth, József Farkas: *Szápár mai család- és keresztnevei* (Family and first names in village Sz.). 1980, pp. 28.
34. [Mrs.] Kissné Deli, Mária: *Felsőegerszeg, Varga és Váznok keresztnevei* (First names in F., Va. and Vá.) 1750–1977. 1980, pp. 107.
35. Bertók, István: *Vése mai ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village V.). 1980, pp. 51
36. Rácz, Sándor: *Óföldsék és a volt Návay-uradalmak lakosságának ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village Ó. and from its vicinity). 1981, pp. 61.
37. Tóth, Mihály: *Bag mai család- és ragadványnevei* (First names and nicknames in village B.). 1981, pp. 29.
38. Kovács, Béla: *Visonta keresztnevei* (First names in village V.) 1692–1945. 1981, pp. 42.
39. Fazekas, Tiborc: *Hertelendyfalva és Sándoregyháza keresztnevei* (First names in two Bukovinan Hungarian villages in Yugoslavia, H. and S.) 1899–1960. 1981, pp. 38. (See 3, 7, 12. and 21.)
40. Iván, László: *Kecel személynevei* (Personal names in village K.). 1981, pp. 167.

41. Villányi, Péter: *Galgamácsa mai család- és ragadványnevei* (Family names and nicknames in village G.). 1981, pp. 68.
42. Kocsis, Ilona: *Dunavecse keresztnévei* (First names in village D.) 1737–1895. 1981, pp. 66.
43. [Mrs.] Bezsenyiné Huszár, Melinda: *Ráckeve keresztnévei* (First names in the town R.) 1801–1950. 1982, pp. 66.
44. Dobosy, László: *Az ózdi járás 40 településének ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in 40 villages of the Ózd district). 1982, pp. 144.
45. Barthas, József: *Pusztina személynevei* (Personal names of village P., Rumania). 1982, pp. 50.
46. Fercsik, Erzsébet: *Hévízgyörk mai család- és ragadványnevei* (Family names and nicknames in village H.). 1982, pp. 54.
47. [Mrs.] Szabóné Szakali, Ágnes: *Jánoshida ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village J.). 1982, pp. 26.
48. Horváth, Olga: *Csörötnék személynevei* (Personal names in village Cs.). 1982, pp. 80.
49. Rácz, Sándor: *Földeák ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village F.). 1982, pp. 190.
50. Ördög, Ferenc: *Gyulaj keresztnévei* (First names in village Gy.) 1738–1960. 1982, pp. 46.
51. [Mrs.] Avas, Kálmánné: *Nagyrákos és Óriszentpéter keresztnévei* (First names in two villages, N. and Ó.). 1895–1969. 1983, pp. 31.
52. Görbedi, Miklós: *Tiszalök ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village T.). 1983, pp. 35.
53. Sz. Jankó, Katalin: *Szombathelyi középiskolások szolítónevei* (Nicknames in Szombathely secondary schools). 1983, pp. 33. (See 26.)
54. Kliment, Zsuzsanna: *Alap község mai család- és ragadványnevei* (Family names and nicknames in village A.). 1983, pp. 29.
55. Dömötör, Adrienne: *Szigetvár „bosnyák” lakóinak ragadványnevei* (Nicknames of an ethnic group in town Sz.). 1983, pp. 29.
56. [Mrs.] Avas, Kálmánné: *Pankasz és Kisrákos ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in two villages, P. and K.). 1983, pp. 21. (See 53.)
57. Szabó T., Ádám: *Kolozsvár és Felek adóösszeírása 1750-ből* (Tax lists with names from K. and F. from 1750). 1983, pp. 106.
58. Hegedűs, Teréz Gabriella: *Kisnémedi ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village K.). 1983, pp. 48.
59. Csáky, Károly: *Kelenye (Kleňany) család- és ragadványnevei* (Family names and nicknames in village K., in Slovakia). 1983, pp. 56.
60. Bokor, József: *Sopronkövesd ragadványnevei, 1965.* (Nicknames in village S.). 1983, pp. 44. (Earlier cover—because of plagiarism—was an error.)
61. Juhász, Aladár: *Vága (Váhovce) mai személynevei* (Personal names in village V. in Slovakia). 1983, pp. 27.
62. Néma, Lajos: *Visk és Sztatina ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in two Hungarian villages, V. and Sz. in Soviet Ukraine). 1985, pp. 86.
63. Albert, Zsuzsanna: *Harasztkerék ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village H.). 1985, pp. 27.
64. Rácz, Sándor: *Marostele ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village M.). 1985, pp. 128.
65. Kovács, Jenő: *Mersevát személynevei* (Personal names in village M.). 1985, pp. 96.
66. [Mrs.] Ivádiné Gyenge, Ilona: *Ivád ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village I.). 1985, pp. 39.
67. Elek, Margit: *Polgár ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village P.). 1985, pp. 42.
68. Szép, Katalin: *Magyarszerdahely személynevei* (Personal names in village M.). 1985, pp. 72.
69. Rácz, Sándor: *Ferencszállás és a volt báró Gerliczy-majorok lakosságának ragadványnevei* (Nicknames in village F. and its vicinity). 1985, pp. 95.
70. Virág, Gábor: *Csantavér családnevei* (Family names of village Cs., Yugoslavia). 1985, pp. 83. (An exceptionally good analysis. See above 18.)
71. Bitter, Anikó: *Endrefalva keresztnévei* (First names in village E.) 1734–1949. 1986, pp. 70.
72. Huley, Alfréd: *Gerendási ragadványnevek* (Nicknames in village G.). 1986, pp. 16. (With a list of the series publications from 1 to 69.)

73. Mészáros, Edit: *Zalacséb személynevei* (Personal names in village Z.). 1986, pp. 62.

74. [Mrs.] Ficzekné Molnár, Mária: *Magyarlak mai kereszt- és becenevei* (First and diminutive names in village M.). 1986, pp. 57. (See above 14.)

The publications run to 6–10 issues per year, ranging from 250 to 600 printed pages. In most cases the systematization of the material is highly commendable, and the authors try to present the full material. With more than 3,000 "villages" in Hungary, and thousands of villages and other settlements outside of the country, with Hungarian names, the series has a sure future both in terms of material and authors. There is no separate list of publications in this series, (see however No. 72.) nor any attempt to summarize findings hitherto gained.

Similar light blue booklets under the series title *Magyar Névtani Dolgozatok* deal with both personal and place names. The editor is again Mihály Hajdú. The blue issues started in 1976, and the format is very similar. Here is the list of the publications hitherto available:

1. Juhász, Dezső: *Nagyörű helynevei* (Place names in village N.). 1976, pp. 65. (See previous list No. 25.)
2. G. Dombai, Mária: *Seregélyes becenévrendszere* (The system of nicknames in village S.) 1976, pp. 78. (See previous list No. 1.)
3. Hajdú, Mihály: *Keresztnevszótárak repertórium* (An international list of dictionaries of personal names). 1977, pp. 75.
4. Molnár, György: *Székesfehérvár utcaneveinek névtani vizsgálata* (Street names in town Sz.). 1977, pp. 38.
5. R. Nagy, Vera: *Helynévvizsgálat négy budai barlangban* (An analysis of place names in four caves in Buda). 1977, pp. 43.
6. [Mrs.] Mészárosné Varga, Mária: *Bazsi helynevei* (Place names in village B.). 1978, pp. 56.
7. Hajdú, Mihály–Molnár, József: *Az első magyar térkép helynevei* (Place names in the first map of Hungary, 1510–1520). 1978, pp. 108, 1 map.
8. Urbán, Teréz: *Nyíregyháza utcanevei* (Street names in Ny.). 1978, pp. 87.
9. J. Szabó, Erzsébet: *Rákospalota külterületi helynevei* (Place names in a district of Budapest R.). 1981, pp. 48.
10. Solymár, Imre: *Mezőgazdasági termelőszövetkezetek nevei Magyarországon* (Names of agricultural cooperatives in Hungary). 1981, pp. 52.
11. Vitányi, Borbála: *Személynévadás Tömörkény István műveiben* (Personal names in the literary works of I. Tömörkény). 1981, pp. 48.
12. Ördög, Ferenc: *Zala megye helységneveinek rendszere* (System of village names in county Zala). 1981, pp. 24.
13. Marosi, Teréz: *Tulajdonnevek a magyar népmesékben* (Names in Hungarian folk tales). 1981, pp. 66.
14. Raátz, Judit: *Gödöllő helynevei* (Place names in village G.). 1981, pp. 77.
15. [Mrs.] Gulyásné Mátraházi, Zsuzsanna: *Napjaink különleges keresztnévdátja* (Peculiar first names in Hungary today). 1981, pp. 91.
16. Knausz, Ágnes: *Kutya-, ló- és szarvasmarhanevek Miklósfán* (Names for dogs, horses and cattle in village M.). 1981, pp. 37.
17. Fülöp, László: *Kaposvár utcaneveinek névtani vizsgálata* (Street names in town K.). 1981, pp. 33.
18. Tóth, Éva: *Letenye és Sormás kutyanévei* (Dogs' names in two villages, L. and S.). 1981, pp. 30.
19. Halász, Péter: *Magyarfalu helynevei* (Place names in a Hungarian village M., Rumania). 1981, pp. 28.
20. Paulusz, Julianna: *Szarvasmarhanevek Nagykanizsa környékén* (Cattle names in N. region). 1981, pp. 19.
21. É. Kiss, Sándor: *Révész Imre 1853. évi helynévgyűjteménye* (Place names in a collection of I. Révész from 1853). 1981, pp. 51.

22. Nagy, Géza: *A bodrogközi Karcsa állatnevei* (Names of animals in village K.) 1959–1979. 1981, pp. 43. (See previous list No. 16.)
23. Matijevics, Lajos: *A jugoszláviai Ferenc-csatorna víznevei* (Hydronyms at the Ferenc-canal in Yugoslavia). 1981, pp. 69.
24. Herényi, István: *Alsóór genealógiája* (Intermarital ties in a Hungarian village in Austria, Alsóór–Unterwart). 1982, pp. 128.
25. [Bognár, András ed.]: *Névtudományi tanácskozás Kalocsán 1978. július 27.* (Papers of the onomastic conference in Kalocsa). 1982, pp. 89.
26. Halász, Péter: *Lészped helynevei* (Place names in a Hungarian village L., Rumania). 1983, pp. 27.
27. Biskopics, Éva: *Kiskanizsai kutya nevek* (Names of dogs in village K.). 1983, pp. 29.
28. [Mrs.] Antalné Szabó, Ágnes: *Névírás-szociológia az intézményekben* (Spelling of names of institutions). 1983, pp. 41.
29. Hetényi, Piroska: *Személynévhasználat Petőfi költészetében* (Personal names in Petőfi's poetry). 1983, pp. 43.
30. Balázs, Géza: *Tulajdonnevek a magyar népmesékben* (Names in Hungarian folk tales) II. 1983, pp. 66. (See above 13.)
31. Paulusz, Julianna: *Nagykanizsai kutya nevek* (Names of dogs in the town N.). 1983, pp. 33. (See above 27.)
32. Halász, Péter: *Ónfalva (Onyest) helynevei* (Place names in a Hungarian village O. in Rumania). 1983, pp. 33.
33. Henczi, Sándor: *Salomvár helynevei* (Place names in village S.). 1983, pp. 76.
34. Berényi, Zsuzsanna Ágnes: *A budapesti Nagyvásártelep mikrotoponimiája* (Toponymics of Central Gross Market in Budapest). 1983, pp. 66.
35. Dolák, Katalin: *Vizsoly helynevei* (Place names in village V.). 1983, pp. 51.
36. Tóth, Éva–Tóth, Mária: *Palin, Korpavár, Bagolasánc és Kerecseny kutya nevei* (Names of dogs in four villages P., K., B. and Ke.). 1983, pp. 23.
37. Kósa, László: *Bágy (Bădeni) helynevei* (Place names in a Hungarian village B., in Rumania). 1983, pp. 31.
38. Bukovics, Ildikó: *Állatnevek Fekete István műveiben* (Animal names in the works of the writer I. Fekete). 1983, pp. 24.
39. Boha, Judit: *Páka szarvasmarha- és kutya nevei* (Names of cattle and of dogs in village P.). 1983, pp. 17.
40. Marác, László Károly: *Fertőd helynevei* (Place names in village F.). 1983, pp. 44.
41. Tamás, Olga: *Kutya-, macska- és baromfinevek Becsehelyen* (Names for dogs, cats and poultry in village B.). 1983, pp. 39.
42. Fekete, Edit: *Balatonföldvár utcanevei* (Street names in village B.). 1983, pp. 22.
43. Horváth, Attila: *Pölöskefő és Kacorlak kutya nevei* (Names for dogs in two villages, P. and K.). 1983, pp. 13.
44. Mollay, Erzsébet: *Növénynevek Melius herbáriumában* (Names of plants in the Herbarium of P. J. Melius in 1578). 1983, pp. 147.
45. [Mrs.] Hegedűsné Marikovecz, Katalin: *Helynevek Csehszlovákia komáromi járásából* (Hungarian place names from the Komarno region in Czechoslovakia). 1983, pp. 68.
46. [Mrs.] Nánásiné Nagyiday, Adrienne: *Nyíregyháza helynevei* (Place names in town Ny.). 1983, pp. 52.
47. Egyed, Mária: *Orosztony szarvasmarhanevei* (Names of cattle in village O.). 1983, pp. 11.
48. Újvári, Béla: *Csikmenaság (Armășeni) külterületének történeti helynevei* (Historical place names of the Hungarian village Cs., in Rumania). 1983, pp. 28.
49. Tóth, Ildikó: *Pölöskefő szarvasmarhanevei* (Names for cattle in village P.). 1983, pp. 15. (See above 43.)

50. Vitányi, Borbála: *Justh Zsigmond írói névadása* (Personal names in the works of the writer Zs. Justh). 1983, pp. 56.
51. Farkas, György: *Mogyoród belterülete és határa a helynevek tükrében* (Place names in village M.). 1983, pp. 53.
52. Pelle, Attila: *Heves megye Tiszával határos községeinek vízrajzi nevei* (Hydronyms of the Tisza region in county Heves). 1983, pp. 60.
53. Rometsch, Haik: *A magyar, finn és észti belső keletkezésű személynevek* (Inner creations in Hungarian, Finnish and Estonian first names). 1983, pp. 62.
54. Kakuk, Mátyás: *Hangtani váltakozások Kunszentmárton XVIII–XIX. századi családneveiben* (Phonetic alterations in 18th–19th century family names in K.). 1985, pp. 32.
55. Vitányi, Borbála: *Thury Zoltán írói névadása* (Personal names in the literary works of Z. Thury). 1985, pp. 44.
56. Erdélyi, Erzsébet: *Nagykőrös utcaneveinek története 1850 és 1982 között* (History of street names in N., between 1850 and 1982). 1985, pp. 67.
57. Hajdú, Mihály: *Magyar hajónevek* (Hungarian ship names). 1986, pp. 53.
58. Halász, Péter: *Klézse (Cleja) helynevei* (Place names in a Hungarian village K., in Rumania). 1986, pp. 48.
59. Vitányi, Borbála: *Papp Dániel írói névadása* (Personal names in the literary works of D. Papp). 1986, pp. 51.
60. Kovács, Zita: *Magyar bútornevek* (Hungarian phantasy names for furniture). 1986, pp. 38.
61. D. Varga, László: *Deregyő helynevei* (Place names in village D.). 1986, pp. 45.
62. Csige, Katalin: *Személynevek frazeológiai egységeiben* (Personal names in Hungarian phraseological units). 1986, pp. 51. (A first attempt of a classification.)
63. Gyergyák, Krisztina: *Magyarországi szarvasmarhanevek* (Cattle names in Hungary) 1985. 1986, pp. 91.

The blue series only differs in a few respects from the yellow one. Only non-human names are dealt with, and surveys which do more than merely present the material are also included. Between No. 51. and 53. the editor was Dezső Juhász, from No. 58. it has been again Mihály Hajdú. Number 50 has at the end of the booklet a short list of previous publications. The speed of the printing is very uneven: 2–3 issues per year with 150–200 pages at the very beginning, then years without a single issue, then again in 1983, spanning more than 1,200 pages no less than 27 issues were published. Unfortunately these publications do not contain summaries in foreign languages.

Some years after the publication of the first booklets it became clear that a special journal type publication might also make a useful contribution to onomastical research. At the Nyiregyháza meeting of the research project participants in 1979, it was decided to publish a special journal *Névtani Értesítő* ("Onomastic Reports"). In the same year two issues appeared, published by the Budapest University linguists, edited by Mihály Hajdú and András Mező. Later the publication appeared in thicker issues, but only once a year, and from number 8 (1983) onwards the work has been directed by a large editorial board. The journal publishes articles, short notices, reviews, chronicles and notes. At the end of each issue there is a short (1–2 page long) English summary.

Hitherto the following issues have appeared:

- Névtani Értesítő* 1, Budapest, 1979, pp. 75.  
 2, Budapest, 1979, pp. 91.  
 3, Budapest, 1980, pp. 94.  
 4, Budapest, 1980, pp. 106.  
 5, Budapest, 1981, pp. 116.

- 6, Budapest, 1981, pp. 116.
- 7, Budapest, 1982, pp. 178.
- 8, Budapest, 1983, pp. 180.
- 9, Budapest, 1984, pp. 154.
- 10, Budapest, 1985, pp. 198.
- 11, Budapest, 1986, pp. 120.

The print run was at first 250, then 300, and even 350; the last issue appeared again in 300 copies. A firm and solid publication, sometimes with small typing errors and printed in a very modest format.

One special single edition work also belongs to the Budapest onomastic publications.

Szabó T., Ádám: *Kolozsvár és környéke helyneveinek történeti-etimológiai vizsgálata I. A–E* (Historical and etymological studies in place names of the Kolozsvár [Cluj–Napoca] region. Vol. I. Names with A to E). Budapest, 1981, pp. 81 + 2 pp.

We look forward to further parts in the near future.

To sum up these small publications (over a hundred in number) contain tens of thousands of pieces of data. Similar issues would serve comparative studies as well. For all those interested in the (again more than one hundred) villages investigated by the publications, the data are important and valuable. A new epoch in Hungarian onomastic studies has been initiated by the scholars responsible for these publications.

### **Hajdú, Mihály: Magyar–angol, angol–magyar keresztnévszótár Hungarian–English, English–Hungarian Dictionary of Christian Names**

Budapest, 1983, pp. 117.

This bilingual book, written by the *spiritus motor* of Budapest onomastics, gives an alphabetical list of more than two thousand Hungarian first names, with English-style pronunciation indications, together with a very short etymology of the name, with English explanations and possible equivalents. In its second and shorter part, it gives 700 frequent English first names with their Hungarian equivalents. In the introduction (also both in Hungarian and English) the author stresses the preliminary and practical character of his book: it is designed to serve as a basis for further use and study. Some typing errors and certain peculiarities of English should not be allowed to discourage the reader.

### **Sociolinguistic Publications of Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest**

Similar to the yellow and blue booklets (see the review above on pp. 167–172) red ones have also appeared devoted to the study of the language of various professional or social groups in Hungary. The publishers are the university Institute of Hungarian Language History and Dialectography (*Magyar Nyelvtörténeti és Nyelvjárási Tanszék*) and the Academic Research Institute of Linguistics (*A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelvtudományi Intézete*), both in Budapest. The editor of the series is Mihály Hajdú. The aim of the project was to publish relevant material in non-standard Hungarian, collected recently, or evaluated by the team-members of the research project. Initially 250 copies, and later 300 copies, were made available free of charge to research institutions. In most (but not all) of the issues there is a list of previous publications. It is most unfortunate that the editors did not consider it necessary to publish a short summary of the volumes in another language (preferably English or German). To date, the following issues have appeared.

1. Hajdú, Mihály: *A csoportnyelvekről* (On the language usage of social groups). 1980, pp. 62. (A useful introduction to the series, clarifying terms and methods used by the research teamworkers.)
2. Németh, Marietta: *A mályinkai szénégetés szakszókincse* (The language of charcoal burners in village M.). 1980, pp. 53.
3. Túri, Teodóra: *A kisbéri szíjgyártás szakszókincse* (The language of the harness makers in K.). 1980, pp. 71.
4. [Mrs.] G. Varga, Györgyi: *Szövegmutatók Hatvan regionális köznyelvéből* (Texts of everyday language in town H.). 1980, pp. 292.
5. Kiss, Jenő: *A cipésmesterség szakszókincse a rábaközi Mihályiban* (The language of the shoemakers in village M.). 1981, pp. 69.
6. [Mrs.] Mészárosné Varga, Mária: *Falucsúfolók a tapolcai járásban* (Village slurs in the Tapolca region). 1981, pp. 35, 1 map.
7. Hajdú, Mihály: *Nyelvjárástörténeti szövegek és följegyzések a XVIII–XIX. századi Orosházáról* (Texts on historical dialectography in O, from the 18–19th centuries). 1981, pp. 99.
8. Bana, Enikő: *A kispaládi pokróckészítés szakszókincse* (The language of woven rug making in village K.). 1981, pp. 45.
9. Zilahi, Lajos: *Regionális köznyelvi szövegek Orosházáról* (Texts of everyday language from town O.). 1981, pp. 71. (See 7. above.)
10. Gémes, Balázs: *A kecskeméti diáknyelv szótára (1967)* (The language of schoolchildren in town K.). 1982, pp. 63.
11. [Mrs.] Tarné Naszádos, Katalin: *Sárvári szólások és közmondások* (Sayings and proverbs from town S.). 1982, pp. 88.
12. Bura, László: *A szatmári fafeldolgozó mesterségek szakszókincse* (Language of the carpenters in the town Szatmár—Satu Mare, Rumania). 1982, pp. 272.
13. Solymár, Imre: *Három etnikum falucsúfolói a Völgységben* (Hungarian, German and Székely ethnic slurs in the Völgység region, South-Transdanubia). 1982, pp. 89.
14. Balázs, Géza: *A kazári népi erdőgazdálkodás munkamenete és szakszókincse* (The work and language of traditional forestry in village K.). 1982, pp. 47.
15. Hajdú, Mihály: *Nyelvjárástörténeti szövegek és följegyzések a XVIII–XIX. századi Békésről* (Texts on historical dialectography in B., from the 18–19th centuries). 1983, pp. 121.
16. Somogyi, Béla: *A whist kártyajáték magyar szókészlete (1824)* (Hungarian terminology for whist-playing). 1983, pp. 29.
17. Csöglei Szabó, Dénes: *Szólások és közmondások Csöglén* (Sayings and proverbs from village Cs.). 1983, pp. 109.
18. Balázs, Géza: *Firkálások a gödöllői HÉV-en* (Graffiti in local train wagons in Budapest). 1983, pp. 113. With English, German, Spanish, Italian and Russian summaries.
19. [Mrs.] Szabó, Gyuláné: *A debreceni paszományos mesterség szakszókincse* (Language of the passementerie in Debrecen). 1983, pp. 75.
20. Tóth, Mihály: *Köszönések és megszólítások Bag községben* (Greetings and forms of address in village B.). 1983, pp. 37.
21. Pável, Márta: *Ács község szólásai* (Sayings in village Á). 1983, pp. 66.
22. Timaffy, László: *A kispalföldi kocsik és szekerek szakszókincsenek nyelvatlasza és szótára* (Coaches and wagons in the Kispalföld region.—A linguistic atlas and dictionary). 1985, pp. 86.
23. Bereznai, Zsuzsanna: *Falucsúfolók az egri járásban* (Village slurs in the Eger district). 1985, pp. 48.
24. Kovács, Ákos: *Magyarországi falvédőföliatok* (Texts of 1,000 Hungarian kitchen linens). 1985, pp. 40.
25. Fülöp, László: *A sárvári kovácsmesterség szakszókincse* (The language of the blacksmiths in town S.). 1985, pp. 170.



26. Lakatos, Demeter: *Csángó strófák* (The complete works of the Hungarian csángó poet, D. Lakatos, with linguistic commentary). 1986, pp. 254. (Surely the most important publication in the series.)

27. Hajas, Andrea: *A nagykanizsai Kovácsmesterség szakszókincse* (Language of the blacksmiths in Nagykanizsa). 1986, pp. 111.

28. Bura, László: *A moldvai csángó nyelvjárás a-zása* (The vowel *a* instead of *o* in Hungarian csángó dialects in Moldavia, Rumania). 1986, pp. 37.

29. [Mrs.] Sipos Jenőné Somodi, Mária: *A makói hagymatermesztés szakszókincse* (Language of the onion producers in Makó). 1986, pp. 21.

Sociolinguistics, regional language forms and texts, historical dialectography constitute a limitless field of study. This fact is confirmed by the growing publishing activity the series represents. Some of the publications are superfluous—we are not able to print everybody's everyday language. Other booklets are of great value. (E.g. No. 26.) If the number of historical sources is limited, there is every justification for publishing the material contained in some of the small issues (as e.g. Nos 7 and 15). Vanishing professions and techniques must be documented in a similar way (see the excellent issues, e.g. 2, 3, 5, 8, 12, 14, 19, 22, 25). We highly recommend the publications of proverbs and suchlike from a single community (e.g. 11, 17, 21). The most important publications are about such neglected topics as village and ethnic slurs (6, 13, 23), the language of schoolchildren (10), greetings (20), card-playing terms (16), and graffiti (18), kitchen-linen (24), each making an original contribution to both Hungarian linguistics and folklore research. This is the line along which the series should attempt to define its purpose. We can state with great pleasure that the number of copies of the series is increasing, and at least in one issue a summary has been provided (even if the use of 5 languages seems to me a little excessive).

Bearing in mind the interdisciplinary character of this venture, the editor and various authors should consult more sociologists or cultural historians for the coming issues. As for the work on ethnography and folklore, the cooperation with linguists has proved very fruitful and satisfying, as is demonstrated by the published works themselves.

### Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez 1–3

Edited at the Musical Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (*A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Zenetudományi Intézete*) in Budapest this series provides material on the history of music in Hungary.

1. Szendrei, Janka: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. Budapest, 1981, pp. 302.

An outline of medieval sources in Hungary with musical notation. 131 codici, 68 missales and 655 fragments are listed, analyzed and indexed. A table of contents and summary are also provided in German (*Notierte Quellen des ungarischen Mittelalters*). 108 full-page (black-white) illustrations present the most important sources.

2. Erdélyi, Sándor: *A hegedű*. Budapest, 1982, pp. 204, figs. A short essay on fiddle making in Hungary, with rich historical and pictorial documentation. One of the most renowned Hungarian fiddle-makers, S. Nemessányi (1837–1881) is considered at length in a special chapter. The second part of the book is a sample card index on fiddle-makers in Hungary. Table of contents and short chapter summaries in German too.

3. Karch, Pál: *Pest-Buda katonazenéje 1848-ban (Katonazenekarok és karmesterek)*. Budapest, 1983, pp. 106, 35 tables.

The book deals with the music of soldiers in Pest and Buda in 1848, paying special attention to military orchestras and their conductors. Carefully selected material, good indices and many unique illustrations add to the interest of the volume. It also contains the facsimile text of a 1846 description of some Hungarian military orchestras, with a Hungarian translation. Because of the wider interest of the book's theme, there is a table of contents and a good summary in German, also included on the cover of the book (*Regimentsmusik und Militärkapellmeister im Pesth und Ofen im Jahre 1848*).

**Rádió és Televízió Szemle és Jel-Kép Repertórium  
1969–1984**

Edited by János Lukáts

Budapest, Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont, 1984. 156 pp.

With the modernization of the Hungarian broadcasting a research centre was also established which published its quarterly *Rádió és Televízió Szemle* from 1969 to 1979. Then, along with the reorganization of the centre (into its present name and form *Tömegkommunikációs Kutatóközpont*) the journal appeared from 1980 on as *Jel-Kép*. A complete index to both is available in the present publication. First a cumulative index, then an index of subjects and authors follows. Since the above journals clearly reflect the recent attitudes of Hungarian society to mass communication, and the sponsoring research institute has been the first modern and successful research project in Hungarian applied sociology, the data in the repertory are very interesting and important to everybody interested in modern Hungarian society. (The title of the publication is different on the cover, and at the frontispice.)

Koren, Emil

**Suomi – egyházi szemmel**

Budapest, a Magyarországi Evangélikus Egyház Sajtóosztálya, 1984. 56 pp.

A small and personal report on the contacts between Finnish-Hungarian Lutherans. The author, provost of Buda parish and honorary D. Theol. of Helsinki University, has been the central figure in such contacts for already about half a century. It would be a worth-while task to write a more detailed and fully documented history of contacts between the two churches.

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