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# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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# HUNGARIAN STUDIES

a Journal of the International Association of Hungarian Studies  
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## УКРАИНСКО—ВЕНГЕРСКИЕ МЕЖЪЯЗЫКОВЫЕ (МЕЖДИАЛЕКТНЫЕ) СВЯЗИ

П. Н. ЛИЗАНЕЦ

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Изучение межъязыковых (междиалектных) взаимовлияний является одной из важнейших задач лингвистической науки, ибо взаимовлияние языков является вполне реальным и объективным фактом действительности, мимо которого не может пройти лингвистическая наука. Несмотря на большую актуальность исследования проблемы межъязыкового (междиалектного) контактирования, она и поныне остается еще слабо изученной как в теоретическом, так и практическом плане. Только в последнее время появились отдельные работы, посвященные изучению межъязыковых контактов, но в них речь идет прежде всего о контактировании литературных языков<sup>1</sup>, а междиалектному контактированию, которое лучше раскрывает историю контактирующих языков, материальную и духовную культуру народов, находящихся между собой и непосредственных связях, почти не уделяется внимания.

Понятие “Языковые контакты” трактуется исследователями по-разному. У. Вайнрайх, Э. Хауген, В. Ю Розенцвейг и другие рассматривают языковые контакты как периодическое использование двух или более языков одним и тем же лицом. Тем самым они суживают понятие языковых контактов до анализа билингвизма или мультилингвизма. Кроме того, они не проводят разницы между билингвизмом как процессом языковых контактов и билингвизмом, как их результатом, не изучают тех общественных явлений, которые способствовали возникновению двуязычия.

Безусловно, при определении понятия “Языковой контакт” большое внимание следует уделять и внеязыковым факторам (экономический и политический уклад, религия, материальная и духовная культура, история, этнография, психологический уклад и т. д.), ибо они в значительной мере стимулируют процесс языковых контактов. Исходя из сказанного, мы считаем возможным дать следующее определение: языковой контакт как реальный и необходимый факт действительности является общественным процессом, который характеризует межъязыковые отношения, основанные на единстве индивидуальных языковых фактов и фактов экстралингвистического характера.

Понятие “Языковые контакты” рассматривается нами в широком плане.

Сюда мы включаем разные языковые связи на разных уровнях, сложившиеся как между генеалогически родственными, типологически близкими, так и неродственными, типологически отдаленными языками (диалектами).

Вслед за Ю Жлуктенко<sup>2</sup> и другими исследователями мы разграничиваем несколько отчетливо выраженных типов языковых контактов, различных по своему характеру, стойкости и интенсивности: 1. *Казуальные* (временные) языковые контакты, основывающиеся на нерегулярном, эпизодическом общении языковых коллективов и 2. *Перманентные* (устойчивые) языковые контакты, наблюдаемые во время длительного интенсивного общения языковых коллективов. Перманентные языковые контакты, в свою очередь, делятся на *внешние* (когда языковые коллективы, входя в различные общественно-политические единства, размещены на смежных территориях и поддерживают между собой постоянные оживленные экономические, политические, культурные и другие связи) и *внутренние* языковые контакты (когда языковые коллективы, составляя одно общественно-политическое единство, живут на одной территории и ведут общее хозяйство, политическую и культурную жизнь).

Безусловно, при маргинальном контактировании территориальные размещение контактирующих коллективов играет важную роль, которая иногда подчиняется другим, более важным факторам, а именно: при внешнем и внутреннем контактировании языков большое внимание необходимо уделять характеру контактирующих языков, то есть тому, какой из контактирующих языков на данном этапе является государственным, господствующим языком, насильственно распространенным среди другого коллектива. Так, например, в течение 800 лет восточнославянское население Закарпатья находится в непосредственных языковых отношениях с венгерским населением, однако примерно до 1867 года контакт между этими языками был непосредственным, равноправным, естественным, то есть ни один из этих языков не имел привилегированного положения потому, что обе нации были одинаково угнетены австрийской монархией. В этот период заимствовались самые необходимые слова как одним, так и другими языком и они обогащали их словарный состав. Однако вследствие подъема национально-освободительных движений XIX-ого века Австрийская империя претерпела кризис и была вынуждена пойти на некоторые уступки. В 1867 году был принят австро-венгерский дуализм, превративший монархию в австро-венгерскую империю.

В результате этих политических перемен венгерский язык становится государственным, с 1879 года он стал обязательной дисциплиной во всех без исключения школах теперешнего Закарпатья. Понятно, что привилегированное положение венгерского языка в корне изменило характер контактирования языков. Значительно возрастает в украинских говорах Закарпатья количество

лексических заимствований из венгерского языка за счет общественно-политической, юридической и финансовой лексики. Лексические венгеризмы проникают не только в результате непосредственного общения людей между собой, но и заимствовались через школу, различные государственные учреждения и книжным путем. Все это свидетельствует о том, что территориальное размещение контактирующих языков не всегда явилось определяющим. Подтверждением этой точки зрения может служить и то, что украинское население закарпатья находится в таких же непосредственных языковых контактах со словаками и румынами, однако эти языки, не будучи государственными, господствующими в закарпатье, не оказали сколько-нибудь заметного влияния на исследуемые украинские говоры. Таким образом, при внешнем и внутреннем контактировании языков большое внимание необходимо уделять характеру взаимного общения контактирующих сторон, то есть тому, контактируют ли между собой равноправные языки или один из контактирующих языков на данном этапе является господствующим, привилегированным языком.

При рассмотрении языкового контактирования особый интерес представляет также выяснение характера лексических заимствований и их типов. Большинство языковедов (Ш. Балли, А. Мейе, Э. Сепир, Ж. Вандриес, Ф. Фортунатов, И. Н. Бодуен де Куртене и другие) отмечает, что лексическое заимствование всегда было нормальной функцией лингвистической жизни, что заимствования присущи каждому языку. Отрицать этого, подобно Фердинанду де Соссюру, нельзя, ибо это означало бы отрицание тех тесных экономических, политических и культурных взаимосвязей, которые реально существуют между разными народами и в результате которых происходило лексическое взаимопроникновение.

Выяснению сущности языковых заимствований языковеды посвятили ряд трудов, однако в научной литературе (с точки зрения таких ученых, как В. Пизани, Г. Барци, Е. В. Кротевич и Н. С. Родзевич, Л. Л. Крысин, Л. А. Булаховский, А. А. Реформатский, Ж. Марузо, Р. Якобсон, Э. Хауген, Л. Деруа, У. Вайнрайх, Л. П. Ефремов и другие) и по сегодня нет полного определения заимствования.

Заимствование слов не может автоматически включаться в воспринимающий язык. Заимствование неразрывно связано с активным воздействием языка на то, что он заимствует из внешнего источника, то есть с преобразованием, переделкой заимствованного слова прежде всего в фонетическом отношении и придания ему его грамматического оформления по законам грамматики заимствующего языка. Исходя из этого, мы предлагаем следующее определение: лексические заимствования — это длительный языковой процесс, в результате которого слова (и их структурные элементы) одного языка постепенно усваиваются системой другого языка в результате языковых, экономических

и культурных отношений разных народов. Мы различаем пять типов заимствований: 1) *лексическое*; 2) *фонологическое*; 3) *морфологическое* (заимствование морфем происходит, разумеется, в составе слова); 4) *синтаксическое* и 5) *семантическое*. Лексическое заимствование является наиболее типичным и регулярным видом заимствования.

Языковеды (С. К. Булич, Л. П. Якубинский, Е. Курилович, Ю. А. Жлуктенко и другие) выделяют ряд мотивов, способствующих перенесению иноязычной лексики, однако от их внимания ускользнули такие факторы, как 1) стремление заменить собственные описательные наименования односоставными иноязычными наименованиями; 2) стремление к устранению полисемии традиционных слов; 3) стремление уточнить, детализировать отдельные понятия.

Основным условием перехода слов из одного языка в другой является наличие двуязычия. Следует, однако, отметить, что слово, перейдя из одного языка в другой в результате двуязычия, еще не усвоено заимствующим языком. Процесс его полного усвоения проходит постепенно и завершается тогда, когда слово усвоено значительным количеством людей и начинает закреплять свои позиции в том языке, который его заимствовал.

В лингвистической литературе было сделано немало попыток дать классификацию типов (видов) билингвизма. Однако обнаруживается большое расхождение во взглядах исследователей по этому вопросу. Это прежде всего объясняется субъективным подходом языковедов к выяснению данного вопроса. Одни ученые на первый план выдвигали лингвистический, другие — психологический или иные принципы. Мы же полагаем, что в процессе изучения двуязычия необходимо стремиться к тесной увязке психологического аспекта исследования с лингвистическим. Мы различаем следующие основные типы билингвизма: *активный и пассивный, начальный и полный, индивидуальный и групповой (или массовый), искусственный и естественный, смешанный и несмешанный, контактный и неконтактный*.

Мы выделяем два подтипа украинско—венгерского и венгерско—украинского билингвизма: 1) языковая интерференция между венгерским монолингвистическим индивидом и двуязычием украинского индивида; 2) языковая интерференция между венгерским монолингвистическим индивидом и двуязычием украинской этнической группы. Весьма редко (только в селах со смешанным населением) отмечается языковая интерференция между двуязычием украинского индивида и украинской этнической группой и двуязычием венгерского индивида или венгерской этнической группы. В углублении этих подтипов билингвизма определенную роль играли и экстралингвистические факторы, среди которых видное место принадлежало церкви и административным факторам.

Таким образом, только при учете как лингвистических, так и внелингвисти-



ческих факторов можно решить ряд проблемных вопросов, связанных с рассмотрением межъязыкового контактирования.<sup>3</sup>

Понятно, что межъязыковые контакты можно изучать только в неразрывной связи с историей соответствующих народов, с учетом этапа общественного развития, на котором эти народы находятся, а также с учетом лингвистической специфики взаимодействующих языков и наличия, либо отсутствия между ними родства. В. И. Ленин придавал большое значение историческим фактам при решении тех или иных вопросов: „Самое надежное в вопросе общественной науки и необходимое для того, чтобы действительно приобрести навык подходить правильно к этому вопросу и не дать затеряться в массе мелочей или громадном разнообразии борющихся мнений — самое важное, чтобы подойти к этому вопросу с точки зрения научной, это — не забывать основной исторической связи, смотреть на каждый вопрос с точки зрения того, как известное явление в истории возникло, какие главные этапы в своем развитии это явление проходило, и с точки зрения этого его развития смотреть, чем данная вещь стала теперь”<sup>4</sup>, и далее: „Весь дух марксизма, вся его система требует, чтобы каждое положение рассматривать лишь ( $\alpha$ ) исторически, ( $\beta$ ) лишь в связи с другими, ( $\gamma$ ) лишь в связи с конкретным опытом истории”.<sup>5</sup> Исходя из этих ленинских положений, мы рассматриваем украинско-венгерские межъязыковые (междиалектные) контакты в их историческом развитии, т.е. на протяжении всей предыстории и истории формирования этих языков.

Известно, что восточные славяне отделились от других славян примерно в IV—VI вв. н. э. и занимали территорию от Карпат на северо-восток через р. Днепр до р. Волги выше Новгорода. К восточнославянским племенам принадлежали: поляне, древляне, дулебы, уличи, северяне, вятичи, радимичи, дреговичи, кривичи, ильменские славяне и белые хорваты. Этнические связи венгерских племен были только с теми восточнославянскими племенами, которые жили в полосе лесостепи. По свидетельству Б. Грекова<sup>6</sup>, эти восточнославянские племена уже находились на начальной стадии государственной формации. К числу таких племен, находившихся в непосредственных контактах с венгерскими племенами, относились поляне, северяне и вятичи. Эти племена жили в степной полосе, и именно по их территории проходили венгерские племена. Среди них на более высокой степени развития находились поляне, на территории которых в течение IX в. образуется государство. Многие исследователи считали, что венгерские племена появились в степях на север от Черного моря в 30-х годах IX в.<sup>7</sup> Из этого утверждения следует, что венгры находились в контактах с восточными славянами до 80-х годов IX в., то есть на протяжении 50 лет. Однако, новейшие данные лингвистики и археологии дают основания предполагать что венгерские племена значительно раньше вошли в контакт с восточными славянами. Так, Янош Мелих<sup>8</sup> считает, что словом *qgre > ugrī* славяне называли

оногуров, а позднее венгров. В VI—VII в союз оногуров распался и с VI по VIII в. слово *ogre* > *ugri*, видимо, использовалось для называния венгров. Бернат Мункачи также указывал, что восточные славяне в начале IX в. еще произносили носовые гласные и поэтому только от них, а не в Паннонии слышали венгры впервые это название.<sup>9</sup> И. Перени приходит к выводу, что славянское название „венгры” могло возникнуть в период последних десятилетий VI века до начала VIII в.<sup>10</sup>

В различных арабских источниках упоминается, что венгров было много пахотной земли. Как известно, одна часть лексики земледельческой культуры древних венгров тюркского, а другая часть — славянского происхождения. Это значит, что венгерские племена уже находились в контактах с восточнославянскими племенами, у которых, как отмечает подавляющее большинство венгерских исследователей, земледельческая культура, рыболовство и скотоводство были наверно значительно выше, чем у венгров.<sup>11</sup>

Сейчас все сходятся на том, что венгерские племена находились в непосредственных контактах с восточными славянами и в первую очередь с предками современного украинского населения. Следует только на основании научных данных решить вопрос, как долго продолжались эти контакты и что представляли собой в то время венгерские племена в языковом отношении.

И. Перени указывает, что венгерские племена не были едины ни с этнической, ни с языковой стороны, и венгерский язык представляли только те элементы, которые были объединены в племя *медьер* (*megyer*). Он предполагает, что местом, где члены племенного союза уже говорили только на одном или двух языках, была территория между Волгой и Доном. Между V—IX вв. на этой территории не упоминается какой-нибудь другой народ. Эта территория с географической точки зрения была очень выгодна для полукочевой хозяйственной жизни венгров. Если венгры обитали здесь, то, наверняка, контактирование их с восточнославянским племенем вятичей состоялось уже в VII в.<sup>12</sup> Примерно в конце VII в. дунайские болгары ушли с побережья Черного моря, а на опустевшие причерноморские степи, перейдя Дон, переселились венгерские племена, которые вступили в контакты с новым восточнославянским племенем — северянами, а позднее, примерно в начале IX в., с полянами. Столь продолжительная кочевка от северян к полянам объясняется тем, что занятие степей проходило довольно медленно. Кроме того, поляне уже имели государственную организацию и не так легко было пройти эту территорию. Следовательно, контакты венгерских племен с восточнославянскими племенами были, наверное, более продолжительными, чем на это указывали раньше исследователи, т.е. эти контакты могли продолжаться 250—300 лет. И сам И. Перени приходит к подобному выводу, отмечая, что если „... пересмотрим лингвистические и этнографические данные, свидетельствующие о соприкоснове-

нии венгров с восточными славянами их с данными, имеющимися в арабских источниках, то можем установить, что связи между обеими народами были более тесными и более многогранными и, главным образом, более продолжительными, чем до сих пор предполагали наши языковеды, историки и другие специалисты, занимающиеся древней историей венгров".<sup>13</sup>

Безусловно, полный ответ на этот вопрос можно будет дать после обстоятельного исследования славянских заимствований в области венгерской земледельческой терминологии и глубокого изучения земледельческой культуры восточных славян VII—IX вв. а также рыболовецкой терминологии. Но и теперь, при нынешнем состоянии исследования этих вопросов как в лингвистическом, так и в этнографическом, а также археологическом аспектах, большинство исследователей признает, что венгерские племена до прихода на свою собственную территорию проживания находились в довольно продолжительных контактах с восточнославянскими племенами и переняли у последних целый ряд слов.

К восточнославянизмам в венгерском языке можно отнести следующие слова: в. [венгерское] *hab* > др. [древнерусское] *бобъ* „боб“, в. *borona* < др. *борона* „борона“, в. *cseléd* < др. *челдь* „слуги“, в. *dinnye* < др. *диня* „арбуз“, в. *halom* < др. *хальмъ* „гроб, холм“, в. *igric* < др. *игрьць* „музыкант“, в. *ikra* < др. *икра* „икра“, в. *iszap* < др. *исъть* „мелководье“, в. *jász* < др. народ „Ясы“, в. *kerecset* < др. *кречеть* „цикада“, в. *lengyel* < др. *ладжань* „поляк“, в. *naszád* < др. *насадъ* „вид судна“, в. *rab* < др. *рабъ* „раб“, „невольник“, в. *rozs* < др. *ржь* „рожь“, в. *szégye* < др. *сѣджа* „рыболовная сеть“, в. *szin* < др. *сѣнь* „навес“, в. *szolga* < др. *слуга* „слуга“, „служитель“, в. *taliga* < др. *телѣца* „двухколесная повозка“, в. *tanua* < др. *тоня* „место, где ловят рыбу“, в. *tár* < др. *товарь* „обоз, богатство, деньги“, в. *vajda, vojevoda* < др. *вожвода* вождь, военачальник, ист. воевода“, в. *veréb* < *веребий* „воробей“, в. *zsir* < др. *жирь* „жир“ и другие.<sup>14</sup>

Ряд языковедов (Б. Мункачи, Г. Барци) склонны считать восточнославянизмами и целый ряд слов со старыми носовыми гласными типа: *abroncs* „обруч, обод“, *bolond* „глупый, сумасшедший“, *donga* „клепка (бочки)“, *dorong* „дрючо“, *galamb* „голубь“, *gerenda* „бревно, балка“, *gerendely* „градиль“, *gomba* „гриб“, *goromba* „грубый“, *göndör* „кудрявый“, *korong* „диск“, *munka* „робота“, *péntek* „пятница“, *porond* „песок“, *rend* „ряд“, *szelemen* „прогон“, *szent* „святой“, *szombat* „суббота“, *tompa* „тупой“ и некоторые другие. Однако, этот вопрос на сегодня считается спорным и ждет своего решения. Во всяком случае, часть этих слов, как нам кажется, несомненно вошла в венгерский язык еще до X столетия, т.е. до прихода венгерских племен на современную территорию их проживания.

О приходе венгров на современную территорию летопись Нестора от 898 г. говорит следующее: „Пришедшие от востока и устремившася через горы великия, яже прозвашася горы Угорския, и почаша воевати на живущая ту Волохи и землю Словенську. Сядяху бо ту преже Словении, и Волхове прияша

землю Словенську, посець же угры погнаша Вольхи и наследиша землю ту, и седома с Словени, покорише я подь ся, и оттоле прозвася земля Угорська. И начаша воевати Угры и Греки, и поплениша землю фракську и македонську тоже и до Селуня; и начаша воевати на Мораву и Чехи. . . ”<sup>15</sup> Летопись ничего не говорит о том, какие здесь жили славяне и на какой стадии своего общественно-го развития они находились, но у венгерского историка Анонима читаем: „Спустившись с Карпат, около Мукачева, венгры встретили славян и болгар, которыми правил князь Салан”<sup>16</sup>. Венгерский историк и географ Д. Дьерфи отмечает: „Данные топонимов этой территории указывают на то, что как на равнине, так и в предгорье венгры нашли значительное количество славянского населения”.<sup>17</sup> Это мнение подтверждают и новейшие исследования советских ученых. Таким образом, сегодня уже считается неоспоримым фактом, что Закарпатье в конце IX в. было заселено славянами и не было безлюдной территорией. По-видимому, наряду с другими славянскими племенами (западными и южными) в северных районах Закарпатья проживали и предки восточных славян (позднее украинцы).

Заселяя постепенно новые территории на северо-восток, венгры оставили Карпаты, продвинулись за Тису и прошли дальше, затем в поисках новой незаселенной территории постепенно возвращаются назад и где-то в XII в. вступают на территории Закарпатья по течению р. Тисы, Латорицы и Боржавы в непосредственные и продолжительные контакты с восточными славянами, т.е. с предками современного украинского населения. Вследствие таких контактов постепенно между двумя языками и их говорами происходит взаимовлияние в результате которого много украинских слов вошло в соседние венгерские говоры и наоборот, значительное количество венгерских слов — в соседние украинские говоры Закарпатья. Среди украинизмов в венгерском языке и его говорах можно отметить следующие: в [венгерское] *babájka* < у. [диалектное украинское] *бобал'ка* „клецка, род галушек, приготовленных к Рождеству”, в. *berbenyca* < у. *бербешиц'а* „боченок (чаще всего для овечьего сыра)”: в. *bida* < у. *бида* „беда, несчастье”, в. *bráha* < у. *брага* „род напитка из просяного солода”, в. *branka* < у. *бранка* „составная часть ткацкого станка”, в. *burjan* < у. *бур'ан* „сорная трава”, в. *butyka* < у. *бут'ка* „будка для собаки”, в. *cerkóu* < у. *цир'ков* „церковь”, в. *cipke* < у. *ціпки* „составная часть ткацкого станка”, в. *csekáj* < у. *чекай* „межд. от глагола ждать (чекати)”, в. *csereda* < у. *чепеда* „стадо большого рогатого скота”, в. *cseresz* < у. *чепес* „широкий кожаный пояс с прикрасами”, в. *csorpák* < у. *черпак* „большая деревянная ложка для набирания воды”, в. *cservinka* < у. *червінка* „дизентерия”, в. *drácska* < у. *драчка* „колючка”, в. *csinál* < у. *чинити* „что-нибудь делать”, в. *durnyi* < у. *дурний* „дурак”, в. *dzobál* < у. *дз'обати* „клевать”, в. *het* < у. *гет* „прочь”, в. *harisnya* < у. *холоши'и* „штаны из домотканного сукна”, в. *kalatajka* < у. *коломыйка* „особый вид песен на

гуцульщине”, в. *kocsány* < у. *кочан* 1) „кочан капусты”; 2) „початок кукурузы”, в. *kocserba* < у. *кочерга* „кочерга”, в. *kopácska* < у. *копачка* „кирка”, в. *karamizlo* < у. *коромысло* „коромысло”, в. *kozel* < у. *козел* „стог соломы”, в. *kazák* < у. *козак* „козак”, в. *kupes* < у. *купиц*’ „купец”, в. *kutacs* < у. *кутач* „маленькая железная кочережка”, в. *lopátka* < у. *лопатка* „молодой стручок фасоли”, в. *morkóú* < у. *морков* „морковь”, в. *pászta* < у. *пасмо* „пасмо, мера ниток”, в. *rózna, ravuzina* < у. *навзны, навузны* „стропила на соломяной крыше хаты”, в. *páskuda* < у. *паскуда* „дрянь, пакостник”, в. *pelenka* < у. *пеленка* „пеленки”, в. *potroh* < у. *потрохи* „внутренности животных”, в. *piroha* < у. *пироги* „вареники”, в. *polonina* < у. *полонина* „пастбище на вершинах гор”, в. *pratál* < у. *пр’амати* „прятать”, в. *prisztás* < у. *пришташ* „жених, который после свадьбы перебирается жить к родителям невесты”, в. *pušupinka* < у. *пущипки* „гриб опенок”, в. *rakovina* < у. *роковина* „подать, которую ежегодно платили верующие священнику”, в. *szerbál* < у. *сербати* „хлебать”, в. *szirota* < у. *сирота* „сирота”, в. *szkotár* < у. *скотар* „скотник, пастух рогатого скота”, в. *susinka* < у. *шущинка* „сухофрукты”, в. *tákoj* < у. *такой* „сразу”, в. *tákyj* < у. *такий* „такой”, в. *vecsurka* < у. *веручки* „вечерницы”, в. *zaha* < у. *зага* „изжога”, в. *zamiska* < у. *замиска* „еда, приготовленная из кукурузяной муки”, в. *zavadzsál* < у. *завадж’ати* „мещать кому-нибудь”, в. *zolya* < у. *зола* „зола, пепел”, и т. д. Следует отметить, что в словарном составе венгерских говоров имеется ряд украинизмов-неологизмов, заимствованных после освобождения Закарпатья Советской Армией и установления Советской власти в области (1944). Это главным образом слова, связанные с учреждениями Советской власти (*szilrada, vikonkom, finvigyl*), сельским хозяйством (*artil, holova, lánkovi*), со школой (*csodennyik, vozсата*), бытовой лексикой (*horilka, hrecska, pufájka, májka, bulocska*) и другие.<sup>18</sup>

Конечно, что при продолжительном контактировании венгров со славянским населением влияние было не односторонним, а обоюдным, т.е. целый ряд венгерских слов вошёл в славянские языки и их говоры. Проникновение венгерских слов началось несколько позже, т.е. в период, когда венгерские племена, ведя оседлый образ жизни, начали производить новые орудия труда, усовершенствовали старые, а это привело к появлению новых понятий, реалий, наименования которых перешли и в славянские языки. Самое большое влияние оказал венгерский язык на украинские говоры Закарпатья, восточнословацкие говоры и северо-восточные говоры сербохорватского языка. Литературные же языки (украинский, словацкий, сербохорватский) какого-нибудь заметного влияния со стороны венгерского языка не ощутили, в то время, как влияние славянских языков на венгерский литературный язык было достаточно значительным.<sup>19</sup>

Из древних венгерских заимствований в восточнославянских языках (древне-

русском языке) можно отметить слова: др. *шишакъ* < в. *sisak* „шлем”, „каска”; др. *шатерь* < в. *sátor* „шатер, чум”; др. *хотарь* < в. *határ* „территория села, рубеж” и некоторые другие.<sup>20</sup>

Достаточно значительное количество венгерских заимствований находим в соседних украинских говорах Закарпатья. Более 90 % всех венгерских заимствований вошло в контактирующие украинские говоры Закарпатья непосредственно из соседних венгерских говоров. Это в первую очередь слова, обозначающие названия предметов, признаков, связанных с бытом людей, их внешними и внутренними особенностями, сельским хозяйством, народной метрологией, верованиями, обрядами и обычаями, животноводством, растениеводством и т. д.

Книжным путем проникала незначительная часть венгеризмов преимущественно через переводную литературу, различные официальные государственные документы, школу и военные предписания. Следует отметить, что венгерские заимствования не всегда приносят с собой новые понятия, а используются в языке параллельно с другими словами, обозначавшими раньше эти понятия, образуя, таким образом, синонимический ряд, напр. *вішак* и *фогош*: *вішак* — „вешалка с деревянными колышками” и *фогош* (< в. *fogas*) — „вешалка более красивой конструкции, изготовленная фабричным способом”; *столина* и *фійовка*: *столина* — „выдвижной ящик в столе, изготовленный самодельным способом” и *фійовка* (< в. *fiók*) — „выдвижной ящик стола, шкафа лучшей конструкции, изготовленный фабричным способом” и т. д. Среди венгеризмов в украинских говорах Закарпатья выделяем 29 основных семантико-тематических групп и 152 подгрупп. Наибольшей среди тематических групп является бытовая лексика, включающая в себе около 23 % слов от всех заимствований. Кроме того, данные тематической группировки способствуют также выяснению вопроса о количественном соотношении различных частей речи среди лексических заимствований. В этом отношении на первом месте находятся существительные (85,3 %), значительно меньше глаголов (8,8 %), прилагательных (3,2 %), наречий (1,6 %), междометий (0,8 %), союзов (0,2 %) и частиц (0,1 %). Числительных и местоимений среди венгеризмов нет.

Из семантической точки зрения венгеризмы в украинских говорах Закарпатья и украинизмы в венгерских говорах Закарпатья можно рассматривать в трех аспектах: а) по объему их лексико-грамматического значения; б) по мотивации заимствования нового лексического значения и вытекающему из него характера семантики; в) по соотношению семантики в заимствующем языке и в языке-передатчике.

По объему лексико-грамматического значения заимствования разделяются на однозначные (моносемантические) и многозначные (полисемантические).

По мотивации заимствования нового лексического значения можно выделить

три основные группы: 1) заимствования, называющие новые, до того не известные в языке (говорах) понятия. Заимствование этих слов вызвано коммуникативной необходимостью, т.е. необходимостью дать название новоузнанным предметам, явлениям, которые являются их единственными названиями, т.е. литературных эквивалентов не имеют, или же имеют такое литературное соответствие, которое исследуемым говорам не известно и в разговорной речи не употребляется; 2) заимствования, совпадающие по смыслу с уже известными для исследуемых говоров традиционными словами и выступают как лексические дублиеты, напр. в украинских говорах *višák* — *фогош* (< венг. *fogas*) „вешалка”, в венгерских говорах: *bódeĭ*, *butyka* (< укр. диал. *бутька*) „будка для собаки”; 3) заимствования субъективной оценки: *хитрый* — *гамішний* (< венг. *hamis*) „хитрый”; *bolond* — *durnyi* (< укр. *дурний* „дурак”).

По соотношению семантики в заимствующем языке и в языке-передатчике заимствования (венгеризмы и украинизмы) можно разделить на 6 групп: 1) заимствования, которые в языке-источнике были полисемантическими и в основном те же значения сохранили и в заимствующем языке; 2) слова, которые на почве заимствующего языка развили новые значения, неизвестные языку-передатчику; 3) заимствования, которые в языке-источнике являются полисемантическими, а в исследуемые говоры вошли только с одним (главным образом основным) значением; 4) заимствования, которые в языке-источнике выступают с более широким, общим значением, а перейдя в заимствующий язык (говоры), они сужают свое значение; 5) слова, которые на почве заимствующих говоров расширили свою семантику и 6) заимствования, которые в языке-передатчике утратили свою первоначальную семантику, а в заимствующем языке она сохранилась. Следует также отметить, что при семантической субституции заимствованных слов могут изменять или модифицировать свои значения и некоторые традиционные слова.<sup>21</sup>

Среди наиболее распространенных венгеризмов в украинских говорах Закарпатья можно назвать следующие: у. *алдомаш* < в. *áldomás* „могорыч”, у. *аллаш* < в. *állás* „1) леса; 2) временный навес для сельскохозяйственного инвентаря; 3) общее название какой-либо должности”; у. *аповка* < в. *ápolónő* „медицинская сестра, санитарка”; у. *арше* < в. *ásó* „заступ”, „лопата”, „орудие для вскапывания земли”, у. *багов* < в. *bagó* „жевательный табак”, у. *бадог* < в. *bádog* 1) обычная цинковая жесь; 2) жестяной сосуд для керосина; 3) обычная нецинковая жесь; 4) жестяная кружка для питья воды, у. *байусы* < в. *bajusz* „1) усы; 2) ость (пшеницы, овса и т. д.); 3) росток, побег, усики винограда”; у. *балта* < в. *balta* „топор”, у. *бановати* < в. *bán* „печалиться, грустить, жалеть”, у. *бантовати* < в. *bánt* „трогать, беспокоить кого-нибудь”, у. *бачі* < в. *bácsi* „дядя” (форма обращения к мужчинам старшего возраста), у. *бет'ар* < в. *betyár* „1) жулик, разбойник, сорвиголова; 2) сильный отважный человек”, у. *бизовати*

< в. *bizik* „доверять, положиться на кого-либо”, у. *бийлиш* < в. *bélés* „подкладка”, у. *бирив* < в. *biró* „сельский староста”, у. *бировати* < в. *bir* „мочь, быть в состоянии”, у. *бирфа* < в. *bérfa* „боковая доска повозки в виде лестницы”, у. *биманга* < в. *bitang* „бродяга, лентяй, дебошир”, у. *боет* < в. *bóyt* „1) магазин; 2) торговая сделка, у. *боганчи* < в. *bakancs* „тяжелые ботинки”, у. *босоркан'а* < в. *boszorkány* 1) ведьма, баба-яга; 2) колдунья”, у. *вам, вама* < в. *vám* „1) таможенная; 2) пошлина; 3) мера, мерка, плата за помол”, у. *варош* < в. *város* „1) город; 2) центр села”, у. *вашар* < в. *vásár* „рынок, базар”; у. *видийк* < в. *vidék* „1) окрестность; 2) территория соседнего села”, у. *гайдук* < в. *hajdú* „воин, истор. гайдук”, у. *гайов* > в. *hajóu* „лодка, судно”, у. *гамшиний* < в. *hamis* „фальшивый, хитрый”, у. *гимтовка* < в. *hintóu* „качалка”, у. *гордів* < в. *hordóu* „бочка”, у. *гусар* < в. *huszár* „гусар, кавалерист”, у. *газда* < в. *gazda* „1) хозяин; 2) богатей; 3) муж, супруг”, у. *гати* < в. *gatyá* 1) кальсоны; 2) штаны из домотканного полотна”, у. *геренда* < в. *gerenda* 1) одна из трех-четырех поперечных балок в деревянном потолке дома; 2) продольная балка в деревянном потолке дома”, у. *гуляш* < в. *gulyás* „суп-гуляш”, у. *дереш* < в. *deres* „1) конь светлой серой масти; 2) скамья для побоев”, у. *доган* < в. *dohány* „табак”, у. *доломан* < в. *dolmány* „длинное пальто с петлями — венгерская праздничная одежда”, у. *дуна* < в. *dunna* „перина”, у. *жеб* < в. *zseb* „карман”, у. *живан'* < в. *zsivány* „1) физически сильный человек; 2) разбойник”, у. *инпен* < в. *éppen* „как раз, именно, только-что”, у. *кобат* < в. *kabát* „1) пальто; 2) женская юбка”, у. *калан* < в. *kalap* „шляпа”, у. *катуна* < в. *katona* „солдат”, у. *кел'чиг* < в. *költség* „1) пища; 2) расходы”, у. *кефа* < в. *kefe* „щетка для чистки одежды и обуви”, у. *кифлик* < в. *kifli* „рогалик”, у. *ковдош* < в. *kóvdus* „нищий”, у. *конт'а* < в. *kontu* „заложенная коса (у женщин)”, у. *копча* < в. *karocs* „1) металлическая застежка на одежде; 2) приколка для волос”, у. *кофа* < в. *kofa* „торговка, перекупка”, у. *лабош* < в. *lábás* „сковородка”, у. *левеш* < в. *leves* „мясной суп”, у. *легін'* < в. *legény* „1) юноша, парень; 2) любимый”, у. *лингар'* < в. *lingár* „сорванец, висельник, разбойник”, у. *луйтра* < в. *létra* „1) лестница; 2) грядка в телеге”, у. *марадик* < в. *maradék* „остаток отары овец”, у. *можар* < в. *mozsár* „медная ступка”, у. *надраги* < в. *nadrág* „брюки, штаны”, у. *напсамош* < в. *napszámós* „поденщик”, у. *ниїні* < в. *néni* „тетка, тетьа (форма обращения к женщинам старшего возраста или к незнакомой женщине)”, у. *оков* < в. *akóu* „мера веса, приравнивавшаяся к 2/3 венского фунта”, у. *оргона* < в. *orgona* „сирень”, у. *орсаг* < в. *országút* „шоссе”, у. *падлаш* < в. *padlás* „1) дощаной потолок в доме; 2) дощаной пол в доме; 3) дощаной пол в хлеву”, у. *панучи* < в. *papucs* „тапочки”, у. *пипа* < в. *pipa* „трубка (для курения)”, у. *пайташ* < в. *pajtás* „друг, приятель”, у. *приїзлі* < в. *prézli* „панировочные сухари”, у. *пул'ка* < в. *pulyka* „индюк, индюшка”, у. *пушка* < в. *puska* „винтовка”, у. *п'анда* < в. *rongy* „тряпка, лоскут, ветошь”, у. *панташ* < в. *rántás* „заправка, подболтка”, у. *пантота* < в. *rántotta* „яичница”, у. *поштий* <



в. *rostély* „1) решетки на окнах; 2) забор из штахет; 3) железная изгородь вокруг церкви”, у. *cabiv* < в. *szabóu* „портной”, у. *серсама* < в. *szerszám* „орудие, инструмент”, у. *сивет* < в. *szövet* „шерсть, материал из шерсти”, у. *сомар* < в. *szamár* „осел”, у. *тапапа* < в. *talp* „1) подошва обуви; 2) перен. глупый человек”, у. *тенгеруц’а* < в. *tengeri* „кукуруза”, у. *тивчар* < в. *tűcsér* „лейка”, у. *фаума* < в. *fajta* „вид, порода”, у. *фалка* < в. *falka* „стая овец, отделившаяся оза стада”, у. *фийса* < в. *fejsze* „топор-колун”, у. *фийовка* < в. *fiók* „1) ящик в столе; 2) ящик в кухонном шкафу”, у. *фипиц* < в. *fűrész* „пила, пилка”, у. *фогош* < в. *fogas* „вешалка”, у. *хосен* < в. *haszon* „польза, выгода”, у. *церица* < в. *ceruza* „карандаш”, у. *цибзар* < в. *cipzár* „застежка, замочек-молния”, у. *цибора* < в. *cimbor* „друг, товарищ, приятель”, у. *чивдар* < в. *csődör* „жеребец”, у. *чижмы* < в. *csizma* „сапоги”, у. *чотырна* < в. *csatorna* „водосточная труба”, у. *шаркан* < в. *sárkány* „1) змей; 2) бумажный змей, дракон”, у. *шкатул’а* < в. *skatulya* „шкатулка для хранения ценностей”, у. *шонка* < в. *sonka* „окорок”, у. *шор* < в. *sor* „ряд”, у. *шпор* < в. *spór* „цельнометаллическая или каменная плита”, у. *шуга* < в. *soha* „никогда” (употребляется чаще всего в сочетании „нигда шуга), — у. *шугар* < в. *sugár* „вол светлой масти” и целый ряд других.

Большое количество венгеризмов в украинских говорах Закарпатья в области бытовой лексики картографировано нами на 530 лингвистических картах, среди которых 410 лексических, 77 семантических, 27 карт-изоглосс и 16 сводных карт.<sup>22</sup>

Несмотря на наличие венгерских заимствований в украинских говорах Закарпатья и украинских заимствований в венгерских говорах Закарпатья, следует отметить что традиционная лексика этих языков (говоров) очень богатая, многовариантная и самобытная. Однако, многовековая совместная экономическая, политическая и культурная жизнь украинцев Закарпатья и венгров, и в первую очередь постоянное общение между ними не могли не содействовать и проникновению целого ряда заимствований. Большинство этих заимствований обозначает предметы, понятия, действия, связанные с повседневной жизнью людей, а также с конкретными аспектами культурно-исторического взаимоотношения украинцев и венгров и имеют определенное этнографическое значение, так как помогают лучше представить те области материальной и духовной культуры, в которых украинцы и венгры находились в тесных контактах, и вследствие определенных обстоятельств могли влиять друг на друга. Так, например, собранный нами лексический материал, касающийся венгерско-украинских междиалектных контактов, дает основания утверждать, что высокая культура украинцев в строительстве деревянного жилья оказала определенное влияние на строительную культуру венгров: у. диал. *рог, руг, роги* > в. *rag* „составная часть кровли хаты”, у. *селемею* > в. *szelemen(fa)* „одна из поперечных балок в деревянном потолке хаты”, у. *српиха* > в. диал. *iszterha*,

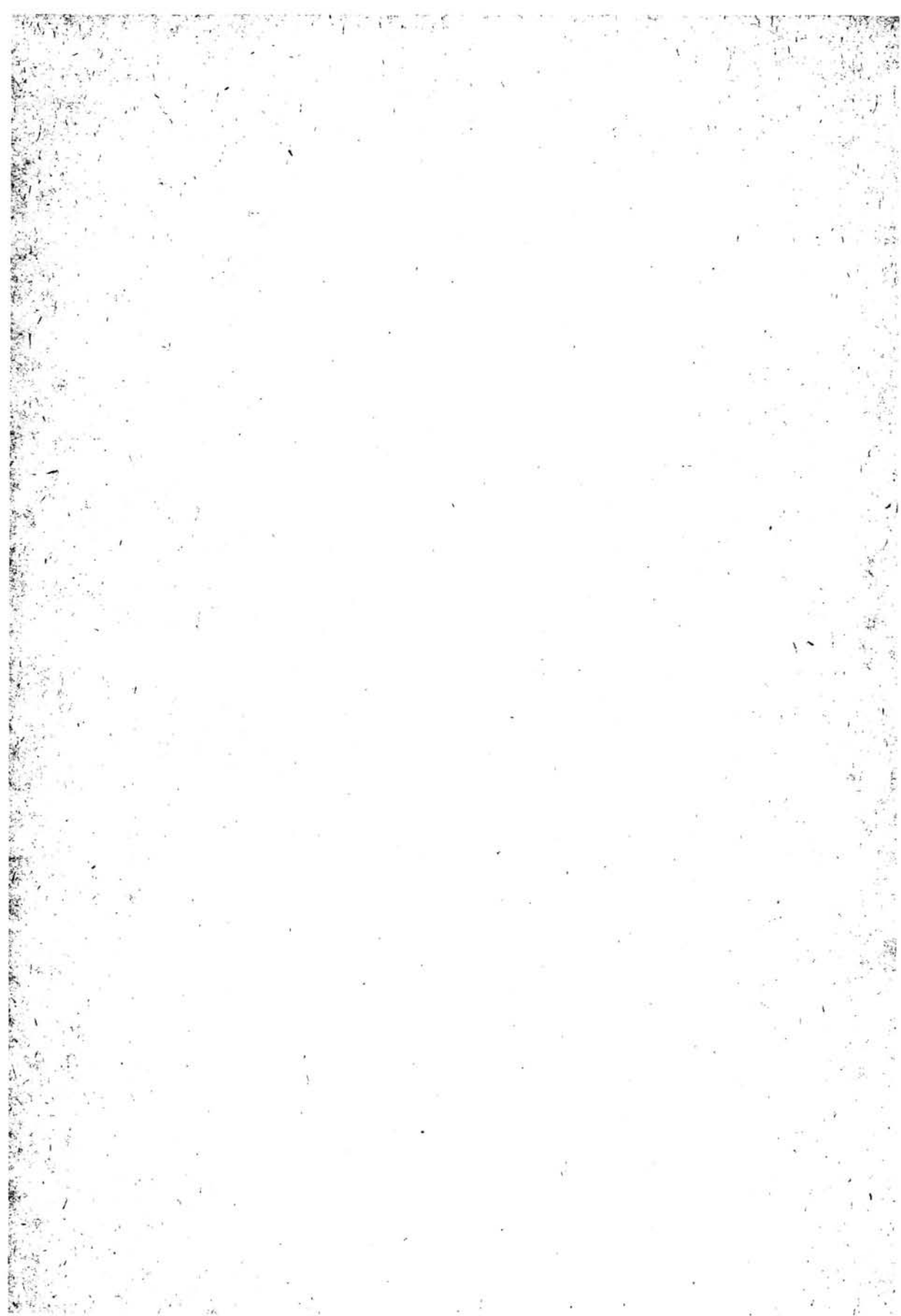
*isztorha* „карниз под крышей”, у. диал. *кобила, кобилина* > в. диал. *kabala, kabyla* „стропила, которыми скрепляют соломенные кровли хат”, у. диал. *навза, навузина* > в. диал. *rózna, ravuzina* „стропила, которыми скрепляют соломенные кровли хат”, у. диал. *обора, оборуг* > в. *abora* „навес, соломенная кровля на столбах для хранения сена” и другие. В свою очередь, часть лексики, связанная со строительством жилья из кирпича и камня, украинцы Закарпатья переняли у венгров: в. *garádics* < у. диал. *gapaóici* „лестница, ступеньки”, в. *tégla* < у. диал. *мигла, мийгла* „кирпич”, в. диал. *forgatóú* > у. диал. *форгима* „дверная ручка”, в. диал. *szegelet* > у. диал. *сегелем* „внешний или внутренний угол дома”, в. *tornác* > у. диал. *торнац, торнадц* „полукруглое крыльцо вдоль крестьянского дома”, в. *csatorna* > у. диал. *чотырня* „водосточная труба” и другие. Или, например, ткацкую лексику венгры позаимствовали у славян, в том числе и от украинского населения Закарпатья: у. *бердо* > в. *borda*, у. *бранка* > в. *bránka*, у. *човник* > в. диал. *esóunak*, у. *цпнки* > в. *cipke* „составные части ткацкого станка”, у. *кужиль* > в. *kuzsaj* „прялка”, у. *пасмо* > в. *pászma* „пасмо, мера ниток” и т. д., а лексику, связанную с возделыванием и обработкой табака, украинское население Закарпатья в основном усвоило у венгров: в. диал. *dohán* > у. диал. *доган* „табак”, в. *melegágy* > у. диал. *мелегад'* „теплица для выращивания рассады табака”, в. *simít* > у. диал. *шимитовати* „гладить табачные листья” и ряд других.

Такие заимствования обогащают лексику контактирующих говоров и проливают свет на историю и культуру народов, которые длительное время непосредственно связаны между собой. Интересно в этом отношении вспомнить слова Э. Сепира „... каждая новая культурная волна приносила с собой груз лексических заимствований. Тщательное изучение таких заимствованных слов может служить интересным комментарием к истории культуры. Роль различных народов в развитии и распространении культурных ценностей можно почти в точности установить путем выяснения, в какой мере их лексика просасивалась в лексику других народов”.<sup>23</sup>

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## HUNGARY AND THE HUNGARIANS IN THE GALICIAN-VOLYNIAN CHRONICLE

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The Middle-Ukrainian<sup>1</sup> Galician-Volynian Chronicle (hereafter GVC) – the most important historical source of events in 13th century southwestern Rus', an area which is now Western Ukraine – has many references in the Galician half of the chronicle to Hungary and the Hungarians, for in the first half of the thirteenth century the royal Árpád dynasty attempted to gain dominion over Galicia and create a second kingdom on its territory to be ruled by the younger members of the royal house of Hungary.<sup>2</sup> Yet no study has been undertaken to date to collect and systematize these references and to extract the most salient examples in order to show how the image of Hungary (identified very often with that of the Hungarian king) and of the Hungarians who attempted to conquer Galicia was tempered by the vicissitudes of history. Drawing on my English translation<sup>3</sup> of the chronicle, I will cite references which illustrate these vicissitudes. At the same time, because I am a Slavic philologist and translator of medieval Slavic texts and not a historian and, moreover, a "visitor" in the field of Hungarian history, I invite the comments of my Hungarian colleagues dealing with medieval Hungarian history on the accuracy and/or inaccuracy of the chroniclers' account of Hungarian affairs as depicted in the GVC. I also beg the indulgence of specialists in this field for any oversimplifications or omissions I may have inadvertently made. Their comments will only aid me in my work on the preparation of a critical edition of this very important historical and literary monument.

Thus, at the very beginning of the chronicle, after the death of Great Prince Roman Mstislavič, the father of the four-year old Danilo and two-year old Vasilko, who are the protagonists of the GVC, the Hungarian king appears as the protector of the orphaned children and Roman's widow against Prince Rjurik Rostislavič of Kiev, while Hungary is depicted as the haven for Danilo:

a) (1205) 6710 (1202)<sup>4</sup> . . . In the meantime after Roman's death the Hungarian king [Andrej II] had met his sister-in-law<sup>5</sup> in Sanok; he had received her son Danilo as if he were his own and had left a garrison [in Halyč consisting of] the tall Mokij, who was blind, Volpt Koročjun and his son Vitomir, Blaginja, and many other Hungarians. And because there were so many other Hungarians [in the city], the Galicians could not act on their own initiative [when Rjurik appeared before the city walls].

b) (1207) 6711 (1203). Prince Lestko [Leszek Biały of Poland] sent Danilo to Hungary in the company of his envoy Vjačeslav Lysyj with [the following] message for the king: "I have forgotten

my dispute with Roman for he was your friend. You had sworn an oath that [in case of his death] you would live in peace with his remaining kin. Now that they are in exile, let us go wrest their patrimony [from the hands of their enemies] and return it to them". Upon hearing these words, the king regretted that such had come to pass. He kept Danilo by his side while the princess and Vasilko stayed with Lestko.

The Hungarian soldiers led by Benedict Bor and sent by the king in the year 1210 (erroneously recorded under the year 1120) to wrest the capital city of Halyč from Prince Roman Igorevič, Danilo's contender for the Galician throne, receive, however, a very negative treatment from the chronicler:

(1207) 6711 (1203) . . . (1210) Upon learning of the disorder and revolt<sup>6</sup> in Halyč [the Hungarian] King Andrej sent Benedikt [Bor] with an army [to Halyč]. Benedikt captured [Prince] Roman [Igorevič] as he was bathing in a bath-house and sent him to Hungary. [At that time] in Halyč there was a very wise bibliophile named Timofej,<sup>7</sup> a Kievan by origin. He expressed himself allegorically about this tormentor Benedikt: "In our time the Antichrist will be known by three names" and then fled from him, for [the latter] tortured boyars and citizens alike and was addicted to lechery. [He and his soldiers] defiled married women, nuns, and the wives of priests. And indeed he was the Antichrist<sup>8</sup> for his horrendous deeds bore witness thereof.

But when Prince Roman Igorevič does succeed in taking back Halyč from the Hungarians in 1211 (erroneously recorded under the year 1206), the king is shown to be not beyond receiving gifts to assuage his anger over the expulsion of Bor:

6714 (1206) . . . (1211) [In the meantime Prince] Roman [Igorevič] had escaped from Hungary, and the Galicians sent the following message to his brother Volodimer: "We have sinned before both of you. Save us from this tormentor Benedikt". [Thereupon] the brothers advanced with their army [upon Halyč], and Benedikt fled to Hungary. [Then] Volodimer [Igorevič] set himself up as prince in Halyč, Roman [Igorevič] – in Zvenigorod, and Svjatoslav [Igorevič] – in Peremyšl'. Volodimer gave his son Izjaslav the city of Terebovl' and sent his [other] son Vsevolod bearing gifts to the king in Hungary [in order to placate him for the expulsion of Benedikt] .

Yet the king's relationship with Danilo remains untouched by these events, for the above passage ends with a rumor of a plan to make Danilo heir to the Hungarian throne, a plan which, however, was never realized:

While [Prince] Danilo was in Hungary, King Andrej, who had no son, the Hungarian boyars, and the whole land wanted to give Andrej's daughter in marriage to Prince Danilo, although both were still children.

Indeed, it is truly interesting that outside of his acceptance of gifts from both the enemy and ally alike, the king remains beyond reproach for the Galician chronicler even though his own troops may be shown to be less than heroic when fighting alone (see Marcel's "dishonor" in quote *b* below). He is still Danilo's ally when the pro-Hungarian Galician boyars are driven from Halyč by the Igorevič princes and come to him for Hungarian aid to place Danilo on the Galician throne:

a) (1211) 6716 (1208) . . . Volodislav Kormiličič fled to Hungary as did [the boyars] Sudislav and Filip. Finding Danilo in Hungary – and he was still a child – they made the [following] request of the Hungarian king: “Give us Danilo, the [rightful] heir of Halyč, so that with him we could take it from the Igorevič princes”. The king joyfully sent a large army which he entrusted to the great dvorskij Pot. Herewith are the names of the boyars that were with him: the first [was] Petro Turovič, the second – Banko, the third – Mika Bradatyj, the fourth – Lotoxarot, the fifth Mokian, the sixth – Tibrec, the seventh – Marcel, and many others, but to count them off and to write them down would be impossible.

b) (1211) 6716 (1208) . . . The Polovcians, however, together with Izjaslav Volodimerič came to the aid of the [besieged] Roman [Igorevič]. The Hungarians could not withstand the [Polovcian] attack and ran from their camp. Mika was wounded, and Tobaša cut off his head. When the Polovcians saw [that they had routed the Hungarians], they attacked them fiercely [once again], but the Hungarians fled [offering no resistance] to the river Ljuta, with the Polovcians hard at their heels, because [their reinforcements] – the Poles and Rus'ians had not yet arrived. The Hungarians went down [to the ford] and barely managed to cross the river. [By that time the reinforcing] Rus'ians [arrived and] exchanged a barrage of arrows with the Polovcians. [In his haste to cross the river] Marcel left his standard behind, but the Rus'ians recovered it and Marcel was greatly disgraced. The Hungarians returned to their tents – that is their camp.

c) (1211) 6716 (1208) . . . Then [the allies] returned to Halyč and the Great Roman's [wife] Princess [Anna] arrived to see her beloved son Danilo. At that time the Galician and Volodimerian boyars – Vjačeslav of Volodimer' [Volodislav of Halyč]<sup>9</sup> – and all the [other] Volodimerian and Galician boyars as well as the Hungarian voyevodas placed Prince Danilo upon the throne of his father – the Great Prince Roman – in the Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary. Thus, King Andrej did not forget his former agreement with his “brother”<sup>10</sup> – the Great Prince Roman – but sent his soldiers and placed his “son” on the throne of Halyč. When the [Igorevič] princes – Roman, Svjatoslav, and Rostislav were captured, the Hungarians wanted to take them to their king. The Galicians, however, requested their permission to hang the princes in revenge. The Hungarians were persuaded with costly gifts, and the princes were turned over [to the Galicians] for hanging in the month of September.

Moreover, when Danilo's mother is driven out of Halyč by the faithless Galician boyars, the Hungarian king returns with her in 1211/12, reinstates her, but when he goes back to Hungary, the Galicians drive her out again (this time with both sons) and invite Prince Mstislav Jaroslavič Němyj of Peresopnica to be their ruler:

(1211) 6716 (1208) . . . When the king learned of her banishment, he grieved [greatly].

(1211/12) 6717 (1209). The [Hungarian] king came to Halyč bringing along his sister-in-law – the [Grand] Princess, Roman's spouse – and the boyars of Volodimer'; [Prince] Ingvar [Jaroslavič] arrived from Luck [and] other princes [joined them in Halyč also. The king] held a council with his sister-in-law and the boyars of Volodimer' [during which] he stated that [the boyar] Volodislav [Kormiličič] had assumed authority [in Halyč] and had banished his sister-in-law [from the city]. [Thereupon] Volodislav, Sudislav, and Filip were captured and subjected to torture. Sudislav, however, gave much wealth [to his captors] and “changed into gold” – that is having given them much gold, he was able to save himself. [Then] Volodislav was put in chains and led off to Hungary. While he was being led away, Javolod and Jaropolk – his brother – fled to Peresopnica to [Prince] Mstislav. They summoned him and in their company [he marched upon the city of] Bozk. Gleb Potkovič, Ivanko Stanislavič and his brother Zbyslav, however, fled from [the city] and

ran to Halyč warning [its rulers] of the, [approaching] enemy and of the treachery of the Galicians. [Thereupon] Roman's [spouse, the Grand] Princess escaped to Hungary with her son Danilo and Vjačeslav Tolstyj, while Vasilko and [the tutor] Miroslav rode off to Belz. After some time had passed, the king hurriedly began to gather a great army.

However, the image of the Hungarian king changes drastically for the Galician chronicler with the Council of Spiš in 1214, at which time Andrew together with Leszek Biały (in text: Lestko) of Poland reached the decision that Halyč must now be captured for Andrew's son Koloman, thereby turning Galicia into a second Hungarian kingdom for the Árpád dynasty. At first the Galician chronicler only records the contents of this council without noting his disapproval:

(1212) 6719 (1211) . . . Then the [Hungarian] king marched against Lestko<sup>11</sup> whom Danilo was visiting at that time. [Thereupon] Lestko sent his envoy Lestič and the boyar Pakoslav [to the king] with the [following] message: "It is not proper for a boyar to reign in Halyč, marry my daughter to your son Koloman and let him rule in Halyč". The king liked Pakoslav's [advice]. He held council with (1214) Lestko in Spiš<sup>12</sup> and took Lestko's daughter for his son. Then sending [troops], he captured Volodislav in Halyč. [The king] sent him into exile where he died, bringing misfortune upon his children and kin because he wished to rule. And this is why all the princes looked with disfavor upon his children. The king placed his son in Halyč, presented Lestko with Peremyšl' and gave [the boyar] Pakoslav the city of Ljubačev, for he was a friend of Roman's wife and her children.

However, when military operations actually begin, the Galician chronicler expresses his approval over the Hungarian loss to Danilo's father-in-law, Prince Mstislav Mstislavič Udalyj of Novgorod and Halyč, for the Hungarians had been guilty of the sin of pride and had defiled the Church of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary in Halyč by turning it into a fortress:

(1220) 6724 (1216). Nothing [of importance] happened [until] . . .

(1220) 6725 (1217) . . . the ever-proud Filja advanced [upon Halyč], hoping to encircle the land and to empty the sea with his great host of Hungarians. He was wont to say that one stone could break many pots or to boast that one needed only a sharp sword and a swift steed [to kill] many Rus'ians. But God would not tolerate this and later the ever-proud Filja was killed by Danilo Romanovič. Prince Oleksander betrayed Danilo and Vasilko and they had no succour from anyone except God until [Prince] Mstislav arrived with the Polovcians. Then Filja retreated with his great host of Hungarians and Poles, taking with him the Galician boyars, his father-in-law Sudislav, and [many] others. But some [of the boyars] fled [from him], for he had looked down upon them.

(1221) 6726 (1218). There was peace.

(1221) 6727 (1219). Then Lestko marched against Danilo to Ščekarev to prevent him from coming to the aid of his father-in-law Mstislav. [Prince] Kondrat arrived to reconcile Lestko with Danilo, but recognizing Lestko's treachery he did not wish Prince Danilo to go [and] see Lestko. In the meantime, Filja was preparing for war. He was convinced that no one could oppose



him on the field of battle. He left Koloman in Halyč where he [had] fortified the Church of Our Lady, the Blessed Virgin Mary. [But] she would not tolerate the defilement of her temple and allowed [Prince] Mstislav to capture it. With Koloman [at that time in Halyč] were: Ivan Lekin, Dmitr, and Bot.<sup>13</sup>

[Mstislav's allies] the Polovcians came to reconnoitre. The Hungarians and Poles gave chase, but one Polovcian turned around and shot Uz in the eye with an arrow. Uz fell [dead] from his horse and [the Hungarians] took his body away and mourned for him. The next day, on the eve of the feast of the Blessed Virgin, Mstislav marched early in the morning against the proud Filja and his Hungarians and Poles, and a great battle ensued which Mstislav won. Many of the Hungarians and Poles were killed as they fled [from the battlefield]. The haughty Filja was captured by the youth Dobrynin, whom the treacherous [boyar] Žirolav had kidnapped. Because of Dobrynin [Žirolav] had been exposed and had lost his patrimony. After winning [on the battlefield], Mstislav advanced upon Halyč. First [his soldiers] fought for the possession of the city gates. [When these fell into their hands] the Hungarians fled to the church vault because it had been fortified, and some climbed up on ropes; their horses had been captured [by Mstislav's troops]. [From there] the [Hungarians] shot and threw stones at the inhabitants of the city, but they [soon] became exhausted from thirst, for they had no water. When Mstislav arrived, they surrendered to him and were led down from the church. Danilo came with a small retinue in the company of his tysjackij Demjan. However, he came at the wrong time [after the fighting was already over] and went to Mstislav. [Then] there was great rejoicing that God had delivered them from the foreigners, for all the Hungarians and Poles were either killed or captured or had drowned while fleeing through the land. Still others were killed by peasants, so that no one escaped. And thus God favored the land of Rus'.

Although Danilo did not take part in the victory described above, he did defeat the Hungarians ten years later when they attempted to take Halyč after he had just wrested it from them, and this Hungarian defeat is described in Biblical terms. Note that in this passage Béla IV who did not rule Hungary alone until 1235 appears as co-regent with his father Andrew II under the year 1230 in the GVC, a fact which is historically accurate. Moreover, the Galician chronicler has a soft spot in his heart for King Andrew's third son Andrew who at this time has replaced his brother Koloman as the contender for the throne of Halyč (See Note 13):

Danilo rose the following morning, rode around the city and gathering [all] the inhabitants of the Galician land, surrounded it by dividing his troops into four battalions. He had collected [his vast army] from the Bobrka as far as the river Ušica and the Prut. [Thus] he laid siege [to Halyč] in great force. Its inhabitants [soon] became exhausted and surrendered the city. As Danilo was occupying the city, he remembered King Andrej's affection [for him] and released his son, accompanying him to the Dniester. The only person to leave Halyč with the king's son was Sudislav. The Galicians threw stones at him and said: "Depart from our city, you instigator of rebellions in our land!"

Andrej came to his father and brother [in Hungary]. And Sudislav constantly exhorted them: "March against Halyč and occupy Rus'. If you won't go, they will gain in strength against us". [Thereupon] Bela Rex – that is, the Hungarian king – set out in great force. He [boasted] that the city of Halyč would not remain (on the face of the earth), for there was no one to deliver it from his hands. But as he was going through the Hungarian Mountains,<sup>14</sup> God sent against him the Archangel Michael [who] released the torrents of heaven [upon him]. The horses of the Hungarians drowned [in the ensuing flood], while they themselves sought succour on high ground. [Despite this Bela] was bent on occupying the city and the land. [Then] Danilo prayed to God and He

delivered him from the hands of the mighty. The king besieged the city and sent a messenger who cried out in a loud voice: "Listen to the great Hungarian king. Let not Demjan prepare you [for battle] with the words 'God will deliver us from [the evils of this] earth', and let not your Danilo place his trust in God and tell you that this city would not surrender to the Hungarian king.<sup>15</sup> I have led so many [successful] campaigns against other lands. Who indeed can oppose me and the power of my regiments?" But Demjan nevertheless continued building up his forces and was not frightened by this threat, for God was with him. Danilo summoned the Poles and Kotjan's Polovcians to his side, while the king had Begovar's Polovcians as his allies. But God sent down Pharaoh's plague [upon the enemy. Thus], the city grew stronger and stronger, and Bela – weaker and weaker; [finally] he withdrew from the city, abandoning many men – [from] both infantry and cavalry. When the inhabitants of the city attacked them, many of them fell in the river, some were killed, some wounded, and some were taken captive. As has been said somewhere: "[Just as] the Skyrt river played a bad trick on the inhabitants of the city", so did the Dniester play a bad trick on the Hungarians.<sup>16</sup>

From [Halyč] the king went to Vasilev, crossed the Dniester, and headed toward the Prut. But the Lord sent a plague [upon the Hungarians] and His angel struck them down. And thus they perished: some shed their skin as they would their shoes,<sup>17</sup> some found their way into the midst of a herd of horses and perished there, while still others died as they gathered around a fire and were raising a piece of meat to their lips. They died of many different afflictions while heavenly torrents inundated them without discrimination. Thus, [Bela] fled because of the infidelity of the Galician boyars, while Danilo took possession of his city – Halyč.

However, only one year later – and in an apparent paradox when contrasted with the above passage – when King Andrew is successful in capturing the cities of Jaroslavl', Halyč, and Volodimer', the Galician chronicler records this without any bias against the Hungarians, but rather with a reproach against Danilo's subordinates who had surrendered so easily. The passage begins with the escape of Danilo's adversary, Prince Oleksander Vsevolodovič to Hungary:

(1231) 6739 (1231) ... And thus he arrived in Hungary and went to Sudislav, [who] was at that time in Hungary. Sudislav went to King Adnrej and persuaded the Hungarian king [to march against Danilo]. And King Andrej advanced (1232) upon Jaroslavl' in the company of his son Bela and his other son Andrej. The boyar David Vyšatič and [the voyevoda] Vasilko Gavrilovič barricaded themselves in Jaroslavl', [defending it] in Danilo's name. The Hungarians fought until sunset but the city repulsed them. In the evening [the besieged] held a council [during which] David became frightened because his mother-in-law, the wife of the steward Nezdilo, whom he addressed as mother, was faithful to Sudislav and told him that he would not be able to hold the city. But Vasilko [exhorted] him: "Let us not disgrace our prince. [Their] army cannot take this city," for he was a strong and brave man. David, however, would not heed him and was bent on giving up the city. Then Čak came from the Hungarian regiments and reported that they could not defeat them, for they had been badly beaten. Yet despite Vasilko's heated insistence not to surrender the city, David delivered it to [the Hungarians], for fear had paralyzed his heart. He walked out unharmed with all his troops, and the king occupied Jaroslavl', [from which] he then advanced upon Halyč. But [the boyar] Klimjata of Golyje Gory fled from Prince Danilo to the king, and following his example all the Galician boyars surrendered.

From [Halyč] the king advanced upon Volodimer'. When he came to Volodimer' he was amazed [by what he saw] and said: "Such a city I did not find in the German lands," for armed soldiers were astride its ramparts and both the soldiers and their shields glistened like the sun.<sup>18</sup> [The voyevoda] Miroslav was in [command of] the city; at [all] other times he had been dauntless [in the face of battle] but this time – and God [alone] knows [why] – he became alarmed and made peace

with the king without consulting with Prince Danilo and his brother Vasilko. In accordance with the [provisions of] the peace treaty he gave Belz and Červen to [Prince] Oleksander. The king [in the meantime] placed his son Andrej [on the throne of] Halyč upon the advice of the unfaithful Galicians. [Later] Miroslav denied that he had delivered Červen according to [the stipulations of] the treaty for both brothers reproached him strongly: [they could not understand] why he made peace with so many soldiers at his disposal. While the king stayed in Volodimer, Prince Danilo took much booty ravaging the outskirts of Bužsk. Then the king returned to Hungary.

After Danilo's visit to pay homage to the Tatar khan Batu (in text: Batyj) in 1245/46 (erroneously recorded under the year 1249), the image of the Hungarians and Hungary as personified by the Hungarian king seems to be the most balanced, and peace is concluded through the marriage of Danilo's son Lev to Bela's daughter Constance of Hungary. Yet even here there is a trace of distrust of the king on the part of the chronicler which was never present at the beginning of the GVC:

(Summer/Autumn 1246) Soon the news that Danilo had returned from the Tatars and that God had brought him back safely spread to all the lands. Consequently, that [very same] year the Hungarian king [Béla IV] sent a courtier (?) [to Danilo] with the proposal that Danilo take his daughter [Konstancija] in marriage for his son Lev, for [Béla] was afraid of him, since he had been among the Tatars and had defeated Rostislav and his Hungarians. After consulting with his brother, Danilo [decided] not to believe him since he had previously deceived him with his promise to marry his daughter [to Lev]. The Metropolitan Kuril traveled [through Hungary on his way to the Patriarch of Nicaea, where] he was sent by Danilo and Vasilko to be confirmed as head of the Metropolitan See of Rus'. While he was visiting the king, the latter won him over with words and many gifts, promising to escort [Kuril] to Greece with great honor, if Danilo would only make peace with him. And Kuril replied that he would go and bring Danilo if the king promised not to go back on his word. Thus, the Metropolitan [Kuril] came [to Danilo] informing him that his wish would soon be realized — he could take [the king's] daughter as wife for his son. And Vasilko also urged Danilo to go to the [king], because he [too] was a Christian. Thus talking along his son Lev and the Metropolitan, Danilo went to the king in Izvolin. He took the latter's daughter as wife for his son and returned to the king the captured boyars whom God had delivered into his hands when he and his brother won at Jaroslavl'. [Then] he concluded peace with the king and returned to his own land.

And apparently the Galician chronicler had good reasons for this distrust, for the Hungarian king Béla IV proved to be treacherous just seven years later (1252—1253/54, erroneously recorded under the year 1257). Despite Danilo's loyalty to him against the Babenbergs of Austria<sup>19</sup>, Béla does not give aid to Danilo's son Roman when as a contender for the Austrian throne after the death of Duke Friedrich Babenberg II, Roman is besieged in the castle of Himberg (GVC: *Ineperec*) by the Czech king Přemysl Ottokar II (in text: *hercjuk* — i.e. (Arch)duke).

Then, as we had mentioned previously,<sup>20</sup> the [Hungarian] king [Béla IV] made a solemn promise to [Danilo's son] Roman, but he did not keep it. He abandoned him in the city of Ineperec and went away; he [had] promised to [help] him [in Austria], but did not [keep his promise], for he had treachery in his heart: he wanted [Roman's Austrian] cities for himself. He had sworn a solemn oath before God to Roman and his wife that after he had conquered [this] German land,<sup>21</sup> he would give all of it to Roman. However, since [Roman's] wife knew [Béla's] character,<sup>22</sup> she

made him swear on the cross, but he never came to [Roman's] aid. [In the meantime] the (Arch)duke [Peremysl]<sup>23</sup> repeatedly attacked [Roman in Ineperec]. Once he came with a great force and both sides fought [fiercely]. He camped [only] a thousand paces away, but could not take the city. Therefore, in an attempt to ingratiate himself [to Roman] he said: "Leave the Hungarian king, for you are my relative and kinsman,<sup>24</sup> and I will share [this] German land with you. The Hungarian rex — that is — king — is promising you many things, but he will not keep [his promises]. But I speak the truth. I will give you my [spiritual] father — the Pope — and twelve bishops as witnesses who will testify that I plan to present you with half of the German land."<sup>25</sup> But [Roman] replied: "I have sworn an oath to my "father" — the Hungarian king — and [therefore] cannot follow your advice for if I were to break my oath, I would bring shame upon myself and commit a [grievous] sin." He dispatched [a messenger] to the Hungarian king [to relate] everything that the (Arch)duke said and promised him, and to request aid from him. But he did not send him any aid, [for] he wanted [the Austrian] cities for himself. [Instead] he promised to give [Roman] other cities in the Hungarian land. However, since [Roman's wife] knew his cunning ways, she said [to his envoy]: "[First] he took my son<sup>26</sup> for his daughter and is holding him hostage, and now [he] wants our cities, while we suffer [under siege] and die of hunger for his sake."

Roman finally had to abandon his wife in Himberg and to give up his dreams for the Austrian throne as a "lost cause."

In contrast to the Galician part of the GVC, the Volynian section, which begins with the year 1261, mentions Hungary and the Hungarians only two or three times in passing, each of which, however, is both too short and not enough to give any picture of the Volynian chronicler's views of his close neighbor on the other side of the Carpathians.

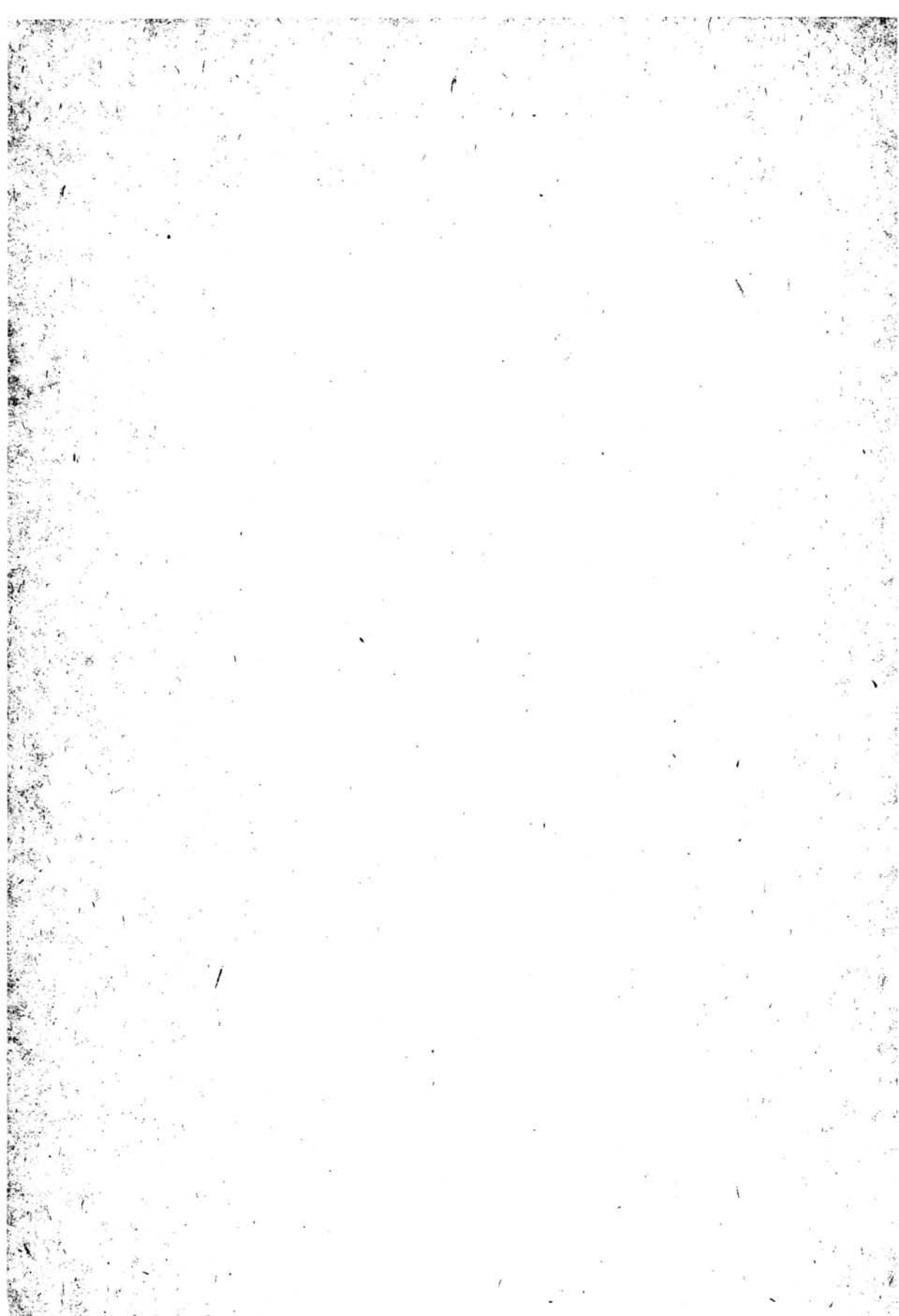
#### Notes

1. For an analysis of the specifically Middle Ukrainian and general East Slavonic vernacular features which penetrated the literary Church Slavonic in which the chronicle was written, see my "Studies on the Galician-Volynian Chronicle" in *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.*, 12, no. 33-34, New York, 1972 — a series of articles on the language, authorship and composition, chronology, bias, and bibliography of the GVC.
2. Hrycak, P., *Halyc'ko-Volyns'ka deržava*, New York, 1958, p. 36.
3. Perfecky, G., *The Hypatian Codex Part Two: The Galician-Volynian Chronicle — An Annotated Translation*, published as volume 16, II in the *Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies*, Munich (Fink Verlag), 1973.
4. The first parenthesis is (1) the correct date of the event in the chronicle. (The reconstruction of the spurious chronology of the Hypatian text of the GVC was the main contribution to the study of the chronicle of the great Ukrainian historian M. Hruševs'kyj. See his monograph "Xronol'ogija podij Halyc'ko-volyns'koji litopysy" in *Zapysky Naukovoho Tovarystva imeny Ševčenko*, 41 (L'viv, 1901), 1-72 [= "Chronology of the events in the GVC," *Notes of the Ševčenko Scientific Society*]) What follows is (2) the hypothetical year since the Creation given for this event by the chronicler, followed by (3) the transformation of the latter into A.D., the second parentheses. In the translation the missing words, historical identifications, and substitutions of nouns for pronouns (and vice-versa) for the sake of clarity have been enclosed in square brackets.
5. According to western researchers, although the chronicler referred to Anna as Andrew's sister-in-law, she may have been at best only distantly related to him through marriage to Roman, but nothing definite is known about the kinship of Roman to Andrew. However, according to L.

- Maxnovec ("Halyč'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys," *Žovten'*, L'viv, 7, 182, p. 15), Anna was Andrew II's niece. She was the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Isaac II Angelus from his second wife, Margaret-Maria, who was the sister of the Hungarian king Andrew II and daughter of Béla III.
6. The GVC omitted the very important fact that Roman Igorevič, even before his capture by Benedict (in text Benedikt) was driven out of Halyč by Rostislav Rjurikovič, who was summoned by the boyars; however, Roman was brought back very quickly; this is attested by the Voskresenskij text, which reads as follows (the year is 1210): "They [sic: i.e., the Galician boyars] drove off Roman Igorevič, and Rostislav Rjurikovič began to reign in Halyč; that very same autumn they drove off Rostislav Rjurikovič and placed Roman Igorevič with his brother on the [sic: Galician] throne." In Hruševs'kyj's opinion the brother may have been Svjatoslav. Also according to Hruševs'kyj, the words "disorder and revolt in Halyč" in the GVC itself are an allusion to this omitted event (Hruševs'kyj, *M. Istorija Ukrajinjy - Rusy*, vol. 3, L'viv, 1905, pp. 24-25, photomechanical reprint: New York, 1959).
  7. Čerepnin's suggestion that Timofej was the author of the introductory tale of Anna and her young sons, a tale supposedly written around 1211, is without foundation. The intentional (? - G.P.) mention of the "wise bibliophile, a Kievan by origin" is certainly not conclusive proof of authorship. Moreover, it is doubtful whether one can successfully isolate such a tale, since the text is riddled with "non-Romanovič" interpolations. Čerepnin's entire article, devoted only to the first half of the GVC, while excellent where comparisons between the chronicle and the *Igor' Tale* are drawn, founders where it touches on questions of authorship and composition (Čerepnin, L. "Letopisec Danila Galickogo", *Istoričeskie Zapiski*, No. 12, Moscow, 1941, pp. 244-253).
  8. Timofej based his conclusion that Benedict was indeed the Antichrist on the numerical value of the latter's name in its Greek pronunciation [Benediktos]. The number 666 which is the sum total of all the numbers each of the sounds in his name represented (b=2; e=5; n=50; e=5; d=4; i=10; k=20; t=300; o=70; s=200; total=666) stood for the "sign of the beast" - I. e. the Antichrist, according to the Apocalypse. Timofej's designation of Benedict Bor as the Antichrist was consequently proof that both he and the chronicler were familiar with the interpretative Apocalypse (Hens'ors'kyj, A., *Halyč'ko-Volyns'kyj litopys (Proces skladannja; redakcii i redaktoryj)*, Kiev, 1961, p. 14).
  9. Found in the 16th century Klebnikovskij and 17th century Pogodinskij texts but absent from the 15th century Hypatian text of the GVC.
  10. The term "brother" here as in many other places throughout the chronicle simply denotes princely kinship, i.e. all the princes whether actually related or not were brothers.
  11. The unreliability of this report about hostilities between Andrew and Leszek before the Council of Spiš has been successfully demonstrated by Hruševs'kyj. (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, vol. 3, pp. 510-511).
  12. The Council of Spiš in 1214 represented a turning point in the attitude of Andrew and Leszek toward Roman's sons. Where before they tried to help them win back their patrimony, now with the ascendancy of Volodislav Kormiličič to the throne of Halyč they gave up this endeavor and decided to divide the Romanovič "Galician patrimony" between themselves. Danilo and Vasilko were to get only Volodimer', while Eastern Galicia was to go to Hungary and Western Galicia to Poland. Nothing was said about Volynia, but Hruševs'kyj suspected that Leszek took the regions of Zabužje and Berestja for himself, when he forced Oleksander to give Volodimer' to Roman's sons. The agreement was to be confirmed by the marriage of Leszek's daughter Salomea to Andrew's son Koloman, who was to become the King of Halyč. According to Hruševs'kyj, this plan was in all probability masterminded by the Polish boyar Pakoslaw (in text Pakoslav), although this is not evident from the text of the GVC, which states that he only carried the plan to Andrew. Hruševs'kyj's supposition is based on the fact that Pakoslaw, paradoxically called "a friend of Roman's wife and her children" by the chronicler, received the city of Ljubačev from the partitioned Romanovič patrimony, in Hruševs'kyj's opinion, as reward for his endeavor. And indeed in accordance with these provisions agreed upon at Spiš, Koloman and Salomea were engaged and sent to Halyč with a large Hungarian force under Benedict Bor,

- who ousted Volodislav Konmiličič. Koloman, however, was not crowned before the winter of 1215/16, because negotiations between Andrew and Innocent III for a papal crown for Koloman took quite some time. Andrew craftily promised Innocent a Union of the Galician populace with the Roman Church (*Ibid.*, pp. 30–31). The partition of the “Galician patrimony” in accordance with the Spiš agreement and the Polish–Hungarian alliance lasted very briefly. Andrew took Western Galicia with its center Peremyšl’ away from Leszek, who in revenge summoned Mstislav Mstislavič of Novgorod to the throne of Halyč. Furthermore, the Hungarian occupation was unpopular among the populace as were Andrew’s attempts to Latinize the local church and bring about a Union with Rome. According to the Voskresenskij text, “The Hungarian king placed his son on the throne of Halyč, drove its bishop and priests from the church, and brought in his own Latin priests to say Mass.” However, very little is known about these attempts at a Union. Andrew apparently planned a synod of local bishops in 1215, but in the meantime an uprising broke out against Koloman and these plans were dropped; Innocent III’s legate got only as far as Andrew’s court. Andrew himself was forced to come to his son’s aid and take him back to Hungary (*Ibid.*, pp. 32–35).
13. Koloman was sent to Torčesk and after long negotiations returned to Hungary. In order to free Koloman, Salomea, and other important Hungarians, however, Andrew had to give up all attempts to win Galicia for Koloman. Instead Mstislav and Andrew reached an agreement by which Galicia was to pass to Andrew’s third son Andrew who was to marry Mstislav’s daughter Marija. (*Ibid.*, pp. 39–41; Pašuto, V., *Očerki po istorii Galicko–Volynskoj Rusi*, Moscow, 1950, pp. 204–205).
  14. The Carpathian Mountains.
  15. As noted already by Hruševs’kyj, this passage imitates the style of Isaiah 36. 13–15: “Then Rabshakeh stood and cried with a loud voice in the Jews’ language, and said: ‘Hear ye the words of the great king, the king of Assyria.’ Thus said the king: ‘Let not Hezekiah deceive you: for he shall not be able to deliver you.’ Neither let Hezekiah make you trust in the Lord, saying: ‘The Lord will surely deliver us: this city shall not be delivered into the hand of the king of Assyria.’” Hruševs’kyj, *Istorija*, vol. 3, p. 48.
  16. This passage beginning with “But God sent down Pharaoh’s plague. . .” is derived from the Chronicle of Malalas (Orlov, A., “K voprosu ob Ipat’evskoj letopisi,” *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Akademii Nauk*, vol. 31, Leningrad, 1926, p. 100).
  17. The phrase “some shed their skin as they would their shoes” apparently had its source in Joshua 9. 4–5 (*Ibid.*, p. 111).
  18. This description of the soldiers’ arms is derived from the Chronicle of Hamartolus (*Ibid.*, pp. 120–121).
  19. Perfecky, *The Hypatian Codex*. . . , p. 61.
  20. This is a reference to the text under the year 1254. Note reference to Austria as “Germany” and “German land.”
  21. I.e. Austria.
  22. Béla IV had been appointed Gertrud Babenberg’s guardian by Pope Innocent IV (Pašuto, *Očerki*, p. 255).
  23. In the fall of 1251 Přemysl Ottokar II supported by some of the Austrian barons and clergy entered Austria with his troops and proclaimed himself (Arch)duke (i.e., Herzog) of Austria. He consolidated his position by marrying Margarete Babenberg, the sister of the late Herzog Friedrich II, who had died on the Lajta River in 1246 fighting the Hungarians and had left no heirs. Béla IV with the full support of Innocent IV challenged Přemysl’s position. He decided to give Gertrud in marriage to Danilo’s son Roman and thus make him and not Přemysl the new Herzog of Austria. The marriage took place in the first half of 1252 in the castle of Himberg (*Ibid.*, pp. 255–256).
  24. Only through Gertrud and her cousin Margarete (Scharanewitsch I., *Die Hypathoschronik als Quellen-Beitrag zur österreichischen Geschichte*, L’viv, 1872, p. 68).

25. The reference to the Pope and twelve bishops as witnesses appears to be an exaggeration by the chronicler to show Přemysl's sincerity, since it is a well-known fact that Béla had Innocent's support.
26. Apparently by former marriage to Herman, the Markgraf of Baden (Hruševs'kyj, *Istorija*, p. 74), if not an exaggeration by the chronicler to make Béla appear in a negative light.





## FOURRURES DANS L'HÉRALDIQUE DU MOYEN AGE HONGROIS

IVÁN BERTÉNYI

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Il serait vaine de vouloir donner un aperçu des écus couverts de fourrures en Europe de l'Ouest. Dès le 12<sup>e</sup> siècle, il était coutume de mettre sur les écus des guerriers — dans un but de renforcement, de décoration ou de protection — différentes fourrures. Voilà maintenant 120 ans que le célèbre héraldiste et sigillographe allemand, le prince Hohenlohe-Waldenburg consacra une étude aux fourrures;<sup>1</sup> en outre, de nos jours, tous les ouvrages occidentaux importants et tous les armoriaux traitent abondamment de ces fourrures précieuses.<sup>2</sup> La popularité et l'expansion de l'une d'entre elles, l'hermine, sont attestées par le fait qu'un très célèbre chercheur français l'indique dans le titre de l'un de ses recueils d'études.<sup>3</sup>

Il apparaît néanmoins que la frontière Est de l'ancien Empire Romain-germanique constitue une limite à l'expansion et à la notoriété des fourrures dans les armoiries médiévales. L'ouvrage de référence polonais d'héraldique les considère comme quasiment inconnues dans le pays.<sup>4</sup> Le précis d'héraldique hongrois, premier ouvrage de valeur scientifique en la matière, rédigé il y a un siècle par le baron, Albert Nyáry, affirme que les fourrures, si connues à l'Ouest, surtout en France et en Angleterre, "ne sont pas répandues en Hongrie, même si c'était une nation, des ses débuts, de fourrures et de peaux. Nous ne connaissons pas d'armoirie hongroise médiévale avec des fourrures." Il est vrai que Nyáry rapporte par la suite une légende armoriale, qui remonte à l'époque des croisades, selon laquelle un chroniqueur français raconte qu'en pleine bataille le héraut hongrois présent proclama le dessin d'un morceau du mantel et doublé de fourrure et hissé au bout d'une lance des Coucy comme étant les armoiries de cette famille,<sup>5</sup> mais ni Nyáry, ni les auteurs des manuels héraldiques hongrois ultérieurs n'ont pu tirer, et n'ont tiré effectivement, à partir de cette petite histoire, aucune conséquence concernant l'utilisation des fourrures en Hongrie. Cependant les résultats archéologiques mis au jour depuis, ainsi que d'autres sources, semblent corroborer l'affirmation de Nyáry, à savoir que "c'était une nation, des ses débuts, de fourrures et de peaux."<sup>6</sup>

La conception de Nyáry a été partagée par les spécialistes, de sorte qu'il ne sera jamais question, dans les ouvrages ultérieurs d'héraldique de l'utilisation en Hongrie des fourrures sur les écus.

Le traité de Trianon consécutif à la 1<sup>ère</sup> guerre mondiale attribua à l'Autriche la zone occidentale de la Hongrie, et la nouvelle province autrichienne du Burgenland qui devait en naître avait besoin d'armoiries. Il fut question pendant un moment — entre autres — de

reprendre les armoiries de la ville de Sopron (en allemand: Oedenburg) avec leur fragment de mur d'enceinte, pour servir d'armoiries nominales à la nouvelle province (le mot allemand Burgenland = 'la terre des châteaux'). Mais comme la ville et ses alentours choisirent de rester fidèles à la Hongrie à l'occasion du plébiscite (1921) qui décida de leur sort, Sopron ne pouvait plus être le chef-lieu de la nouvelle province autrichienne: il fallut renoncer à ses armoiries. Vint ensuite l'idée de constituer les nouvelles armoiries à partir de celles des trois comitats de la Hongrie de l'Ouest des zones occidentales desquels était né le Burgenland. Cela aurait donné des armoiries trop compliquées; aussi cette idée fut-elle rejetée. Finalement — le gouverneur de la province Burgenland, Rausnitz, ayant longuement consulté l'Institut de Généalogie, du Droit des familles et d'Héraldique de Vienne — les armoiries de deux familles anciennes, ayant résidé dans la province et depuis éteintes, furent retenues. En effet les domaines des Nagymartoni (les Fraknó, en allemand: les von Mattersdorf-Forschenstein) et des Némétújvári (les Güssinger) s'étendaient jadis dans les régions les plus occidentales de la Hongrie, et étaient limotrophes de l'Autriche. Ces armoiries furent choisies non seulement en raison de l'origine étrangère (non hongroise) de ces deux familles, mais encore il sembla heureux du point de vue de l'exécution artistique de pouvoir placer l'écu des armoiries des Güssinger sur la poitrine de l'aigle couronnée, aux ailes éployées, des Nagymartoni, aigle placée elle-même sur l'écu des armoiries de la nouvelle province. Le champ de l'écu des Güssinger est trois fois coupé de gueule et de fourrure ("Kürsch") dans les armoiries de la province du Burgenland.<sup>7</sup> Les armoiries du Burgenland nous suggèrent donc l'idée que les Güssinger avaient des fourrures sur l'écu de leurs armoiries. Est-ce vrai?

Sur le sceau de 1273 de Henrik de la lignée Héder (à laquelle appartenaient les Güssinger) on voit un écu sept fois coupé.<sup>8</sup> Le ban Iván, un autre ancêtre du 13<sup>e</sup> siècle de la famille se sert également, en 1285, d'un sceau avec un écu sept fois coupé.<sup>9</sup> János, fils de Miklós Kakas, appartenant à la famille, s'inféode, en 1336, au prince d'Autriche dans une charte avec un sceau à armoiries dont l'écu porte trois pals gravés. La matrice du sceau utilisée à la même époque d'Erzsébet, veuve de Miklós, était de même gravure.<sup>10</sup> Il est difficile, il est vrai, de tirer des conclusions sur les émaux des armoiries des sceaux à partir des figures sans couleurs des sceaux: il n'y a aucune trace, dans aucun des sceaux, qui indiquerait les cisaillements habituels en forme de V ou semblables pour marquer les fourrures, ni aucun signe qu'on pourrait interpréter comme des fourrures. Nulle trace non plus un siècle plus tard dans les armoiries sur la pierre tombale de Katalin Hédervári, issue d'une autre branche de la lignée Héder.<sup>11</sup> On retrouve les mêmes sceaux armoriaux avec un écu trois fois coupé sur la charte que firent éditer ensemble le palatin Lőrinc Hédervári et le ban de Macsó, Imre Hédervári, en 1442.<sup>12</sup> Nous affirmerons donc qu'au Moyen Age les Güssinger et les Hédervári ne portaient pas de fourrures sur l'écu de leurs armoiries. D'ailleurs le landeshauptmann Alfred Walheim dut se rendre à cette évidence quand, en 1924, il vit — à raison —, lorsqu'il voulut vulgariser les armoiries du Burgenland, voir de gueule et d'argent dans l'écu médiéval des Güssinger.<sup>13</sup> Les pals d'argent étaient ornés de vagues — et ces vagues furent considérées plus tard comme des fourrures.

Comme jusqu'à présent nous n'avons pas pu trouver d'écu couvert de fourrure,

examinons les ornements extérieurs des armoires hongroises pour voir s'ils ne comportent pas de fourrure. — Un héraut allemand du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, Pater Suchenwirt dessina — entre autres — les armoires de son contemporain Louis Premier (dit le Grand), roi de Hongrie (1342–1382), tout en donnant une description détaillée des armoires du souverain dans ses propos sur le “Chunig Ludwig von Ungerlant”. Selon lui, c'est un écu parti orné de perles et de rubis avec huit coupés d'argent et de gueule, polis par fascés. La deuxième partie de l'écu est d'azur de ciel avec les reliefs de lys d'or. Sur le heaume il y a une couronne d'or à l'intérieur de laquelle il y a deux plumes d'entre celles-ci un cou d'autruche décrit en des termes dont l'interprétation pose problème; les yeux sont en rubis, le bec est d'or et tient un fer à cheval d'or.<sup>14</sup> La partie de la description qui nous intéresse particulièrement, c'est la ligne située entre les plumes d'autruche et qui mentionne: “Den strauzen hals hermleinen”.

L'interprétation de Oszkár Bárczay de cette ligne et de ce passage est la suivante: “à la pointe de son heaume à la couronne d'or, et entre des plumes d'autruche on voit un cou d'autruche à émail d'hermine, les yeux en sont de rubis, le bec d'or tenant un fer d'or.”<sup>15</sup> Pál Ghyczy cependant conteste l'explication de Bárczay: lui-même, il avait observé que Suchenwirt avait l'habitude de périphraser l'argent par “hermleinen, hermperlein, migriese” (perle), et là où il blasonnait une vraie fourrure d'hermine, de dire: “von harm geswentzet” (orné d'une queue d'hermine).<sup>16</sup> Cela revient à dire que dans la description de Suchenwirt le cou de l'autruche n'est pas d'hermine mais qu'il est d'argent. L'interprétation de Ghyczy semble être convaincante à cet égard, et, même s'il y a un auteur qui — sans essayer de s'inscrire en faux contre l'argumentation de Ghyczy — accepte le cou d'hermine de l'autruche que décrit Suchenwirt,<sup>17</sup> il est peu probable que le poète armorial allemand ait pensé à des armoires pareilles.

Après avoir refusé l'idée du cou d'autruche as, hermine, Ghyczy croit, dans la même étude, trouver des fourrures d'hermine sur un autre monument héraldique du roi Louis le Grand: sur la doublure des lambrequins à lys de genre mantelet, du cercueil de Saint Simon de Zara.<sup>18</sup> Là, par contre, l'affirmation de Ghyczy ne semble pas acceptable. Il est vrai que sur le côté du reliquaire on voit, dans une targe inclinée à droite, les armes parties, à dextre plusieurs fois coupées, à senestre semées de fleurs de lys, autrement dit les armoires qui furent celles du roi Louis Premier, entre autres. Mais il n'est pas du tout sûr qu'il faille voir des fourrures dans les plissures intérieures des lambrequins qui descendent du grand heaume et qui entourent l'écu.<sup>19</sup>

La présence de l'hermine semble être plus vraisemblable dans le cas des lambrequins d'un autre document qui nous est resté dans une lettre armoriée, cette fois-ci. En été 1894, Kálmán Géresi, professeur au collège de Debrecen, retrouva la lettre armoriée datée de 1417 du familier royal Simon Barwy et de ses compagnons, lettre que présentera Gyula Schönherr dans les pages du bulletin *Turul*.<sup>20</sup> La lettre armoriée représente en peinture les armoires sans en donner une description: on voit dans un écu incliné à gauche à champ d'or un aiglon (ou un corbeau) de sable avec une couronne d'or: il regarde à gauche, ses ailes d'argent sont éployées, il tient dans son bec une bague d'or. Le sol sur lequel il se tient est d'azur et ondulé, la tête et les ailes de l'oiseau se prolongent

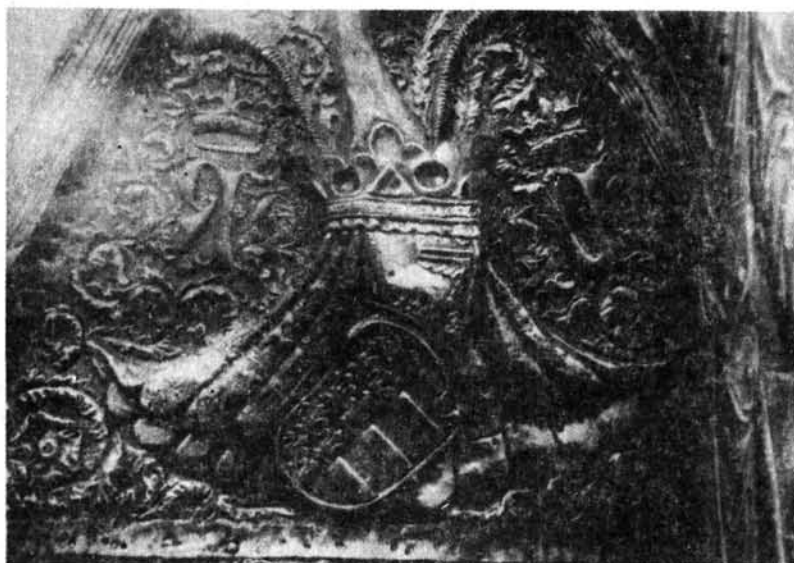


Fig. 1. Les armoiries de Louis le Grand, roi de Hongrie sur le cercueil de Saint Simon de Zara

jusque dans le chef qui est d'azur. L'angle dextre de l'écu est surmonté d'un bassinnet d'argent fermé avec des lambrequins doublés d'hermine et avec une couronne ouverte.<sup>21</sup>

Faisons abstraction du fait, par ailleurs intéressant, que l'oiseau que représentent la figure héraldique et le cimier ressemble, par le fait qu'il tient une bague dans son bec, au corbeau de la famille Hunyadi. (Le présentateur de la lettre armoriée ne va pas jusqu'à affirmer que le propriétaire des armoiries, Simon Barry, soit de la même famille que les Hunyadi; il suppose simplement que les armoiries des deux familles "sont le produit de la même conception héraldique, qu'ils ont éventuellement comme origine la fantaisie du même peintre d'armoiries".<sup>22</sup>) Ce qui nous intéresse par contre pour l'instant c'est que nous pouvons enfin trouver — en nous appuyant sur la contribution de Schönherr, des lambrequins doublés d'hermine. On voit bien les mouchetures trahissant l'hermine tant sur l'original aux Archives Nationales de Hongrie que sur l'image publiée dans *Turul* ou l'illustration des *Monumenta Hungariae Heraldica* Károly Tagányi salue avec enthousiasme, après la contribution de Schönherr, les lambrequins d'hermine comme étant une nouveauté héraldique; mais, quelques années plus tard, László Fejérpataky, plus prudent, modère cet enthousiasme: lorsqu'il présente les armoiries de Barry dans les *Monumenta Hungariae Heraldica*, il décrit les lambrequins par le mention "lambrequins: azur-jaune" ne désavouant pas expressément par là Schönherr et Tagányi, mais n'acceptant pas non plus la conception selon laquelle les doublures des lambrequins en question seraient d'hermine aux armoiries des Barry.<sup>23</sup>

Même si l'auteur de la présente étude soutient plutôt Schönherr et Tagányi (et en plus L. Fejérpataky ne dit nullement, à l'endroit cité, à partir de quelles considérations il rejette



**Fig. 2.** Les armoiries de Simon Barrwy peintes dans ses lettres d'armoiries de 1417



**Fig. 3.** Les armoiries de Simon Barrwy corrigées par l'éditeur des Monumenta Hungariae Heraldica

l'idée d'une dobulure d'hermine des lambrequins, représentés dans la lettre armoriée), la question se pose toutefois de savoir si on trouve armoiries, cimier ou lambrequins avec des fourrures qui n'aient été remis en cause par la critique ultérieure. Heureusement, il y a un exemple indubitable – espérons-le – d'un écu couvert d'hermine.

Le professeur Lajos Bernát Kumorovitz a eu l'obligation d'attirer l'attention de l'auteur de la présente étude sur une charte datée du 21 janvier (jour de la Sainte Agnès) 1382, éditée par Heinrich Paternoster et qui contient un engagement au bénéfice de Leub(e)l Prun(n)er au sujet d'une maison. L'engagement fut déclaré devant le juré de la ville de Buda Jakab Chürsner, qui, à la demande de Paternoster, apposa son propre sceau



Fig. 4. Le fragment du sceau de Jakab Chürsner de 1382

sur la charte.<sup>24</sup> L'original de la charte est gardé aux archives de la ville de Vienne. On y voit bien le fragment du sceau de Chürsner. L'exergue du sceau a complètement disparu, mais la figure représentée par le sceau qui était rond à l'origine nous reste intacte. Elle représente un écu triangulaire, écartelé, par une croix(?), aux côtés convexes: aux premier et deuxième champs il y a deux lignes avec trois mouchetures d'hermine dans chacune (6 par quartier), aux troisième et quatrième champs de même il y a deux lignes, avec 3 et 2 mouchetures (5 par quartier).<sup>25</sup> L'un des traits intéressants du sceau de Jakab Chürsner est que, malgré sa présentation écartelée, l'écu entier représente la même figure; autrement dit cette répartition n'a pas de fonction. Ce qui par contre est beaucoup plus important, c'est que grâce à ces armoiries nous pouvons avoir un témoignage de l'héraldique des artisans de la ville de Buda et de la Hongrie du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle, un document qui constitue une preuve de l'utilisation par les artisans de l'époque d'armoiries et, en même temps, du fait que, dans les armoiries, on peut voir, rarement, il est vrai, des fourrures en Hongrie. Comme les fourrures s'occupaient de peaux dès le Moyen Age, la fourrure qu'on voit sur l'écu de Chürsner (= Fourreur) indique sans équivoque le métier de son propriétaire; le nom du propriétaire de ces armes confirme que les mouchetures représentées sur l'écu ont pour fonction de désigner des objets importants pour le travail du fourreur.

Il semble bien qu'en Allemagne il était également coutume d'utiliser des armoiries semblables, donc allusives, dans les armes des fourreurs. Hohenlohe-Waldenburg présente

deux sceaux armoriaux de ce type. L'un des deux est attaché à une charte datée de 1329, l'autre à une charte datée du 14<sup>e</sup> siècle dont il n'a pu retrouver l'original; mais le chercheur de la ville de Regensburg, Plato Wild, avait fait un dessin de ce sceau, et Hohenlohe-Waldenburg reprend à son tour ce dessin. Les deux sceaux représentent, entre autres, des peaux d'animaux: l'un appartenait à Konrad Pellifex, l'autre à Philipp Kürschner (Pellifex), ce qui explique pourquoi le chercheur allemand les qualifie "d'armes parlantes".<sup>2,6</sup> (Dans la terminologie heraldique moderne, on dirait plutôt des armoiries allusives.)

Que le champ d'écu couvert de fourrure apparaisse plus tard dans l'héraldique hongroise est prouvé par l'enseigne datée de 1719 de la corporation des fourreurs de la ville de Vác: le flanc dextre de l'écu coupé tenu par deux lions rampants est couvert de mouchetures (d'hermine), tandis qu'au flanc senestre on voit la double croix bien connue dans l'histoire des armoiries de Hongrie et plantée au milieu des trois collines.<sup>2,7</sup>

Pour résumer nos investigations, nous pouvons constater que l'écu couvert de fourrures, si rare qu'il ait été, n'était pas inconnu de l'héraldique hongroise. Aussi faudra-t-il modifier l'opinion courante qui nie son existence.

#### Notes

1. F.[riedrich] K.[arl] Fürst zu Hohenlohe-Waldenburg Schillingsfürst: *Das heraldische Pelzwerk*. (Als Manuskript gedruckt), Stuttgart, 1867. (par la suite: Hohenlohe-Waldenburg)
2. Pour ne citer que quelques aperçus modernes: Fernand Bartholini: *Guide du blason. Guide pratique*. Stock, 1975., pp. 8-10., Matthias Hildebrandt: *Wappenfibel. Handbuch der Heraldik*. Verlag Degener et Co. Inhaber Gerhard Geßner, Neustadt an der Aisch, 1970<sup>1,6</sup> p. 48., Otfried Neubecker: *Heraldik. Wappen, ihr Ursprung, Sinn und Wert*. Wolfgang Krüger Verlag GmbH. Frankfurt am Main, 1977. p. 87., D. L. Galbreath-Léon Jéquier: *Manuel du blason*. Spes, Lausanne, 1977. pp. 95-96., Michel Pastoureau: *Traité d'héraldique*. Picard, Paris, 1979. pp. 104-105., Ernest Warlop: *Héraldique*. (Archives Générales du Royaume) Bruxelles, 1985. p. 76.
3. Michel Pastoureau: *L'hermine et le sinople. Etudes d'héraldique médiévale*. Paris, 1982.
4. "Ganzlich unbekannt sind in Polen. . . die Pelze, die in der französischen und englischen Heraldik eine so große Rolle spielen." - Marian Gumowski: *Handbuch der polnischen Heraldik*. Austria, Graz, 1969. p. 12.,
5. Le baron Albert Nyáry: *A heraldika vezérfonala* (Esquisse d'héraldique). Budapest, 1886. p. 50.
6. "Lors des fouilles dans les cimetières on n'a pas trouvé de jupe à bordure d'hermine, mais bien des vêtements de pris." - András Kubinyi: *A parasztság hétköznapi élete a középkori Magyarországon* (La vie quotidienne de la paysannerie en Hongrie au Moyen Age). - In: *A Veszprém megyei Múzeumok Közleményei*, 17. 1984. [Rédigé par Zoltán Töröcsik-András Uzsoki.] Veszprém, 1985. p. 224. Un document intéressant, non archéologique, concernant l'utilisation des fourrures en Hongrie: dans son testament daté de 1402 Péter, fils de János, fils de Lőrinc Gezthi a légué à Benedek dit Farkas entre autres "unam stragulam. . . subductam cum pellibus mardurinis". - Elemér Mályusz: *Zsigmond-kori oklevéltár* (Chartier de l'époque de Sigismond), vol. II. Budapest, 1956. No. 1724. L'impôt sur les fourrures de fouine perçu dans certaines régions relevant de l'autorité du roi de Hongrie fut abrogé par l'article XII de la loi de 1351: "Lucrum etiam camere nostre nobiles inter fluvios Draue et Zaue ac de Posoga, necnon de Walko cum aliis veris nobilibus regni nostri unanimiter solverunt teneantur, nec ratione collecte marturinarum Banzolosmaia vocatarum amodo et in posterum molestentur, sed ab omni exactione aliarum quarumlibet collectarum hactenus persolví consuetarum exempti penitus, tamquam ceteri regni nostri nobiles

- aliarum partium immunes habeantur." – *Decreta Regni Hungariae. Gesetze und Verordnungen Ungarns 1301–1457*. Collectionem manuscriptam Francisci Döry additamentis auxerunt, commentariis notisque illustraverunt Georgius Bónis, Vera Bácskai. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1976. p. 135.
7. "Als Grundlage für dasselbe (= das Wappen des Burgenlandes) dienten die Wappen der beiden mächtigen Geschlechter, die bis zu ihrem Aussterben im 15. Jahrhundert ihre Besitzungen in diesen Gegenden hatten. Es waren dies die 1198 aus Aragonien nach Ungarn gekommenen Herren von Mattersdorf–Forchenstein und die Grafen von Güssing–Bernstein. Erstere führten in silbernem Wappenschild einen schwarzen, widersiehenden Adler auf rotem Felsen begleitet von zwei roten Kreuzchen, letztere das dreimal von Rot und Kürsch gespaltene Wappen". – *Die Wappen der Republik Österreich und ihren Bundesländer*. Gezeichnet von Ernst Krahl, Heraldiker in Wien. Text von Hanns Jäger-Sunstenau. Wien, 1948. p. 10. La figure p. 11. Les armoiries des deux familles mentionnées ont été reprises avec des modifications dans les armoiries de la province du Burgenland.
8. Henrik Marczali: *Magyarország története az Árpádok korában (1038–1301)* (Histoire de la Hongrie à l'époque des Árpáds). In: *A magyar nemzet története* vol. II. (Histoire de la nation hongroise). Rédigée par Sándor Szilágyi. Budapest, 1896. p. 646.
9. Archives Nationales de Hongrie, Collection d'avant la défaite de Mohács (Országos Levéltár – Diplomatarium. Par la suite: OLD 1.) 1186. *A Magyar Királyi Országos Levéltár Diplomatikai Osztályán őrzött pecsétek mutatója* (Index des sceaux gardés au Département Diplomatique des Archives Nationales Royales de Hongrie) Budapest, 1889. tableau II. figure No. 8.
10. Antal Pór: *Pecséttani apróságok* (Bagatelles sigillographiques). – *Turul* XI. (1893) p. 181.
11. Pál Engel–Pál Lóvei–Livia Varga: *Zsigmond-kori bárói siremlékeinkről* (De nos monuments funéraires des barons de l'époque de Sigismond). – *Ars Hungarica*, XI. (1983) pp. 40–41. Cf. Levente Závodszy: *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára*. vol. II. (Chartier de la lignée Héderváry). Budapest, 1922. p. XXI.
12. La charte a été authentifiée par le sceau pendant de tous deux. En photo: Béla Radványiszky–Levente Závodszy: *A Héderváry-család oklevéltára* (Chartier de la lignée Héderváry). vol. I. Budapest, 1909, figure NO. 4. après la page 604. Photographie des sceaux avec la charte: p. 207.
13. "Das Wappen der Güssinger ist ein dreifach gespaltener Schild: zwei Streifen sind rot, zwei silbern; die silbernen Streifen sind gewelt womit Pelzwerk (Kürsch) angedeutet werden soll." – Alfred Walheim: *Wie das Burgenland zu seinem Wappen gekommen ist?* – *Volks-Zeitung* (Wien), 10. Februar 1924. p. 12. (C'est le professeur Hanns Jäger-Sunstenau qui a eu la gentillesse d'attirer mon attention sur cet article.)
14. Ain part di geit liechten schein  
 Von perlein chlar und von rubein,  
 Purliert, acht stukch sind dar gelairt  
 In parraweiz und vol berait,  
 Di ander part ist hymel pla,  
 Dar auf reichlich getziret da  
 Sind lilygen reich von gold erhaben  
 Gestrewt, di dikche stower gaben  
 Den wappen mit ir reichen prehen,  
 Die liepleich wol sind an zesehen  
 Seinz helmes dach geschrönet  
 Mit gold ist reich beschönet  
 Dar in leit manich edel stein  
 Verworcht und auch polliret rain;  
 Tzwo strauzen vedern in der chron  
 Gestackcht, da zwischen sicht man schon



Den strauzen hals hermleinen,  
 Sein augen von rubeinen  
 Glesten gen der veinde schar,  
 Der snabel ist von golde gar,  
 Dar inn er rürt ze preisen  
 Gestalt, als ein hüfeysen  
 Gepogen chlar von golde vein  
 Gechrönet ist daz hawbet sein  
 Mit golde reich. Nu merkchet  
 Wi er mit ern sterkchet  
 Dy wappen und der chreyen schal.  
 Der gernd en mund auch nie verhal  
 In Ungerlant chunich Ludweig:  
 Er hat gepent strazz unde steig  
 Die tzu den ern laitten,  
 Sein lob daz wil ich praitten:  
 Hurta, Hurta, Ungerlant,  
 Dein chrey den pesten ist bechant!

Citation et analyse de Oszkár Bárczay: *Magyarország címere* (Les armoiries de Hongrie) – *Turul*, XV. (1897) (par la suite: Bárczay: Les armoiries de Hongrie) pp. 166–167. sur la base de *Peter Suchenwirt's Werke aus dem vierzehnten Jahrhundert*. Wien, 1827. Voir aussi dans Oszkár Bárczay: *A heraldika kézikönyve* (Manuel d'héraldique). Budapest, 1897. pp. 393–394.

15. Bárczay: Les armoiries de Hongrie, p. 168.
16. Pál Ghyczy: *Gelre herold címerkönyve* (Armorial du héraut Gelre). – *Turul*, XXII. (1904). (par la suite: Ghyczy: Le héraut Gelre) p. 9. Cf. aussi Gustav A. Seyler: *Geschichte der Heraldik*. Neustadt an der Aisch, 1970<sup>2</sup> p. 221.
17. Dezső Dercsényi: *Nagy Lajos kora* (L'époque de Louis le Grand). Egyetemi Nyomda, Budapest, sans date. p. 43.
18. Ghyczy: Le héraut Gelre, p. 9.
19. L'original du reliquaire orné fait par Franciscus de Mediolano en 1380 est gardé dans l'église Saint Simon de Zara (Zadar), la copie est gardée à la Galerie Strossmayer a Zagreb, les paroies – non assemblées – sont en copie à la crypte de l'église Notre Dame ("Mathias") du château de Buda. Sa description: *Művészet I. Lajos korában* (L'art à l'époque de Louis 1<sup>er</sup>). 1342–1382. Catalogue rédigé par Ernő Marosi, Melinda Tóth, Livia Varga. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Művészettörténeti Kutató Csoportja, Budapest (1982), pp. 115–116. No. 21. Photographie: tableau No. 8. et Ivo Petricoli: *Škrinja Sv. Šimuna u Zadaru*. (Monumenta Artis Croatiae, Prvo Kolo, Kniga treća), Zagreb, 1983. ill. 38.
20. OLD 1. 50 515. Ed.: Gy[ula] Sch[önherr]: *Barrwy Simon címereslevele 1417-ből* (Lettre armoriée de Simon Barry de l'année 1417). – *Turul*. XIII. (1895) pp. 119–120. Le fac-similé complété: à la figure en couleurs entre les pages 118 et 119.
21. "... arma seu nobilitatis insignia in presentium literarum nostrarum capite depicta"... .Ibid.: p. 120.
22. Ibid.: p. 120.
23. "La seule pièce dans toute l'héraldique hongroise à doublure d'hermine des lambrequins." – K[ároly] T[agányi]: *A Kossuth-család 1479. évi címere* (Les armoiries de la famille Kossuth de l'an 1479). – *Turul*, XIII. (1895) p. 40. *Magyar Czímeres Emlékek* (Monumenta Hungariae Heraldica). Ed.: László Fejérpataky. Vol. I. Budapest, 1901. p. 42. No. V.
24. "... verpint ich mich vor dem erbergen man Jacob chürsner gesworn man der stat czu Ouen. ... so hab ich gepeten den vorgeantent gesworn mán daz er sein insigel hat gedrukt an dißen brif. ..."

25. Wiener Stadt und Landesarchiv, Urkunden 1023. La copie en plâtre faite par le professeur L. Bernát Kumorovitz se trouve à la Collection des copies de sceaux du Musée Historique de Budapest, No. 65. 1762.
26. 1329: "Sigillum sexangulare medii moduli. Scutum in eo deorsum sectum, anterieus habet tres fascias supra rotunde pinnatas: retro tres baltheos in laevam ductos cum titulo + Sigillum Cunradi Pellificis. Citra dubium hic Pellificis pro pellioni est positum, tamquam latine conversio vernaculae Kirschner. . . Ein zweites Beispiel liefert das Siegel des Philipp Kürschner (Pellifex) an einer Urkunde aus dem XIV. Jh. im Regensburgischen Stadt-Archiv, wovon eine Abbildung auf unserer Taf. I. Fig. 2. [stammt] nach einer Zeichnung des um die Geschichte Regensburg verdienten dortigen Stadtsyndicus Dr. Plato gen. Wild. Wo sich gegenwärtig das Original befindet, ist mir unbekannt, doch sollen Wild's Zeichnung unverlässlich sein. Auf den Siegeln der beiden Pellifex ist also das Pelzwerk als redendes Wappen gebracht. . ." – Hohenlohe–Waldenburg, p. 33.
27. *Vác története* (Histoire de la ville de Vác), Red. par Vilmos Sápi. Rédacteur technique: Nándor Ikvai. vol. I. Szentendre, 1983. figure No. 22. entre les pages 192–193.

## UNIVERSITY CAREER OF MATHEUS DE LOREYO

Academic Liaison Between Jodocus Clichtoveus and Humanist  
Bishop Johannes Gosztonyi

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The 102 questions of Johannes Gosztonyi addressed to Jodocus Clichtoveus were carried to Paris from Hungary by a French theologian, Matheus de Loreyo, in 1517. He must have come to Hungary on some other official business. In the years of 1515–1516, there was an exchange of letters between the Faculty of Theology and the Kingdom of Hungary. On August 1, 1515, during the meeting of the Faculty, a committee was formed, *fuert dati deputati*, to discuss the contents of these letters.<sup>1</sup> On August 19, 1518, the University of Paris decided to send a letter to the King of Hungary after discussing a report of the same Matheus de Loreyo (Lorry)<sup>2</sup> on the state of religion in Bohemia.

Matheus – sometimes called Matthias but he himself signed his name Matheus – was originary from the diocese of Toul, suffragant of Trier in the Empire.<sup>3</sup> Because of that, he belonged to the English–German Nation to which the Hungarian subject also claimed allegiance. Loreyo became Bachelor of Arts during the 1499–1500 academic year while Petrus Heemskerck acted as receptor; his bursa was taxed to 4 solidus Paris. He was promoted together with Georgius de Ungaria, diocese of Albanensis in Transylvania.<sup>4</sup>

The next academic year, 1500–1501, Matheus ex “Lori” (Lorry) together again with Georgius de Ungaria was promoted licentiatus, seventh among 17; and the same year incipiens; i.e., master of Arts, under the receptor, Johannes Calciatoris Brysgoicus.<sup>5</sup> During the 1501–1502 rectoria of the noted Scottish philosopher, Johannes Major (Mair), he was elected procurator of the English–German Nation.<sup>6</sup>

From 1502 to circa 1504, Matheus de Loreyo lived and taught at the College of Lisieux, pleasantly located on the top of Montagne Sainte-Geneviève neighboring the church of the saint. Here he had in charge the two sons of Johannes Amerbach: Basilius and Bruno. He made them read the courses of the nominalist Johannes Raulin (1443–1514), Grand Master of the College of Navarre in 1481.<sup>7</sup>

During the 1502–1503 academic year – I believe – he was the “Matheus” who was elected proctor of the Nation during the rectorship of Christianus Hermanni seu Brunonis.<sup>8</sup>

Despite several recommendations regarding the personality of Matheus, Johannes Amerbach, father of Bruno and Basilius, still had some reservations against him. Philippus Hodoart (Hodouart), the noted theologian, hurried to his defense, stating that he knew Loreyo as a learned and prudent man, abundant in good discipline.<sup>9</sup>

On March 3, 1503, Loreyo informed Johannes Amerbach that his sons were seriously studying philosophy — Bruno spontaneously more industrious; however, Basilius, though his knowledge is sufficient, still has to be forced to do anything.<sup>10</sup>

One common feature between the Hungarian Bishop Gosztonyi and Loreyo, his messenger to Jodocus Clichtoveus, was their interest in Platonism. On June 24, 1503, Loreyo informed Johannes Amerbach that he had acquired a book written by a defensor of Plato — meaning Cardinal Bessarion's publication against Georgius Trapezontius, *In calumniatorem Platonis* (Roma: Sweynheym and Pannatz, September 13, 1469).

In the same letter composed at the end of the school year, Loreyo repeated his dissatisfaction with Basilius, "retained by the vice of negligence." Fortunately, he found his brother, Bruno, more skilled.<sup>11</sup>

By 1503–1504, Mattheus de Loreyo was a popular member of the English–German Nation. He participated at a "banquet" of the Nation attended by 39 masters including himself. He received 24 sol. from the celebrated printer, Petrus Cesaris Wagner, acting as substitutus receptor. The latter equally paid in the same academic year for "Mathia Lirin" 9 Douzain (new douzain was officially the grand blanc à la couronnel) because of Loreyo's regency, i.e., actual teaching.<sup>12</sup>

On September 20, 1504, Loreyo was present along with the procurator, receptor, chaplain, major and minor beadles of the Nation in the company of 38 masters at another Prandium. The occasion was the election of Michael Layng, diocese of Saint Andrews in Scotland, to the office of the receptor for the 1504–1505 academic year. Among the participants at this gathering were such celebrities as Johannes Major (Mair); David Cranston, Scottish logician and theologian; and Robertus Cockburn, the future bishop of Ross in Scotland (1507–1524).<sup>13</sup> At the same time Michael Layng listed Martinus Tholninus from Hungary as bachelor present in Paris.

Mattheus de Loreyo was again mentioned as monetary beneficiary of the Nation in connection with some puzzling expenses on the occasion of the first compute on the eve of the feast of Saint Matthias on September 20, 1504. I believe this unspecified additional amount of payment given to 33 or so masters and officers of the Nation was not for the "auditing" of the accounts of the receptor, neither for regency of the masters, because beadles were also remunerated. The expenses given to those who supervised the accounts of the receptors were listed separately on the next folio: *Pro auditoribus compoti*, namely proctor receptor and 24 masters. Loreyo was not among them, while "Bartoldus imperator," Bertholdus Rembolt, the noted printer, was present. Each received 2 Blancs (albos).<sup>14</sup>

By the middle of May 1504, the two Amerbach brothers left in the tutelage of Loreyo entered the College of Bourgogne. On June 6, 1504, their father wrote to Bruno: "I can see how happy you are being liberated from the yoke of Master Mattheus Loreyo."<sup>15</sup>

Not long after, Loreyo also left the College of Lisieux and in late 1505 joined the College of Navarre, teaching Arts courses there. In 1512, while living in this College, he became *busarius theologus*. In all probability, Loreyo was still housed here when Johannes Gosztonyi himself stayed there. In 1515, among the guests (hospes) of the

College of Navarre, there was a Johannes Levesque listed. Could the name hide "Gosztonyi," Johannes Levesque, the bishop? <sup>16</sup>

Already a member of the Faculty of Theology, certainly *baccalarius biblicus*, Matheus de Loreyo was elected to "high" office within the Nation and was trusted with the function of reformator of the University. His duties consisted of visiting colleges together with the reformators of the three other Nations – French, Picard, Norman – and oversee the conditions of disciplines, progress of studies, liturgical and devotional life of the students and masters in these institutions. His remuneration of 2 lb. listed by the receptor, Jacobus Spilman, from Basel, friend of the Amerbach family, during the 1512–1513 academic year, was apparently a belated payment. <sup>17</sup> Loreyo must have served as reformator during the 1511–1512 academic year, when Luscus Noctuinus from Prussia functioned as receptor, because Jacobus Spilmanus listed a second reformator, namely the famous philosopher, Georgius Locart (Lokert) during his 1512–1513 rectoria. <sup>18</sup>

On February 26, 1516, Loreyo became licentiatius and on May 5, 1516, Doctor in Sacred Theology. <sup>19</sup> He was not very active at the Faculty of Theology, maybe due to his travels abroad. Nevertheless, he remained faithful to his English–German Nation where his name was held in great respect. During the 1517–1518 academic year, the Dutch receptor Franciscus Ossmanus from Alkmaar mentioned him among the most illustrious members of the Nation who, on the day of celebration of the patron saint of the Nation, Saint Edmund, on November 20, 1517, received additional remuneration; namely, the Swiss philosopher, Petrus Tartaretus, Johannes Major (the fertile Scottish theologian), and the German Narciscus Brun, regent master since 1516 at the Faculty of Medicine. <sup>20</sup> At the end of this same academic year, on June 15, 1518, Loreyo presided at an academic disputation of an otherwise unnamed bachelor in Theology. <sup>21</sup>

The last we hear from Loreyo was on August 19, 1518. He attended the General Assembly of the University and made a somewhat confused report about the religious situation in Bohemia. He explained the desire of the Bohemian heretics to return to the Catholic faith and the guidance of the Roman Church. This report was certainly the result of Loreyo's experiences when traveling through Central Europe. The rector and the University of Paris decided to send three letters duly ratified with the great seal of the University to the Pope at that time, Leo X (1513–1521), to the Emperor Maximilian I (1493–1519), and to the King of Hungary, Louis II (1516–1526) for whom Clichtoveus composed his *De regis officio* in 1519. <sup>22</sup>

Previous to his report presented at the General Assembly of his University on the wish of some Bohemian heretics to return to Catholicism, Loreyo must have visited Bishop Gosztonyi in Hungary. The pontiff of Győr trusted his *Exemplar* of 102 questions to Matheus de Loreyo asking him to carry it to Paris and hand it over to Jodocus Clichtoveus. The Paris theologian, after his answer to the thirty-sixth question of Gosztonyi, inserted his acknowledgement regarding the safe arrival of the Exemplar to Paris thanks to the good services of Matheus de Loreyo. <sup>23</sup>

After the appearance at the August 19, 1518, General Assembly of the University, presided by the rector Olivarius of Lyon, we no longer hear anything from the theologian

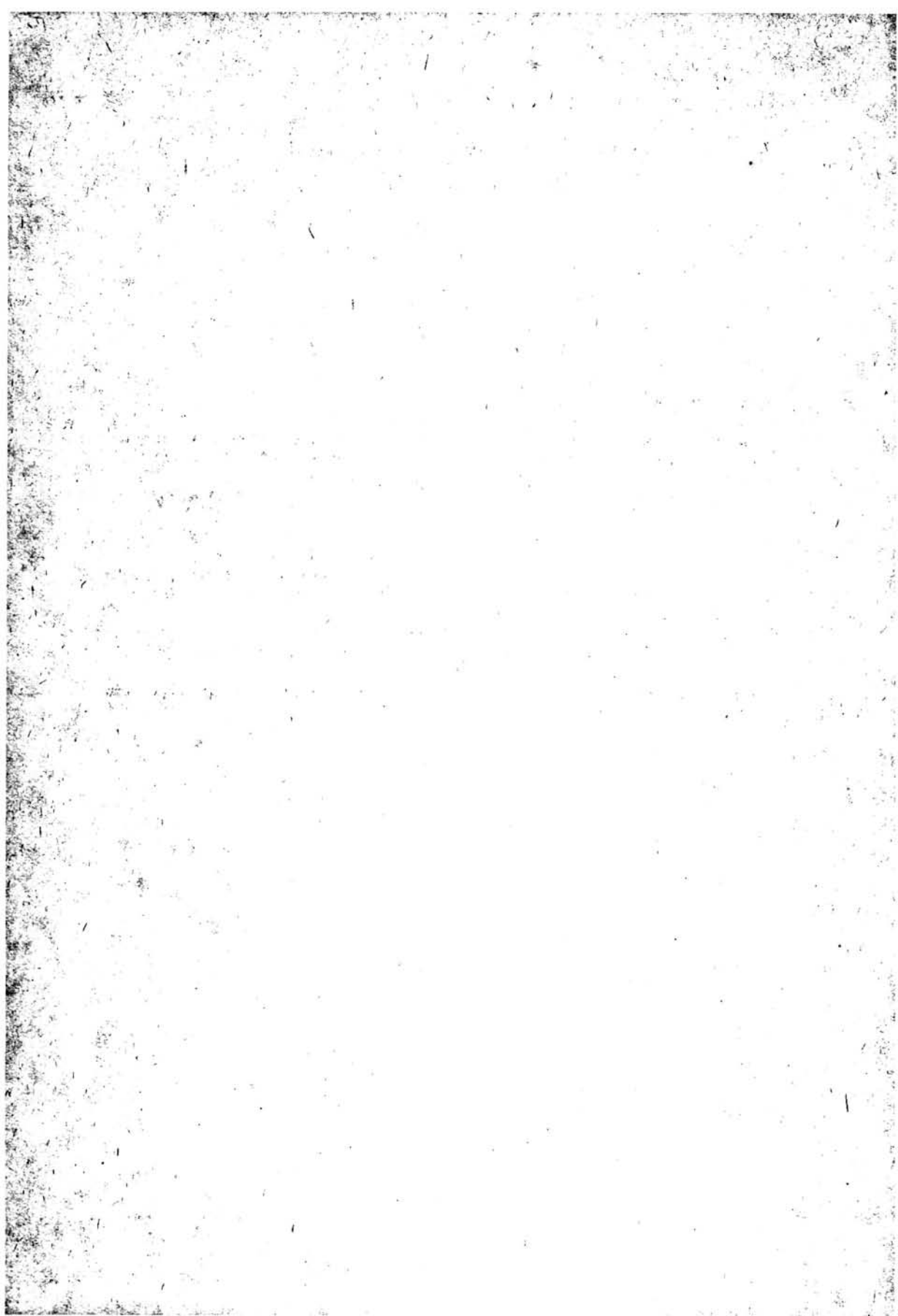
in the Empire, Mattheus de Loreyo. "Ad Reverendum in Christo patrem et dominum D. Joannem Gosztion [sic], episcopum Jauriensem dignissimum: nonnullarum questionum per Jodocum Clichtoveum Neoportunensem *dissolutio*: recto ordine, numeroque digesta." Title of the answers of Jodocus Clichtoveus to the 102 questions addressed to the latter by bishop Johannes Gosztiony. The manuscript is in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (Széchényi National Library) Budapest, Cod. Lat. 348. Description: *Kódexek a középkori Magyarországon. Kiállítás az Országos Széchényi Könyvtárban*. Introduction: Székely, György. Budapest, 1985, p. 169, no. 201.

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#### Notes

1. "Quod ad litteras transmissas ex regno Hongarie [sic] fuerunt dati deputati super contentis in dictis litteris:" A. Clerval, *Registre des procès-verbaux de la Faculté de la Théologie de Paris*, Paris, 1917, pp. 181; 185, no. 12. Henceforth: Clerval, *Registre. . . Faculté de Théologie*.
2. C. E. Bulaeus, *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, Paris, 1673, Tome VI, p. 106 and cf. pp. 962–963. Henceforth: Bulaeus, *Hist. Univ. Paris*.
3. Lorry is a locality in the northeastern region of France. He himself signed his name on October 27, 1502, in a letter of Johannes Amerbach: "Tuus Matheus ex Loreyo in Artibus magister, actu regens in famosissimo Collegio Lexoviensi." (Transcription is my orthography): A Hartmann, *Die Amerbachkorrespondenz*. I. Band. Die Briefe aus der Zeit Johann Amerbachs. 1481–1513, Basel, 1942, p. 163, no. 174. Henceforth: Hartmann, *Amerbachkorrespondenz*.
4. Reg. 91(85) folio 31 recto. Regarding Georgius de Ungaria, *Ibid.*, folio 31 verso. A. L. Gabriel *The University of Paris and its Hungarian Students and Masters during the Reign of Louis XII and François Ier*, Notre Dame, In. – Frankfurt am Main, 1986, p. 35 and note 51, and passim. Henceforth: *Hungarian Students*.
5. *Ibid.*, folio 37 verso (lic.); folio 41 recto (incipiens).
6. "In electione et continuatione Mathei ex Lorri. . . 8 sol. Paris.:" *Ibid.*, folio 44 verso.
7. Hartmann, *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, I, pp. 161–162, no. 174. On Raulin, see G. Grente (under the Direction), *Dictionnaire des Lettres Françaises. Le Seizième Siècle*, Paris, 1951, p. 599, col. a.
8. "Item in electione magistri Mathei, electi in Dominum procuratorem:" Reg. 91(85) folio 51 verso.
9. "Ego dictum magistrum novi et doctum et bonarum disciplinarum decoramentis precellentissime habundatam, prudentem:" Hartmann, *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, I, p. 143, no. 155. Letter dated circa May 1502.  
Philippe Hodoart from ca. 1499–1500 in the College of Sainte-Barbe, later ca. 1520 among the Deans of the Faculty of Theology of Paris.
10. Hartmann, *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, I, 171, no. 185.
11. On Bessarion's publication: *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, Vol. I–VIII, Leipzig, 1925–40, no. 4183. Henceforth: *GW*. Copies in USA among other places: Pierpont Morgan, Huntington and Harvard Libraries.  
Hartmann, *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, I, pp. 189–190, no. 199: [Basilius] "negligentie vitio detinebatur" . . . "Frater ejus [Bruno] doctor est."
12. Prandium: Reg. 91(85) folio 58 verso: "In prandio Nacionis quod erat in domo Roberti . . . Matheus ex Loreyo . . . 24 sol. Paris."

- Regency: *Ibid.*, folio 59 verso: "Item pro magistro Mathia [sic] Lorin, ratione regencie. . .ix. uds." Douzain (doudenarius). In the time of Charles VIII, a new douzaine of 12 den. Tournois was struck, officially the "grand blanc a la couronne." J. H. Munro, "Money and Coinage of the Age of Erasmus," in *The Correspondence of Erasmus*, Trans. R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, 1974, I, p. 314. Henceforth: Munro, "Money and Coinage."
13. Reg. 91(85) folio 62 verso: "Mattheus ex Loreyo;" Cf. folios 62 verso and 63 recto: "Johannes Maior" and "Robertus Cokburn."
  14. Reg. 91(85) folio 67 verso: "In distributionibus expense die quo actus erat primus comptus videlicet in profesto Mathei. . . Matheus de Loreyo." Johannes Major was not present. Expenses for auditing the Comput on September 20 are on folio 68 verso: "Expense facte pro auditoribus compoti in Profesto Mathei quorum quilibet habuit duos magnos albos." On the coinage of Albus (Blanc), see Munro, "Money and Coinage," p. 313.
  15. "Percipio te multum laetari, quod a jugo magistri Mathaei Lorey absolutus sis:" Hartmann, *Amerbachkorrespondenz*, I, p. 213, no. 225.
  16. Joh. Launoy, *Academia Parisiensis illustrata*, Paris, 1682, I, pp. 402-403.
  17. "Pro domino reformatore magistro Matheo de Lorey. . .2 lb. Paris:" Reg. 91(85) folio 134 verso.
  18. "Item pro domino Reformatore Universitatis magistro Iergio [sic] Locart. . . 2 lb. Paris.:" *Ibid.*, folios 139 verso.
  19. J. K. Farge, *Biographical Register of Paris Doctors of Theology, 1500-1536*, Toronto, 1980, pp. 288-289. no. 316.
  20. "Magistris (nostris) Tartareto Maiori, Loreo, Narcisco, una. . . 16 sol. Paris.:" Reg. 91(85) folio 171. It means each received 4 sol. Paris. on the "Sacro divi Edmondi Nacionis Solenni."
  21. "Primus fuit ad relationem honorandi magistri nostri de Loreyo, qui audivit unum baccalarium de tentative," Clerval, *Registre. . .Faculte de Théologie*, p. 239. Cf. original: Paris, BN, N. A. Lat. 1782, folio 57 verso.
  22. Bulaeus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.*, p. 106 and cf. pp. 962-963. A. L. Gabriel, *Hungarian Students* p. 72, note 146; - A. Eckhardt, "Un Prélat Hongrois humaniste et Erasmiens, Jean de Gosztonyi à Paris (1515)" in *De Sicambria à Sans-Souci*, Paris, 1943, pp. 152-154.
  23. (Exemplar harum Quaestionum) "michi tradito per honorandum magistrum nostrum et doctorem theologum Matheum de Loreyo," *Dissolutio*, folio 6 recto.





# EINE BISHER UNBEKANNTE HANDSCHRIFTLICHE VARIANTE VON NICOLAUS OLAHUS' „HUNGARIA”

Fakten und Probleme hinsichtlich der Entstehung des Werkes\*

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## 1. Leben und Werk des Nicolaus Olahus

Nicolaus Olahus (1493–1568), ung. Miklós Oláh, der die Kapitelschule von Várad (Großwardein heute rum. Oradea) besuchte, 1516 als Priester geweiht wurde und seit 1524 verschiedene (hohe) kirchliche und weltliche Ämter verwaltete, der zwischen 1531 und 1542 in Brüssel bei der verwitweten Königin Maria von Ungarn, die von ihrem Bruder Karl V. als Statthalterin der Niederlande ernannt worden war, als deren Sekretär und Hofrat fungierte, vollendete 1536 seine Abhandlung *Hungaria* und nicht viel später als deren Fortsetzung den *Athila*.<sup>1</sup>

Während seines Aufenthaltes in Brüssel stand Olahus mit seinen Freunden und mit hohen Würdenträgern in Ungarn, ferner mit mehreren Humanisten in den Niederlanden und in anderen Ländern in reger Korrespondenz. Besonders freundschaftliche Kontakte pflegte er zu Erasmus von Rotterdam und zu den Gelehrten des Löwener Kollegiums (*Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense*): Franciscus Craneveldius (Frans van Cranevelt: 1485–1564), Conrad Goclenius (1455–1539), Petrus Nannius (Nanninck: 1500–1557) und Rutgerus Rescius (Roger Ressen: geb. in den letzten Jahren des 15. Jhs., gestorben 1545), der auch eine Druckerei besaß.<sup>2</sup> Diese Humanisten betrachteten Oláh als Freund und Patron.

Außer den denannten Werken verfaßte Oláh verschiedene Prosaschriften kirchlich-religiösen und historischen Inhalts, ferner Gedichte, unter anderem eine Elegie auf Erasmus anlässlich dessen Todes, die noch 1537 in Löwen von Rescius veröffentlicht wurde.<sup>3</sup> Oláhs Briefwechsel, welcher von ihm selbst in einer Sammlung ausgewählt und eventuell zur späteren Publikation vorbereitet wurde, erschien erst 1875 und 1876 in zwei verschiedenen Ausgaben, aber mit völlig identischem Text.<sup>4</sup> Dieser Briefwechsel ist eine der bedeutendsten Quellen zur Geschichte der Renaissance in den Niederlanden.

\*Für die vielseitigen wertvollen Anregungen und Ratschläge, die ich im Rahmen meiner Forschung erhalten habe, sage ich den folgenden Kollegen meinen herzlichen Dank: Loránd Benkő, Vilmos Farkas, Csaba Csapodi, György Györffy, László Hadrovics, Béla Holl, László Makkai, Antal Pirnát in Budapest, István Németh in Wien, Hans Blum, Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, Juan Antonio Cervelló-Margalef, Johannes Helmraath und Angelika Lauhus, die auch den Stil meines Manuskriptes verbessert hat, in Köln. Mein Dank gilt nicht zuletzt der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft (Bonn), die mir durch ihre finanzielle Unterstützung meine Forschungen in ausländischen Bibliotheken ermöglicht hat.

Als Humanist schrieb Olahus seine obengenannten Werke in lateinischer Sprache, doch werden zwei Briefe von ihm in ungarischer Fassung (aber mit lateinischer Anrede und Abschiedsformel) im Ungarischen Staatsarchiv (*Országos Levéltár* – Budapest) aufbewahrt.<sup>5</sup> Beide Briefe wurden offensichtlich von ihm diktiert, aber in dem Schreiben vom 15. April 1566 ist in mehreren Verbesserungen seine eigene Handschrift erkennbar. Außerdem sind einige an ihn adressierte ungarischsprachige Briefe im selben Archiv zu finden.<sup>6</sup>

Oláh war, wie er selbst im Kapitel XII seiner *Hungaria* schildert, rumänischer Abstammung, und zwar stammte er aus einer Fürstenfamilie (der Name Oláh bedeutet ja ungarisch ‚Rumäne‘), und er war mit Matthias Corvinus, König von Ungarn (1458–1490), in Seitenlinie verwandt. Sein Vater Stoian (Stephan) mußte wegen politischer Verfolgung aus der Walachei nach Ungarn fliehen, wo er sich in Hermannstadt ansiedelte. Später wurde er zum Richter (*Iudex*) der Sachsen ernannt. Er heiratete Barbara Huszár (oder Hunszár),<sup>7</sup> die ihm vier Kinder schenkte, von denen Nicolaus das zweite war.<sup>8</sup>

Die *Hungaria* enthält in 19 Kapiteln eine geographische Beschreibung Ungarns, einschließlich Slawoniens und Kroatiens, Bosniens, der Walachei und Moldau. Nach einer historischen Einleitung (Kapitel I–III) über die Hunnen, die seinerzeit vermeintlichen Vorfahren der Ungarn, beschreibt der Verfasser zuerst die größten Flüsse und erfaßt dann vom Westen nach Süden, sodann in die Mitte, nach Norden und zuletzt nach Osten vorangehend die Gebirge und Gewässer, die Städte, Burgen und Festungen, die Nationalitäten der Einwohner und deren wirtschaftliche Tätigkeit; besonders ausführlich werden Buda, die Hauptstadt (Kapitel V), und Visegrád (VI) mit den königlichen Palästen dargestellt. Die sachliche Aufzählung der Ortschaften mit den Schlössern, Kathedralen und anderen Bauten und die Schilderung der mit ihnen verbundenen Ereignisse sind oft in einem anekdotischen Stil gefärbt, der später, besonders im 19. Jh., als charakteristische Eigenschaft des ungarischen Romans auftritt. Im allgemeinen schildert der Verfasser die Lage des Landes in günstigeren Farben als sie der Wirklichkeit entspricht, obwohl er mancherorts auch auf die Verwüstungen der Türkenkriege hindeutet.<sup>9</sup>

Die *Hungaria* ist zwar nicht die erste geographische Beschreibung Ungarns, doch sind die früheren Darstellungen in bezug auf Umfang und Anzahl der Daten nicht mit ihr zu vergleichen. Petrus Ransanus<sup>10</sup> beschäftigte sich in einem Kapitel mit der Geographie des Landes, und Stephanus Brodericus (Brodarics bzw. kroatisch Brodarić) widmete ein Kapitel der Beschreibung Ungarns in seinem Bericht über die verhängnisvolle Schlacht bei Mohács (1526) gegen die Türken.<sup>11</sup> Oláh hat diese Werke sicherlich gelesen, insbesondere den Band von Brodericus, mit dem er freundschaftlich verbunden war. Außerdem schöpfte Oláh etliche Daten aus der Landkarte von Lazarus Secretarius (editio princeps 1528) als Quelle.<sup>12</sup> Schließlich soll Aeneas Sylvius Piccolominis *Europa* (editio princeps 1490) als Inspiration für die *Hungaria* und *Athila* erwähnt werden, auf die Olahus sich zweimal in der *Hungaria* bezieht.<sup>13</sup>

Von Oláhs Werken ist zuerst der *Athila* erschienen: editio princeps 1568, herausgegeben von János Zsámboky (Johannes Sambucus) in Basel. Spätere Ausgaben: 1581 in Frankfurt (ebenfalls von Johannes Sambucus), 1606 in Hannover und 1690 in Köln. Oláhs Originalmanuskript ist aber inzwischen verschwunden. Die *Hungaria* wurde viel

später veröffentlicht: editio princeps 1735 in Preßburg (Pozsony, Posonia, heute Bratislava), herausgegeben von Matthias Bel (in: *Adparatus ad historiam Hungariae* . . .), 1763 in Wien, hrsg. von Adam Franz Kollar, 1774 in Wien, und in demselben Jahr in Varasd (heute Varaždin in Jugoslawien), hrsg. von Titus Brezovachky und Matthaeus Klessich. In allen Ausgaben sind die geographischen Namen jeweils entsprechend der zeitgenössischen ungarischen Orthographie modernisiert worden. Eine kritische Ausgabe der *Hungaria* wurde 1938 in der Redaktion von Kálmán (Colomannus) Eperjessy und László (Ladislaus) Juhász veröffentlicht. Oláhs Gedichte wurden von I. Fögel und L. Juhász 1934 in Leipzig publiziert.

## 2. Das Wiener Manuskript der Hungaria (V)

Seit Mitte des 18. Jhs. bis zur Auffindung der Kölner Handschrift war ein Kodex (von Eperjessy–Juhász und im weiteren auch von mir als *V* bezeichnet) als das einzige vorhandene Manuskript der *Hungaria* bekannt, welches in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Wien) unter der Signatur *Cod. Lat. 8739, saec. XVI* in der Handschriften-sammlung aufbewahrt wird. Dieses Manuskript ist unvollständig: die letzte Seite, die über die seltsamen Bewohner des Dorfes Simánd (Komitat Arad) berichtet, fehlt. Da die Druckausgaben des 18. Jhs. vollständig sind, muß mindestens noch ein Manuskript vorhanden gewesen sein, das auch die letzte Seite enthielt, aber inzwischen verschollen ist. Es soll seinerzeit auch in Wien aufbewahrt worden sein.<sup>14</sup> Eperjessy–Juhász (1938, S. V) vermuten, daß es eine originale Handschrift gab, von der *V* abgeschrieben wurde, das dann seinerseits als Vorlage für eine weitere Kopie (*x* bezeichnet) diente; *x* soll nach Eperjessy und Juhász als Vorlage für die gedruckten Bände, mit Ergänzungen aus *V*, gedient haben. Die Verfasser weisen darauf hin, daß auch den Löwener Gelehrten (Nannius und Goclenius) ein Manuskript bekannt gewesen sei. Insgesamt sollen nach Eperjessy und Juhász drei handschriftliche Varianten der *Hungaria* existiert haben. Dazu kommt nun der Kölner Kodex als vierte. Wie wir sehen werden, müßten noch weitere Kopien vorhanden gewesen sein, und überhaupt ist der oben angeführte Ablauf der Abschriften revisionsbedürftig.

*V* besteht aus 31 Seiten (mit drei verschiedenen Wasserzeichen). Im Text kann man mindestens fünf Handschriften unterscheiden: 1. Schriftzüge des fortlaufenden Textes, 2. mehrere Verbesserungen und Randbemerkungen, die von Oláh eingetragen wurden, 3. und 4. interlineare Verbesserungen, Eintragungen und Randbemerkungen und 5. marginale Anmerkungen besonders über den Inhalt der Kapitel.<sup>15</sup>

Ein seltsames Merkmal von *V* sollte hervorgehoben werden. Zwischen den Seiten 5 und 6, auf denen der Text ununterbrochen fortgesetzt wird, sind Spuren, und zwar etwa 1 cm lange Streifen mit vereinzelt Überresten von handschriftlichen Buchstaben, wahrnehmbar. Wurden hier Seiten aus einer anderen Handschrift fehlerhaft in diesen Kodex eingebunden und später wieder entfernt?

Alles in allem scheinen in *V* Ergänzungen aus einem vollständigen Manuskript vorgenommen worden zu sein. Die Berichtigungen und Durchstreichungen, die interlinearen und

marginalen Eintragungen sind im Vergleich zum ursprünglichen Text an vielen Stellen beträchtlich (s. *Anhang* 1). Das wird auch im Kapitel *Annotationes criticae* von Eperjessy–Juhász (1938: 76–90) aufgezeigt. Wenn aber ein Teil dieser späteren Eintragungen tatsächlich von den Bibliothekaren der kaiserlichen Bibliothek stammt (s. Anm. 15), so müßte entweder das verschwundene *x* oder eine andere Variante Vorlage für *V* gewesen sein. Ersteres ist aber weniger wahrscheinlich, denn das Fehlen der letzten Seite in *V* kann so nicht erklärt werden.

Sicherlich haben Eperjessy–Juhász textkritisch ausgezeichnete Arbeit geleistet, doch ist eine bibliothekswissenschaftliche Untersuchung bzw. Schriftvergleichung von *V* bisher unterblieben. Ohne diese Untersuchung kann aber ein Vergleich mit der Kölner Handschrift nicht alle Probleme lösen.

### 3. Der Kölner Kodex (K)

In der Kölner Erzbischöflichen Diözesan- und Dombibliothek befindet sich ein Kodex (Signatur: *Hs. 293*), der eine Variante der *Hungaria* und eine bisher unbekannte Variante der *Historia Australis* (als Titelvarianten kommen bei den anderen Varianten auch *H. Australis* und *Austriae* vor) des Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, dem späteren Papst Pius II., enthält. Letzteres Werk ist um 1453 entstanden (editio princeps 1685).<sup>16</sup> Der Kodex ist im Katalog Heusgens<sup>17</sup> eingetragen, Oláhs Werk ist dort aber verzeichnet als "*Johannes Olaus, Archiepiscopus Strigoniensis: Chorographiae Hungariae descriptio*". Wie ersichtlich, ist der Name des Verfassers fehlerhaft angegeben. Heusgen selbst hat sich aber nur bezüglich des Familiennamens geirrt: Das *h* wurde von ihm als *s* gelesen (in der Handschrift sind diese beiden Buchstaben oft verwechselbar geschrieben), den Vornamen hat er richtig gelesen, da auf der ersten Titelseite von *K* irrtümlich Johannes und nicht Nicolaus als Vorname angegeben ist.

Sowohl der Kodex als auch der Katalog Heusgens sind der Aufmerksamkeit der Historiker und Literaturwissenschaftler, die sich mit der Renaissance befassen, entgangen. Die Abschriften der beiden handschriftlichen Werke in diesem Kodex haben offensichtlich eine gemeinsame Geschichte, die durch philologisch-literaturwissenschaftliche und bibliothekswissenschaftliche Untersuchungen im einzelnen und dann in den Zusammenhängen geklärt werden könnte. Aufgrund meines Forschungsgebietes unternehme ich eine erste Annäherung zur Lösung der Probleme und Rätsel der *Hungaria*, mein Kollege Johannes Helmraath (Köln) beschäftigt sich mit denen der *Historia Australis*.

#### 3.1. Der Einband und das Äußere des Kölner Kodex

Laut des Heusgen-Katalogs ist der Kodex in Halbleder gebunden, "aber Vorderdeckel lose, Hinterdeckel fehlt". Größe: 2<sup>o</sup>. 335:210. Dazu sei erwähnt, daß im Katalog nur der äußere Einband angeführt ist, dessen hinterer Deckel kaum jemals existiert und dessen vorderer Deckel ursprünglich nicht zu diesem Kodex gehört hat, denn die Heftungen

dieses Deckels und diejenigen des Kodex passen nicht zusammen. Der marmorierte vordere Deckel wurde anscheinend von einem anderen Buch entfernt und zum Schutz der Handschriften aufgebracht. Dagegen hat der Kodex einen inneren Einband, welcher etwas mehr über seine Geschichte bekundet. Beide inneren Deckel bestehen aus zusammengeklebten Makulaturblättern, die an die Manuskriptseiten geheftet sind. Der Einband und die Heftung entsprechen zwar den Erfordernissen ihrer Zeit, sie erschweren aber das Lesen, da der ganze Innenrand zahlreicher Seiten bis zur Schrift eingehftet ist.

Auf der oberen Seite des inneren vorderen Deckels befindet sich ein lesbarer Text, der vermutlich aus einem Folio ausgeschnitten wurde: Der linke Teil zeigt den Schluß des Textes, rechts befindet sich ein anderer Text, dessen rechte Seite zwecks Anpassung an die Kante des Deckels abgeschnitten ist. Beide Texte sind kirchenrechtlichen Inhalts und von derselben Hand geschrieben. Im linksseitigen Text gibt es einen Hinweis auf den Kölner Erzbischof (*Archiepiscopo Coloniensi*). Die letzte Zeile endet mit einem Datum, dessen letzte Ziffer nicht lesbar ist: *Datum Leodii in Monasterio Sancti Jacobi, sub anno Domini 161?*. Diese letzte Ziffer kann 4 sein, das Datum weist auf jeden Fall auf das erste Jahrzehnt des 17. Jhs. Auf dem hinteren Deckel des inneren Einbandes sind andere Texte mit unterschiedlichen Handschriften zu lesen. Zweimal kommt dasselbe Datum vor: *13 augusti Ap94*, was vermutlich 1694 sein wird.

Mit gewissem Vorbehalt können wir annehmen, daß der Einband im 18. Jh. in Köln entstanden ist. Das Bistum Lüttich (Leodium, heute Liège bzw. Luik) gehörte seinerzeit kirchenrechtlich zum Kölner Metropolitenerverband, und die Erwähnung des Erzbischofs von Köln bekräftigt diese Annahme.

Die Zahl der Bögen von *K* ist weitaus größer als die der beschrifteten Seiten, besonders im hinteren Teil, wo nach der letzten Seite der Handschrift 50 Blätter (100 Seiten) leer geblieben sind. Die Bögen haben verschiedene Größe und sind auch – geht man von den fünf verschiedenen Wasserzeichen aus – unterschiedlicher Herkunft. Ein Wasserzeichen konnte ich identifizieren, und zwar eine Krone aus Münster von 1628–1629.<sup>18</sup> Es ist aber auffällig, daß bei der Einordnung der Bögen ihre Größe maßgebend war, so daß die Bögen größten Formats außen, die kleinsten innen eingehftet worden sind. Die genaue Anordnung der Bögen wird unten dargestellt.

### 3.2. Der Inhalt des Kodex

#### *Die Historia Australis*

##### a) Titelblatt I:

*Aeneae Sylvii Historia Australis, ut ipse vocat, sive Austriaca  
Ex authoris Autographo, quod in Caesarea Bibliotheca Viennensi extat descripta  
item*

*Johannis Olahi Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis Descriptio Hungariae*

Wie bereits erwähnt, ist Oláhs Vorname falsch angegeben. Nach dem Titel folgen drei Anmerkungen (s. *Anhang 2*). Die erste Bemerkung berichtet, daß der Kodex von einem

Manuskript der Wiener Kaiserlichen Bibliothek, das auch die *Historia Australis* von Aeneas umfaßte, abgeschrieben, vom Verfasser mehrmals revidiert, verbessert und am Rande mit eigenhändigen Nachträgen versehen wurde. Aus dem Text wird nicht ganz klar, um welchen Autor es geht, doch kann man Olahus vermuten.

Laut der zweiten Erläuterung fehlt der Schluß des Textes, aber nicht viel davon. Diese kann sich wohl nur auf die fehlende letzte Seite der Hungaria bezogen haben. In der dritten Bemerkung wird ausgesagt, daß verschiedene Varianten der *Historia Australis* existieren und daß das Exemplar, welches von Cuspianus<sup>19</sup> erwähnt wurde, in der Wiener Hofbibliothek zu finden ist.

b) Titelblatt II (nach vier leeren Blättern):

*Aeneae Sylvii Piccolomini archiepiscopi Senensis & Sanctae  
Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalis, postea in pontificatu Pii Secundi  
Historia (ut ipse vocat) Australis sive Austriaca  
De Rebus Friderici III. Imperatoris  
Descripta ex autographis tribus diversis sed omnibus imperfectis & creberrimis  
litteris ex inductionibus interpolata quod asservatur in Bibliotheca  
Caesarea Viennensi*

(s. *Anhang 3*)

c) Das Protokoll der Übergabe der Sambucianischen Bibliothek an die Wiener Kaiserliche Bibliothek, datiert vom 13. April 1587 (nach dem Titelblatt II). Der Bestand von 2618 Büchern bzw. Handschriften wurde von der Witwe des Johannes Sambucus (Zsámboky), die inzwischen mit Wolfgang Sinnich verheiratet war, und von deren Tochter persönlich dem mit der Entgegennahme beauftragten Hugo Blotius in Anwesenheit von zwei Zeugen (J. Pilher und Ludwig Ettenhofer) übergeben. Dieses Protokoll ist eine Kopie. Das Original ist verlorengegangen, aber es wurde aus Peter Lambecks (Lambecius) Werk bekannt und zitiert<sup>20</sup> (s. *Anhang 4*).

d) Ein Brief von Wilhelm Bernhard von Friedeshaim an Hugo Blotius vom Jahre 1592 (ohne genaues Datum). Dieser Brief ist vom obengenannten Protokoll durch eine horizontale Linie getrennt und auf der Rückseite und der nächsten Seite fortgesetzt. Der Brief ist eine Kopie, dessen Original in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek zu finden ist (Signatur: *Cod. 8003*). Inhaltlich ist dieser Brief mit der Anmerkung des Titelblattes II identisch (s. *Anhang 5*).

e) Fragment aus einer Parainese an einen kaiserlichen Prinzen (auf der Rückseite des Briefes von Friedeshaim). Ein schräges Parallelogrammnetz im Text sollte offensichtlich markieren, daß diese Schrift nicht zur eigentlichen Manuskriptsammlung gehört und nur versehentlich dahin geschrieben wurde. Im Text der Meditation ist ein deutsches Satzfragment eingefügt. Auf dem oberen linken Rand ist ein Hinweis auf den Verfasser zu lesen, der Name ist unterschriftartig geschrieben, aber nicht lesbar.

f) Der Text der *Historia Australis* (nach drei unbeschrifteten Seiten). Seine Überschrift lautet: *Historiae Initium*. Auf dem oberen linken Rand steht eine Anmerkung mit dem Datum des Beginns und mit dem Ort der Abschrift:

*Incepi scribere, Deo propitio, Febr. die 13. an. 1631.  
Viennae Austriae in Aedibus Paukerianis.*

Die Seiten dieses Werkes sind von 1 bis 140 paginiert. Auf der Seite 125 oben befindet sich eine Notiz, wonach der zweite Teil (*narratio secunda*), der einst im Besitz von Johannes Sambucus war, da er das Manuskript mit seinem Namen versehen hatte, in der kaiserlichen Bibliothek zu finden ist.

Interlinear und am Rande sind mehrere Kommentare bzw. Berichtigungen eingetragen.

g) Die Kopie eines Briefes von Pius II. an Kaiser Friedrich III. vom 19. August 1458 (nach 4 leeren Seiten). Das Original wird in der Wiener Nationalbibliothek unter der Signatur *Pius II. 3462,2* aufbewahrt. In diesem Brief bittet der Papst nach seiner Wahl und Weihe um weitere Unterstützung. Diese Kopie ist in *K* mit der Ziffer 1 paginiert, und so ist offenbar Bestandteil des folgenden Manuskriptes: der *Hungaria*.

*Die Hungaria*

h) Olahus' einleitende Worte an die Leser, die in Distichen verfaßt sind (auf der Verso-Seite beginnend), haben die Überschrift:

*Nicolai Olaus (sic!) ad lectorem*

Auf dem oberen rechten Rand ist folgende Anmerkung zu lesen: *Olahi Carmen; darunter: Haec scripta a me fuere Bruxellis 16. Maii anno 1536, dum essem Serenissimae Reginae, Mariae viduae Divi Ludovici Regis Hungariae, sororis vero Caroli & Ferdinandi Imperatorum a Secretis & Consiliis* (S. Anhang 6). Dieser Text ist mit dem von *V* im allgemeinen identisch, nur das Adverb *vero* ist hier hinzugefügt. Diese Seite ist mit 2 paginiert.

i) Der Text der *Hungaria* ist von 3 bis 39 paginiert bis auf zwei unpaginierte Seiten (darüber s. unten). Auf der Seite 3 am Rande links steht folgende Notiz:

*Nicolai Olahi Archiepiscopi Strigoniensis Chorographica Hungariae descriptio.*

Auf dem oberen rechten Rand ist folgende Anmerkung zu lesen:

*N. B. Extat Olai (sic!) huius Attilae vita quae quum Bonfinio, aliisque ad Hungaricam Historiam facientibus ex opusculis a Wechelians impressa est* (s. Anhang 7).

Der Text der *Hungaria* in *K* endet genau dort, wo er auch in *V* endet, d.h. die letzte Seite mit dem Schluß der Beschreibung der Einwohner von Simánd, fehlt. Unter der letzten Seite steht die Bemerkung: *Defectus codicis*.

Die Bögen sind auch mit Lagebezeichnung versehen (ebenso die *Historia Australis*). Zwei Bögen (A3 und A4) wurden jedoch vertauscht eingehftet. Der Fehler wurde erst nach der Heftung bemerkt; deshalb hat man die Paginierung nach 9 unterbrochen, zwei Seiten ohne Paginierung gelassen und die Paginierung danach mit der Ziffer 10 fortgesetzt.

Die Paginierung beider Manuskripte wurde sicherlich später als die Abschrift und die Lagebezeichnung durchgeführt: Der Farbton der Tinte ist im allgemeinen dunkler als derjenige des Textes, und auf manchen Seiten wurde die Seitenzahl eng über die erste Zeile geschrieben, da zwischen dem oberen Rand der Seite und dem Text wenig Abstand

geblieben war. Auch in der oberen Zeile der Bemerkung am Beginn der *Historia Australis* ist die Tinte dunkler als in dem Hinweis auf das Pauker-Haus.

In der Schrift des Kodex kann man mindestens drei verschiedene Handschriften unterscheiden: 1) diejenige, die die zwei Titelseiten, die *Historia Australis* und die *Hungaria* (samt dem Papstbrief), 2) diejenige, die das Protokoll und den Brief von Friedeshaim sowie 3) diejenige, die die *Parainese* abgeschrieben hat. Außerdem ist es möglich, daß etliche Ergänzungen in der *Historia Australis* von einer vierten Hand stammen. Die ersterwähnte Handschrift ist – mit Ausnahme der Titel – kursiv, aber oft schwer lesbar.

### 3.2.1. Anordnung der Bögen und der Wasserzeichen im Kölner Kodex

Im Kapitel 3.1. wurde auf die unterschiedliche Größe der Bögen und die verschiedenen Wasserzeichen hingewiesen. Ihre Anordnung in der Reihenfolge der einzelnen Teile ist wie folgt:

Größenordnung	Größe	Wasserzeichen
I	331X210 cm	A Wappen
II	328X210 cm	B Wappen, unten spitz zulaufend
III	317X190 cm	C Doppeladler mit Krone
IV	315X205 cm	D Doppeladler mit Krone, auf Sockel,
V	312X208 cm	auf dem Körper mit dem Buchstaben K
VI	310X190 cm	E Krone (Münster 1628–1629)

#### Zuordnung

Größe	Wasserzeichen	Teil
I	E	Vom Titelblatt I bis zum Protokoll
V	C und B	Protokoll und Parainese
II	A und B	Historia Australis bis Seite 128
IV	A und B	Historia Australis bis zum Ende
VI	C und D	Papstbrief und Hungaria bis Seite 14
III	C	Hungaria bis zum Ende und drei leere Seiten
I	E	Hintere unbeschriftete Seiten



## 4. Unterschiede im Text der Kodices

## 4.1. Unterschiede im lateinischen Text

*K* entspricht, samt der Einteilung der Kapitel, vollkommen und lückenlos *V*, auch die letzte Seite bricht bei demselben Wort ab wie *V*. An manchen Stellen wurden aber stilistische Änderungen in der Wortwahl vorgenommen, z.B.:<sup>21</sup>

*V* VII, 14 . . . *hic hispanus colonos iniquis cruciabat* – *K* 16 *hic Hispanus colonos iniquis vexabat*.

Im *Carmen Olahi ad lectorem* wurde für das erste Wort der siebten Zeile *Nec* statt *Haec* geschrieben:

*V* *Haec mea quum cernes gracili contexta Minerva,  
Splendidiora neges aulica scripta dare.*  
*K* *Nec mea cum cernes gracili contexta Minerva,  
Splendidiora neges aulica scripta dare.*

Das *Nec* ändert den Sinn, ja macht ihn eher verworren. Diese Änderung kann eventuell mit dem Schriftbild desselben Wortes *Nec* am Anfang der fünften Zeile erklärt werden: *Nec mea doctiloqui coluerunt arva Catones* . . . In diesem Fall handelt es sich um einen Schreibfehler, und weder der Verfasser noch der Redakteur, sondern nur der Kopist kann der Urheber sein.

Im Text von *K* kommen vier Passagen vor, deren Inhalt lückenhaft oder verwickelt ist (die fehlenden Passagen in *K* sind im folgenden kursiv wiedergegeben):

1) *V* IV,5 – *K* 9b:

. . . *tum prope Wizkele Tirnavium rivulum*

2) *V* VII,10:

. . . *in tota Hungaria nominatissima Verthes versus meridiem usque ad terminos alterius sylvae, quae Bakon vocatur, protensa.*

*K* 15:

. . . *in tota Hungaria nominatissima Verthes versus meridiem, usque ad terminos alterius Sylvae, quae Bakon vocatur, protensa, usque ad terminos paludis Balathon longe protensa, huius nomen est Werthes in tota Hungaria nominatissima*

Hier steht eine Randbemerkung: *locus corruptus & confusus.*

3) *V* VII,11 – *K* 15:

. . . *in rupe difficili extracta est arx Nemet-Wywar sive Novum Castrum. Non longe ab hac abest meridiem versus inter sylvas arx Felsewlyndwa et oppidum Murasombath.*

4) *V* X,24 – *K* 22:

*His ad orientem brumalem vicinae sunt septem civitates montanae: Cremnitia, Scemnitia, Bistricia, Bucanum, Mons Regius, Dilenum et Libeta, quarum caput est arx Vetus Solium. Hinc arces Saskew, Dobrawina, Wegles, Lyptze . . .*

Daraus können wir folgern, daß die Vorlage von *K* nicht direkt *V* var, sonst wären keine fehlerhaften Passagen in *K* geblieben, denn der Abschreiber oder der Redakteur hätte sie, anstatt sie anzumerken, verbessert.

Einmal wurde die latinisierte Akkusativform des Flußnamens *Altus* oder *Aluta* (ung. Olt, sächsisch Alt)<sup>22</sup> als das lateinische Wort *altus* 'tief' gedeutet und mit Minuskel umgeschrieben: V XV,3 in fluvium Altum – K 30 in fluvium altum.

#### 4.2. Unterschiede in den ungarischen Daten

##### 4.2.1. Schreibfehler

Solche Fehler kommen öfters vor. Daraus kann man schließen, daß der Kopist kein Ungar und nicht ungarischkundig war, z. B.:

Bélték (Nyírbélték): V XI,6 Belthewk – K 32 Belthews

Debrecen (einmal richtig als Debretzen geschrieben):

V XVI,9 Debreczen – K 32 Drebetzen

Felhévíz: V V,14 Felhewyz – K 9a Felhewitz (sprich: *ts* oder *tf* statt *z*)

Feketetó: V XIV,12 Fekethetow – K 29 Feketebow

Podsága: V XIV,18 Polsaga – K 29 Roxaga

Simontornya: V VII, 15 Simonthornya – K 10 Simonthoryona

Szentmihálykő: V XI,18 Sentmyhalkew – K 29 Sthent Mílialkew

Szrebernik (in Bosnien): V IX,3 Zrebernyk – K 18 Trebernick

Zákány: V XVII,4 Zakan – K 33 Zitken

##### 4.2.2. Ergänzte geographische Namen

Sieben Ergänzungen, und zwar fünf Randbemerkungen und zwei Anmerkungen im Text (in Klammern) führen Namensvarianten auf. Außer bei einem Namen (bei Taururum = Belgrad) wird die Quelle für diese Varianten angegeben, eine gewisse Karte von Ungarn (*Tabula Hungariae*):

V VIII,8 – K 17: . . . flumen Saros Danubio miscetur:

Sarwi(l)ze vocatur in Tabula Hungarica

V IX, 1 – K 18: . . . arx Taururum sive Nandoralba:

Belgradum, Taururum, Nandor Alba, Griechisch Weissenburg, synonymon (sic!)

V XV,4 – K 30: . . . fossa . . . aquatica et lata et profunda circumducta est:

Aluta olim nunc Cheres dicitur in tabula Hungarica

V XVI,14 – K 33: . . . ad meridiem sita sunt oppida Simand (Simandria legitur in tabula Hungariae) Paly . . .

V XVII,4 – K 33: . . . cui in ripa ulteriore Ictar et Rekas (Ricka tab. Hung.) . . .

V XVII,7 – K 34: Inter hunc Themesium flumen et Danubium est campus, qui Maxons appellatur:

Marons tab. Hung.

V XVII,8 – K 34: . . . arx Somlyo . . .:

Mesesomblo (sic!) vocatur in tabula Hungariae

Beim Vergleich dieser Namen mit den entsprechenden Varianten auf den Landkarten bis zum J. 1631<sup>23</sup> stellt sich heraus, daß 1–3 Varianten auf den meisten Karten vorkommen, aber keine dieser Karten enthält alle oder wenigstens fünf der genannten Namensvarianten. Dies läßt die Existenz einer bisher unbekanntem Landkarte Ungarns vermuten. Die Ergänzungen selbst müssen von einem Ungarn oder von einem ungarunkundigen Humanisten stammen. Gewiß ist die Identifikation der Flüsse Olt und Körös (geschrieben *Cheres*) ein Irrtum; es erhebt sich aber die Frage, ob die noch unbekanntem Karte diese Flüsse verwechselt oder der Kommentator sie falsch gedeutet hat. Es soll hervorgehoben werden, daß auch ein Ungar, der Siebenbürgen nicht kannte, den obigen Irrtum damals hätte begehen können. Zsámboky als Kommentator kann ausgeschlossen werden, denn seine eigene Karte (1566) weist keine von diesen Namensvarianten auf, und die beiden Flüsse sind bei ihm nicht als identisch aufgeführt, und schließlich weicht seine ungarische Orthographie – wie wir weiter unten sehen werden – von der in *K* (die Ergänzungen inbegriffen) stark ab. Übrigens ist das *b* in Mesesomblo ein Schreibfehler.

#### 4.2.3. Eine authentische Namensvariante

Der Name der heute nicht mehr existierenden Ortschaft Búzasziget oder Búzásziget wurde in *K* Buzadzigeth geschrieben (S. 15), während in *V* (VII, 13) Buzaszygeth angegeben ist. Obwohl zur damaligen Zeit beide Varianten in Gebrauch waren, ist die Variante mit *d* die ursprüngliche, da der Namensgeber ein gewisser Búzád (geschrieben Buzad) war, der im Murgebiet Anfang des 13. Jhs. einen Gutsbesitz hatte.<sup>24</sup>

#### 4.2.4. Fehlende Ortsnamen

Im Vergleich zu *V* und zu den Publikationen des 18. Jhs. sind 27 Ortschaften (besonders aus dem Komitat Pozsony – Preßburg und Torontál) nicht aufgeführt, z.B.:

Arácsa (Komitat Temes): *V* XVII,4 Aracha  
 Ásványtő (Komitat Pozsony): *V* IV:78 Aswantew  
 Csenej (Torontál): *V* XVII,4 Tzona  
 Mernye (Somogy): *V* VII:80 Mernye  
 Padány (Pozsony): *V* IV:78 Padan  
 Blatnica (Turóc): *V* X:82 Blatnicz  
 Máramarossziget (Máramaros): *V* XVI: 87 Zygeth

Die letzten zwei Namen kommen in *V* überhaupt nicht vor. Dagegen sind die anderen Ortsnamen – bis auf Blatnica und Máramarossziget – in *V* aufgeführt, aber sie wurden (später) durchgestrichen. Dies ist der Grund, warum sie nicht in die Kölner Variante aufgenommen worden sind.

## 5. Die ungarischen bzw. auf Ungarn bezogene Daten • der Hungaria

Es kommen insgesamt 566 derartige Daten vor, die meisten, 542 an der Zahl, sind geographische Namen Ungarns oder der benachbarten Länder, deren überwiegender Teil aus ungarischer Namengebung stammt. Etwas über 100 Namen sind in lateinischer Form mit latinisierten Endungen aufgeführt, z.B. *Quinque Ecclesiae* (Pécs, Fünfkirchen), *Agria* (Eger, Erlau), *Pesthi* (Genitiv für Pest). Verständlicherweise gibt es zahlreiche Ortsnamen deutscher (Naysydel = Neusiedel), slawischer (Duboczacz) und rumänischer (Targawystya = Tirgoviște) Herkunft. Die Zahl der ungarischen Familiennamen ist 14, oft mit lateinischer Endung, z.B.: *Belay* (Bélai oder Bélay), *Gherendinus* (Gerendi). Außerdem befinden sich zehn ungarische Wörter im Text, z.B. *Kinyer* (heute *kenyér*) 'Brot', *Magyarokath* (magyarokat Akk. Pl.) 'Ungarn, ungarische Leute', *syllu* (süllő) 'Hechtbarsch, Zander'. Freilich sind etliche Elemente der Ortsnamen eigentlich ursprüngliche Gattungsnamen, wie z.B. *Nyerkews* (heute *Nyírköz*), eine Landschaft in Ostungarn = *nyír* 'Birkenbaum' + *köz* 'Land, Gebiet zwischen Flüssen oder Bergen'. Vornamen sind in der *Hungaria* nicht in ungarischer Form, sondern stets lateinisch angegeben, z.B. *Georgius* statt *György*. Namen von Hunnenfürsten wie *Athila*, *Bela*, die seit dem 19. Jh. beliebte und häufige Vornamen geworden sind (*Attila*, *Béla*), werden hier nicht berücksichtigt. Auch andere nichtungarische Namen sind außer acht gelassen.

Wegen ihrer großen Anzahl sind die geographischen Namen der *Hungaria* für die Geschichte der Geographie und der ungarischen Sprache von bedeutendem Wert. Bedauerlicherweise ist ihre systematische Bearbeitung bisher unterblieben. Das Register bei Eperjessy und Juhász listet zwar die Namensformen auf, aber nur in der dokumentierten Schreibweise, außerdem sind einige Namen ausgelassen, z.B. *Ictar*, *Csenej* (*Tzona*).

Margit Balogh (1903) hat den ersten Versuch unternommen, die Namen systematisch zu identifizieren, auch István Szamota (1891) hat in seiner auszugsweisen Übersetzung der *Hungaria* versucht, die Ortschaften geographisch zu lokalisieren, doch lassen beide Werke mancherlei zu wünschen übrig; außerdem stimmen die Ergebnisse bezüglich mehrerer Namen nicht überein, z.B. der Bach *Gergyn* wird von Balogh (45) als *Gyergyut* transkribiert, während ihn Szamota (541) richtig mit dem Bach *Görgény* identifiziert; andererseits führt Balogh (68) die Ortschaft *Zehota* im Komitat *Szatmár* (?) auf, während Szamota (544) die Namensform unrichtig mit der Stadt *Zilah* identifiziert. In der vollständigen Übersetzung der *Hungaria* (erschienen 1982 bzw. 1985) hat Béla Németh ähnliche Versuche gemacht, jedoch mit minderem sachkundigem Aufwand, da sie als populärwissenschaftliche Publikation gedacht war.

Mir wurde die Aufgabe zuteil, die Identifikation und Lokalisation der heute unbekannteren geographischen Namen und anderer Belege in einer gesonderten Abhandlung durchzuführen. Es sei jedoch betont, daß das Ergebnis nur eine erste Annäherung sein wird, während ein endgültiger Erfolg nur durch interdisziplinäre Untersuchungen von Geographen und Sprachhistorikern erzielt werden kann.

## 5.1. Die Schreibweise der ungarischen Belege

Wie erwähnt, wurden die ungarischen Namen und Wörter in den Publikationen des 18. Jhs. im allgemeinen entsprechend der damaligen Rechtschreibung modernisiert. Vorwiegend haben die Herausgeber die Vokale mit diakritischen Zeichen versehen. *V* und *K* zeigen aber die originale Orthographie des Verfassers bzw. Redakteurs, so daß beide Handschriften in mehreren Fällen voneinander abweichen. Beide Schreibweisen folgen der sogenannten ungarischen königlichen Kanzleiorthographie des 16. Jhs.<sup>25</sup> d.h. dem Gebrauch von Konsonantenverbindungen bzw. einfachen Vokalen oder Vokalverknüpfungen ohne jedwede diakritische Zeichen, der vielerlei Schreibvarianten und Inkonsistenzen sich brachte.

Moderne Buchstaben	Lautwert International Phonetic Association	Symbole der Kodexe
a; á	ɑ; ɑ:	a; a, aa (5 Belege), o (2)
e; é	ɛ; e:	e; e, ee (3)
i; í	i; i:	i, y (im Anlaut nur i)
o; ó	o; o:	o, a (z.B. Ompay = Ompoj); o, oo
ö; ő	ø; ø:	ew, eu (5 Belege, Leuchovia = Lőcse, Leutschau ist aber zweifelhaft), e (häufig, darüber s. unten)
u; ú	u; u:	u, w
ü; ű	y; y:	y (5 zweifelhafte Belege: Sylleu = süllő, Syl = Süly)
c	ts	cz, tz, z (5 Belege), ts (1 Beleg), ch (1 Beleg), ti/ci (in latin ierten Formen: Cremnicia, Cremnitia)
cs	tʃ	cz, ch, tz, ci (4 Belege in lateinischen Formen, z. B. Bacia = Bács), ts (1 Beleg: Metsek)
f	f	f, ph (1 Beleg: Stompha = Stomfa)
g	g	g, gh
gy	ʃ	gy, gh, ghy (1 Beleg: Sylaghsag), g (1 Beleg: Angelhaza = Angyalháza), dy (1 Beleg: Medyes = Medgyes)
j	j	y, i (seltener)
k	k	k, c (seltener), ch (1 Beleg: Chomaritium)
ksz	ks	ks, x (Saxard = Szekszárd)
l	l	l, ll
ly	j (oder damals auch l)	l, ly; li (2 Belege)
n	n	n
ny	ɲ	ny, n (häufig, darüber s. unten)
s	ʃ	s, ss (seltener), sc (1 Beleg: Scemnicia), sch (1 Beleg: Schemnicia)
sz	s	s, z, sc (Scepusium), zz (1 Beleg: Ezzek = Eszék), sz (1 Beleg: Buzaszygeth)
t	t	th (meistens anlautend), t (meistens auslautend), dt (1 Beleg: Pedt)
ty	c	kommt nicht vor
v	v	v, w
z	z	z, s (7 Belege, darunter 5: -kews, darüber s. unten), zz (1 Beleg: Bozzas)
zs	ʒ	s, z (Beleg: Zadan = Zsadány)

Es ist nicht verwunderlich, daß derselbe Name, wenn er mehrmals vorkommt, unterschiedlich geschrieben wird, z.B. Kewres, Kewrews = der Fluß Körös, Lippa und Lyppa, Wilak, Wylak = Újlak, usw. Die seltener gebrauchten Buchstaben kamen – mehr oder weniger häufig – bereits früher vor, und die Zahl der Varianten und Inkonsequenzen bei Oláh ist nicht wesentlich größer als in anderen Schriftstücken, die Privatbriefe inbegriffen, seines Zeitalters, doch scheinen manche Zeichen in der *Hungaria* ungewöhnlich zu sein, z.B. *ph* = *f*, das aber im 14. Jh. ab und zu belegt ist.<sup>26</sup> Für die Kanzleiorthographie ist die Schreibweise von Saxard (für das heutige Szekszárd) mit *x* kennzeichnend.<sup>27</sup>

### 5.1.1. Orthographische Merkmale des Kölner Kodex

Ich habe bereits darauf hingewiesen, daß in *K* zahlreiche Verschreibungen zu bemerken sind, bei denen durch fehlerhafte oder verstellte Buchstaben u.ä. die Form der Namen geringfügig oder stark von der richtigen abweicht, z.B. *Drebetzen* statt *Debretzen*. Überdies kommen manche Abweichungen vor, bei denen schwer festzustellen ist, ob es sich um einen Schreibfehler oder um eine seltenere Schreibweise der Kanzleiorthographie handelt. Die Ortschaft Szőlös (Nagyszőlös, Komitat Ugocsa) wird in *V* (XVI,4) *Zewlews*, in *K* (32) hingegen *Cewlews* geschrieben. Das *c* vertritt im 12.–13. Jh. auch den Lautwert *sz* (*s*).<sup>28</sup> So kann man die Möglichkeit nicht ausschließen, daß das *c*, obwohl ein ganz selten gebrauchtes Zeichen, bewußt für *sz* verwendet wurde und daher, nicht als Schreibfehler aufzufassen ist.

Jedoch zeigen sich in *K* über die tatsächlichen oder möglichen Verschreibungen hinaus konsequentere Abweichungen von der Orthographie in *V*, eine Tendenz zu einem anderen Rechtschreibungstypus:

1. *ck* = *k*; insgesamt 15 Belege, darunter 11 im Auslaut (in *V* kommt *ck* nicht vor): Szőreg = *V* (XVII,4) *Zewrek* – *K* (35) *Zewreck*;

2. *z* = *c*; 7 Fälle, aber in *V* steht in zwei Fällen auch *z*, z.B.: *V* (XI, 5) *Pynkolcz* – *K* (23) *Pynkolz* = Pinkóc, aber Rábca = *V* (VIII, 5) und *K* (17) *Rabza*;

3. *z* = *cs*; 5 Belege (keine in *V*), z.B.: Décese = *V* (XIV,18) *Decze* – *K* (29) *Deze*.

Von diesen drei Buchstaben kommt *z* (= *c*), das deutschen Ursprungs ist, im 12.–14. Jh. stellenweise vor<sup>29</sup>; *ck* tritt zwar schon – unter deutschem Einfluß – vor dem 16. Jh. auf, aber häufiger danach<sup>30</sup>; das *z* (= *cs*) wurde als ein seltenes Zeichen (deutschen Ursprungs) am meisten im 12. Jh. gebraucht.<sup>31</sup>

Aus alledem kann man vermuten, daß der Redakteur der Vorlage von *K* ein Ungar gewesen ist. Johannes Sambucus (Zsámboky) muß in dieser Funktion ausgeschlossen werden, da seine Schreibweise radikal von Olahus und der Kanzleiorthographie abweicht.<sup>32</sup> Ausgeschlossen ist aber nicht, daß er manche Änderungen vornahm.

Es sollte betont werden, daß die orthographischen Änderungen in *K* nicht von einem deutschen Redakteur stammen, selbst wenn die oben angeführten Zeichen letzten Endes mitteldeutschen Ursprungs sind: Nach der deutschen Orthographie des 16. Jhs. würden die ungarischen Ortsnamen anders geschrieben.

## 5.2. *Phonetische Merkmale der Hungaria*

Aufgrund der Orthographie ist es möglich, mit großer Vorsicht einige lauthistorische Eigentümlichkeiten in Oláhs Sprachgebrauch zu erschließen. Dabei sind die Unterschiede zwischen *V* und *K* irrelevant.

### 5.2.1. *Quantität*

#### a) Vokale

In acht Fällen wird die Länge mit doppelten Buchstaben bezeichnet, z.B. XIV,9 *Dees* (= Dés). Der Name der Stadt Mohács hat zweierlei Schreibweise: *Mohacz* (VIII,15) bzw. *Mohaacz* (V,8). In *tok* 'Stör' stimmt die Schreibweise mit dem aus dem Jahre 1329 zitierten Beleg im ungarischen etymologischen Wörterbuch (*TESz*) diesbezüglich überein, d.h. er ist dort ebenfalls mit zwei *oo* geschrieben: (XVIII,19) *thook* – *TESz* (Bd. III S. 932) *Took*. Es ist wohl möglich, daß der Vokal ursprünglich lang war. In den sonstigen Fällen werden auch die langen Vokale nur mit einem Buchstaben geschrieben, z.B. *Németi* = (XIV,11) *Nemethi*.

#### b) Konsonanten

In etlichen Fällen bezeichnen Doppelkonsonanten wie auch in der modernen Orthographie die Länge, z.B. (XVI,13) *Lyppa* = Lippa, (XVI,6) *Kallo* = Kálló (Nagykálló). Auffällig ist die Verdoppelung des Buchstabens in Namen mit einem (nach der heutigen Aussprache) kurzen Konsonant, z.B.: (XIV,18) *Ennyed* = Enyed (Nagyenyed), (VI,4) *Wissegrad* = Visegrád. Es ist anzunehmen, daß Oláh sich bemühte, die Länge der Konsonanten mit Doppelbuchstaben wiederzugeben, bei *Wissegrad* und anderen Namen geht die Verdoppelung eventuell auf die damalige (dialektale) Aussprache zurück.

### 5.2.2. *Labiale bzw. illabiale Vokale*

Die Bezeichnung *e* für heutiges *ö* überwiegt, z.B. (VI,1) *Demes* = Dömös, VII,14 *Dergycze* = Dörgicse. Doch kann man nicht ausschließen, daß das *e* in manchen Fällen ein labiales Phonem vertritt, z.B. (IX,2) Valentinus *Theurek* = Bálint Török. Der Flußname Körös wird mehrmals mit *e* geschrieben, es kommt jedoch zweimal *ew* (*ö*) vor, was auf eine schwankende Aussprache hinweist:<sup>33</sup> (XIV,2) *Kewres*, (XIV,13) *Kewrews* und (XIV,11) *Kerewsfew* = Körösfő (Körös-Quelle). Dagegen fällt *ew* in *Belthewk* (XVI,6) = Bélték auf. Hier könnte ein labiales *ö* vorliegen, wie es ein anderer Beleg von 1216 (in einer Kopie von 1550) bezeugt.<sup>34</sup> Auch die zwei *e* in *Thekel* (IV,8) = Tököl können labiale Vokale bezeichnen.<sup>35</sup>

Für das Vorkommen von *ü* gibt es keine überzeugenden Hinweise, doch das *y* in (X,26) *Fylekwar* = Fülekvár, (XI,3) *Fyzeer* = Füzér, (XVIII,19) *syllou* = süllő 'Zander', (IV:78) *Syl* = Süly und (XIV,16) *Kykellew* = Küküllő, geschrieben auch *Kikellew* (XIV,9)!, mag bereits diesen Laut wiedergeben.<sup>36</sup> Das ist ein noch ungelöstes Problem. Bei Kniezsa (1952) findet man keine Beispiele für *y* = *ü*. Molnár-Simon (1971:178, 182 und 185) wagen eine solche Annahme in bezug auf einige Sprachdenkmäler des 16. Jhs. Der Lautwandel *i* > *ü* (schriftlich *i* oder *y*) ist seit Anfang des 13. Jhs. belegt.

### 5.2.3. Palatale bzw. nichtpalatalisierte Konsonanten

Auf die Unterscheidung zwischen *l* und *ly* (*l*, dagegen in der modernen Literatur- und Umgangssprache *j*) weisen zahlreiche Belege hin, z.B.: (XI,11) *Kerthwelyes* = Körtvélyes, (XVII,8) *Somlyo* = Somlyó bzw. (XVI,12) *Theleky* = Teleki. Oft kommt aber *l* für *ly* vor, besonders in den Zusammensetzungen mit *-hel* (in moderner Rechtschreibung: *hely* 'Ortschaft', heute meistens 'Platz'), z.B.: (IV,5) *Ipol* = Ipoly, (VII,15) *Zerdahel* = Szerdahely. Es ist möglich, daß Oláh wegen phonetischer Schwankungen keine einheitliche Schreibweise anwenden konnte.

Die orthographische Unterscheidung der Opposition *n* – *ny* (*n*) ist noch weniger eindeutig. Im An- und Inlaut sind die entsprechenden Phoneme im allgemeinen mit *n* bzw. *ny* bezeichnet, z.B.: (XVI,10) *Nadwdwar* = Nádudvar bzw. (V,12) *Nyek* = Nyék, (IX,6) *Monozlo* = Monozló bzw. (XVI,1) *Felsew Banya* = Felsőbánya. In vier Belegen ist aber auch im Inlaut *n* geschrieben, wo dieser Buchstabe das Phonem *ny* vertreten sollte: (IV:78) *Aswantew* = Ásványtő, (X,29) *Barsonos* = Bársonyos, (XIV,13) *Belenes* = Belényes und (VII,15) *Berenhyda* = Berhida (< Berényhida). Im Auslaut kommt ausschließlich *n* vor, und zwar nicht nur in den Ortsnamen, die zwischen 1898–1912 durch offizielle Namensregelung (teils auch Madjarisierung) die Endung *ny* statt *n* bekommen haben, z.B. Szucsány, bei Oláh (X,23) *Sutzan*, sondern auch in anderen, ursprünglich ungarischen geographischen Namen wie Sárosladány (bei Oláh VII,15 *Saros Ladán*), Bakony (VII,10 *Bakon*).<sup>37</sup>

Selbst wenn man die dialektale Aussprache der Szekler in Siebenbürgen (Oláhs Geburtsland) nicht unberücksichtigt läßt (auslautendes *n* für *ny* in manchen Positionen),<sup>38</sup> ist Oláhs Bezeichnung des Phonems *ny* besonders im Auslaut – wie die meisten Sprachdenkmäler seiner Zeit – inkonsequent.

### 5.2.4. Auslautendes *m* für späteres *ny*

Einen besonderen Fall stellen (VIII,7) *Adom* = Adony und (VIII,7) *Thethem* = Tétény (Budatétény) dar. Die Änderung *m* > *ny* in *Thethem* > *Tétény* ist bereits belegt<sup>39</sup>, bisher war dies der einzige bekannte Fall (vom Personennamen *Töhötöm* > *Tétém* > *Tétény*, in vereinfachter Form); dagegen muß die Änderung *Adom* > *Adony* noch geklärt werden. In früheren Dokumenten war der Name dieser Ortschaft nur mit auslautendem *n* bekannt.<sup>40</sup>



### 5.2.5. Stimmloswerden

Dafür kommen nur wenige Beispiele vor, eine Form aber in mehrfach wiederholten Belegen: *-kews* oder *-keus* = *köz* 'Landschaft zwischen Flüssen und Bergen' als zweites Glied in zusammengesetzten geographischen Namen wie (XII,2) *Kereskeus* bzw. (XVI,12) *Kereskews* = Körösköz, (XVI,13) *Maroskews* = Marosköz. Eine Verschreibung statt *-kewz*, *-keuz* ist wegen der Vielzahl der Belege ausgeschlossen. Das *s* tritt aber im frühen Mittelalter äußerst selten mit dem Lautwert von *z* auf; seit der dritten Periode der Kanzleiorthographie (13.–14. Jh.) kommt es etwas häufiger vor, im 16. Jh. in zwei Kodexen (*Peer-kodex* und *Székelyudvarhelyer Kodex*).<sup>41</sup> Der ausschließlich auslautende Gebrauch des *s* in diesen Belegen der *Hungaria* weist jedoch darauf hin, daß es hier das Phonem *sz* bezeichnen sollte. In den Szekler Dialekten ist übrigens eine sporadische Entsonorisierung im Auslaut, besonders *sz* statt *z*, vorhanden.<sup>42</sup> Der Vollständigkeit halber muß bemerkt werden, daß der Buchstabe *s* für *sz* auch im Anlaut vorkommt, z.B.; (XI,2) *Sykso* = Szikszó. In zwei Belegen wird im Inlaut *s* für *z* geschrieben, diese Daten sind aber fraglich: (XVII,4) *Bisere* = Bizere (?) und (K 16) *Osora*, aber auch (VII,15) *Ozora* = Ozora.

### 5.3. Einige problematische Belege

#### *Abrudbánya*

In beiden erhaltenen Manuskripten ist diese Ortschaft (Komitat Alsó-Fehér, heute: Abrud in Rumänien) dreimal mit *g* bzw. *gh* statt dem heutigen *d* erwähnt: (XIX,5) *Abrugh Banya*, (XIV,14) *Abrwg Banya*, XIV,13 *Abrwgh Banya*. Im etymologischen Wörterbuch der ungarischen Ortsnamen von Lajos Kiss<sup>43</sup> ist die Herkunft der ersten Komponente aufgrund des *d*-Auslauts erklärt. Die Varianten *g* und *gh* können bei Oláh – wie wir gezeigt haben – gleichermaßen den Lautwert *gy* wiedergeben, und bei Wagner<sup>44</sup> ist eine naheliegende Ortschaft in der Form *Abrugyfalva* angeführt. László Makkai war so freundlich mitzuteilen, daß die Einwohner der Gegend *Abrudbánya* mit *gy* aussprechen.<sup>45</sup> Dennoch ist zu berücksichtigen, daß einige damalige und spätere Landkarten diesen Namen eher mit einem dem *g* (und nicht mit dem *d*) verwandten Buchstaben transkribieren (gewiß ist die Schreibweise dieser Karten unvollkommen, teils verdeutsch): Nicolaes Visscher (um 1664): *Abrukhania*, Wolfgang Lazius (1545–1563): *Abrukhbama* bzw. *Abrukbanya* und Sambucus (1566): *Aprukh*.<sup>46</sup> Die Buchstaben *k* und *kh* dienen eventuell zur Wiedergabe einer auslautenden Desonorisation, aber keinesfalls des Lautes *d* oder *gy*. Es müßte die Frage geklärt werden, ob früher doch eine Variante mit *g* existierte, die auch den etymologischen Vorschlag modifizieren könnte.

*Lazaza = Latorca*

Im Kapitel XI, in der Beschreibung Nordostungarns, ist unter den Nebenflüssen des Bodrog der Bach *Lazaza* (sprich: *laszasza*) angegeben. Die Kommentatoren der *Hungaria*, Margit Balogh und István Szamota,<sup>47</sup> identifizieren ihn mit dem Bach Latorca (ukrainisch und slowakisch Latorica). Bisher war kein Flußname dieser Gegend als Laszasza bekannt, offensichtlich wurde der Bach aber tatsächlich auch so genannt.<sup>48</sup> Der Name Latorca ist letzten Endes präslawischer Herkunft, im Ungarischen ist er eine Entlehnung aus dem Slawischen. *Laszasza* scheint aber ein echter slawischer Flußname zu sein. Im Ungarischen existiert ein Gattungsname *lazac* 'Lachs', der aus dem Slawischen stammt (vgl. slowakisch *losos*); das auslautende *c* ist durch spätere Lautentwicklung entstanden. Wie wir sehen, zeigt der Flußname *Laszasza* (geschrieben bei Oláh *Lazaza*) eine ältere Lautform im Vergleich zu *lazac*.<sup>49</sup> Es gibt keinen Ortsnamen ähnlicher Lautform im Ungarischen, aber *Lososna* als Flußname (z.B. ein Nebenfluß der Memel) kommt beispielweise im Polnischen und Russischen vor, auch zahlreiche Ortsnamen dieser Gegenden besitzen ähnliche Lautform.<sup>50</sup> Die ursprüngliche Bedeutung dieses Namens war 'reich an Lachs (oder Lachsverwandten)'. Vermutlich hieß der fragliche Nebenfluß des Bodrog zunächst unter der slawischen Bevölkerung *Lososna* (davon im Altungarischen \**loszoszna* > \**laszaszna* > *laszasza*), obwohl dieser Name erst bei Olahus als *Lazaza* belegt ist. Wann und wie diese Namensvariante aufgetaucht ist, muß durch weitere Forschungen ermittelt werden.

*Pece*

Ein Bach bei Nagyvárad (Großwardein, Oradea). Pece ist erst 1662 belegt, früher hieß er Hévjó.<sup>51</sup> So ist Oláhs Beleg *Petze* (XVI,8) um mehr als ein Jahrhundert älter als die bisher bekannte Angabe.

*Rábca*

Ein Nebenfluß der Donau in Transdanubien (bei Győr, Raab). Bei Oláh ist auch die Namensvariante *Rabnicza* (IV,6) bzw. *Rabniza* (VIII,5) belegt, die bisher nicht bekannt war. Bei Lazarus Secretarius kommt aber *Rabnitz* vor.

*Stridó*

Über diese Ortschaft (heute Štrigovo in Jugoslawien, bei Čakovec, ung. Csáktornya, in der Region Međimurje, ung. Muraköz) als mutmaßlichen Geburtsort des heiligen Hieronymus ist seit dem 17. Jh. eine umfangreiche Literatur von ungarischen und österreichischen Verfassern entstanden.<sup>52</sup> Gegenüber dieser sog. pannonischen Hypothese existieren drei andere Theorien, die bosnische, die dalmatinische und die istrische, in

welchen jeweils verschiedene Ortschaften als Heimatort dieses Kirchenvaters verfochten werden.<sup>53</sup> Franz Bulic<sup>54</sup> kennt und bespricht im Gegensatz zu anderen Kirchenhistorikern die meisten Schriften der Anhänger der pannonischen Theorie, aber er interpretiert Oláhs Bemerkung, die er für die erste Aussage über *Strido* als Hieronymus' Geburtsort hält, als eine Art von These, die auch er verwirft. Oláh entfaltet jedoch keine Theorie, sondern macht folgende Mitteilung: (VII,12) *Hinc intra Muravum et Dravum fluvios est Strido, divi Hieronymi patria*. Außerdem ist nicht er der erste, der diese Feststellung machte, sondern Stephanus Brodericus, der in seinen Erinnerungen<sup>55</sup> 1527 äußerte: . . . *praeterea. . . Stridon, Divi Hieronymi patria*. Brodericus, ein Kanonikus kroatischer Abstammung, kannte Kroatien und Slawonien ausgezeichnet. Es handelt sich in beiden Zitaten nicht um die Aufstellung einer Theorie, sondern um den Hinweis auf eine (diesen Autoren zufolge) allgemein bekannte Tatsache.

*Strido* ist erst 1333 dokumentiert, eine Namensvariante *Strigo* (davon: Štrigovo) ist seit 1271 belegt.<sup>56</sup> Es unterliegt keinem Zweifel, daß *Strido/Strigo* bereits wesentlich früher existierte, und deshalb mag auch die Tradition über den heiligen Hieronymus auf viel frühere Zeiten zurückgehen, ja sie setzte sich weiter fort bis zu unserem Zeitalter. Hieronymus erwähnt in seinem Memoiren<sup>57</sup>, daß *Stridon*, sein Heimatort, von den Goten völlig zerstört wurde (zwischen 376–378 n. Chr.), doch ist nicht auszuschließen, daß die Bewohner der Gegend diesen Ort wieder kolonisierten und aufbauten und daß sie (von ihren Geistlichen) die Geschichte des Kirchenvaters – trotz mehrerer Sprachwechsel (die jetzigen Einwohner sind seit Jahrhunderten überwiegend Kroaten) – übernahmen und als Tradition weitergaben. Gewiß ist die fast völlige Übereinstimmung der Lautformen *Strido* – *Stridon* eher ein Hindernis bei der etymologischen Identifizierung, doch entspricht *Strido* am besten der von Hieronymus selbst gegebenen Beschreibung seines Heimatorts: *Hieronymus natus patre Eusebio, oppido Stridonis, quod, a Gothis eversum, Dalmatiae quondam Pannoniaeque confinium fuit* (De Viris, CXXXV). Meine kritischen Bemerkungen über diese Streitfrage müssen aber durch weitere Forschungen bestätigt oder widerlegt werden. Vgl. I. Fodor 1986.

### Huszár

Das ist einer der Familiennamen, und zwar der von Oláhs Mutter, die Barbara Huszár hieß. Der Name bedeutet eben *huszár* 'Husar' (seit der Epoche des Königs Matthias Corvinus, gestorben 1490), die Bezeichnung für den Reiter einer Art leichter Kavallerie, die sich auch in anderen Ländern samt dem Namen verbreitet hat. Ursprünglich bedeutete dieser Gattungsname '(berittener) Räuber'. In dieser Bedeutung ist das Wort zuerst in der Form *hunzar* 1378 belegt,<sup>58</sup> es wurde ins Ungarische aus dem Serbokroatischen entlehnt, wo es in der Form *husar* (< urslawisch\* *chqsa* 'Schar, Truppe', vermutlich verwandt mit gotisch *hansa*) vorkommt, doch aufgrund des ungarischen Erstbelegs kann auch \**chonsar* angenommen werden.

Als Familienname ist *Huszár* bei Olahus in zwei Formen geschrieben. In den beiden erhaltenen Manuskripten ist *Hwzar* (sprich: *huszár*) belegt (XII,8). In *x* mag *Hwnzar*

geschrieben sein, da die Publikationen des 18. Jhs. die Form *Hunzár* angeben. So wird dieser Name in den Werken vor der Veröffentlichung der kritischen Ausgabe von Eperjessy und Juhász zitiert. Zweifelsohne bekräftigt die Schreibweise mit *n* nicht nur die Aussagekraft des obengenannten ersten Belegs, sondern auch die vermutliche altserbokroatische Form \**chonsar*, selbst wenn man berücksichtigt, wie viele Fehler sich durch die Modernisierung der Schreibweise in die älteren Druckausgaben eingeschlichen haben können. Die zweierlei Schreibweisen des Namens in der *Hungaria* können damit erklärt werden, daß beide Formen zu Oláhs Zeit noch in Gebrauch waren, die Variante mit *n* aber später ausgestorben ist.

Dieses Problem wirft eine weitere Frage auf: Oláhs Abstammung und Muttersprache. Rumänische Historiker, Stefan Bezdechi (1939) und I. S. Firu—Corneliu Albu (1965), die die Form *Hwzar* ignorieren, gehen davon aus, daß dieser Familienname mit dem rumänischen Wort *hînsar* (früher *hânsar* geschrieben) identisch sei, und schließen daraus, daß Oláhs Mutter Rumänin war. Bezdechi (1939:47) war in dieser Hinsicht vorsichtiger als Firu und Albu (1965:49—53) und gab ihre ungarische Abstammung gewissermaßen zu. Doch bedeutete *hînsar* im 15.—16. Jh. 'Räuber', erst etwas später taucht die Bedeutung 'Mitglied einer Freischar' auf.<sup>59</sup> Die Herkunft dieses Wortes im Rumänischen ist nicht befriedigend geklärt. In Lajos Tamás' Wörterbuch<sup>60</sup> ist es nicht vorhanden, das *Dicţionarul Limbii Române* (1910 Bd. 2, S. 355) hält es für serbokroatischer Abstammung (also eine parallele Entlehnung zu dem ungarischen *huszár*). Aufgrund der *n*-Formen des Wortes im Ungarischen schlage ich eine Revision dieser Etymologie vor und stelle die Frage, ob *hînsar* nicht direkt aus dem Ungarischen entlehnt wurde: *hînsar* > *hunszár*.

Dagegen kann *Hunzar* (*Hunszár*) bei Oláh kein rumänischer Name sein. Ein solcher Familienname war und ist bei den Rumänen nicht üblich.<sup>61</sup> Im Bukarester Telefonbuch kommt *Hînsar* nicht vor, während *Huszár* ein häufiger ungarischer Familienname ist. Ein gewisser György Huszár war der erste, dessen Familienname vom Jahre 1482 belegt ist.<sup>62</sup> Für Oláhs Zeitalter ist die Voraussetzung eines solchen Namens im Rumänischen gerade wegen seiner damaligen pejorativen Bedeutung kaum denkbar. Es sei noch bemerkt, daß auch der Name Oláh (= *oláh* 'Rumäne, rumänisch' im Ungarischen), zu Lebzeiten seines Vaters eher eine Apposition (also: Stephan der Rumäne) war und nur in ungarischer Umgebung durch ungarische Namensgebung entstanden sein kann. Die Tatsache, daß Olahus das ungarische Wort als Namen wählte und nicht etwa Nicolaus Valachus, bezeugt, daß er sich als Ungar (rumänischer Abstammung) betrachtete. Oláhs eigene Äußerungen sind hinsichtlich der Frage seiner Muttersprache von entscheidender Bedeutung: (IV:78) "Huius insulae pars ea, quae Posonio propinquior est, *nostra lingua* (von mir hervorgehoben — I. F.) Challockewz (= Csallóköz) nominatur", (XVIII, 19), "... silurum, quos *nos* (von mir hervorgehoben — I. F.) hartzam (= ung. *harcsa* 'Wels') vocamus. . ." usw.

Oláh war ansonsten ein Polyglott, er konnte außer Ungarisch und Lateinisch auch Deutsch, Griechisch, Türkisch<sup>63</sup> und höchstwahrscheinlich Rumänisch.

Schließlich sollte nicht außer acht gelassen werden, daß Oláh römisch-katholisch erzogen worden ist (er war sogar Priester und Kirchenfürst) und nicht nach der orthodoxen Religion wie die Rumänen.

### 6. Die Entstehung der Handschriften der Hungaria: Fakten, Lücken in unseren Kenntnissen, Hypothesen

Bei der Analyse von *K* stellte sich heraus, wie viele wesentliche Fragen zur Entstehung der Handschriften Oláhs und zu ihrem Schicksal noch ungeklärt sind und wie viele neue Probleme bei der Untersuchung auftauchen.

Es ist uns unbekannt, wie *V* in die Wiener Hofbibliothek gelangte, auf welche Weise das originale Manuskript und *x* verschollen sind, warum die letzte Seite von *V* (und von *K*) fehlt, wo sich die anderen Handschriften befinden, warum *K* 1631 noch abgeschrieben wurde, als der Buchdruck bereits in allgemeinem Gebrauch war, wie es in den Besitz der Kölner Dornbibliothek gekommen ist usw.

Was die letzte Frage anbelangt, weiß man, daß der Kodex samt der Büchersammlung des Kölner Erzbischofs Ferdinand August von Spiegel (1764–1835) nach seinem Tod zuerst ins Domkapitel und später in die jetzige Bibliothek überführt wurde. Der Erzbischof war ein berühmter Kunstliebhaber, seine Bibliothek bestand aus rund 14 000 Bänden, darunter 196 wertvollen alten Handschriften. Es ist aber nicht bekannt, wie er seine Sammlung zusammengetragen hat.<sup>64</sup> Deshalb bleibt die Frage offen, ob Spiegel den Kodex in Köln oder vielleicht im Herbst 1814 in Wien erwarb, wo er anlässlich des Wiener Kongresses einige Wochen verbrachte. Die Makulatur des inneren Einbandes von *K* weist allerdings auf Kölner Gebiet hin, und ihr Alter läßt vermuten, daß der Kodex gegen Mitte des 18. Jhs. eingebunden wurde, d.h. daß der Erzbischof ihn in Köln angeschafft haben mag. Aber wie ist der Kodex nach Köln geraten?

Ich setze den Gedankengang mit einem Sprung nach Brüssel fort. Aus dem Briefwechsel Oláhs geht hervor,<sup>65</sup> daß nicht nur Nannius und Goclenius seine Manuskripte lasen, wie Eperjessy und Juhász (1938, S. V.) bemerken, sondern auch andere, vor allem Craneveldius. In der Korrespondenz findet man keinen ausdrücklichen Hinweis darauf, ob Rescius diese Manuskripte bekommen hat, es ist jedoch vorstellbar, daß er zum Leserkreis gehörte und sogar ein druckreifes Manuskript erhielt: Rescius war ja auch der Herausgeber der *Carmina* von Oláh<sup>66</sup>; die Publikation von Oláhs neuen Werken kann wohl ein Diskussions-thema gewesen sein. Selbst wenn man die Floskeln in den Briefen der Löwener Humanisten an Olahus in ihrem Wert herabsetzt und den Umstand mitberücksichtigt, daß sie ihm alle verpflichtet waren (sie adressierten ihn oft: *Patrone*), kann nicht geleugnet werden, daß beide Werke Oláhs bei den Lesern beste Resonanz fanden. Deshalb halte ich es für unwahrscheinlich, daß die Herausgabe – wenn sie geplant war – aus einer Abneigung seitens Rescius vereitelt wurde. Alles in allem bleibt die Tatsache, daß Oláhs Werke nicht in Löwen bei Rescius (bis auf seine Elegie auf Erasmus), sondern anderswo und später veröffentlicht worden sind. Daraus ist zu folgern, daß es eben Olahus selbst war, der seinen ursprünglichen Plan aufgab und seine Manuskripte 1542 nach Ungarn mitnahm. Vielleicht ist ein Exemplar bei Rescius geblieben.<sup>67</sup> Wenn dies der Fall ist, so müßte es das sechste Exemplar der *Hungaria* gewesen sein.

Im weiteren erhebt sich die Frage, warum Oláh seine Werke nicht in Löwen publizieren lassen wollte.

Er wußte, daß seine Schriften Fehler und Ungenauigkeiten enthielten. In seiner Vorrede an den Leser (*Olahi Carmen ad lectorem*) hebt er dies hervor und verspricht, daß er seine Angaben nach seiner Rückkehr in die Heimat verbessern wird.<sup>68</sup> Vermutlich ließ er seine Handschriften nicht nur durch die Löwener Gelehrten, sondern auch durch ungarische Humanisten und Studenten lesen, denen er Kopien nach Ungarn oder nach Wien schickte, oder die sich selbst einige Zeit in Brüssel aufhielten. Seine ungarischen Leser mögen etliche Fehler bemerkt und Vorschläge zur Änderung gemacht haben. Änderungen und Ergänzungen sind auffällig, wenn Text *V* mit den Publikationen des 18. Jhs. verglichen wird, die letzten Endes auf das verschollene *x* zurückgehen. Besonders aus dem Komitat Pozsony (Preßburg, Bratislava) in der Nähe von Nagyszombat (Tirnavu, Trnava), Oláhs erzbischöflicher Residenz in Ungarn, statt Esztergom (Gran, Szigonium), das damals von den Türken besetzt war, wurden später mehrere Ortsnamen eingetragen.<sup>69</sup> Dieses Gebiet scheint Oláh nach seiner Rückkehr besser kennengelernt zu haben.

Es wäre interessant nachzuforschen, welche ungarischen Humanisten Oláhs erste Leser und Kommentatoren hätten sein können. Ob György Hosszútóthi, János Zermegh oder Zsigmond Tordai zu diesem Kreis gehörten, bleibt vorerst offen.

Doch wegen seiner Staats- und Kirchengeschäfte konnte sich Olahus in Ungarn nicht in der erforderlichen Weise der Publikation seiner Werke widmen.<sup>70</sup> Nach 1562 war er eine zeitlang königlicher Statthalter des Landes.

Aus alledem kann man zu der Annahme kommen, daß noch mehrere Kopien der *Hungaria* (und des *Athila*) angefertigt wurden, die Olahus teilweise oder gänzlich verbessern und deren Eintragungen er registrieren ließ. Einige Kopien mögen jedoch früher, ohne diese Ergänzungen und Änderungen, an die Leser geschickt worden sein.

Nun komme ich zur Frage der fehlenden Seite in *V* und *K*. Ich gehe von der Voraussetzung aus, daß Oláh von mehreren Kommentatoren darauf hingewiesen wurde, daß seine Schilderung von Simánd, wonach dort alle Bewohner mißförmige Bettler seien, die auch ihre Kinder zu Krüppeln bzw. blind machten, unhaltbar sei. Er wollte diese Passage vermutlich völlig ändern und entfernte deshalb die letzte Seite aus einem der Manuskripte (oder aus mehreren) mit der Absicht, die ganze Beschreibung neu zu formulieren.<sup>71</sup> Doch ist er dazu nicht gekommen.

Erst viel später mag sich Oláh wieder mit dem Plan der Publikation seiner Werke beschäftigt haben. Sein Protegé, János Zsámboky (Sambucus), Arzt, Verleger, Büchersammler und Hofhistoriker (1531–1584), siedelte sich Anfang 1564 in Wien an.<sup>72</sup> Dort lebte er bis zu seinem Tod. Als Verleger gab er 17 Manuskripte überwiegend philologischen Inhalts heraus. Seine Bibliothek bestand aus mehreren tausend Bänden, darunter wertvollen Handschriften, hauptsächlich klassischer Werke.<sup>73</sup>

Oláh war Ende Juli 1564 anlässlich der Bestattung des Kaisers Ferdinand I. (König von Ungarn) in Wien (freilich mag er auch früher und später mehrmals Wien besucht haben). Eventuell haben Oláh und Zsámboky die Angelegenheit der Herausgabe der *Hungaria* und des *Athila* besprochen. Das auch im Kölner Kodex erhaltene Protokoll der Übergabe der Sambucianischen Bibliothek an die Wiener Hofbibliothek, ferner die Veröffentlichung des *Athila* durch Zsámboky können ein glaubwürdiger Hinweis auf meine obige Hypothese sein. Es scheint jedenfalls sicher zu sein, daß *V* aus der Sambucianischen Sammlung in die

Wiener Bibliothek (an Hugo Blotius) gelangt ist. Der Umstand, daß der Katalog der von Sambucus wegen finanziellen Schwierigkeiten 1578 an die kaiserliche Bibliothek verkauften 736 Bücher keines der betreffenden Werke angibt (*Hungaria*, *Athila* und die *Historia Australis* von Aeneas), spricht nicht gegen diese Annahme.<sup>74</sup> Sambucus bewahrte diese Manuskripte mit Sicherheit gesondert von seiner übrigen bibliothekarischen Sammlung auf.

Es ist also anzunehmen, daß diese drei Werke in Zsámbokys Besitz waren, der davon den *Athila* veröffentlichte, die anderen Manuskripte aber nicht. Vielleicht gehörte auch noch ein anderes Manuskript zu denjenigen, die Zsámboky herausgeben wollte. Wir wissen, daß er den Gedanken hegte, Werke über die ungarische Geschichte zu publizieren. Oláhs *Athila* samt Antonio Bonfinis Memoiren waren ein Teil dieses Plans.<sup>75</sup> Die *Hungaria* von Olahus und die *Historia Australis* von Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini haben gewisse Gemeinsamkeiten, so daß alles dafür spricht, daß Zsámboky diese Manuskripte zusammen veröffentlichen wollte.

Man kann nicht mit Sicherheit behaupten, daß die Variante der *Historia Australis* im Kölner Kodex mit einer der Handschriften, die aus der Sambucianischen Bibliothek an die Wiener Hofbibliothek verkauft worden sind, inhaltlich identisch ist; es ist aber anzunehmen, daß die Kölner Variante aus Zsámbokys Besitz stammt. Dafür sprechen 1) die Anmerkung auf Seite 125 der *Historia Australis* und 2) die letzten Zeilen von Friedeshaim, wonach die von ihm an Blotius geschickte Variante entweder veröffentlicht oder in die kaiserliche Bibliothek übertragen werden sollte. Dieses Problem kann aber nur durch weitere, vergleichende Untersuchungen geklärt werden.

Doch auch Zsámboky konnte seinen Plan nicht zu Ende führen, nur der *Athila* (und andere Werke: Bonfini, Ransanus) wurden von ihm 1568 herausgegeben. Noch vor seinem Tod soll er die anderen Manuskripte von Olahus an Hugo Blotius übergeben haben.<sup>76</sup>

Blotius selbst machte seinerseits auch verlegerische Pläne.<sup>77</sup> Daher ist nicht verwunderlich, daß Sambucus seinem alten Bekannten und Kollegen diese Manuskripte zur Veröffentlichung überließ. Der Brief von Friedeshaim im Kölner Kodex beweist, daß Blotius die *Historia Australis* publizieren wollte.<sup>78</sup> Deshalb übergab er die ausgewählten Manuskripte an einen Drucker (im Pauker-Haus?)<sup>79</sup> Alle Unterlagen, das Sambucianische Protokoll, der Brief von Friedeshaim, der Brief von Pius II. an den Kaiser (und vielleicht auch andere Dokumente), wurden mitgegeben.<sup>80</sup>

Leider scheiterte auch dieser Publikationsplan aus irgendwelchen Gründen. Der Zustand der Manuskripte wurde jedoch mit der Zeit, vermutlich auch durch ungeeignete Lagerbedingungen, immer schlechter. Wohl um sie vor dem Verderben zu retten, hat man 1631 — ohne die Absicht der Herausgabe — veranlaßt, sie abschreiben und heften zu lassen. Es ist aber durchaus möglich, daß die Heftung erst in Köln geschehen ist, wohin nur die losen Blätter der Handschriften überführt wurden.

Bei der Betreuung und Abschrift dieses Materials im Jahre 1631 mögen ungarische Gelehrte mitgewirkt haben, von denen die Eintragungen (*in Tabula Hungariae*) stammen. Ob Lőrinc Ferenczffy (1577–1640) oder sein Mitarbeiter Illés (Elias) Berger, der die Veröffentlichung von Schriften über die ungarische Geschichte plante, bei der Abschrift als Betreuer tätig waren, soll Thema einer künftigen Untersuchung sein.<sup>81</sup>

Zuletzt möchte ich hervorheben, daß in der jüngsten Vergangenheit einige ungarische oder auf Ungarn bezogene Handschriften in verschiedenen Bibliotheken und Archiven außerhalb Ungarns entdeckt worden sind. Der Kölner Kodex ist auch ein solches wertvolles Hungaricum. Es ist anzunehmen, daß durch systematische bibliothekarische und archivalische Forschungen noch weitere bisher unbekannte Handschriften entdeckt werden können.

### Anmerkungen

1. Über Oláhs Leben und Werk s. Matthias Bel (1735:38–41), Pál Hunfalvy (1891), Ferenc Kollányi (1885 und 1888), Ödön Noszky (1903), Pongrácz Sörös (1903), Tivadar Ortvy (1914), József Szemes (1936), Sándor V. Kovács (1971), ferner Colomannus Eperjessy und Ladislaus Juhász (1938, S. III) in lateinischer, Dezső Kerecsényi (1934) in französischer, Henry de Vocht (1954:36–44) in englischer und László Hadrovics (1980) in deutscher Sprache.
2. Über die Löwener Humanisten und deren Kontakte zu Olahus vgl. Félix Nève (1856), Alphonse Roersch (1903 und 1910) und Henry de Vocht (1951–1955, besonders Bd. III. 1954:36–44), außerdem die Artikel in den folgenden Enzyklopädien; Biographie Nationale de Belgique (Craneveldius: 1873, Bd. 4: 484–486, Nannius: 1899, Bd. 15: 415–425, Rescius: 1907, Bd. 19:155–160), Allgemeine deutsche Biographie (Goelenius: 1879/1968, Bd. 9:308), Wouter Nijhoff (Rescius: 1926:38–39).
3. Vgl. L. Juhász (1936) bzw. I. Fögel und L. Juhász (1934). Eine Bibliographie der Werke Oláhs s. bei Pál Hunfalvy (1891), József Szinnyei (1903, Bd. 9: 1270–1272), C. Eperjessy–L. Juhász (1938, S. III) und A magyar irodalomtörténet bibliográfiája (1972: 323–325).
4. Arnold Ipolyi (1875 und 1876).
5. Signaturen: *Fasc. 8, No. 232, Rep. 88* bzw. *Fasc. 8, No. 239, Rep. 88*.
6. Z. B. von Kristóf Nádasdi vom Jahre 1564, Signatur: *Fasc. 7, No. 202, Rep. 88*.
7. Vgl. darüber unten.
8. Vgl. außer den in Anm. 1 aufgeführten Werken Iván Nagy (1861, Bd. 8:212–215).
9. Margit Balogh (1903) hat nachgewiesen, daß in der geographischen Beschreibung einige Irrtümer und Ungenauigkeiten begangen worden sind (z.B. S. 54). Besonders die Preßburger Auflage von 1735 (Hrg. Matthias Bel) ist nach ihr mancherorts trüb und unrichtig, während die Varasder Auflage von 1774 eine klarere und richtigere Übersicht gibt.
10. Dieses Werk ist zwischen 1489 und 1490 entstanden.
11. Brodericus (1470?–1539) nahm an der Schlacht von Mohács persönlich teil.
12. Vgl. Lajos Stegena (Hrg.) 1982, über Lazarus' Karte; s. auch I. Fodor 1988.
13. In der Auflage von 1669 (Helmstedt): S. 260–261 bzw. 226 (irrtümlich als S. 722 angegeben). Über andere Werke, die Anregungen für die *Hungaria* geboten haben, s. Tibor Kardos (1955:319).
14. Matthias Bel verweist auf Wien als Fundort (im Vorwort *Ad Lectorem Philohistora*), außerdem war Adam Franz Kollar, der Herausgeber der zweiten Auflage (1763), Direktor der Wiener Hofbibliothek. Über Kollar vgl. die Artikel in: Constant von Wurzbach (1864 Bd. 12:234) und *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (1882/1969 Bd. 16:462). Kollars Werke (samt der Herausgabe der *Hungaria*) sind bei Johann Georg Meusel (1808 Bd. 7:252–254) aufgeführt.
15. István Németh, wissenschaftlicher Mitarbeiter der Wiener Handschriftensammlung, meint die Schriftzüge von Hugo Blotius (3) bzw. Sebastian Tengnagel (4) zu erkennen, die auch die Seiten paginiert und jeweils unter dem letzten Wort der letzten Zeile einer Seite das erste Wort der nächsten Seite wiederholt haben. Hugo Blotius (1533–1608) und sein Nachfolger Tengnagel (1573–1636) waren Hofbibliothekare, und zwar Blotius nach 1575, Tengnagel nach 1600. Über Blotius' Lebenslauf s. *Neue deutsche Biographie* (1955 Bd. 2:316–317), über Blotius und Tengnagel als Bibliothekare vgl. Mosel (1835:39–62).



16. Vgl. die Abhandlungen von Victor Bayer (1872), Hans Kramer (1931) und Alphons Lhotsky (1963:392–400).
17. (S. 31): Pius II Papa (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini) *Historia Australis sive Austriae*. . .
18. Vgl. Piccard (1961:49, Abbildung 47).
19. Über Cuspinianus s. *Neue deutsche Biographie* (1957 Bd. 3:450–451).
20. Bd. I, S. 41.
21. Im weiteren werden die Daten aus *V* mit Angabe des Kapitels und der laufenden Nummer der entsprechenden Zeile (nach Eperjessy–Juhász) zitiert; die Ziffern nach dem Doppelpunkt weisen auf die Seiten der *Annotationes Criticae* bei Eperjessy–Juhász hin. Aus *K* werden die Daten mit den Seitenzahlen zitiert, die unpaginierten Seiten habe ich mit 9a bzw. 9b bezeichnet.
22. Vgl. Adolf Schullerus (1971 Bd. 1:82).
23. Lazarus Secretarius (1528), Wolfgang Lazius (1545–1563), Giacomo Gastaldi (1545), Matthes Zyndt (1567), Johannes Sambucus (1566, eine Bearbeitung von Lazarus' Karte), Gerard Mercator (um 1585), Johannes Honterus (1532): Siebenbürgen, John Speede (1626), wahrscheinlich nach Mercator; vgl. Ferenc Fodor (1952), *Cartographia Hungarica* Bd. I. (1972), E. Oberhammer–F. R. von Wieser (1906), Giacomo Gastaldi (Neudruck 1939), Lajos Stegena (Hrg. 1982).
24. S. Hadrovics (1931–1934:428).
25. Darüber vgl. István Kniezsa (1952).
26. Vgl. Kniezsa (57).
27. S. Kniezsa (60).
28. S. Kniezsa (1952:19, 25 und 33).
29. Vgl. Kniezsa (1952:25, 36 und 42).
30. Vgl. Kniezsa (1952:119 und 134).
31. Vgl. Kniezsa (1952:23, 44 und 73).
32. Wie die ungarischen Namen und andere Daten seines Tagebuches bezeugen (vgl. bei Hans Gerstinger 1965), schrieb er *cz* (seltener *tz*, *ss* und *ch*) für das Phonem *cs* (*ʃ*), nie bezeichnete er das *k* mit *ck*, sondern entweder mit *k* oder selten mit *c*. In seinen ungarischen Briefen (vgl. bei István Kovács 1973) ist Zsámbokys Schreibweise noch irregulärer, z.B.: *Zoghor uram* = sógor uram 'mein (Herr) Schwager', d.h. *z* = *s* (*ʃ*).
33. Vgl. Bárczi–Benkő–Berrár (1967:157) und Loránd Benkő (1980:114).
34. S. Lajos Kiss (1978:472).
35. Vgl. noch *Thukul* (zwei *ü*) vom Jahre 1272 (Kiss 1978:656).
36. Das ungarische etymologische Wörterbuch (*TESz*) führt einen Beleg vom Jahr 1211 für *Silleu* (als Personennamen) und einen anderen vom Jahr 1514 für *swllw* an (Bd. III:628).
37. Zu der Namensregelung s. András Mezei (1982:93).
38. S. Samu Imre (1971:251–252).
39. S. Áron Szilády (1877:7).
40. Vgl. Lajos Kiss (1978:39).
41. Vgl. István Kniezsa (1952: 92, 95, 110 und 127).
42. Darüber s. Samu Imre (1971:293–294).
43. Vgl. Lajos Kiss (1978:37).
44. S. Ernst Wagner (1977:162).
45. Über *d* ~ *gy* in einigen Szekler Dialekten s. Samu Imre (1971:250–251).
46. S. *Cartographia Hungarica* Bd. I (1972) und Lajos Stegena (1982).
47. S. Balogh (S. 43) bzw. Szamota (S. 534).
48. Der erste Beleg für Latorca (in der lateinischen Form *Latricia*) stammt aus dem Jahr 1211; s. Lajos Kiss (1978:373).
49. Zu *lazac* vgl. das ungarische etymologische Wörterbuch (*TESz* Bd. 2:731).
50. Vgl. Herbert Bräuer (1971 Bd. 5:217–218) und *Spis miejscowości* (1968:637).
51. S. Lajos Kiss (1978:504).

52. Vgl. Josephus Dankó (1874) und Franz Bulić (1920:271–274).
53. S. Franz Bulić (1898), Ferd. Cavallera (1922:66–71) und Paul Antin (1951:7–12).
54. 1920:271–274.
55. *De conflictu Hungarorum cum Turcis ad Mohatz verissima descriptio* (Krakau).
56. S. László Hadrovics (1931–1934:432).
57. *De Viris, CXXXV*.
58. Das ungarische etymologische Wörterbuch (*TESz* Bd. 2:174) bezweifelt die Glaubwürdigkeit dieser Form, doch Katalin Fehértói (1970) bestätigt sie.
59. *TESz* (Bd. 2:174) und im Rumänischen: *Dicționarul Limbii Române* (1910 Bd. 2, S. 355). Für das Slawische vgl. Vasmer S. 279.
60. Dagegen ist *husar* als eine direkte Entlehnung aus dem Ungarischen (zuerst belegt: 1482) angegeben (Tamás 1966:450).
61. Diese Form als Familienname ist bei Iorgu Iordan (1983), Ștefan Pașca (1936) und Alexiu Viciu (1929) nicht vorhanden.
62. S. Iván Nagy (1859 Bd. 5:201–211).
63. Darüber vgl. Ödön Noszky (1903:51–53) und Pongrác Sörös (1903:333).
64. Vgl. Heinrich Schrörs (1927, besonders die Seiten 28, 44 und 256) bzw. *Kurze Lebensbeschreibung* (1835). J. A. Cervelló-Margalef, der wissenschaftliche Leiter der Diözesan- und Dombibliothek in Köln, bestätigte, daß dieses Thema nicht untersucht wurde.
65. Vgl. die Briefe von Nannius, Goclenius und Craneveldius an Oláh (Ipolyi 1975:598–600, 603–606 und 615).
66. Die engen Kontakte zwischen Oláh und Rescius wurden von den ungarischen Literaturhistorikern nicht gebührend besprochen.
67. Bedauerlicherweise ist nichts von Rescius' Nachlaß in Löwen oder andersorts zurückgeblieben. Diese Information habe ich in der Löwener Universitätsbibliothek erhalten.
68. *Si quid inest mendae topicis, ignosce, precamur,  
Nam procul a Gethico littore cymba mea est.  
Quum dulces repetam portus patriosque penates,  
Singula tunc referam candidiore fide.*
69. Die Namen dieser Ortschaften sind in *V* aufgeführt, aber durchgestrichen; vgl. Kapitel 4.2.4.
70. S. ähnlich bei Ferenc Kollányi (1885:260–261) und Pongrác Sörös (1903:428).
71. Gegen die Glaubwürdigkeit der merkwürdigen Schilderung von Simánd spricht die Tatsache, daß dort einige Jahrzehnte später eine unitaristische Druckerei eine Weile in Betrieb war. Dies wäre in einer Umgebung, wie sie bei Oláh beschrieben ist, nicht möglich gewesen. Vgl. G. E. Lessing (1956:593–594).
72. Über Zsámboky s. Hans Gerstinger (1926, 1965 und 1968) und Pál Gulyás (1941). Gulyás weicht in mancher Hinsicht von Gerstinger ab. Ihm zufolge (S. 22) soll sich Zsámboky nicht erst im September 1564, sondern bereits mehrere Monate früher in Wien angesiedelt haben.
73. Über die Sambucianische Bibliothek s. Hans Gerstinger (1926), Pál Gulyás (1941).
74. Über diesen Verkauf vgl. Hans Gerstinger (1926:283–284) und Pál Gulyás (1941:31–32). Vier Varianten der *Historia Australis* wurden auch verkauft; s. Hermann Menhardt (1957:23).
75. Vgl. Hans Gerstinger (1968:292–293).
76. Es ist nicht auszuschließen, daß Blotius mit diesen Manuskripten auch das verlorene *x* erhielt.
77. S. Mosel (1835:45–46).
78. Auch Friedeshaim war mehr als nur der Besitzer und Abschreiber einer Variante der *Historia Australis*, wie Victor Bayer (1872:5 und 29) berichtet; immerhin könnte er in einem Institut (?) tätig gewesen sein: *ex Museo meo*.
79. Wie mir das Wiener Stadt- und Landesarchiv mitgeteilt hat (18.3. und 21.5.1986), sind zwar einige Häuser in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jhs. im Besitz eines Pauk(h)er dokumentiert, aber keines von ihnen ist auch als Druckerei bekannt. Auch Josef Benzing (1982) erwähnt keine Druckerei in Wien unter diesem Namen.

80. Aufgrund der unbeschriebenen Seiten in *K* kann man auf den Gedanken kommen, daß sie für ein weiteres Werk bestimmt waren, dessen Abschrift aber unterblieben ist.
81. Über Ferenczffy und Berger vgl. Béla Holl (1890).

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Anhang 1  
Zwei Seiten aus dem Wiener Kodex

*circum Avam Minvan optum et*  
 + *et sub Moise et veteri. Julio. Samitug. Bem. in. p. novum longi*  
 + *et sub Moise et veteri. Julio. Samitug. Bem. in. p. novum longi*  
 + *et sub Moise et veteri. Julio. Samitug. Bem. in. p. novum longi*

Demde circum Strigom Granum sive Garann, et postremo no procul a Titulo ex ripa opposita oppido Zalankemen, Tibiscum, multa secum decurrentem flumina. A meridie vero his crescit annibus, Circa Orwar sive Altemburg Lysitha, circa Bregcum, quod nunc Jaurum rummasie Rabmeza, qui nunc Rapza, et Raba ante Harabone, circa Batham oppidum, Saros amne. tum ad Drazad quod ante Tritoburgum fuisse creditur. Daro nunc Drauo. Postremo circa Taururum Sauo augetur. Qui quidem Dambus inter alias Insulas, quas Taururum vsq; facit qsp plurimas, duas habet & magnitudine et fertilitate maxime prestantes, altera supra Pofomum urbem mtium sumens, porrigitur ad Arccm vsq; Comaron. Hae tredecim longa est, lata vero nunc duorum nunc trium miliarum nos tratum, frumenti, ordei, siligms, leguminum aliorum feracissima est Arce Comaron et huic Insule ex Comitatu, qui in ea est nomen est maria.

In hac sunt oppida Ethard, Bysspek, Zelis in Samaria, As vantrun, Tadan, Megyer, Waro, Ked, & abra pleriq;. Alterius paulo infra Dudam incipientis nomen est Chapel. Hae cum Aula que ibi ex fructa est ac oppidis Chapel, Thekel, S Martino, Kewy, quod Rasnam molue, ac nonnullis alijs pagis, Regne Hungarie est, nunc donations propter nuptias, auribus phasiam, perdicibus, turdus, gallus syluestribus, ac alijs duerji generis auculis, ceruis, dams, aprus, leporibus abundantissima. Ad haec syluis, nemanibus, ameis, pascuis, frumento, et alijs ad usum mortalium necessarijs legumibus, adco insigms, et nil quod sue ad necessitatem vic tus, sue ad voluptatem per meat, huic

*Insula Comaron et similitis*  
 + *Hinc in...*  
 + *Chalokeros...*  
 + *Chapel m. ula Danuby*  
 + *Fertilitas Ch. pel.*

olim frequens exportum, quò non Hungari, sed etiam Poloni, &  
 plerique alie septentrionalis nationes confuebant. Lingua etiam  
 pene Saxonica. Hanc uixta labitur Hernadus fluminis,  
 meridiem versus, qui postea inunctus Saron amni, infra Baronos  
 exoneratur non adeo procul à Mohy oppido Regime in  
 Tibiscum.

Caput Indecimum

Hinc Cassonie vicine sunt civitates alie libere, Eporyes,  
 Leuchoma, Barthisa, Sibinum, omnes inter loca montosa site.  
 Quorum Incole eadem qua Cassoniam utuntur lingua. Hinc hinc  
 septentrionalis est oppidum <sup>Thurni</sup> ~~Sibinorum~~, Arces Serepsium inter  
 montes, Tharke, w, citra <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Vagum~~ Kesmark, Rosnania <sup>inter</sup> ~~deor~~ avert  
 et Smilicia oppida inter Hernadum et Saronem fluvios, tum  
 citra eundem, <sup>ad occidens</sup> ~~Olsova~~, hinc inter montes <sup>ad occidens</sup> ~~Muron~~ Arx, <sup>monte</sup>  
 occidentalem versus sita sunt inter Saronem et Hernadum  
 fluvios sunt oppida <sup>inter</sup> ~~Sanos~~, <sup>Thurni</sup> ~~Sylo~~, tum Cassoniam versus  
 Garadua, <sup>inter</sup> ~~Syna~~ <sup>Thurni</sup> ~~Abna~~ Hagbida. Intra autem Hernadum &  
 fluvium qui ex montibus septentrionalibus diversis fontibus ortus, <sup>ad</sup>  
 ad Tibiscum influit sunt Arces <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Sortiar~~. <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Ca~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~iter~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~una~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Singmar~~.

Hic ad septentrioni-  
 sit sunt

ore que regem  
 sunt fodina

Sykso oppidu

accepto  
 postea resumpto sub nomine  
 Bodrich sub castro Thokaj  
 ad

Thokaj Arx  
 circum Alpes  
 Thokaj Arx

Thokaj, Therbes, Agere extra memi circumducto fortissima,  
<sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Syzee~~, <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Buldokere~~, <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Thalgia~~, oppida <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Zantho~~, <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Lijska~~, <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Vni~~  
 optimi feracis. <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Abna~~ Thokaj in ora occidentali Tibisci, <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Bodrich~~  
 condita. Qua traiectus est ad reliquam Hungarie partem <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~accipimus~~.

De qua paulo post dicemus, locus non minus sita eurgens  
 q3 montis. In ulteriore fluminis parte <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~ergo ad ripa Tibisci~~  
 ad septentrionem. In orientum <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~fluvii~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Saron~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~tabarr~~

<sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Vnch~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~LaZata~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~qu~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~omnes~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Tabarr~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~et cum eodem~~  
 dendum <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Tibisci~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Tabarr~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~et cum eodem~~  
<sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~czirwa~~. <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Xtrano~~. <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Dalerz~~. <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Synkoloz~~. <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Vngwar~~.  
 Rakka. et alijs alijs. Orientum autem versus  
 sub in vadibus fatis montis <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Sylovi~~. ex quo  
 LaZata orientis, sua <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~Arx~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~regum~~ <sup>ad orientem</sup> ~~vadibus~~

inter Thokaj





## Anhang 3

## Titelblatt II des Kölner Kodex

AENEAE SYLVII Piccolo.

Magistri Ant. Senensis  
 in S. Rom. Eccl. Cardis

Profes. in Pontificia

PU SECUNDA

HISTORIA (in ipse uoca) AUSTRIA,

2is sine Austria

De Rebus Frederici III. Imp.

Descripta ex Autographis Patris Iuris

Sed omnia interpolata & creberrime

Litteris & mendacibus interpolata

quod asserunt in Bibliotheca

Caesarea Vicentini

Anhang 4 und 5  
Das Protokoll der Übergabe der Sambucianischen Bibliothek  
an die Wiener Hofbibliothek  
Der Brief von W. B. Friedeshaim an Hugo Blotius

Hic 268. librorum Sambucianorum Catalogus ab Hugone Blotio  
Jur. V. Dod. et S. C. Matis Bibliothecario conscriptus, praesentibus  
Fr. Sambucij olim Vidua et Wolfgango Sinnich, qui sunt eadem  
Videm Turis, Item Seniore Jilia traditus et consignatus ad Execu-  
tionem Fr. Leonhardo Floy J. V. D. et Thome Hainrich J. N.  
Medicinae in ipsius Sambucii liberorum tutoribus, fidei causa  
non ornatissimi Viri Joannes Piller et Ludovicus Eberhoger  
publico Testimonio audientis omniumque et in hoc negotio  
Sambuciano legitime a Immo Executi Regimini Abvistratu  
constituti, sigillis et Chirographis suis constituti ma cum Hugone  
Blotio confirmant. Datum Vienna Aeste. XIII Aprilis  
an. MD. D. XXVII.

~~Hugo Blotius J. Dod. J. V. D. Matis~~

Wilhelmus Berthardus a Friedeshaim et Hugoni  
Blotio V. I. Dod. et C. Bibliotheca Viennensis  
Profecto amico suo Siquinici.

D. Incas Solinus Piccolominicus qui ad Pontificatum Rom. euectus  
Ab Secundi nome Virgians multa egregia, ut tibi clarissime Vir,  
optime condus aditus opera et inter alia Historiam de Imperatoris  
Friderici tertii vel potius quarti hunc nominis dicendi rebus quibusdam  
cum italis, iam Austriacis quas ille Austriales appellat gestis scribere  
causet, quae cum reliquis eiusdem operibus nunquam in publicum  
prodijt. Cum autem ego ante multos annos fragmentum huius  
Historiae manuscriptum plurimum reperitum mendis raris fuissem:  
dubitavi semper etiam ne ita esset, an perfectius aliqual exemplar

quae admodum. Sed saeculo sciscitanti hinc inde paucula quaedam similia  
 adhaec nullum sese mihi haecenus obtulit. Quae Ego, ut et multi do-  
 quibus haec de re contuli, in eam dudum sui opinionem: statorem oper-  
 supremam manum nunquam imposuisse. Et utinam perfectionem istius  
 ulterius non esse expectandam. Cum tamen cum adhaec in hoc fragm-  
 omnia mississa vel quaedam repote integri actus matrimonialis In-  
 cisi cum Leonora Portugalliae Regina et utriusque coniugis coronati  
 aliisque Res Italicae perfectae opposita. Imo longe exadum quam alibi  
 ab oculato teste qui ipsemet omnium fere harum rerum praecipuus  
 erat elegantis scribendi stylo conscripta occurrunt praeterea diami-  
 nismodum succunda et ad posterorum memoriam fide dignissima  
 ut non solum a pluribus alijs Historiarum studiosis avidi desiderari  
 sed et etiam J. D. D. in instructissima illa et multis alijs non  
 celeberrima Bibliotheca Caesarea Viennensi quae tunc crederetur et  
 non haberi haec opusculum nuper quaereris meq. ad eorum adu-  
 et coniugares ego desiderio tuo et aliorum aliqua ex parte res:  
 istius perfectione ita Italica quaedam pro Ingenij tenuitate  
 et excerpti et corrupte admodum scripta quo ad per me in  
 huiusmodi minime exornatum fieri potuit emendari ita tamen  
 in forma sed et Verba quoque auctoris quae pericula detraherentur  
 videlicet correctione opere viderentur. Vixq. fortuarum non ex meo  
 vel concedere poterat conjunctionem Historica quaedam immuta-  
 quibus auctori de Castriacus et paucitas quaedam alias ibide  
 sed minime necessariae quae cum imperfecta essent tum non  
 publicae viderentur et ipso integrum hoc opusculum haecenus  
 crediderim. Historico notatas rescui. Tibi ergo Sociissime

Laborem hunc qualemcumque merito et iudicandum trado,  
 an hac forma dignus sit, qui adhiberi Lima tua prius  
 castigationi vel Liberae publicae Viennae, vel Bibliothecae Caesareae  
 et Austriacae (cum hic Lib. Austriacae reformationem pass  
 non pariterenda sit comprehensa) inseratur. Viennae  
 Austriae ex Museo meo. Anno MDCCLXII.

Anhang 6

Olahus: Vorwort an die Leser – Carmen ad lectorem

Clas. Carmin

Nicolaus Olahus ad Lectorem

Hac. incipit a me fide  
Romalis 16. May. anno  
1536, dum spon. ser.  
Reginae Mariae vidue  
Dini. viduae Regis  
Hungariae. seruis vobis  
Carolus Ferdinandus  
Imp. a Secretis de  
Consilio.

Si nihil in rebus est, lapide, gemis Libelli  
Amica meo gratum scribere cura vetas  
Alens etiam vobis potius confut. perich  
Tospe si el longo mure scaltati meli  
Nec mea dactilogni colueris arum Calamus  
Lini starym mason terra delicta hlt  
Nec mea cum amos graeb. cordyge. Minerva  
Si vult dicit negos antiq. p. l. m. p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s.  
Fontib. Sui amica p. l. m. p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s.  
Sui Helionialis Regis p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s.  
Non hinc loquatur conspectus Platonius ad aures  
De p. l. m. p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. in orbe suis  
Non sicut vltimis lapis Taurinid. Cassin  
Nunc hinc vel Trogy. m. p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s.  
Nec gratum seruis Calamus istius in vrbis  
Lini argente splendide, arte potens  
Si qui Calamus parat. hinc vrbis lapsum  
S. g. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. non gramo Soda. T. g. l. m. p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s.  
S. g. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. non fuit. Regius ad multa laborem  
S. g. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. hinc tempus angustat.  
Nomen et p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. Calamus ad barbara. refo  
S. g. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. hinc f. g. l. m. p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. nota referre p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s.  
S. g. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. hinc Romani. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Non hinc. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
S. g. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. hinc. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Non hinc. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Platonem hinc. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Scribere me. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
E quid. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Nam p. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. hinc. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Cum. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
S. g. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. hinc. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Interca. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
S. g. r. e. s. e. r. i. p. t. i. o. n. e. s. hinc. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Nam. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.  
Cui. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t. v. o. c. a. b. u. l. u. m. d. e. b. e. t.

Romalis 16. May. An. 1536.

Q. v. l. e.



# KINDERAUSTAUSCH UND SPRACHERLERNEN IN UNGARN

LÁSZLÓ KÓSA

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Budapest

Es ist eine allgemein bekannte psychologische und pädagogische These, daß man eine Fremdsprache am leichtesten durch einen längeren Aufenthalt in einem lebendigen Sprachmilieu erlernen kann. Deshalb ist es auch heute in vielen Teilen der Welt üblich, Kinder oder Jugendliche in ihrem empfänglichsten Alter in ein näher oder entfernter gelegenes, fremdsprachiges Land zu schicken, um die Sprache zu lernen. Diese Art, eine Sprache zu erlernen oder zu üben, wurde vor 1918 in Ungarn allgemein praktiziert, und man bediente sich ihrer beim Erlernen aller größeren Sprachen, vor allem des Ungarischen und des Deutschen. Diese Gewohnheit beruhte entweder auf Gegenseitigkeit, indem man das die Sprache lernende Kind zu einer Familie gab, deren Kind gleichen Alters man im Tausch dafür in der eigenen aufnahm, oder das Kind wurde nur einseitig – als Gastkind – zu einer ausgewählten Familie einer anderen Ortschaft geschickt.

Das Lateinische wurde in Ungarn als Verwaltungssprache in europäischem Vergleich sehr lange gebraucht. Es wurde erst im Jahre 1844 durch das Ungarische abgelöst, das in jenem Jahr zur Amtssprache erklärt wurde. Vor diesem Zeitpunkt reichte es – zumindest theoretisch –, wenn ein gebildeter Mensch gleich welcher Muttersprache das Lateinische, das heißt die wichtigste Vermittlungssprache dieses Vielvölkerstaates, beherrschte. In Wirklichkeit war es jedoch oft anders. Viele erlernten aus unterschiedlicher Motivation außer ihrer Muttersprache auch noch andere Sprachen, in der Regel diejenigen, die in einem kleineren oder größeren Kreis eine Vermittlungsfunktion erfüllten und nicht mit dem Lateinischen identisch waren. Das Ungarische wurde im 16. Jahrhundert, in der Zeit der Reformation, die Sprache der schöngeistigen Literatur, nicht jedoch die der Politik und der Wissenschaft. In den Mittelschulen begann man erst im 18. Jahrhundert einige Lehrfächer nicht lateinisch, sondern ungarisch zu unterrichten, jedoch erst im ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde das Ungarische zur allgemeinen Unterrichtssprache. Bis dahin bestand in den Mittelschulen folglich kein Zwang, Fremdsprachen zu lernen, denn niemand lernte ja in seiner Muttersprache. Da es bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts auch keine allgemeine Wehrpflicht gab – ist doch die Armee eine der wirksamsten, Sprachen vermittelnden Institutionen der modernen mehrsprachigen Gesellschaft –, lernte man außer der Muttersprache die zweite oder dritte lebende Sprache freiwillig. Dies traf auch zu, wenn die Vermittlungssprachen in Wirklichkeit eine Wahlmöglichkeit ausschlossen,

doch dieser Zwang verletzte niemandes Nationalgefühl und Identität, solange Staats- und Amtssprache noch keine Begriffe waren. Am Erlernen der Vermittlungssprachen war derjenige, der den verschiedenen Vorschriften seiner sozialen Klasse, Schicht oder Gruppe entsprechen wollte, zwangsläufig interessiert.

Die Entstehungsgeschichte der erwähnten Art des Spracherlernens ist nicht bekannt. Wir wissen nicht genau, von welchem Zeitpunkt an man sich ihrer allgemein und regelmäßig bediente, daß sie jedoch umfassend praktiziert wurde, davon zeugt, daß die Tyrnauer (ungarisch Nagyszombat, slowakisch Trnava) Diözesensynode im Jahre 1629 den Eltern, die ihre Kinder zwecks Erlernung eines Handwerks oder einer Sprache zu protestantischen Familien schickten, mit der Verweigerung der römisch-katholischen kirchlichen Beerdigung drohte.<sup>1</sup> Die gegenreformatorischen Bestrebungen erfaßten zu dieser Zeit genau jene Gebiete (Nord- und Westungarn), in denen der Brauch des Kinderaustausches auch im 19.—20. Jahrhundert am lebendigsten war. Die ethnisch deutschen, ungarischen und slowakischen Bürger und Intellektuellen in den Städten dieses Gebietes werden in der ungarischen Kulturgeschichte als *hungarus* bezeichnet, womit angedeutet werden soll, daß ihnen der sprachliche Nationalismus unbekannt war. Sie lernten die Sprache der anderen aus praktischen Gründen und symbolisierten dadurch das vielsprachige Ungarn, Hungaria.

Aus diesem Kreis darf auch der gebildete Adel nicht ausgeschlossen werden. Der evangelisch-reformierte Pál Ráday, der nicht viel später eine wichtige, politische Rolle spielte, wurde als Sproß einer vornehmen adeligen Familie Nordungarns im Jahre 1693 von seinen Eltern in evangelisch-lutherische Schulen nach Schemnitz (ungarisch Selmecbánya, slowakisch Banská Štiavnica) und später nach Kremnitz (ung. Körömbánya, slk. Kremnica) geschickt, damit er zugleich auch die deutsche Sprache erlernt.<sup>2</sup> Das Lernen in Fremdem Sprachmilieu war jedoch eher für die Söhne des Lutherischen Bürgertums bezeichnend, die Geistliche oder Lehrer werden wollten. Die Lutheraner im zeitgenössischen Ungarn waren zu ihrem Großteil Deutsche und Slowaken und nur zum kleineren Teil Ungarn. Da ihre Kirchenorganisation jedoch keine nationale Gliederung aufwies, konnten sie nicht wissen, welche Muttersprache die Gemeinde wird, in die sie kommen werden (oder ob die Gemeinde eventuell mehrsprachig sein wird), deshalb waren sie bemüht, von vornherein alle drei Sprachen zu erlernen. Der hervorragende Gelehrte seiner Zeit, Mátyás Bél (1684—1749), stammte aus einer ungarisch-slowakischen Mischehe. Zunächst lernte er in ungarischer Umgebung in Losonc, (Lučenec), später unter Deutschen in Preßburg (ung. Pozsony, slk. Bratislava) und Neusohl (ung. Besztercebánya, slk. Banská Bistrica), dann war er zwei Jahre lang wieder in ungarischem Milieu in Transdanubien, in Wesprim (ung. Veszprém) und Pápa, bevor er schließlich nach Halle ging, um an der dortigen Universität zu studieren.<sup>3</sup> Auch der berühmte Gelehrte der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts, Sámuel Tessedik (1743—1820), war lutherischer Pastor, der während seiner Preßburger Lehrjahre ins ungarische Debrecin (ung. Debrecen) fuhr, um die Sprache gründlich zu erlernen. Bei den Reformierten verhielt es sich anders, weil ihre Muttersprache (abgesehen von wenigen Ausnahmen) das Ungarische war. Sie bemühten sich vor allem deshalb, Deutsch zu lernen, weil sie im 18. Jahrhundert — da es in Ungarn keine



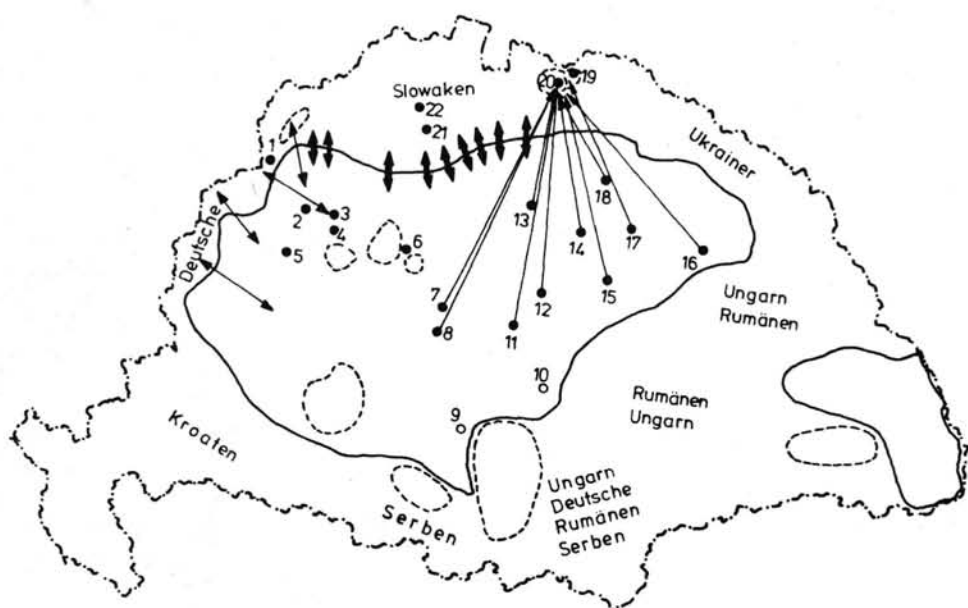
protestantische Universität gab – nur in Westeuropa, in erster Linie an den das Lateinische zu dieser Zeit schon aufgebenden deutschen Universitäten studieren konnten.

Die deutschen Sprachkenntnisse können im 18. Jahrhundert in Ungarn (ausgenommen freilich die der Deutschen) nicht allgemein und nicht von hohem Niveau gewesen sein. Bél verfaßte im Jahre 1718 eine deutsche Grammatik in lateinischer Sprache, damit die Schüler nicht lediglich die Umgangssprache beherrschten.

In Ungarn rief das Sprachenproblem zum ersten Mal während der Herrschaft Josephs II. Gegensätze hervor. Der Kaiser ordnete aus Reichsinteresse den Unterricht der deutschen Sprache und überhaupt den deutschsprachigen Unterricht mit verbindlicher Kraft an; Folge das hatte, daß nun fast alle Nationalitäten auf dem Unterricht in ihrer Muttersprache bestanden. Auch die – sonst für das Toleranzedikt (1781) des Kaisers Joseph II. dankbaren – Protestanten widersetzten sich der Sprachverordnung. Zum Beispiel versuchte das reformierte Gymnasium in Pápa, das das Öffentlichkeitsrecht unlängst zurückbekommen hatte, den Unterricht in deutscher Sprache zu sabotieren.<sup>4</sup> Auch die katholischen Wegbereiter des ungarischsprachigen Unterrichtes, die Professoren der Piaristengymnasien, handelten ähnlich. In Wirklichkeit waren von nun an aber die deutschen Sprachkenntnisse einfach unentbehrlich, wenn jemand eine Karriere im öffentlichen oder wissenschaftlichen Leben machen wollte (obzwar auch das Lateinische noch lange seine Stellungen hielt).

Das 19. Jahrhundert und die anschließenden Jahre vor dem ersten Weltkrieg stellen die Blütezeit des Kinderaustausches bzw. der Aufnahme von Gastkindern dar. Das läßt sich vielfach illustrieren. Bedeutende ungarische Intellektuelle, die aus rein ungarischem Milieu stammten, verbrachten fast ohne Ausnahme eine längere Zeit, mindestens ein Jahr, zum Spracherlernen in Ortschaften mit deutscher Mehrheit. Als Beispiele dafür führen wir einige berühmte Schriftsteller an. Mór Jókai (1825–1904) ging mit zehn Jahren aus Komorn (ung. Komárom, slk. Komárno) nach Preßburg zur Familie Zsigmondy, um „deutsches Wort zu hören“ – wie man dies damals ausdrückte –, während eines der Zsigmondy-Kinder nach Komorn kam, um „ungarisches Wort zu hören“;<sup>5</sup> Gyula Krúdy (1878–1933) lernte vier Jahre (1888–1891) im Gymnasium von Pudlein (ung. Podolin, slk. Podolinec) in der Zips. László Németh (1901–1975) verbrachte mit acht und zehn Jahren zwei Sommer bei seinen entfernten Verwandten im niederösterreichischen Pottendorf, um dort Deutsch zu lernen. Gyula Illyés (1902–1983) wurde auch aus dem gleichen Grunde und in der gleichen Zeit in ein deutsches (schwäbisches) Dorf (Varsád, Kom. Tolnau) in der Nähe seines Wohnortes geschickt. In dieser Zeit erfüllte die deutsche Sprache für die Ungarn in der Österreichisch–Ungarischen Monarchie zumeist auch die Funktion der Weltsprache, da sie die englischen und französischen schöngeistigen und wissenschaftlichen Werke vielfach in deutscher Übersetzung kennenlernten.

Die Beispiele der vier ungarischen Schriftsteller vertreten vier verschiedene Varianten, obgleich das Ziel, die Gemeinsprache zu erlernen, identisch war. Die Einrichtung des Kinderaustausches war meist über kleinere Entfernungen üblich, obwohl die Eltern – sicherlich aus psychologischen Überlegungen – ihre Kinder wechselseitig nicht



*Legende*

- Grenze des Königreichs Ungarn
- Grenze des zusammenhängenden ungarischen Sprachraumes
- ○ ○ größere deutsche Sprachinseln, die am Kinderaustausch beteiligt waren
- ↔ Kinderaustausch mit Weinhandel verknüpfter Kinderaustausch (zwischen Ungarn und Deutschen)
- Beziehungen des Gymnasiums von Käsmark mit den Gymnasien in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene
- ➡ Kinderaustausch im ungarisch-slowakischen Grenzgebiet

*Ortschaften*

- |                                   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Pozsony (Preßburg, Bratislava) | 12. Karcag                                    |
| 2. Győr (Raab)                    | 13. Miskolc                                   |
| 3. Komárom (Komorn, Komárno)      | 14. Hajdúnánás                                |
| 4. Tata (Totis)                   | 15. Debrecen (Debrezin)                       |
| 5. Pápa                           | 16. Szatmár                                   |
| 6. Budapest                       | 17. Nyíregyháza                               |
| 7. Nagykőrös                      | 18. Sárospatak                                |
| 8. Kecskemét                      | 19. Podolin (Pudlein, Podolinec)              |
| 9. Szeged (Szegedin)              | 20. Késmárk (Käsmark, Kežmarok)               |
| 10. Gyula                         | 21. Selmechánya (Schemnitz, Banska Štiavnica) |
| 11. Mezőtúr                       | 22. Körmöcbánya (Kremnitz, Kremnica)          |

besucht haben, wie dies aus den historischen Zeugnissen eindeutig hervorgeht. Wenn es aber um das Gymnasium ging, wurden manchmal weit entfernt gelegene deutsche Schulen gewählt.

Es ist auffällig, wie sehr die Bewohner der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene die Zips bevorzugten. Wahrscheinlich ist das vor allem auf die starken Handelsbeziehungen der Städte der Zips zu den Märkten in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene zurückzuführen. Die Kaufleute und Handwerker in der Zips waren als zuverlässige und rechtschaffene Bürger bekannt. Darüber hinaus galten die Zipser Deutschen bei den Ungarn traditionell als eine Volksguppe, die im politischen, religiösen und emotionalen Bereich ein harmonisches Verhältnis zu den Ungarn hatte.

Die Reformierten bevorzugten besonders das lutherische Gymnasium von Käsmark (ung. Késmárk, slk. Kežmarok), was für sie oft eine 200 bis 300 Kilometer weite Reise bedeutete (s. Karte).<sup>6</sup> Ein bezeichnendes Beispiel ist, daß der reformierte Pastor von Gyula (im Südosten der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene) im Jahre 1844 seinen Sohn nach Käsmark bringt, damit dieser dort Deutsch lernt,<sup>7</sup> obwohl es kaum einen Kilometer weit von ihrer Wohnung, in der Schwesterstadt der Siedlung (Deutsch-Gyula) eine deutsche Grundschule und in der Nähe mehrere deutschsprachige Ortschaften gibt; selbst noch das Banat und sogar Süd-Siebenbürgens deutsche (sächsische) Gebiete liegen viel näher als die Zips. Die Schüler des Gymnasiums von Käsmark – zum großen Teil Deutsche und Slowaken – besuchten dagegen ein oder zwei Jahre lang das lutherische Gymnasium von Miskolc, um dort Ungarisch zu lernen. Ein bezeichnendes Beispiel dafür ist der große slowakische Dichter Pavol Országh Hviezdoslav (1849–1921), der zuerst nach Miskolc ging, um dort Ungarisch zu lernen, und dann nach Käsmark, des Deutschen wegen. Oder ein anderes Beispiel: der berühmte slowakische Nationalpolitiker Ludovít Štur (1815–1856) lernte in Preßburg Deutsch und in Raab (ung. Győr) Ungarisch. Die vornehmeren deutschen Bürger Preßburgs schickten ihre Söhne in konfessionelle Gymnasien nach Raab und Totis (ung. Tata) bzw. nach Trencschin (ung. Trencsén, slk. Trenčín), wo sie Ungarisch bzw. Slowakisch lernen konnten.<sup>8</sup>

Die Ungarn aus Transdanubien besuchten in dieser Zeit ein oder zwei Jahre lang vor allem das Gymnasium in Preßburg, seltener in Schemnitz, um in diesen Städten zugleich auch die deutsche Sprache gründlich zu erlernen.

Wie bereits erwähnt, brachte die katholische Synode schon im Jahre 1629 die Erlernung der Sprachen und die der Handwerke miteinander in Verbindung, doch praktizierten die Handwerker und Bauern den Kinderaustausch zum Spracherlernen erst im 19. Jahrhundert in größerem Umfang. Es handelte sich zu dieser Zeit nicht mehr allein um das Bedürfnis der zu Wanderschaft verpflichteten Zunftgesellen und der große Entfernungen bereisenden Kaufleute, Sprachen zu beherrschen, sondern auch um die Auswirkungen der allgemeinen Verbürgerlichung. Die Bewohner des deutschen Harta im Süden der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene verdingten ihre heranwachsenden Söhne als Knechte im nahe gelegenen reichen ungarischen Dorf Dunapataj, damit diese sich "die bürgerliche Manier" aneigneten.<sup>9</sup>

Die wirtschaftlichen Interessen erscheinen dabei nicht nur als Fernziel im Nutzen

der Sprachkenntnisse, sondern auch direkt. Die Eltern betrachteten sich gegenseitig als Handelspartner. Bei den Bauern spielte auch eine Rolle, daß die Arbeit des Sohnes in der eigenen Wirtschaft während seiner Abwesenheit vom Elternhaus nicht entbehrt werden mußte, da das "Tauschkind" statt seiner (beim Hüten des Kleinviehs, bei leichteren Hofarbeiten usw.) aushalf. Man kalkulierte auch ein, daß die Söhne ein anderes Leben, eine andere Betriebsorganisation kennenlernen, und diese Erlebnisse ihnen später als Erwachsenen zum Nutzen gereichen würden, auch wenn sie sich diese nützlichen Produktionserfahrungen nicht vollständig aneigneten. Für solche bewußten Berechnungen haben wir allerdings wenig Belege.<sup>10</sup> Die slowakischen Landwirte von Nyíregyháza und Umgebung (im Nordosten der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene), die auf sandigem Boden Einödhofwirtschaft betrieben, schickten ihre Söhne gern in das nahe gelegene Hajdunánás, wo der Boden schwerer war und viel Großvieh gehalten wurde, damit sie dort Ungarisch lernten. Aus der östlichen Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene haben wir zwischen Ungarn und Rumänen Belege für den Austausch von Bauernburschen aus Dörfern mit intensiverem Getreidenbau bzw. Viehzucht, woberi der Zweck weniger das Spracherlernen als die Aneignung einiger Kniffe der Bauernwirtschaft war.<sup>11</sup> Helmut Paul Fielhauer bearbeitete in einer ausführlichen Abhandlung den Brauch des Kinderaustausches zwischen Niederösterreich und den benachbarten böhmisch-mährischen und slowakischen Gegenden, der mit der Praxis in Ungarn vollkommen übereinstimmte. Dabei taucht nicht nur die Möglichkeit auf, daß dieser Brauch in Europa eventuell viel allgemeiner und umfassender verbreitet war, sondern hier ist von einer viel stärker als in Ungarn organisierten Einrichtung die Rede, welche die wirtschaftlichen Interessen streng beachtete und dadurch den bürgerlichen sozialen und materiellen Aufstieg förderte.<sup>12</sup>

Im ehemaligen Westungarn verband sich der Kinderaustausch zum Spracherlernen oft mit dem Weinhandel. Die Vermittler waren meistens Wirtsleute. Zum Beispiel kauften die Gastwirte aus Güns (ung. Kószeg) und Umgebung regelmäßig den ausgezeichneten Wein der Dörfer am Nordufer des Plattensees (ung. Balaton), obwohl auch die eigenen Siedlungen in einer recht guten Weingegend lagen.<sup>13</sup> Diese Weineinkaufsreisen boten zugleich auch eine gute Gelegenheit für den Austausch von Kindern, die Ungarisch bzw. Deutsch lernen sollten. Ähnliche Beziehungen bestanden auch zwischen den ungarischen Dörfern auf der Raabinsel (ung. Rábaköz) und Eisenstadt (ung. Kismarton) und Umgebung oder zwischen den Dörfern der Großen Schüttinsel (ung. Csallóköz, slk. Žitny Ostrov) und den Weinbau-Ortschaften in der Gegend von Preßburg wie Bösen (ung. Bazin, slk. Pezinok), St. Georgen (ung. Pozsonyszentygyörgy, slk. Jur pri Bratislave) und Limbach.

In den Siedlungen wurde der Kinderaustausch außer von der Intelligenz vor allem von den vermögenden Bauern und den ihnen vergleichbaren sich verbürgerlichenden Dorfschichten (Kaufleuten, Wirtsleuten, Handwerkern und Angestellten der Gutsverwaltung) praktiziert. Dieser Brauch ist zwar im 19. Jahrhundert und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts als allgemein verbreitet in den einzelnen kleineren Siedlungen zu bezeichnen, jedoch zahlenmäßig nicht sehr umfangreich, da gleichzeitig nur zwei bis drei Kinder von ihrer Familie entfernt waren. Mindestens ebenso wichtig ist aber, daß

dieser Brauch über mehrere Generationen hinweg und immer zwischen denselben Familien weitervererbt wurde. So lernten z. B. zwischen 1840 und 1905 drei Generationen derselben zwei Familien in Komorn (ung. Komárom, slk. Komárno) bzw. Theben (ung. Dévény, slk. Devin) voneinander Ungarisch bzw. Deutsch. Die Verbindung wurde durch die treidelnden Fuhrleute aus Komorn hergestellt, deren Weg über Theben führte. Das Tauschkind der ersten deutschen Generation wurde Winzer, die der zweiten und dritten Generation wurden Schiffsoffiziere auf der Donau, die Tauschpartner der ersten und der zweiten ungarischen Generation wurden Fuhrleute und der der dritten Generation wurde Jurist, städtischer Beamte.

Die Kinder wurden oft durch persönliche Bekanntschaften auf den Märkten ausgetauscht, oder man suchte dort entsprechende Partner. Die Ungarn von der Großen Schüttinsel gingen in die deutschen Ortschaften bei Preßburg auf den "Freimarkt", um für ihre Kinder einen Tauschpartner zu finden. Andernorts gab man zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts aus dem gleichen Grund Zeitungsannoncen auf.

Der Brauch der ärmeren Volksschichten zum Spracherlernen läßt sich in erster Linie zwischen Ungarn und Slowaken rekonstruieren. Die ungarisch-slowakische Sprachgrenze war traditionell scharf, die Gebiete der beiden Völker grenzten sich voneinander deutlich ab. Im ehemaligen Nordungarn wohnten große Massen slowakischer Bauern unter ungünstigen natürlichen Bedingungen, was sie dazu zwang, ihren Lebensunterhalt mit saisonal betriebenen Handwerkertätigkeiten (Holzverarbeitung, Keramik, Textilhandwerk usw.) zu verdienen. Ihre Erzeugnisse verkauften sie meist selbst in den südlichen, vor allem von Ungarn bewohnten Gegenden, wo dafür starke Nachfrage herrschte und sie ihren Getreidebedarf decken konnten. Sie arbeiteten oft saisonal auch als Erntehelfer in den großen Getreidegebieten der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene. Also war es für sie nützlich, wenn sie einigermaßen Ungarisch konnten, und darum regten sie den Kinderaustausch mit den ungarischen Dörfern an der Sprachgrenze an. Unter den Bauernhandwerkern war es aber auch ein allgemein verbreiteter Brauch, ihre Kinder als Hausgehilfen bei Ungarn zu verdingen, damit sie die Sprache erlernten.<sup>14</sup>

Nach 1918 veränderte sich die Lage. Sowohl das Ungarische als auch das Deutsche verloren in den Nachfolgestaaten der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie an Ansehen. Außer natürlich in Österreich behielt die deutsche Sprache in Ungarn noch am meisten von ihrer Anziehungskraft, jedoch die wirksame Entwicklung des Schulwesens und auch die nationalistische Feindseligkeit in den meisten Ländern trugen zum Verfall der Einrichtung der Gast- und Tauschkinder mit bei. Zwischen den Ungarn und Slowaken wurden der Wanderhandel und die Arbeitskräftewanderung infolge der neuen Grenzen fast völlig eingestellt. Auch das Spracherlernen ließ allmählich nach, wenn es auch in einer neuen Form – wenngleich nicht allgemein – erschien, indem nun einseitig ungarische Kinder zum Spracherlernen in slowakische Dörfer geschickt wurden. Ungarische Intellektuellenfamilien in Siebenbürgen schickten selbst noch in den 60er Jahren des 20. Jahrhunderts ihre Kinder in den Sommerferien zum Spracherlernen in die sächsischen Dörfer im Süden Siebenbürgens. Es gab und gibt

auch heute vereinzelte und besondere Fälle für den Austausch von Kindern zum Erlernen der Sprache über die politischen Grenzen hinaus.

Diese skizzenhaft beschriebene Einrichtung bedeutete zugleich auch vielfältige Möglichkeiten der Begegnungen verschiedener Kulturen. Allein der Umstand, daß zumeist Kinder und Jugendliche (vor allem Jungen) zwischen dem 10. und 16. Lebensjahr zum Spracherlernen in die Fremde geschickt wurden, konnte eine besondere Bedeutung haben. Denn in diesem empfänglichsten Lebensalter erlernen die Kinder einerseits mit Leichtigkeit Fremdsprachen, andererseits haben sie noch gar keine (oder zumindest noch keine bereits verfestigten) Vorurteile, was sie eine fremde Kultur aufgeschlossen aufnehmen läßt. Daraus wiederum könnte sich bei ihnen ein, gegenüber anderen Kulturen und dem Fremden überhaupt toleranteres Verhalten entwickeln.

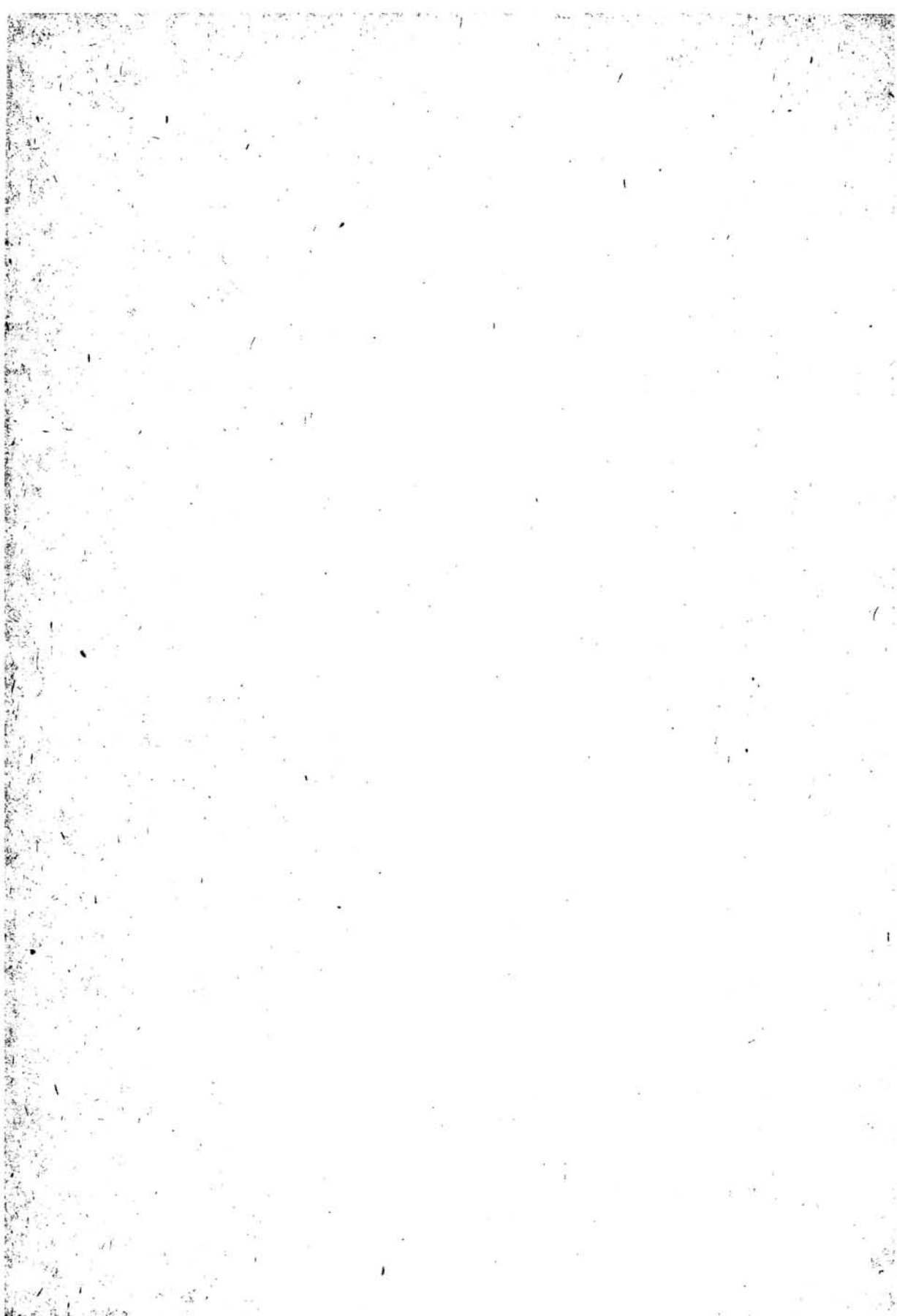
Diese Einrichtung bot eine gute Gelegenheit auch für den Austausch und die Vermittlung kultureller Güter und Elemente. Die Ungarn, die in ihrer Kindheit Sprachen lernten, erinnerten sich meistens an persönliche Erlebnisse, an die gelernten Lieder und Bräuche.<sup>15</sup> Sie hoben alle den großen Wert der persönlichen Beziehungen hervor, die in vielen Fällen Jahrzehnte hindurch zwischen den Tauschpartnern und ihren Familien erhalten blieben und sich häufig zu Freundschaften entwickelten, die verwandtschaftlichen Bindungen gleichkamen. Es gab freilich auch Fälle, in denen die Kinder wegen der schlechten Behandlung davongelaufen und zu ihren Eltern zurückgekehrt sind.<sup>16</sup>

Es hört sich wie eine Anekdote an, daß der Schriftsteller Mór Jókai und sein ehemaliger Tauschpartner aus Preßburg, der ausgezeichnete Geologe Vilmos Zsigmondy, fünfzig Jahre später im Budapester Parlament als Abgeordnete nebeneinander saßen. Mehrere ungarische Kriegsgefangene in Rußland zogen während des ersten Weltkrieges aus ihren als Tauschkinder erworbenen serbischen oder slowakischen Sprachkenntnissen Nutzen. Während der Aussiedlung der Deutschen nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg boten die Tauschkinderbeziehungen in mehreren Fällen Schutz vor den nationalistischen Übergriffen.

#### Anmerkungen

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# FERENC KÖLCSEY AND THE POLISH QUESTION (1831–1834)

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## Antecedents

The first two partitions of Poland (1772, 1793), the Kosciusko revolution, the third partition (1795) and the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw were all events that aroused the interest and to some extent the sympathy of Hungarian nobles and intellectuals.<sup>1</sup> Manifestations of this sympathy and solidarity in Hungarian literature, however, were confined to a small group of journalists, writers and poets who rarely went beyond showing their compassion.

But one can hardly blame them; Hungary's self determination ("independence" would be an exaggeration) within the Austrian Empire had just been clipped further; the execution of the leaders of the so called Jacobin movement in Hungary (1794–95) was naturally followed by hostile oppression. The scant "control" exercised by the Hungarian Diet over Habsburg absolutism had evaporated to nothing by the time of its suspension from 1811 to 1825. The next "authorized" Diet (1825–27) was equally ineffectual in political terms though it did, to its merit, establish the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The same kind of "activity" characterized the Diet of 1830, which was only able to sit for four months. Fearing a revolt similar to the French, Belgian and Swiss uprisings of the time, the Court in Vienna and the Hungarian landed gentry nevertheless "found each other" once again through murky legislative dealings that had one single goal: to curtail freedom.

Still, when the 1831 uprisings broke out in Poland things were somewhat different. A national movement to help the Poles swept the country, and echos and after-effects of this movement were kept alive all the way up to the Hungarian revolution for independence in 1848. The peasants' revolt in Galicia in 1846 was only additional fuel to the fire and the Hungarians were quick to learn their lesson: you cannot start a war of independence "for city folks only", the peasants must be freed too.

One of the finest representatives of these reform era (1825–1848) aspirations in the early 1830s was Ferenc Kölcsey who, by wanting to help the Poles, also wanted to change a few things at home.

Kölcsey, who had a tragically short life (August 8, 1790 – August 24, 1838), was first and foremost a poet and writer, but is also well known as an outstanding reform politician, famous orator and one of the founders and most important figures of Hungarian criticism. Kölcsey's sympathy with the Polish cause is in harmony with his

patriotic-poetic vein and with the humanity of his character. A look at the life and work of this man should give us a clearer picture of the latter.

In contrast to other politicians of the period, he had spent the greatest part of his life in the country, on his family estate in Cseke, Szatmár county. His staying there was probably motivated by financial and family circumstances.

In his best poems, he pluckily protests against Habsburg despotism. In a poem of 1817, *Rákóczi, haj. . .* (Rákóczi, ah. . .) he commemorates Ferenc Rákóczi, leader of the early 18th century revolt against Vienna. It was also Kölcsey who wrote the first great national lyrical works in Hungary in the 1820s. At this time his poetry consisted of patriotic odes to freedom, and of lyric songs drawn partly from folk-poetry. He was at his poetic and lyrical best when Vienna suspended the Hungarian Diet in 1811 for 14 years, and "governed" by decrees. His poem *Rákos* (1821) is a passionate appeal to wake up the nation. As a result of another series of anticonstitutional Austrian moves he wrote one of his greatest, and certainly most indelible works, the *Hymnus* (Hymn) the later musicalized version of which is Hungary's national anthem, that recalls the long suffering of the Hungarian people, but hopes for a better tomorrow. . . . Written three months later, in April 1823, *Zsarnok* (Tyrant) courageously lays bare the oppressors, while the lyric dialogue *Igazság* (Truth) is probably the avant-courier of Kölcsey the politician, who will later speak out for equality before the legislation. In his ode *A szabadsághoz* (To Freedom) he yearns for the same as only a lover could for his mistress. In his *Rebellis vers* (Rebel's poem) he openly inculpates his generation: if we, the descendants, do not follow the example of the Zrínyis, the Rákóczis and the Jacobins then they have all died for nothing.

Turning towards literature, in 1826 he wrote an essay entitled *Nemzeti hagyományok* (National Traditions), a milestone in the identification of Hungarian literature at the reform-age. Its essence is that all literature should be based on historically understood traditional and even folk-poetry. His best friends at that time were Pál Szemere (1785–1851) the poet, aesthete and critic, and László Bártfay (1797–1858), a lawyer and literary patron, whose house – later a fashionable literary saloon in Pest – was also the meeting place of writers from all over the country.

Kölcsey's public life began in 1827 with his election by Szatmár county heads to deputy clerk. His reports written for county assemblies center on the problems of the people. *A szatmári adózó nép állapotáról* (The state of the common Szatmár tax payer) (1830) speaks of the poverty of the serfs, while in *A sorsvónás tárgyában* (On the Questions of Draft by Drawing Lots) he recommends the selection of soldiers by drawing lots rather than by just simply catching them and browbeating them into the army. Thus, a picture of Kölcsey the truth seeker already emerges. In the summer of 1830, as a guest of the Szemere family at Szobránc, he wrote the *Zrínyi éneke* (Zrínyi's Canto), a lyrical dialogue,<sup>2</sup> and one of the most effective displays of Kölcsey's patriotic feelings.

### Kölcsey as head of the pro-Polish movement in Szatmár county

According to the historian István Barta, it must have been Kölcsey's influence and doing that in 1830 — months before the outbreak of the rebellion in Poland! — delegates of the Diet demanded independence for Poland.<sup>3</sup> The Diet had convened on September 8th 1830, but could hardly last with such ideas, and was abruptly closed by the end of the year. Meanwhile the so-called "November uprising"<sup>4</sup> had broken out in Poland, an uprising which was nothing more than a "conservative revolution", a revolt by the nobles, but without the intention of freeing the mass of serfs.

Austria had opted for a policy of "wait and see" — they had to consider a sizable Polish population in Galicia too. On the other hand, seeing that it was a revolt by the gentry, Hungary zealously endorsed the Polish cause. The Hungarian press, although not unanimously, provided long and detailed coverage of the events. But sympathy was also expressed in other ways. Without a Diet, the county meetings had become the most important political forums. The gentry's public opinion was best expressed for posterity by a writer named, Sándor Ujfalvi (1782—1866): "By sympathizing with the Polish cause the Hungarian nation has relived her own ideal revolution (. . .), the poet, the politician, the county judge had been complacent, for until then independence had been something unattainable to them."<sup>5</sup>

One of the initiators of the pro-Polish sentiments was Bars county. On May 3, 1831 their General Assembly addressed a petition to the King, and sent copies to the other Hungarian county-meetings. The address cited the common past of Hungary and Poland, Sobieski's victory in Vienna in 1683 and Poland's position as one of the main strongholds against the Russian Empire. Hence, they asked the King to discuss the matter with representatives of the Hungarian nation during the next special session of the Diet on the Polish question consult. By the summer of 1831 a total of 33 counties sent similar notes to the King.<sup>6</sup>

Kölcsey's county, Szatmár, held its General Assembly on June 13, 1831. Items on the agenda, in order of importance, were: (1) The grievances of the gentry; (2—3) The Polish question; (4) The reunification of Hungary and Transylvania; (5) To make Buda the residence of the Diet; and (6) The right to use the Hungarian language in public life. Thus it is obvious that the Polish question took precedence over a number of important Hungarian national issues.

The motion on the Polish question was of course drafted by deputy clerk Kölcsey. This text is important, for he was to repeat many of its arguments in his later speeches (e.g. in those of the 20th and 23rd November, 1833). In essence it charted the course to be taken by Hungarians in three areas: (1) the collection of money, linen, lints and crops for the Poles until the end of July; (2) petition to the King; and (3) an answer to Bars county's call.

For us, of course, the most interesting is the *Pro Memoria* written by Kölcsey to the King.

"May Your Imperial and Royal Majesty be humbly asked to kindly patronize the

Polish nation, which is not only our neighbour, but is connected with Hungary by many kinships and a common past, and which has been a retreat for uncounted ostracized Hungarians for centuries; which has graciously accepted our Kings and had given us Kings; which heroically saved Vienna, meaning at the time the salvation of Christianity and of ourselves, and which is a natural bastion against the wanton expansionism of the Russian rulers. Please do not permit Poland to be oppressed by force as she fights for the civil rights guaranteed by Your Majesty in 1814; do not permit her to succumb in a war that — in the full view of Europe and in a century that extols humanity — may well mean their end. Your advocacy could save this endangered nation. We also beg you to free the Polish soldiers who, fleeing the Russians, have been apprehended in your Majesty's territories, as well as to consider sending home the officers of Russian-Polish origin who now serve under Your Majesty's flag."

Offended in their dignity, the Szatmár officials put on record the fact that they had taken a stand in the Polish question long before reading the rousing letter from Bars, and had already "asked for the interference of our Emperor", and had also taken up collections "to the utmost of our ability." They informed Bars county of this, "if only to demonstrate that there are others too who bear similarly human and fraternal instincts in their hearts"<sup>7</sup>.

Another, somewhat more detailed, petition in Latin had also been sent to the King. This was also Kölcsey's doing and bears the same date as the work mentioned above. The most important links in its chain of ideas went something like this: a good neighbour fights for her freedom. The Poles have helped the sons of the Árpád dynasty as well as other Hungarians in the course of history. They had consented to the reign of Hungarian kings several times and had also given kings to Hungary. The Poles rescued Vienna from the Turks, and are a natural buffer zone against the Russian giant.

But the petition also considers the present. "We should not stand by the devastation of the country of our brothers and sisters. . ." It is obvious that "they only want to uphold the laws and rights guaranteed also by Your Majesty in 1814." The Szatmár nobles were also aware of the looming Russian Bear, "who has been growing more menacing by the day, especially since the premature partition of Poland." On the other hand, if the Poles were not backed soon, Hungary might also be attacked (by Russia). As to small countries having already won their freedom, they cite the Belgian example. They repeat over and over again: "Poland can be the stronghold of Europe". The Szatmarians also ask for the discharge of the Polish soldiers captured in Hungary and of the officers of Polish origin serving in the monarchical army, stating benevolently: "it would be a consolation for them to die at least among their relatives, while defending their own country"<sup>8</sup>.

As always, Kölcsey informed his best friends of his political steps. In a letter to László Bárfay on July 2nd, he wrote that Bárfay could read "the proposals on Poland that had been sent to the Palatine".\*<sup>9</sup> Kölcsey also became a member of a

\**Palatine* the highest administrative official in feudal Hungary before 1848.

committee nominated by Szatmár county General Assembly. The committee's task was to establish a relief fund to help the poor in Poland as well as to try to influence the Polish economy in keeping prices down. (Other distinguished members of the committee included Baron Miklós Wesselényi, the outstanding politician and publicist of the reform era, and Mihály Eötvös who later became a representative of Szatmár county in the national Diet). The proposals of the committee were once again drafted by Kölcsey.<sup>10</sup> As deputy clerk of Szatmár county, he informed Bárfay that "this county fund has become the foundation stone of a new Poland (for there is no such a thing at the moment), which would supply the poor with cheap food in hard times".<sup>11</sup> The amount of about 5000 forints was going to be sent to the Polish revolutionaries by Count György Károlyi.<sup>12</sup> After the suppression of the Polish revolution, Vienna began to reprimand the counties that had wanted to help the Poles. The Court also rejected the argument about the Russian threat, not to mention the "Belgian example", and the 1815 Vienna agreement on constitutional guarantees.<sup>13</sup> The political lessons of the years 1830–31 are aptly drawn in the final lines of Kölcsey's epigram, *Huszt*:

És mond: Honfi mit ér epedő kebel e' romok' ormán?  
 Régi kor' árnya felé visszamerengni mit ér?  
 Messze jövendővel komolyan vess össze jelenkort:  
 Hass, alkoss, gyarapíts; 's a' haza fényre derül!"<sup>14</sup>

("And tell me, my compatriots: what's the use to cry over ruins?  
 What is the use of musing back to the shadows of bygone worlds?  
 Measure seriously instead the present with yonder future:  
 Affect, create, enrich; and our homeland will prosper!")

#### Setting the stage for the debate on Poland in the Diet of 1832–36

During preparations for the 1832–36 sessions of the Diet, the 13th point of the Szatmár county delegates stated: "The King's answer to the Polish question should be urged, for it has been listed as a national grievance for a year".<sup>15</sup> County representatives were Ferenc Kölcsey as first delegate, and Mihály Eötvös. The poet and politician Kölcsey's goals are well known: a free and united Hungarian nation.<sup>16</sup> Elected to be delegate on November 6, 1832, he arrived in Pozsony where he would record his impressions in a diary closing with the date August 19, 1833. The quotations from this diary serve to demonstrate that Kölcsey was much more moderate and realistic than some of the more irascible delegates.

On one of the so called regional assemblies on December 28 (preparatory meetings of the Danube and Tisza districts), several delegates, like János Balogh of Bars, Imre Pécsi of Sáros, and László Pálóczy of Borsod counties, suggested to debate the Polish

question, especially since his Majesty had failed to respond.<sup>17</sup> Chief delegate Zoltán Dókus promised to collect and submit the grievances once again.<sup>18</sup>

During the debate the Borsod delegate, Pálóczy, claimed that the 30 000 odd Hungarian gentries of his county "are ready for all sacrifices, if only summoned legally".<sup>19</sup> Kőlcsey well knew what such proclamations really meant. His bitter diary remark reads: "... those 30 000 nobles from Borsod offered by Pálóczy and the other 700 000 we have in the country will make a very small army once words are translated into deeds. . . We don't know one another well enough, my friends! Just seeing a bare chest doesn't mean that there is also a heart in it".<sup>20</sup>

Kőlcsey's Diet Diary also deals with two texts concerning Polish emigration. One of them was addressed to count Borsiczky, Lord Lieutenant of Trencsén county, the other to the Hungarian nation and the Diet in Latin and Hungarian. This latter was read by Siskovics, the delegate of Baranya county, on the 11th of January, 1833. In reply, the Poles expressed ardent gratitude for the Hungarian's compassion, and asked for further support. Kőlcsey's clear-sightedness is reflected in his diary note of the same day: "Men of the scuttled country; we bear your sufferings in our hearts; we shall deliver daring, shiny speeches in your favour; we shall even address favour; we shall even address His Majesty for sympathy; and what can be gained from all this if Louis Philippe of France and his people have let you down; and if in Wilson's country (i.e. in England) not a single man has taken to arms, what could be expected of our nation that buckles its sword only at parades and even then without foundation."<sup>21</sup> Palatine Joseph had heard of the affair, but enjoying an annuity (for his deceased second wife, Alexandra Pavlovna) from the Czar he had to avoid the calamities of presiding over a session that would patronize the Poles. So he simply summoned Borsiczky (20th January) and asked for the text of the Polish call.<sup>22</sup>

The regional meeting on January 22nd decided to postpone the Polish question.<sup>23</sup> It was not before June 26 that the subject came up again. Kőlcsey doesn't fail to comment on the Polish text in question that wasn't returned by the Palatine. On the other hand, on June 26 it was decided that another, "properly worded" memorandum should be submitted. Once prepared the document was read the grievance committee on June 28th,<sup>24</sup> then a few days later, on July 1st studied at a session of the Upper House.<sup>25</sup>

By then Kőlcsey's speeches dealt with other important issues of internal policy, such as the right of officially using the Hungarian language, and the freedom of religions. It was at this time that he wrote his masterly patriotic epigram, *Emléklapra* (On a memorial leaf).

Négy szócskát üzenek, vésd jól kebeledbe, 's fiadnak  
Hagyd örökül, ha kihunysz: A HAZA MINDEN ELŐTT.<sup>26</sup>

("I send but four small words, engrave them in your hearts  
And bequeath them to your sons: YOUR NATION COMES FIRST."<sup>27</sup>)

Kölcsey was not physically strong and his frail health was weakened by the constant bickerings with Vienna and the conservative nobles. But he gained new strength from the struggle and grit of the Poles in difficult times<sup>27</sup>. On July 13th he wrote in his diary: "As far as I am concerned: I am shaken by the vicissitudes of the past days, and my swan song was chanted amongst the phenomena of hot fever. But what happened is nothing compared to Poland's fate. These heroes have withstood many more far graver things. And is it a consolation? Or is any hope for their resurrection still cherished? If there is, then our cause may not be lost either. Well done, my dear friends! He who hopes, also believes; and he who believes will find salvation! At least so it is written in the Holy Scripture."<sup>28</sup>

With August 19th, however, Kölcsey's Diet Diary ends, and thereafter his views on the Polish question can not be traced as authentically as before. He even leaves Pozsony, the seat of the Diet for a while, only to find rest and refuge in the house of his literary and political friend, Bártfay (whose wife is of Polish origin; one of their frequent guests is Dzwonkowski, Károlyi's librarian. . .). On September 9th Szatmár county issues an official recognition of Kölcsey's services as a delegate. He is still resting, but not his poetic pen. On October 7th he writes his poem *Hős* (Hero), obviously on Poland.

Védni menj el engem' és hazád!  
Hősnek a' hölgy mond és kardot át;  
Győzve térj meg,  
Bucsut így sohajta,  
S véled e' kard,  
'S ellen' vére rajta!

Hős elindul, lángban kebele  
'S fölpirul rá bús harcz' reggele,  
Vág, de sebjen  
Ömlik drága vére,  
Győz, de halva  
Hull vert ellenére.

Mécsvilágnál gyöngé hölgy mit vár?  
Nap megy és jön, ő nem vissza már!  
Karddal együtt,  
Mellyet fog kezébe,  
Csöndes estvén  
Néma sir földé be.

Hős, aludjál! dombod' hantja zöld,  
Könnyel ázva nyugtat honni föld;  
Érted áldást  
Hü kebel sohajta;  
Véled a' kard,  
'S ellen' vére rajta.<sup>29</sup>

("Go defend me and our country!  
The lady says while handing him a sword;  
And return with victories,  
So she moans good bye.  
You have your sword,  
and have the enemy's blood on it!

The hero starts burning for combat,  
The dawn looks down at bitter fighting,  
It is the end, his blood is spilt,  
And though he conquers,  
He collapses dead  
Right on the enemy.

At candle-light the lady waits, for whom?  
Days go and come, only he returns nevermore!  
His sword is kept  
Still in his hand  
Buried in a grave  
On a quiet evening. . .

Sleep hero! Your grave is green of grass  
Wetted by patriotic tears  
A true heart sighs a  
Blessing for your soul;  
You have your sword  
And your enemy's blood on it.")

Still somewhat of a riddle to philologists working on Kölcsey, the *Hero* offers evidence of the early pro-Polish demonstrations, and although it is not of great aesthetic significance (apart from the personality of its author) it is nevertheless an important work. It is a pro-Polish poem, even if its message is somewhat hidden. The poem is probably a direct result of Kölcsey's considerable experience with the Poles in the preceding months. He made some allusions to Polish heroes while he was sick; the solitude at Cseke proved to be favorable to the maturation of the poem. Each stanza corresponds with a phase of the events: the lady's farewell the hero's battle and death, the grief, are all followed by the poet's resigned epilogue. The lines with 9-9-4-6-4-6 syllables (in Hungarian) are marked off by double rhymes, only to be continued by alternate ones. The artistic effect is enhanced by the repetition of the last two lines of the first stanza.

The Polonophile mood was also expressed by other poets of the 1830s. To demonstrate this fact, there is a string of related pieces such as József Bajza's *Vitéz búcsúdala*<sup>30</sup> (Hero's Farewell song); Ignác Bustavi-Kunos's *Dallok*<sup>31</sup> (Songs); Károly Vaskapui Kapuy's *Az elesett lengyel vitézek emléke*<sup>32</sup> For the Memory of Fallen Polish Heroes); József Szabó, *A csalogány és a vándor lengyel*<sup>33</sup> (The Nightingale and the Wandering Pole); Könnnyvirág gróf Plater Emilia sirhalmára<sup>34</sup> (Flowers of Tears on Countess Emilia Plater's Grave); *Felkelési táboral*<sup>35</sup> (Revolutionary Field Song); then



somewhat later Mihály Vörösmarty's *Egy kibújdosott' végóhajtása*<sup>36</sup> (The Fugitive's Dying Wish). These are the early fruits, the masterpieces are yet to come from 1834–35, with József Bajza's *Apotheosis* and Vörösmarty's pro-Polish poems.

Though feeling spent, the recluse of Cseke never lost hope; in fact he prepared further contributions to the Diet on the Polish cause. By the beginning of November Kölcsey was back in Pozsony.

### The Polish question before the Diet of 1832–36

It was only on November 20th, 1830 that the regional meeting (the pre-Diet meeting of the two Danube- and Tisza-districts) dealt with constitutional grievances. Bars county delegate János Balogh cited the Polish question as an example of the grievances, since the counties' call of 1831 had been left unanswered by the King. He reminded the Estates that: "the suppression of a free nation in the neighbourhood might endanger our own freedom"... that is "one of the chief guarantees of the constitution of a free nation (i.e. the Hungarian nation) is the maintenance of the freedom of the neighbouring nation"...<sup>37</sup>

The chairman of the meeting Zmeskál, remarked here that the motion was already before the Grievance Committee, and that as the same thing could not be demanded through two different channels, Balogh's motion should be waived.<sup>38</sup> In fact, the Grievance Committee had been considering these and other questions since June 19, 1832.

It was at this critical moment that the author of the *Hymnus* demanded the floor, although, as we know from his Diary, he did not have much hope. Acting in the spirit of his county's directives, he clearly saw the importance of the matter: "Europe is watching our deeds."<sup>39</sup> Unable to participate in their struggle as Byron had done in the Greek revolution, we only made collections and called for the King's help... Vainly we cried out and did not succeed; the nation that had worthily been named, together with ourselves, as the bastion of Christianity for centuries, without which the towers of Vienna would have been ruined and her palaces deserted like those of King Matthias Corvinus' salles in Buda Castle — that nation has been beaten down by mighty hands and in full view of the whole world. This was the nation by the partition of which the Russian Czarine Catharine the far-reaching, plunged a dagger into the heart of Europe itself, and the wound, if not cured, might cause universal death. That was the nation\* that, through long lasting sufferings achieved, if only partly, a free constitution and in defending it is now completely deprived of it, totally dehumanized."<sup>40</sup> Then he expounded the moral and national reasoning of his speech: "What were we, honorable Estates and Orders, if we stood by indifferently during the fall of those who, at their graves, look at us with hope and trust? Whose civil lives were ended by their

\*i.e. The Warsaw Grand Duchy, founded after the Napoleon Wars in 1807, and the Congressional Kingdom following the Vienna Congress in 1814–15.

expression of gratitude to us, and whose remnants in exile are still begging for our sympathy? What were we, if even the last rattle of their trodden-down liberty could not wake us from our apathy, and we did not raise our voice in a case that affects us so closely and in so many ways?" He concluded his speech by stressing that the King should be called: "What was refused to certain counties should now be done on the unified wish of the nation, ways are to be found to repair the injustice against the Poles".<sup>41</sup>

Kölcsey's speech was followed by several sympathetic ones, not one of which merely repeated the above reasoning. Bihar county delegate, Beöthy pointed out that the main source of the disaster had been Constantin, the Grand Duke, whose anti-constitutional deeds led to desperate Polish actions as a consequence of which "Warsaw is fallen and a better future for a civilized Europe is lost with her". A quick show of hands after the debate revealed that the majority of the representatives wished to add the Polish question to the problems laying before the Grievance Committee.<sup>42</sup>

On the national meeting of November 23rd, in the course of grievance lists, it was again Bars delegate János Balogh who initiated a debate on the Polish issue. At the end of his speech he proposed to humbly ask His Majesty: "our crowned head would graciously help by diplomatic means the resurrection of the Polish nation that had been rubbed out of the wing of nations".<sup>43</sup>

Session Chairman Pongrác Somsich expressed his hopes that while discussing the prosperity of their own country, they wouldn't be dealing with "external affairs". He called for the rejection of Balogh's motion. But the unshaken pro-Polish representatives lined up one by one, with László Pálóczi, Tamás Eötvös, Antal Szirmay and others speaking out. Pálóczy called attention to the need for the security of the Hungarian frontiers. "From Olmütz to Zimony, the borders of the Austrian Realm are pushed by the Northern Colossus without any protective dam."<sup>44</sup>

Kölcsey came next, emphasizing that the cause the counties stood for in the spring and summer of 1831, should be continued at the level of the Diet, and the monarch should be asked to intervene in the favour of the Poles. "We owe them this, but we owe it to ourselves too. For it can hardly be kept secret that we are also threatened when, at our borders, a free civil constitution is suppressed, whilst the Northern power continues to expand around us.

The fact that the result of the petition could not be foreseen, "was not a reason for keeping silent, and nor is the fact that a mighty European people did not speak up as strongly and effectively as they should have. If they kept silent, it is our nation that has to speak up! Maybe seeing a weak people of not very advantageous status act as they ought to, might be a little spark to generate in their hearts a flame of benefit. Anyhow, it won't be useless to let our feelings and worries be known to our Monarch." Kölcsey then switches to the brave criticism of the government as yet unheard of: "It is well known that those sitting in the cabinet-council rarely see or show things in the light of reality. And the Austrian ministry certainly has not been searching for clear insights since the very beginning of the Polish case." Kölcsey's speech was the first to imply criticism on the foreign policy of the Austrian Monarchy.

This criticism hit right on the touchiest of all international questions, that of the Russian danger. He also dwelled upon the spreading of the Russian Empire since Peter the First, but added that "nowadays it is considered bad manners in high political circles to talk about this, for ministerial people follow a different code of thinking and practice from that of us common people".

Then Kölcsey compared two contradicting facts: the acknowledgement of the freedom of Belgium and the oppression of Poland. Although he knew well that the Estates would hardly convert the ministries, the call of the Hungarian people to the King remembering the 17th century events should not go without notice. "We are praying for our broken neighbour, for the one that in her better ages had defended Vienna and the glory of the Austrian House. And what a contrast, honorable Estates of Realm! Behold, the people that once stood up as a liberator, is now trampled upon and deprived of her freedom; her best men are squandered all over Europe without a fatherland or anything that could make life desirable, that could offer solace at passing away! I've seen one Pole who, seeking refuge in our country, brought with him a handful of Polish soil, and kept it throughout his wandering until he died in his friends' arms at Oporto, as Don Pedro's soldier. The soil was thrown on his closed eyelids by his friend who said: "He is happy at last resting under Polish soil, he won't feel misfortune any more, while his comrades are roaming in the wild Asian deserts, or are knocking on doors in Europe, and accepting the alms of the compassionate, or the hard words of the insensitive with bleeding hearts."

After this recital of the Polish fate, Kölcsey eloquently reminds his fellow delegates of the numerous connections between the two countries and of the times when Hungarians fleeing persecution found asylum in Poland: "Your Estates, look upon the history of the past five centuries! You'll see how many times the Poles had opened their true hearts and gates for Magyars in exile! How many of our forefathers settled down there and gave children to their new country! — And behold, those Poles of Hungarian descent have been bleeding for freedom, have been dragged to the Asian deserts or are leading fugitive lives without comfort abroad together with their Polish brothers!"

It was this intense compassion for the Poles that led him to appeal pathetically to the conscience of his fellow delegates, to bring them into action: "On behalf of humanity tortured to despair, of killed constitutional freedom, of oppressed human rights you are called, Honorable Estates, open your hearts for sympathy, and don't delay to take this small and easy step for those miserable fellows!"<sup>45</sup>

The Diet heard a poet of deep feelings and a politician of far sight. Endre Kovács wrote: "This Diet shows Kölcsey 'fully armed' ethically as well as politically. Piercing irony, rational historical analysis, empathy to other people's fate, mockery and pathos, cool contempt for the reactionary political machinations, and his flowing patriotism are unified in this short but meaningful manifestation, to which hardly any greater monument of the common Hungarian-Polish lot was ever produced by any of us".<sup>46</sup>

In spite of this fiery oratory, however, the majority of the delegates wanted to postpone or even discard the Polish question. It was proposed that more urgent

domestic problems should be debated instead. It was also said that their support for Poland would be no more than a formal demonstration.

Certainly Kölcsey had done his best for the Poles during this Diet. He sent the texts of his speeches to his closest friends. Besides wanting to inform them, he also looked forward to their well deserved appreciation. László Bártfay and Pál Szemere were among the first to receive his letters on November 25th. On the 5th December Bártfay is addressed again: "The Polish cause is lost, just like it had been in London and Paris. Have you received my two speeches? Greetings to that straight and indigent man at your table (Dzwonkowski – I. Cs.), make clear to him what I have said in their support. . . sorry that they were only words!"<sup>47</sup> Kölcsey's fine sense of tact is shown here; he offers explanations to a Pole he has only known briefly. . . He is equally exasperated in his letter of 5th December to Zsigmond Kende: ". . . we wanted to gain support for that poor nation but failed."<sup>48</sup> But the Polish question comes up again in the report of Szatmár county delegates Kölcsey and Mihály Eötvös on the 22nd November and 30th December sessions. They emphasize that even if the issue didn't gain majority now, "most of the people in the country want to put the issue, amongst the grievances, before the King in due course".<sup>49</sup>

### Echoes

The Polish question remains Kölcsey's favourite subject throughout this session of the Diet, if only to point out its moral lessons to his countrymen.

On the 11th, 20th and 22nd of May 1833 presidential letters were sent to the deputy prefect of counties adjacent to Poland, instructing them to arrest Polish refugees and deport them to Galicia. Ung county delegate, Bernáth, informed the Diet on September 9, 1834 that after the cases of those who had struggled for the Polish constitution had been decided, their peaceful homes were harrassed in search for people in exile.

In the ensuing debate Kölcsey refers to the "extradition agreements by certain heads of state" (i.e. the Münchengraetz accord between Austria and Russia in September 19, 1833), which considered the act by the Poles a deadly sin, albeit the rest of Europe did not. They are innocent indeed. . . for it had been their duty to defend their constitutional rights; this sense of duty made them ready to win or die (. . .) And now behold, Europe has become a prison to them, they are everywhere wanted by bailiffs, and even in Hungary they are hunting them down because of some presidential orders devised by our own elected officials." At this time Kölcsey also asks for an address in the case.

Once again Kölcsey was not left alone. Among others, delegate Somsich bemoaned the fact that "there actually are some shameless people who carry out the presidential orders."<sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, it is Kölcsey himself who blames some negative aspects of the Polish past, such as the dilemma of the *liberum veto*. On the 23rd of October, 1834, in

his speech on cleared woodlands he states: "One cannot take all of it away from the serfs", that the law should be clear on this, "free of juridical counterplots. . ." It is also interesting to note his lucubrations on freedom: "The basis of freedom is to have a majority. What the majority accepts as adequate to the interests of the whole cannot be sacrificed to the independent opinion of certain people. If individuals are given the right of veto that would be the grave of the constitution as was shown by the lamentable failure of our Polish neighbours."<sup>5 1</sup>

These comments were his last ones on the Polish question which he was able to touch upon and present in an open forum.<sup>5 2</sup>

Government propaganda depicted him and other liberal delegates as subversives, who were digging the grave of the eight century long constitution of the nobles. Szatmár county also turned away from the liberal reforms, Prefect Vécsey and subprefect Uray were the government's men. One of the additional instructions sent to the delegates at Pozsony on November 4th was to drop the problem of "fee simph", so important to the peasants living as serfs.

The poet-politician Kölcsey made another endeavor by returning to Szatmár county seat, Nagykaroly. But he was unable to turn back the wheels of the local political machinery, and saw no other alternative but to resign his seat in Pozsony and say farewell to his fellow-delegates.

In his parting speech he expressed his convictions once more: "Let's give higher standards to the tax paying people, fix land tenure once and for all (. . .) It's high time for both (. . .) Fatherland and progress have been and should remain our slogan."<sup>5 3</sup>

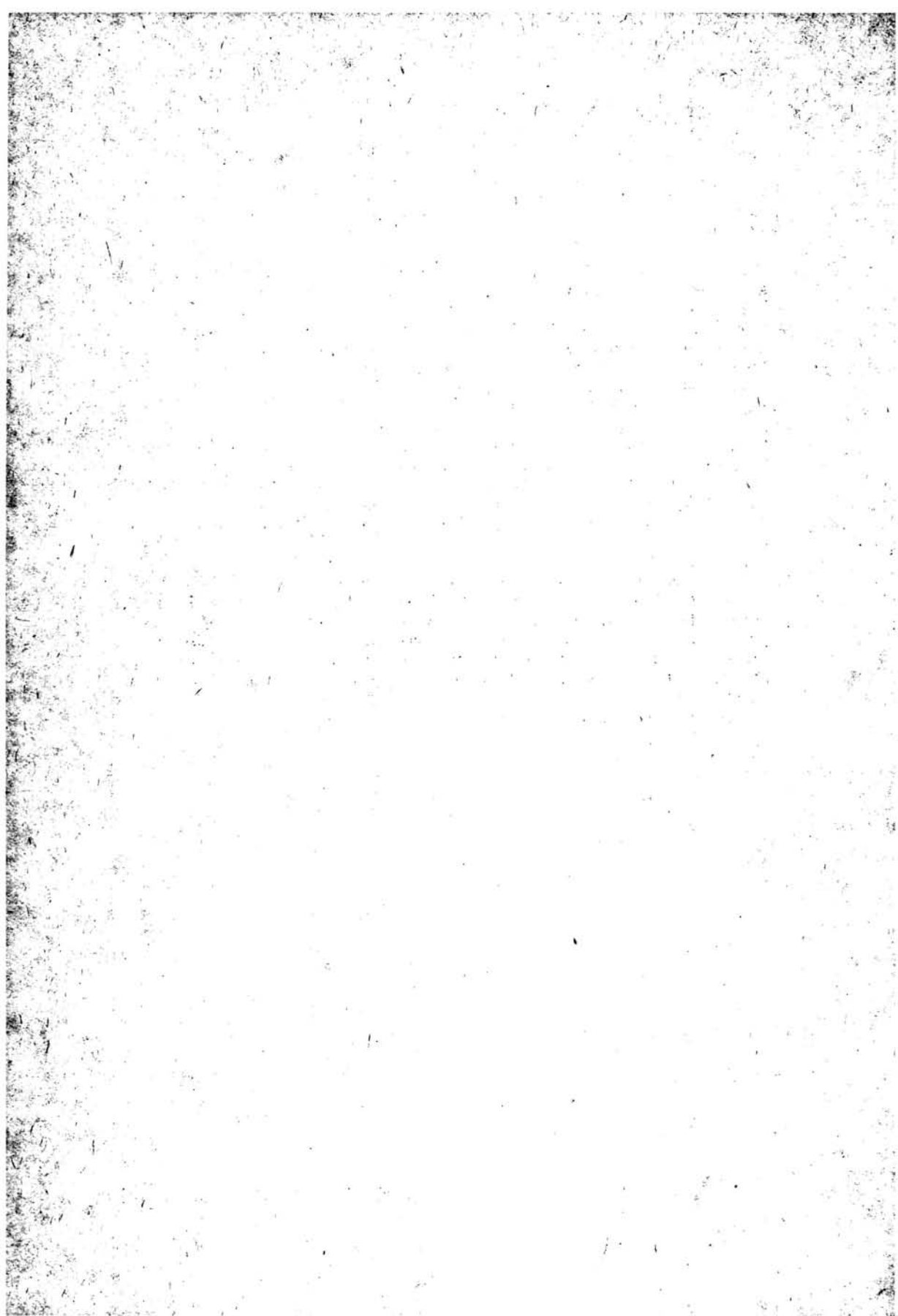
And in this motto he included everything he fought for: his worries about the fate of the Polish neighbours', his speeches on their behalf, his solidarity. . . for to him the question of the existence of a Poland next to Hungary had never been a matter of indifference.

#### Notes

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3. Barta, István (ed.): *Szatmár megye közgyűléseinek jegyzőkönyve 1830* (The minute book of the Szatmár Country Assembly 1830). 1914.; "Kölcsey politikai pályakezdete" (The start of Kölcsey' political career) *Századok* vol. 1959, 2-4, p. 273.
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- The Polish Review, 1977, 1, pp. 3–177; Csapláros, István: "Der Widerhall der Polenbegeisterung österreichischer und deutscher Dichter in der ungarischen Literatur im Zeitalter der Romantik" *Germanica Wratislaviensia*, vol. XXXIV. 1978, pp. 163–178. Also "Der Widerhall der Polenbegeisterung. . . im Zeitalter der Reformen (1825–1848) und des Freiheitskampfes (1848–1849)" *ibid.* vol. XLV. 1981, pp. 31–41.
5. Ujfalvy, Sándor: *Emlékiratai* (Memoirs). /Kolozsvár, 1941/ p. 333. Quoted after Kovács, Endre: *A lengyel kérdés. . .* (The Polish question. . .) p. 87.
  6. Kovács, Endre: *A lengyel kérdés. . .* (The Polish question. . .) pp. 87–89.
  7. Kölcsey, Ferenc: *Összes művei* (Collected works) /Budapest, 1960/ vol. III. pp. 393–394.
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  16. Szauder, József: *Kölcsey Ferenc* (Budapest, 1955) p. 174.
  17. Kossuth, Lajos: *Országgyűlési tudóstársok* (Reports from Parliament) (Budapest, 1948) vol. I. pp. 41–43, 50–52.
  18. *ibid.* p. 52.
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  21. *ibid.* pp. 65–66.
  22. *ibid.* pp. 94–95. *Adres tułaczów polskich w Paryżu bawiących do Sejmu węgierskiego* (Paryż, 1832) XII. 16. Signed by Leleweł etc.
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  26. Kölcsey, Ferenc: *Minden munkái* (Collected works) vol. I. p. 145.
  27. Kovács, Endre: *A lengyel kérdés. . .* (The Polish question. . .) p. 163.
  28. Kölcsey, Ferenc: *Országgyűlési napló. . .* (Parliamentary diary. . .) p. 324.
  29. Kölcsey, Ferenc: *Minden munkái* (Collected works) vol. I. pp. 146–147.
  30. *Aurora* (1832) p. 187.
  31. *Koszorú* (1832) p. 64.
  32. *Sas* (1832) vol. XII. p. 70.
  33. *Társalkodó* (approx. Dialogue) July 21, 1832, p. 227.
  34. *Sas* (1833) vol. XIII. p. 111.
  35. *Sas* (1833) vol. XIV. p. 118.
  36. *Aurora* (1834) p. 311.
  37. Kossuth, Lajos: *Országgyűlési Tudóstársok* (Reports from Parliament) vol. II. pp. 401–402.
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41. *ibid.* 347.
42. Kossuth, Lajos: *Országgyűlési Tudósítások* (Reports from Parliament) vol. II. pp. 404–410 and Kovács, Endre: *A lengyel kérdés*. . . (The Polish question. . .) pp. 165–166.
43. *ibid.* 416–418.
44. Kossuth, Lajos: *Országgyűlési Tudósítások* (Reports from Parliament) vol. II. p. 425.
45. *A lengyel ügyben*. (On the questions of Poland) November 23, 1833. Parliament in session. In: *Szemere-tár* (Szemere collection), vol. 13. pp. 81, 337–340.
46. Kovács, Endre: *A lengyel kérdés*. . . (The Polish question. . .) p. 171.
47. Kölcsey, Ferenc: *Levelezése* (Letters) pp. 602–603.
48. *ibid.*
49. Unpublished manuscript signed by Kölcsey, in: Szabolcs-Szatmár County Archives, Nyíregyháza. In: *Megyei Közgyűlési jegyzőkönyv, 1834. február 3, 6. könyv* (Minute book of the County Assembly, February 3, 1834, Book No. 6.). Kölcsey, Ferenc: *Összes művei* (Collected works) /Budapest, 1960/ vol. II. pp. 247–248.
50. Kossuth, Lajos: *Országgyűlési tudósítások* (Reports from Parliament) vol. III. /Budapest, 1949/ pp. 492–501.
51. Kölcsey, Ferenc: *Összes művei* (Collected works) /Budapest, 1960/ vol. II. p. 151.
52. The Polish question – by now without Kölcsey – came up twice more in Parliament. First on 2nd April 1835, when it was decided that the Polish problem will be put before the Emperor (Kossuth, Lajos: *Országgyűlési Tudósítások* (Reports from Parliament) vol. IV. pp. 314–319.). The second occasion was in March 1836, when Ödön Beöthy, István Bezerédy and Gábor Klauzál representatives protested against the invasion of Cracow by Hungarian soldiers (*ibid.* vol. V. /Budapest, 1961/ pp. 539, 582, 590.) Kölcsey, ex-representative of Szatmár County did not attend these sessions.
53. Szauder, József: *Kölcsey Ferenc* pp. 223–225.





## NOTES ON THE LYRICAL POETRY OF JÁNOS ARANY 1848–1849

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1. Two types of confusion tend to foreclose the possibility of a detailed reading of Arany's literary/political productions of 1848–49. Firstly they may be marginalized as significant only to the poet's *life work* – usually to corroborate delineations of a valorized post-Világos Arany – and secondly they may become the objects of a polemic surrounding the poet's *reputation*. In the first case it is necessary to remember that a "complete works" is always a precariously synthetic unity, affording a comparative context never more than partly accessible to the writer himself. When the author is overvalued as a received category, criticism approaches a form of biography in which individual texts and their proper conditions of production are displaced by a preoccupation with *character* and *intention*. In the second case, character and intention themselves become the objects of a polemic in which conflicting aspects of the author's work are adduced to refute, modify or retrieve given formulations of his place in the broader literary canon: here criticism is primarily concerned with the writing of its own history. While there is no question of ignoring this polemic – which constitutes a significant part of the texts' material life in history – nor of neglecting continuities and discontinuities in Arany's poetic career, the main aim of these notes will be to offer an analysis of his lyric poetry of 1848–49, which appears to have suffered unduly from critical neglect.

2. We may identify a coherent poetic discourse in the revolutionary years 1848–49; a system of meanings upon which each individual utterance draws, but which none in itself may be said to have brought into being. These notes aim to show Arany's distinctive and problematic relation to such meanings.

This discourse of revolution is constituted around certain key interdependent values, which form the material foundations of most of the period's popular poetry, identifying and locating specific productions within a known system. Such values include „szabadság” (liberty), „haza” (homeland), „vér” (blood), „ősapáink” (our forefathers), „Rákóczi” . . . etc. It is crucial to recognize that these do not necessarily signify by proposing a referent in the „world of objects”, but more precisely by internal, complementary reference – the denotation of their own system. Thus Rákóczi, rather than primarily denoting a specific historical figure – reluctant patriot, poor speaker of Hungarian – implicates other values in the system, such as „szabadság” and „ősapáink”. For Petőfi he is „Hazánk szentje, szabadság vezére” (The saint of

our homeland, the leader of liberty – *Rákóczi*), for Lisznyai „Szabadság és testvériség volt forradalmi jelszava” (Liberty and fraternity were his revolutionary watchwords – *Rákóczi és Brankovics*). Each value, above all else, implicates and pays homage to the network of meanings which authorize its presence in the text. Even „isten” (God) is modulated by the discourse of revolutionary national identity as „a magyarok istene” (The God of the Magyars) or „a szent szabadság” (sacred liberty). Not only are these values characterized by a potential interchangeability – „Ha vér vagy oh szabadság” (If you are blood, oh liberty) in Csomaközy’s updating of the rhetoric of *Fa leszek* – their lateral relation also displaces the concrete with the ideological; they are above all signs of unity and shared belief. Thus in Petőfi „vér” joins contemporary tasks with the heroism of the past: „Régi jó magyar vér” (Good ancient Magyar blood – *Lenkei százada*), „Magyar vér szerezte e dicső hazát” (Magyar blood won us this glorious homeland – *A magyar nép*), while in Czuczor „Oh drága véreim” (Oh, dear kinsmen of my blood – *Riadó*), or Garay

Fel hát magyar nép a szabadságra,  
Fel testünk teste, vérünk vére, nép.

(*Szabaddá lettél. . .*)

(Arise then Magyars to liberty; arise people, body of our body and blood of our blood.)

blood signifies a unity of brotherhood of the present.

3. Literary statistics are, like any other, to be treated with caution, but no reading of the period could fail to recognize the ubiquity of the word „szabadság”. It appears fifteen times in Petőfi’s lyrics between 15 March and the end of April 1848 (in contrast to five instances of „vér”), while at the other end of the rhetorical spectrum, even Pál Gyulai has „szabadság” three times in the three short stanzas of *Szabad sajtó*, and the opening poem of *Nép Barátja* (The People’s Friend), Czuczor’s *Beköszöntő* has „szabad” and „szabadság” fourteen times in its first eleven lines. Such figures are quite typical of contemporary poets from Károly Szász to Hiador (Pál Jámbor), from János Vajda to László Szelestey – the most interesting exception being Arany. In all his lyrics of 1848, Arany has only five instances of „szabadság” against twenty-one of „vér”. These figures, indicating the quantitative inverse of a poet like Petőfi, will also be seen to constitute crucial qualitative distinctions.

4. It is customary to consider Arany’s seven poetic contributions to *Nép Barátja* as hardly more than expressions of that paper’s editorial policy, or at best as „period pieces” more characteristic of their time than of Arany’s literary authenticity. Thus Dezső Keresztury claims that these poems:

mind tárgyban, mind modorban szorosán a cikkekhez kapcsolódnak. Ugyanúgy követik az eseményeket; velük együtt élesedő hangon szólnak.

(are both in object and in style closely related to the articles. They follow the events in the same way as the articles and join them in employing ever sharper tones.)

and later:

Ilyen verseket akkor minden, a forradalom igazságát valló, céljaival egyetértő s a szabadságharc felelősségéből, küzdelmeiből részt vállaló költő írt: Vörösmarty, Czuczor, Garay, Erdélyi, Vajda s még annyian mások.<sup>1</sup>

(At that time poems like these were written by all those poets who believed the revolution to be justified and agreed with its aims, and who took a share in the responsibilities and struggles of the War of Independence: Vörösmarty, Czuczor, Garay, Erdélyi, Vajda and so many others.)

A comparison of Arany's contributions with the poems which precede them in *Nép Barátja* will show that this collapse of poetry into a metalanguage of intentions and beliefs obscures or ignores Arany's distinctive and troubled poetic position. Arany's *Nép Barátja* poems differ decisively from the contributions of Czuczor, Vajda, Garay and Székács which precede them, and it is their specificity which resists such a metalanguage.

The first poem of *Nép Barátja*, Czuczor's *Beköszöntő* (4 June 1848), apart from its general representation of the key values of the period's popular discourse, comes far closer to journalism than Arany in the line „Földiim, köszöntlek, s figyelmet kérek.” (I greet you my countrymen, and beg your attention). Czuczor also formulates a key sentiment of the paper's policy – later to be developed by Arany in his article *Segítsünk a hazán* – in the phrase „Köz anyánk a haza” (The homeland is our common mother). Similarly, Vajda's *Adjon Isten* (NB 11 June 1848) employs Gereben Vas's notorious rhetoric, „Én édes atyámfiak szólnék egy keveset” (I, my sweet brethren, would speak a little), and goes on to celebrate the nation's newly won freedom and glittering future in terms reminiscent of Vas's article *A képviselétről*, which had appeared in the paper's previous number:

Mert eddig a szegény magyar  
Ha valami baj akadt,  
Panaszkodhatott magának  
Szólani nem volt szabad!

(For until now, if the poor Magyar met with troubles he could only complain to himself and was not free to speak out!)

And here in Gereben Vas:

De most édes Atyámfiak – most... más világot élünk; az ajtó nyitva van, csak be kell sétálni, a szegény embert szívesen hallgatják, azért nem kell himezni-hámozni, hanem ha baj van, ki vele! Nem kell a bajt a szűr ujjába kötni, hanem rázzák oda a zöld asztalra.

(But now my sweet brethren – now... We live in a different world; the door stands open and you have only to walk in and they will gladly listen to the poor; so you do not need to beat about the bush, but rather, if you have a problem, out with it! You don't have to sew your troubles under the sleeves of your coat: just shake them out onto the green table.)

Vajda's second poem in *Nép Barátja* is equally resolute closing:

Van még egy pár csöpp magyar vér,  
Élni fogsz, míg benne tart!

(*Ki bánt?*)

(There are still a few drops of Magyar blood left: you will live on as long as they remain!)

and employing precisely the positive value of „vér” which will distinguish it from Arany’s metaphors. This is followed in the next number by Garay’s *Szabaddá lettél elnyomott magyar nép* – containing, as mentioned, the positive blood-value of „vérünk vére” – and Székács’s *Honvéddal* which looks back to Arany’s *Nemzetőr-dal*, and articulates the paper’s emphasis on recruitment (as in Arany’s article *Önkénytes sereg* in the previous issue).

Arany’s first poems to appear in *Nép Barátja* are *Egy életünk egy halálunk* and *A legszebb virág*. The first takes its epigraph from Petőfi’s *Katonaélet* but distinguishes itself sharply from the optimism of this latter. Petőfi offers his soldiers an “aranyélet” (golden life) and concludes:

Ha pedig az időd lejárt,  
Obsitot kapsz, de mekkorát!  
S tudod, mért kapsz ilyen nagyot?  
Hogy legyen itthon paplanod.

(When your service is up, you’ll get a pension, and what a pension! And do you know why you’ll get such large one? So that you shall have a quilt at home.)

while Arany offers no such vision of the future, and, looking back into the past can promise at best the nation’s heroic death:

Nem lesz magyar, az meglehet,  
De titeket még eltemet.

(It may be that no Magyars will survive, but first we’ll bury the lot of you.)

The revolutionary struggle can guarantee the glory, but not the life of the nation.

If the absence of utopian speculation in this poem differentiates it from the confidence of Vajda, Garay and Székács, *A legszebb virág* embodies a still more characteristic distinctiveness. It breaks completely with the conventional order of its predecessors by virtue of its internal preoccupation with *metaphor in its own right*. Its coherence is achieved by means of the relations of the parts to the whole, rather than that of the whole to a prior system of meanings which the poem rehearses. The first two stanzas are united in their negation of images in a quest for purity. The negations of the first move from the material rose to the abstract relation of „virág” (flower) and „a haza szent szerelme” (the sacred love of the homeland):

Szép virág a rózsa, hát még a bimbója!  
Mert az ég harmatja mindennap mosdatja:  
Szép virág a szüzlyány inepnapra leve:  
De legszebb virág a haza szent szerelme.

(The rose is a fair flower, and so is its bud, for they are washed daily by the dew of the heavens. The virgin is a fair flower dressed up for a holy day; but the fairest of flowers is the sacred love of the homeland.)

while those of the second reobjectify this abstraction in terms of the human heart and, in the third stanza, of blood:

Nem terem az kertbe', a fekete földbül,  
Sem a virággyból soha ki nem zöldül:  
Csak terem az épen az ember szívében,  
Az ember szívének legislegmélyében.

A gyökere pedig vértől nedvesedik,  
Ha lankadni kezd is vérrel öntözgetik:  
Öntözzük, locsoljuk ezt a szép virágot!  
Ez gyümölcsöz nekünk édes szabadságot.

(This does not grow in gardens, in the black soil, nor will it ever grow green in a flower bed. It only grows fully in a man's heart, in the very depths of a man's heart.

Its roots are moistened with blood, and if it droops it is watered with blood. Let us water and sprinkle this fair flower! For it will bear us the fruits of sweet liberty.)

The "fruition" of the poem is the sum of these movements, the joint product of all three stanzas: the first identifying the flower, the second, its place of growth and the third, the conditions of its cultivation. This is not, of course, to suggest that the poem's meaning is self-sufficient, that its signification does not also depend upon another wider discourse. The point is rather, that this wider discourse, the competence the poem addresses, is not the same as that interpellated by the works of the other *Nép Barátja* poets. The reader of *A legszebb virág* must do more than combine a series of crucial values to reproduce a known ideological moment, he must engage in the particularly *literary* function of identifying relations of metaphor, an altogether different kind of conventional practice. This literary quality serves as more than merely an aesthetic "additive" in the production of a more "picturesque" revolutionary poetry; it embodies, as we shall see, some significant aspects of Arany's problematic relation to the key values of the period.

It is not only this formal coherence which distinguishes the poem from the poetic norms of *Nép Barátja*. The metaphors are also exceptionally graphic, displacing the poem's positive thematic elements — the conceptual „haza szent szerelme” and „édes szabadság” — with the very materiality of image. „Vér” in the first three lines of the third stanza is hardly the symbolic value with which the period was familiar, implicating others in its self-referential chain. On the contrary, the proposed (and conventional) relation of „vér” and „szabadság” in this stanza is interrupted by the graphicality of the former. „Vér” is concrete, predicated with „nedvesedik”, „öntözget”, „öntöz”, „locsol”, whereas „szabadság” is abstract, a „given”, known value, and the imbalance of the two risks a sense of pathos in the poem's last line.

A similar, if not greater, intensity of contrast is seen in *Mit csinálunk?*, in the following number of *Nép Barátja* (9 July 1848). Again the blood images are concrete and material:

Megmártjuk kaszánkat  
Ellenség vérében.

Szép piros harmatban  
Fürösztjük kaszánkat:  
Övig-övig vérben  
Védjük jó hazánkat.

(Let us dip our scythes in the blood of our enemies.

Let us bathe our scythes in fair scarlet dew. Up to our belts in blood, let us defend our good homeland.)

and the poem's sole positive value — „a haza” — is ventured precariously in the last line. Blood does not corroborate the poem's communication but *dominates* it, transforming its object. The theme of recruitment and alarm is subordinated to the liveliness of the metaphor, and it is this latter which makes the poem memorable.

If this blood is still presumably that of the enemy, the intensification of the defence crisis changes the subject, while maintaining the metaphor. *Mit csinálunk?* appears in *Nép Barátja* on 9th July 1848, four days before Parliament discusses granting troops to Austria for the suppression of rebels in Lombardy: *Él-e még az Isten?* and *Az örökség* appear in the same paper in the second half of October, by which time the Defence Commission had become the dominant element in the national government. *Él-e még az Isten?* ends with the lines:

Harcra hát, magyar nép! Isten a vezéred:  
Diadalmat szerez a te hulló véred  
Minden ellenségen.

(To battle then Magyar people! God is your leader: your flowing blood will bring glory against all enemies.)

and *Az örökség* begins:

Azok a magyarok, kik e hazát  
Véren vették, vérrel ótalmazák

(Those were the true Magyars who won and defended this homeland with blood.)

and later, reminiscent of *Mit csinálunk?* :

Vérökben a rudját hányszor megfereszték  
Régi ősapáink!

(How many times did our forefathers bathe their lances in their blood!)

*Az örökség* has five instances of „vér” (that is as many as references to „szabadság” in Arany's lyrics of the whole of 1848) without idealizing the blood image into a conventional value. It is „a zászló” (the flag) which is the valorized object of the „örökség” (inheritance) associated with such values as forefathers and, in stanza 8,

God, while the blood once again runs too thickly in the poem to be conceptualized at the level of a system.

The same is still true of *Haj, ne hátra, haj előre*, circulated in the pamphlet *A szabadság zengő hárfája* in 1849. Here Arany returns to the metaphor of *A legszebb virág* and again „győzelem” (victory), the poem’s single positive value, is displaced by the blood metaphor which dominates all three stanzas. The nature of such victory is always left unspoken. „Győzelem” signifies the end of an apocalyptic struggle, rather than the birth of a new social order. Thus the promise of *Losonczi* can be no more than one of honour and glory. Its eighty stanzas develop images of (courageous) death and hopelessness culminating in the fall of its hero:

A derék Losonczi legtovább kiállta,  
Végre szive táján átveré egy dárda,  
S elterüle azon teshalomra, hanyatt,  
Mely a viadalban omlott lába alatt.

(The brave Losonczi was the longest to endure, until finally a spear broke through the regions of his heart and he fell on his back upon the mound of bodies which had collapsed beneath his feet during the battle.)

while the poem closes with the narration’s one element of affirmation – the consolation of Losonczi’s wife – in a single line:

... hazájáért halt férje dicső halált.

(her husband died his glorious death for the homeland)

Again the imbalance, both formal and thematic, constitutes a somewhat uneasy call to arms.

In these examples the primacy of concrete metaphor overshadows, even works against, the *practical* essence of the poetry. This formal tension between image and theme instils the poems with a sense of doubt. We are not presented with the life-giving blood of Petőfi’s *15-dik március, 1848*:

Szivedben a vér megindul,  
S éled a félholt tetem.

(In your heart the blood starts up, and the half-dead corpse returns to life.)

but with „a te hulló véred” (your flowing blood). Supposedly this flowing blood is to cultivate the flower of liberty. But such an articulation of the metaphor attributes to it a teleology which deforms its material presence in the poems. The object, the preoccupation of the poetry, is after all the blood and not the flower.

5. If the notion of „szabadság” offers direction to popular poetry in this period, the value „isten”, or more properly „a magyarok istene” serves as the most comprehensive moral and historical justification for that direction. The period’s invocations of God are rarely spiritual, theological or ethical, but rather adduce an essentially *historical* phenomenon responsible for the nation’s existence and well being. In strictly theolo-

gical terms the phrase „a magyarok istene” might be suggested to border on heresy, and is properly seen to belong primarily to the discourse of nationalism, rather than that of profound religious faith.

This characteristically 19th century notion becomes something of a literary commonplace after Petőfi's *Nemzeti Dal*. Arany's *Él-e még az Isten?* again shows his equivocal relation to the leading values of the period. János Horváth emphasizes the influence of Petőfi's *A magyarok istene* and *A XIX. század költői* on this poem, considering it unrepresentative of Arany's tone.<sup>2</sup> This juxtaposition is significant, but the identification is misleading. Consider, for example, the contrasting historical notions of Canaan in *A XIX. század költői* and *Él-e még az Isten?* In Petőfi, Canaan is a land of the future, a political destination towards which poets must lead the nation (stanza 2); to suggest that Canaan has already been reached is to belong to the „hamis próféták” (false prophets) of stanza 4. In Arany, on the other hand, we have:

Él-e még az isten – az az isten él-e,  
Ki e dús Kánaán országba vezérle  
Mint Izraelt hajdan,  
Hozván őseinket füstnek fellegében,  
Égre fölpirosló tűz-oszlop képében,  
Véres viadalban?

(Is God Still alive – the God who led us to this rich Canaan, as he once led Israel, bringing our forefathers in cloud of smoke, in the image of a pillar of fire shining red up to the sky, in bloody battles? )

Here Canaan is a point of departure, a historical presupposition, an achievement to be defended rather than a goal to be reached. Implicit here are two conflicting historiographical positions. Arany looks back to the past, repeatedly, to adduce standards and principles of present action; history is constituted in that selection of past moments, triumphs, glories which justify the direction and action of the present. Arany's lyrics are devoid of utopian vision. Petőfi looks forward to the new world, the “republic”; history is the arena of the present, and, furthermore, its *product*, Canaan is to be created.

És addig? addig nincs megnyugvás,  
Addig folyást küszködni kell.

(*A XIX. század költői*)

(And until then? Until then there will be no peace, until then we must struggle ceaselessly.)

Other characteristic tensions trouble Horváth's proposed relationship between *Él-e még az Isten?* and Petőfi's *A magyarok istene*. The latter begins with the defiant statement:

Féltre kislelkűek, akik mostan is még  
Kétkedni tudtok a jövő felett

(Away with all those faint of heart, who even now harbour doubts about the future)



while Arany opens with a question:

Él-e még az Isten . . . magyarok Istene?  
 Vagy haragra gerjedt népének ellene,  
 És elhagyta végkép,  
 Hogy rabló, zsvány had, bérbeszedett csorda  
 Égesse, pusztítsa, öldökölje sorba  
 Régi kedves népét?

(Is God still alive . . . The God of the Magyars? Or has he turned his wrath upon his people and left them forever to be burnt, ravaged and butchered by a pack of villains, a herd of mercenaries?)

This question is posed five times in the poem's six stanzas, outweighing the affirmation offered in the sixth stanza at least in *formal* terms. The answer is in any case somewhat hazardous:

Él még, él az isten . . . magyarok istene!

(He's still alive, God's still alive . . . the God of the Magyars!)

the modulation of question into answer being so slight – the modification and reinsertion of a *single morpheme* – as to emphasize, above all else, the critical contiguity of the two, and the repetition of „él” in the affirmation acknowledging the profundity of the doubt. The answer continues:

Elfordítva sincsen még e népről szeme,  
 S az még, aki régen:  
 Harcra hát, magyar nép! isten a vezéred:  
 Diadalmat szerez a te hulló véred  
 Minden ellenségen.

(His back is still not turned upon his people and he is still the God of old. To battle then Magyar people! God is your leader; your flowing blood will bring glory against all enemies.)

God is alive but there can be no assurance as to the future of the nation, whose blood must be sacrificed in the defence of its former glory. In direct contrast Petőfi's poem closes:

A magyar nemzetnek volt nagy és sok vétke,  
 S büntetéseit már átszenvedte ő;  
 De érénye is volt, és jutalmat érte  
 Még nem nyert . . . jutalma lesz majd a jövő.  
 Élni fogsz hazám, mert élned kell. . . dicsőség  
 És boldogság léssen a te életed . . .  
 Végetér már a hétköznapi vesződés,  
 Várd örömmel a szép, derült ünnepet!

(The Magyar nation had committed many grave sins, and for these she has suffered punishment; but she had virtues too, and for these she is yet to be rewarded . . . the future will be her reward.)

You will live, my homeland, for live you must . . . your life will be all glory and happiness. . .  
Your everyday strife is coming to an end, await with joy the fair and bright festival!

*Él-e még az Isten?* is also the formal inverse of Czuczor's popular *Riadó* whose refrain, forming almost every second stanza, begins „Él még a magyarok Istene!”. Because Arany cannot adopt the period's clichés without qualification, the confident statement becomes a question whose repetition is more than merely a rhetorical strategy serving the triumphant release of the poem's affirmation. The delicate and perilous modulation of „Él-e még az Isten . . . magyarok Istene?” to „Él még, él az isten . . . magyarok istene!”, a play on the level of the signifier, is a real and *material* object of the poem, refusing the reduction of equivocation into naïve certainty. (The same is true of the bivocality of *A rabelkek*, where the ironized voice is nonetheless allowed to plead a coherent case which is to be rejected rather than ridiculed, and of the frequent use of dialogue in Arany's *Nép Barátja* articles where the presentation of the arguments to be refused in itself shows that Arany too had entertained such ideas quite seriously.)

6. To continue an earlier quotation from Keresztury:

A *Nép Barátjában* közzétett két vers mind tárgyban, mind modorban szorosan a cikkekhez kapcsolódik. Ugyanúgy követik az eseményeket: velük együtt éleledő hangon szólnak. *Az Egy életünk, egy halálunk, A legszebb virág:* a haza és szabadság védelmére hív fegyverbe; a haza védelmében életét is feláldozó hős történelmi példázatával buzdít a *Losonczy István*; a *Lóra* már a rónalakó magyarok ellen zendült szomszédságról szól; a *Mit csinálunk?* -ban, az *Él-e még az Isten?* -ben a szabadságát kaszával-karddal védő nép jelenik meg.<sup>3</sup>

(The seven poems published in *Nép Barátja* are both in object and style closely related to the articles. They follow the events in the same way as the articles and join them in employing an ever sharper tone. *Egy életünk, egy halálunk* and *A legszebb virág* serve as a call to arms in the defence of liberty and the homeland; similar encouragement is offered by the heroic historical example of *Losonczy István* who sacrificed his life in the country's defence; *Lóra* speaks of those neighbours who have risen up against the Hungarians of the plains; in *Mit csinálunk?* and in *Is God still alive?* the people are shown defending their liberty with scythe and sword.)

These equations dissolve Arany's poetry into the very discourse it resists. It is in the signs of this resistance, the marks of the subject's troubled utterance, that Arany's political identity may be sought. What appears, above all else, in these poems is not a nation fighting for liberty, but the traces of a poetic subject struggling to find a credible voice in the confusion of battle, perpetually meeting contradictions, qualifying his objects, shifting his position in discourse. Political intention – the call to arms, the analysis of situation – is always problematized by the material suggestiveness of the poet's medium; the syntagmatic continuities of political statement are persistently interrupted by a paradigmatic movement of associations and qualifications.

Lóra, magyar, lóra! most ütött az óra,  
Nem is óra ütött: vészharangot vernek:

(Lóra. .!)

(To horse, Magyar, to horse! Now the hour has struck. It is not even the hour striking: but the bells of danger tolling:).

In place of the constant subject of syntagm, we have a multiplicity of subject positions, a slippage across proposed voices, each one disinherited by the next, with no final identification. When for the first time in the period Arany produces a poetic „I” intended to be identified with its author in *Álom-való*, at the end of 1848, it bears all the scars of this struggle:

Fekszem kínos ágyon. Minden tagom össze-  
Zsibbadoz fektemben, mintegy lekötözve.  
Csak tompán sajog a fájdalom, nem éget;  
Homlokomon érzek hideg veritéket.  
Minden pehelyszál nyom, mint egy-egy kődarab,  
Akadoz eremben a vér, s el-elmarad;  
S míg legyez szárnyával borongó pillámon,  
Körmével szorítja keblemet az álom.

(I lie on a bed of agony. My every limb stiffens where I lie as if tied down. The pain does not burn but throbs dully; I feel a cold sweat on my brow. Every feather of down weighs upon me like a stone, my blood clogs up in my veins and keeps stalling. And while fanning my gloomy eyelashes with its wings, reverie squeezes my heart with its nails.)

In this painful resort to the stable lyric subject, doubt is promoted to the level of conscious theme, where before it had plagued poetic statements through tensions of association and form. Perhaps, in Arany's own terms, this signifies a degeneration: „Így lettem én, hajlamom, irányom, munkaösztönöm dacára, subjectív költő”.<sup>4</sup> (Thus I became, in spite of my every predisposition, leaning and instinct, a subjective poet.) The richness and beauty of *Álom-való* and *Válság idején* would suggest not, but clearly we are dealing with a different poetic problematic. These latter poems constitute a breakdown in the proposition of (supposedly opportune) personae, and release the implicit tensions and frustrations of their predecessors. It is unwise, however, to seek the subject where he is most eloquent, at the place in which he claims to reveal his identity. Rather, it is in his moments of uncertainty that he should be sought – where his discourse fails to fulfill its own promises of closure.

7. Doubt is most active when least articulate. When it finds logical formulation it simply tends towards dissent. In *Egyesülés* doubt is a fact of the poem's production, not its confident object. János Horváth sees in this poem the influence of Petőfi's *Két ország ölelkezése* rather than the true voice of Arany. He claims that, in contradistinction to *Egyesülés* and *Él-e még az Isten?*, „Több darabjában azonban itt is saját hangjára ismerünk” (In several pieces, however, we can recognize his own voice), singling out *Mit csinálunk?* and *Az örökség*.<sup>5</sup> It has of course been popular to adduce the influence of Petőfi in this period, whether to excuse or celebrate Arany's political involvement, to excuse or celebrate poetic naiveties, or simply to indicate the profundity of their friendship. Whatever position we choose to adopt, it will never be sufficient to make any specific poetic production evaporate into an expedient version of history.

*Egyesülés* “celebrates” the union with Transylvania of May 1848. Arany, for sure, had a deeper understanding of the problems of such union than Petőfi, and thus good

reason for tempering the enthusiasm of the latter in his poem, As Keresztury notes, *Egyesülés* seems to anticipate the later *Erdély* in which Arany bitterly describes the fate of Transylvania some months later. After the confident hope of the former first stanza:

Az többé nem álom, nem kétség homálya:  
Ismét egy a magyar kettévált hazája

(It is now no longer a dream nor the darkness of doubt: united once more is the divided Magyar homeland.)

we have the doubtful third stanza:

Oh, ki tudja, nincs-e bennünk  
Rejtve már a mag –  
Hogy a csak most egyesültek  
Együtt haljanak.  
Mint egymásra ismert ölelő testvérek,  
Kikben hatni elkezd a lappangó méreg. . . ?

(Oh, who can tell if the seed is not already hidden within us – that those who have only now united will die together, like familiar brothers embracing, in whom the lurking poison starts to take effect.)

The movement is characteristic – from „rejtve” (hidden) to „lappangó” (lurking); „mag” (seed): to „méreg” (poison). Doubt is not discussed, argued, but is more actively effective in the modulation of signifiers. The radicality of the answer:

Nem, nem! – Élni fog a nemzet,  
Amely összetart:  
Kit önvétke meg nem hódít,  
Nem hódítja kard.  
Mebünhődtük ősapáink  
Vétkét súlyosan;  
Napjainknak, a jelenben,  
Csak érénye van,  
S az érényes nemzet jutalma nem égi:  
Földön jut dicső és hosszú élet néki.

(No, no! – The nation which stands together will live on. He who is not vanquished by his own sins will not be vanquished by the sword. We have been punished heavily for the sins of our forefathers; but today in the present we know only virtue, and the virtuous nation is rewarded not in heaven, but is given a long and glorious life on earth.)

is again eloquent testimony to the profundity of the uncertainty embodied in the question. The effect of the repetition of the negation (the double „nem”) is not to refute but to *refuse* the doubt of the preceding stanza. The closing couplet is quite exceptional in Arany's poetry of the period; nowhere else does he suggest a promise of long life to the nation. The function of this rhetorical extremity („nem égi” but „földön jut dicső”) is to counter the troubling burden of the doubt. It is of no small

significance that this poem was not published along with the others during the revolution but had to wait until 1880 to see the press for the first time.

It is here perhaps that the literary achievement of Arany's "revolutionary" lyrics is most apparent. The poet relies neither upon thesis, nor upon a conventional system of known meanings, but rather forges a richly equivocal communication, through a most sensitive and profound exploitation of the material potential of his medium. While the result necessarily constitutes a loss of certainty, of political direction, the poetry generally transcends the limits of commonplace, offering a more complex version of the relation of the poetic subject to the dominant values of his age. If the search for Arany's political identity in the events of 1848–49 is to be anything more than a wild goose chase after conflicting quotations from formally incompatible sources, it is in this problematic relation that we must seek our object. The problems of politics – as later that of the belief itself – becomes for Arany primarily a problem of writing.

8. Firstly, however, a problem of reading.

A forradalomnak egy ideig csupán távoli szemlélője voltam, s a Vasárnapi ujságnak, melynek szerkesztésével megkínáltatám, csupán nevemet kölcsönöztem oda, mint szerkesztő társ, (azaz csak dolgozótárs) – magam folyvást Szalontán maradván.

(Autobiographical letter to Pál Gyulai 7 June 1855)

(For a while I was merely a distant observer of the revolution, and as to the Sunday newspaper which I was asked to edit, I merely lent my name as an editorial assistant – that is, as a contributor – while I myself remained in Szalonta.)

Arany's retrospective disinterest in his involvement in *Nép Barátja* has exercised a considerable influence upon critical attitudes towards his work of this period. It was in the 1880s that attention was first paid both to the paper and to his contributions as a whole. Béla Váli's article on *Nép Barátja* („Egy hirlap története 1848-ben”, in *Nemzet* February 7 and 8 1883), primarily concerned with Gereben Vas, offers a defence of Arany's populism, while Imre Visi's „Arany János a forradalom alatt” (*Nemzet* 1882 November 15) republishes Arany's *Nép Barátja* poems as a group for the first time. Visi poses the problem of the intentionality of the replacement of „Nép Barátja” with „Vasárnapi ujság” in the above quoted extract from Arany's autobiographical letter to Pál Gyulai:

Valószínű, hogy a levél e részében tollhiba van.

(It is probable that this part of the letter contains a slip of the pen.)

Then on reconsideration:

Nem lehetetlen, hogy Arany közönség elé szánt életrajzához akarva írta e sorokat ily szövegezésben, nem kívánván, hogy amaz idők sajátos viszonyai közt bárki utána keressen akkori működésének, a miből . . . akkor bizony könnyen kellemetlenségei támadhattak volna.

(It is not impossible that Arany chose to word these lines in this way because, intending his autobiographical statement for publication and considering the atmosphere of the age, he did not want anybody to check up on his earlier activities for from this . . . all kinds of difficulties might easily have arisen.)

If the miswriting constitutes a slip of the pen, the slip is a rich one: not only did *Nép Barátja* appear on a Sunday, but „Vasárnapi” also contains its editors name. The paper has nothing to do with Arany, it is the work of Vas.

Such questions of opportunism and intentionality are intensified in Arany's earlier Kőrösi autobiography. Here the dissociation from revolutionary politics becomes a complete rejection. The significance of this rejection is, of course, circumscribed by the conditions of its writing. Arany successfully applies for a teaching post while so many of his contemporaries are completing sentences in prison.

My point is not to elaborate a theory of biography and textual criticism, but to insist upon a certain semantic openness manifested by these texts. Any reading of the Kőrösi autobiography which effectively fixes its subject as moment of political reaction, confirms only one of the text's possible messages. Consider one sentence from the autobiography:

Ezekben és a Népbarátban közlött verseim némelyikében, nem tagadom, hogy lehetnek itt-ott olyan célzások, melyek mostani szempontból tekintve forradalminak bélyegeztethetnek: de tekintve az akkori körülményeket és még azt, hogy én egyszerű falusi ember az egész forradalom leküzdéséig oly helyen éltem, mintegy elszigetelve, hol a cs. kir. hadseregek egyszer is meg nem fordultak, hova semmi hirdetés, proclamatio vagy más ilyen egész 1849-ik évi Augusztusig teljességgel nem jutott, értem Bihar megyének azon déli szögét, hol Szalonta fekszik, s melyen az egész forradalom utoljára ottan összpontosult, — tekintve, mondom, e körülményeket, egyedül csendes, higgadt kedélyemnek köszönhetem, hogy a forradalom árjától százszorta jobban el nem ragadtattam, és ez idő alatt kelt verseimben is meglegedtem némi elfátyolozott célzásokkal nem az uralkodó ház ellen, hanem bizonyos alkotmányos féltékenységből eredet-tekkel, akkor és ott, amikor és ahol merészebb fellépések tapsokkal jutalmaztattak volna.<sup>6</sup>

(I do not deny that in these and in some of my poems published in *Nép Barátja* one may find here and there such allusions as might be considered revolutionary from today's point of view, but bearing in mind the circumstances of the time and the fact that I lived in isolation as a simple villager right up until the end of the revolution in a place where the k.u.k. army did not even once appear, and where not a single declaration, proclamation or anything else of the kind ever arrived right up until August 1849, by which I mean that southern corner of Bihar county where Szalonta lies, and upon which in the very closing stages the whole revolution was concentrated — taking into consideration, as I say, these circumstances, I have only my quiet and sober temperament to thank for the fact that I didn't get a hundred times more deeply caught up in the revolutionary tide, and that in my poetry of the time I was contented with no more than a few obscure insinuations, directed not against the sovereign, but originating from certain fears for the constitution, at a time when a more daring intervention would have been rewarded with far greater applause.)

Retrospectively the communication of the sentence lies less in its abstractable statement — a rejection of the politics of 1848 — than in its length and syntactic complexity. The constituent elements of its logic are recognizable from elsewhere:

Itt, hová csak későn, csak nagy-néha téved  
A hír szózatának egy muló viszhangja

(*Válság idején*)

(Here, where no more than a fading echo of news ever strays from time to time and much belated:)

Bújdosom, szétömlött árjait kerülvén:  
Hullámzása alig tetszik a víz-szélén.

(*Válság idején*)

(I hide avoiding the flooding tides: the waves are hardly noticed at the water's edge.)

while its laboured construction and self-qualification embody the tensions of its occasional production. Speculations of cowardice or political fidelity are little to the point here; indeed the whole question of sincerity is forced into a more workable perspective.

It has often been argued that Arany always remained faithful to the ideals of 1848 (eg. Keresztury, *Új Írás*, January 1983). But these ideals do not constitute an unequivocal, rehearsable system, and it is precisely Arany's assimilation of them which, as we have seen, most richly reproduces their equivocality. The importance of a text like the Kőrösi autobiography is that it resists a binary reading, the fusion of sincerity and writing. The kinds of question it demands are not „what kind of man was Arany, coward or revolutionary” but „how do these utterances produce meaning, how do they relate to other homologous productions?” We read the Kőrösi autobiography and, say, *Nemzetőr-dal* side by side, not merely to gauge Arany's personal development between 1848 and 1853, but to explore ways in which the one set of signs qualifies and mediates the other. The result is not the interpretation of a single new meaning – the same type of closure, merely on a more complex level – but a recognition and enumeration of the range of the text's possible, and even contradictory meanings. Thus the kind of reading the Kőrösi autobiography demands, offers as useful a model for the reading of Arany's poetry. When we finally tire of hunting an elusive subject, of fixing the source of the poetic voice firmly within one or another single ideological position (Arany the revolutionary, the traitor to his class, the true voice of the peasantry, the flatterer of Petőfi), we may begin to feel the full weight of his „revolutionary” lyrics. As the subject shifts, as form contends with theme, as metaphors sow the seeds of their own degeneration, we begin to recognize a richly contradictory – but for that very reason, full and sensitive – picture of the complex hopes and fears, struggles and failures, enmities and allegiances of 1848–49.

9. In most of the poetry considered so far, a popular political enthusiasm has been articulated through a mediating and self-censoring preoccupation with the material aspects of the poet's medium. Metaphor, image and device have been seen to qualify and problematize the confidence of political message. *Április 14-én* differs from such poetry in that it is the closest Arany comes in the period to a definitive, discursive, political statement in verse:

Egy a pálya, egy a végcél:  
Élet, vagy dicső halál:  
.....  
Függetlenség! Ez a jelszó,  
És szabadság a nagy cél:  
Teljes független szabadság; –  
Nem kell semmi, ami fél.

(One the path, and one the final aim: Life or glorious death . . . Independence! That's the watchword, and liberty the great aim: complete and independent liberty; – no half measures will do.)

However, in the light of our previous section, such a statement cannot be taken at face value. Indeed, critical responses to this poem bear testimony to its potential ambiguities:

Az *Április 14-én* nem tartozik a költő jelentős munkái közé: a trónfosztást népszerűsítő egykorú publicisztika hatásos megverselésénél aligha több.<sup>7</sup>

(*Április 14-én* does not belong among the poet's significant works; smacking of all the publicism of its age, it is hardly more than a popularization of the dethronement in verse.)

De a lelkesedés olyan óráiban is, melyek *Április 14-én* (1849) jutnak osztályrészéül, erkölcsi elvként már a későbbi, a Bach-korszakban annyira helyénvaló jelszót mondja ki, mely a *Tragédia* Ádámjának is éltetője, elégtétele lesz: „Csak az boldog, aki küzd”.<sup>8</sup>

(But even at such moments of enthusiasm as that experienced in *Április 14-én*, Arany employs, as a moral principle, the slogan which would later become so appropriate to the Bach era, and which informs Ádám's notion of life and atonement in *The Tragedy of Man*: “Only he who struggles is happy”.)

Költészete ez irányú fejlődésének záróköve az *Április 14-én* című vers: a trónfosztás napjával kapcsolatban a nagy döntés felszabadító hatását s a mindvégig való helytállásnak hősiességét szólaltatja meg.<sup>9</sup>

(The apex of this aspect of his poetry's development was the poem *Április 14-én*: referring to the day of dethronement, it celebrates the liberating effects of the great decision and the heroic impetus of unflinching resistance.)

Ebből világosan látható, hogy Arany számára a nemzeti költészet a politikai tartalommal telített népi költészetet jelentette. A nemzeti költészet megvalósulását a nép nemzeté emelkedésétől várta.<sup>10</sup>

(From this it can clearly be seen that for Arany national poetry meant popular poetry filled with political content. National poetry was to be achieved by raising the notion of the people to the level of the nation.)

Aranynak említett költeményéről azt hallni itt-ott, hogy valószínűleg a kormánynak, azaz Szemere Bertalan belügyminiszternek ösztönzésére, „megrendelésére” készült. Ez mindenneke-előtt nem egyeztethető össze Arany jellemével. . . aki a *Nép Barátja*ban megjelent verseket és cikkeket írta, annak nem kell főnöki megrendelés, hogy az *Április 14-én*-t megírja, elég neki a maga „függetlenség” önérzete s azoknak a napoknak a forró hullámai.<sup>11</sup>

(Here and there one comes across the argument that this poem was written on the prompting of, or even to the order of, the government, that is to say of Bertalan Szemere, the Minister of the Interior. This argument is, however, above all incompatible with Arany's character. . . the author of those poems and articles published in *Nép Barátja* needed no order from his superiors to make him write *Április 14-én*; his own “independent” self-respect and the stormy current of the times provided quite sufficient inspiration.)



The poem's very single-mindedness — „nem kell semmi, ami fél” — produces uncertainty in the reader familiar with Arany's other poetry of the period. The three instances of „szabadság” in stanza two, the word „jelszó”, and the „nagy” of „a nagy cél” are so untypical of the cautious, deliberating Arany as to risk a sense of self-parody. We are certainly presented with an idealized subject in the speaking voice of *Április 14-én* quite distinct from that of the self-conscious, reflexive narrator of *Az elveszett alkotmány*, who could not have let such phrases pass without sardonic qualification. Consider also how viciously Arany turns upon such rhetoric in *Vojtina Ars poeticája* (1861):

De a *hazáról*. . . Ugy van, a haza!  
Zengjen felőle hát a dal, nosza! . . .  
Késő ez is: mi haszna lelkesül  
Az ember, ha középben belesül!

De meg, mit érne gyöngéd szó nekik,  
Midőn a hont orditva szeretik? —  
Midőn a legszebb virág a mályva-ruzsa:  
Köténybe rejti kis bokrát a muzsa.

(But about the *homeland*. . . that's it, the homeland! Come on, let the song resound It's too late for that: what's the use of enthusing when you get stuck half way.)

But what's the use of the gentle word to those who only know how to love the homeland with yells? When the fairest flower is the hollyhock and the muse hides its little bushes in her apron.)

or in the still later *Demokrata-nóta* (1867):

Deák Ferenc! Megélünk mi  
Kend nélkül;  
Kivánjuk a szabadságot  
*Rend nélkül.*

(Ferenc Deák! We'll get by without you; we desire liberty without order.)

It is impossible to attribute to *Április 14-én* a fixed ideological position because it at once celebrates the spirit of the dethronement, while implicitly criticizing the naivety of the terms of this celebration. Whether or not this poem was tailored to the requirements of Bertalan Szemere there is no knowing; but a sense of bitter resignation and implicit irony can certainly be gleaned from the text when seen in relation to Arany's other productions. It is as if Arany adopts this confident political voice at will — when the situation demands such a role of him — and then rehearses its discourse so competently, so fluently, as to make the *fact* of acting more conspicuous than the message of the act itself.

Two other poems in which a distinctively popular subject position is adopted should be mentioned here, *Nemzetőr-dal* and *Beállottam*. Both propose a fictional first person affording the poet a freedom of identity with which to approximate the dominant values of the period, and in both, Arany comes closest to the popular lyrical

poetry of 1848–49. Flower images, for example, work independently of Arany's dominant metaphor of the „vér–virág”:

Süvegemen nemzetiszin rózsa

(*Nemzetőr-dal*)

(In my cap a rose of the national colours),

Ez az ősi vitézségnek virága

(*Beállottam*)

(This is the flower of ancient valour)

belonging to a positive and generative system of values. The new recruit is assured the admiration and affection of women:

Ajakamon édes babám csókja

(*Nemzetőr-dal*)

(Upon my lips my sweetheart's kiss),

. . . . . veres zsinórt veszek rá,  
Hogy a világ minden lyánya nevet rá.

(*Beállottam*)

(I shall attach a piece of scarlet cord, and win the smile of every girl in the world.)

a value which reappears in Arany's first article in *Nép Barátja*, „Önkénytes sereg”:

Ezután így szól a magyar lány: Biz én nem megyek kendhez, Istók bácsi; nem mert kend beállni az önkénytesek közé, s az ólpadláson hortyogott, míg a többi legények a hazáért viaskodtak!

(Then the Hungarian girl will say: I'll not marry you for sure, Master Steve; you didn't dare join up with the volunteers, and just lay there snoring in the loft above the pigsty while all the other boys went off to fight for their country!)

These poems embody a received masculinity and morality fitting to the author of *Toldi*. Indeed the closing stanza of *Nemzetőr-dal*:

Olyan marsra lábam se billentem,  
Hogy azt bántsam, aki nem bánt engem:  
De a szabadságért, ha egy iznyi,  
Talpon állok mindhalálig vini.

(I never joined any army march to harm anybody who had not harmed me: but for the merest taste of freedom I would fight upon my feet till death.)

is clearly reminiscent of

Senki nem állhatott ellent haragjának,  
De ingét is odaadta barátjának,  
S ha nem ellenkedett senki az országgal,  
Örömet tanyázott a vig cimborákkal.

(*Toldi*)

(No one could withstand his rage, but to a friend he'd give his very shirt; and if nobody rose up against his country, he'd gladly pass the time among his merry pals.)

Here, the cause of revolution is morally, as well as historically, just.

In proposing the persona of the patriotic recruit, Arany heals the deep contradictions of his own attitude to the revolution. Arany himself finds it difficult to contribute to the revolutionary effort: he turns down the offer to stay in Pest to edit *Nép Barátja* because

Ily ingatag alapra nem fogom építeni magam és családom jövődjét, kivált a mostani zavaros világban.<sup>12</sup>

(I shall not build my own and my family's future upon such unstable foundations, especially in today's confounded world.)

He can speak unequivocally and single-mindedly, adopting the popular values of the struggle, only if the voice is not his own. Again accusations of opportunism or insincerity – whatever their status in terms of biographical description – bypass the cumulative communication of his lyrics of this period. Revolution, the „mostani zavaros világ”, is approached from a multiplicity of conflicting angles, and appears as a historically contradictory reality. As Arany does not pledge fidelity to any one version of this reality, his lyrics manifest a deeper and more necessary sincerity to the form of its contradictions themselves.

10. On 1st April 1848 Arany writes to Petőfi:

Jól tudom, hogy sem időd sem kedved mostan ily közönös dolgokkal vesződni, mint például ezen simplex költemény.

(I know full well that you have neither time nor inclination at present to bother about such trivial things as this simple poem.)

and later in the same letter: „ugylehet, ez utolsó költeményem”. Arany's first response to the revolution is to stop writing. It is, after all, primarily Petőfi's affair: „vedd szíves kézsorításomat polgári dicső küzdelmeidért”<sup>13</sup> (accept my hearty handshake for your glorious civil struggles).

When Arany does write, his work bears the marks of a shifting subject, unable to find a fixed and satisfactory position. Petőfi had created the illusion of a natural language, naturalizing the discourse of the revolution, making it vital and immediate. Arany denaturalizes this discourse, making it markedly literary, a language among languages, rather than a spontaneous necessity. As suggested earlier this leads to a loss of active political certainty, but at the same time to a poetry capable of articulating historical contradictions on both a thematic and *formal* level. It is here that we may locate the essence of the poetical contribution of Arany's lyrics of the revolutionary period – and indeed the core of the poet's modernity. The resistance of a fixed subjectivity coupled with a discriminating responsiveness to the material suggestiveness of his language, produces a particularly full and complex picture of the tensions of

1848–49. It is perhaps true that Arany „sohasem jutott el az emberi lét egységes értelmezéséig” (never arrived at a unified interpretation of human existence), and „nem hozott létre önálló poétikát” (did not produce an independent poetics. Mihály Szegedy-Maszák in *Az el nem ért bizonyosság*), but if so, then for good reason. Arany was too acutely sensitive to the very structures of signification which facilitate even the contemplation of such interpretations, to bind himself to any single system of values, requiring a multiplicity of open literary forms to exploit the full and contradictory nature of his objects. If in *Az elveszett alkotmány* Arany had experimented with those forms of narrative reflexivity which would later play such a significant role in works like *A nagyidai cigányok* and *Bolond Istók*, it was in Arany’s political poetry of 1848–49 that the lyric too became reflexive, laying the foundations for the agile poetics of the great lyrics of the fifties.

#### Notes

1. Keresztury Dezső, *S mi vagyok én?* Budapest 1963, p. 243.
2. Horváth János, *Tanulmányok* Budapest 1956, p. 435.
3. Keresztury, op. cit., p. 243.
4. Preface to *Elegyes költői darabok*, quoted from Arany János *Összes Művei* Volume I, Budapest 1951, p. 403.
5. Horváth, op. cit., p. 435.
6. In Törös László, *Arany János Nagykőrösön* Nagykőrös 1974, p. 41.
7. Keresztury, op. cit., p. 247.
8. Sőtér István, *Nemzet és haladás* Budapest 1963, pp. 190–91.
9. Barta János, *Arany János* Budapest 1953, p. 72.
10. Hermann István, *Arany János esztétikája* Budapest 1956, p. 30.
11. Tolnai Vilmos, *Arany János: Április 14-én in Irodalomtörténet* 1928, Vol. XVIII, No. 3–4, p. 45.
12. Letter to his wife, Ercsey Julianna, May 18, 1848, in *Összes Művei* Vol. XV, p. 209.
13. Letter to Petőfi, March 26, 1848, in *Összes Művei* Vol. XV, p. 196. (My emphasis.)

## QUI EST L'AUTEUR DES "BALLADES D'ARANY"?

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„*Arany János Balladái*” (“Les ballades de János Arany”): voici un titre de recueil qui ne pose pas plus de problèmes au lecteur hongrois d’aujourd’hui que “*Les Fables de La Fontaine*” ou “*Les Contes de Perrault*”, par exemple, n’en posent au lecteur français. Pour le premier, le recueil intitulé *Arany János Balladái* contient les ballades, rien que les ballades, et toutes les ballades qu’Arany a composées, et ces ballades peuvent et doivent être considérées comme des modèles du genre; de même, dans l’esprit du second, les notions de conte et de fable renvoient-elles en tout premier lieu aux deux recueils que nous avons cités.

Or nous savons que les choses ne sont pas si simples qu’il y paraît. Nous savons notamment que *Les Contes de Perrault* n’ont pas tous été écrits par un seul et même auteur, qu’ils présentent bien des différences par rapport à ceux de Grimm, qui eux-mêmes diffèrent, dans leur forme, des contes populaires oraux, et que par conséquent il y a conte et conte. Nous savons aussi qu’Arany n’a pas publié de son vivant de recueil de ses “ballades”, et qu’il fut bien loin d’être le seul à en écrire: pensons seulement aux nombreuses ballades de József Kiss, à l’énorme production de János Garay, à János Vajda, Pál Gyulai, Károly Kisfaludy, Ferenc Kölcsey, Gergely Czuczor, à la fameuse “épidémie de ballades” (*ballada-járvány*) dont parlait Reviczky en 1884, et enfin à l’anthologie parue vers 1860 et intitulée *Magyar balladák könyve*, (Livre de ballades hongroises), dont Arany se moquait en ces termes: “Pourquoi pas Quti pour la lettre Q et Xanthos pour le X?”

Que révèle donc l’évidence, aujourd’hui, du titre „*Arany János Balladái*”? Telle est la question à laquelle nous allons tâcher de répondre dans cette étude au titre volontairement paradoxal: “Qui est l’auteur des *Ballades d’Arany*”?

### I/ Les choix d’Arany

Rendons d’abord à César ce qui est à César, et commençons par examiner la façon dont Arany a présenté de son vivant les textes qui sont communément rassemblés de nos jours sous le titre „*Arany János balladái*” (a). Seules deux catégories de documents

(a) Tout au long de cette étude, nous utiliserons comme ouvrage de référence le recueil suivant: *Arany János Balladái*, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, Budapest, 1982.

sont exploitables pour le savoir d'une manière sûre: les éditions qu'il a lui-même préparées, et les manuscrits conservés (b).

Des 39 textes proposés par notre recueil de référence, 19 furent insérés par Arany dans ses *Kis költemények* (KK) de 1856: *A méh románcza* (La romance de l'abeille), *Az egri leány* (La jeune fille d'Eger), *Ágnes asszony* (Madame Agnès), *Árva fiú* (L'orphelin), *Bor vitéz* (Bor le preux), *V. László* (Ladislas V.), *Mátyás anyja* (La mère de Mathias Hunyadi), *Rozgonyiné* (Madame Rozgonyi), *Szibinyáni Jank* (Jank Szibinyáni), *Szöke Panni* (Panni la blonde), *Török Bálint* (Bálint Török), *Zács Klára* (Klára Zács), *Szent László* (Saint-Ladislas), *A hegedű* (Le violon), *A hamis tanú* (Le faux témoin), *A varró leányok* (Les jeunes couturières), *Szent László füve* (L'herbe de Saint-Ladislas), et *Katalin* (Catherine); 5 apparaissent pour la première fois (nous ne tenons pas compte ici des publications dans les périodiques) dans ses *Összes költemények* (Poésies complètes) (ÖK) de 1867: *A walesi bárdok* (Les bardes gallois), *Both bajnok özvegye* (La veuve de Both le Brave), *Szondi két apródja* (Les deux pages de Szondi), *Hunyadi csillaga* (L'étoile de Hunyadi), et *Az örök zsidó* (Le juif errant). Les autres textes se répartissent de la façon suivante: 9 "ballades" achevées en 1877, mais non publiées en volume du vivant d'Arany, soit: *A kép-mutogató* (Le montreur d'images), *Az ünneprontók* (Les trouble-fête), *Éjféli párbaj* (Duel à minuit), *Hid-avatás* (L'inauguration du pont), *Tengeri-hántás* (En décortiquant le maïs), *Tetemre-hívás* (L'assignation devant le corps), *Vörös Rébék* (Rébecca la rousse), *Népdal* (Chanson populaire), et *Párviadal* (Combat singulier); 2 fragments: *Varga Mihály* (Mihály Varga), et *Az özvegy ember árvái* (Le veuf et ses orphelins); 2 textes dont AJÖM ne nous dit rien de la publication en volume: *Pázmán lovag* (Le chevalier Pázmán) et *Ráchel siralma* (La complainte de Rachel); enfin *Rákócziné* (Madame Rákóczi), qu'Arany s'est refusé à intégrer à ses KK comme à ses ÖK, et *A honvéd özvegye* (La veuve du garde national) qui fut intégré aux *Hátrahagyott versek* (Poèmes posthumes) par László Arany.

Nous pouvons tirer de ces chiffres et de ces faits les conclusions suivantes: non seulement Arany n'a jamais édité de recueil séparé de ses "ballades", mais encore, sur les 39 textes présentés comme tels aujourd'hui, seuls 24 d'entre eux, auxquels il faut ajouter *Rákócziné* (Madame Rákóczi) (c), furent volontairement publiés par l'auteur dans ses deux éditions de „Költemények” (Poésies). La question qui se pose alors est la suivante: Arany eut-il accepté que l'on publie à part ces 39 textes sous le titre „Arany János Balladáí”? Son seul refus de publier *Párviadal* (Combat singulier) nous permet déjà de répondre par la négative. Et que dire encore de *Katalin* (Catherine) qui, par son ampleur, n'a pas grand-chose à voir avec ce qu'Arany appelait une "ballade"?

Mais l'examen des sous-titres retenus par Arany pour ces textes va nous permettre de renforcer encore le doute qui est le nôtre.

(b) Toutes les informations rapportées ici proviennent, faute de mieux, de l'édition critique suivante: *Arany János Összes művei*, Akadémiai Kiadó (abréviation utilisée: AJÖM).

(c) Dans son „Utasítás összes munkáim netalán új kiadása esetére” (“Consignes pour une éventuelle réédition de mes œuvres complètes”), Arany exprime en effet le désir que cette ballade soit insérée dans la prochaine édition à paraître de ses *Kisebb költemények* (Poésies brèves).

Sans entrer dans les détails (d), et en nous appuyant sur notre édition critique de référence (e), nous constatons qu'*aucun* de ces textes n'est sous-titré "ballade", que ce soit dans KK ou dans ÖK.

Ainsi donc, même si nous avons de nombreux témoignages directs prouvant que tel ou tel texte était indiscutablement considéré comme une "ballade" par Arany, il faut nous rendre à cette évidence: au moment de les publier, il n'a pas jugé utile de les distinguer de ses autres "*poésies*" ("*költemények*") en soulignant leur appartenance à un genre particulier.

D'autres l'ont fait à sa place; nous allons nous demander qui ils sont et comment ils ont opéré; ceci nous permettra de suggérer pourquoi ils ont agi ainsi.

## II/ 1877–1982: l'histoire du recueil intitulé "Les ballades de János Arany"

### *A/ Matériaux utilisés et méthode de travail*

Devant l'impossibilité pratique évidente de consulter tous les recueils des ballades d'Arany parus à ce jour, nous nous sommes limité à l'examen comparatif de 23 éditions soigneusement choisies parmi celles que nous offrait la Széchenyi Könyvtár, auxquelles il faut ajouter 6 recueils en langue étrangère (f).

### *B/ Les titres des divers recueils*

Comme on le voit sur le Tableau 1, les ballades d'Arany n'ont pas toujours été publiées sous le titre „Arany János Balladái”: si l'on s'en tient, comme il se doit ici, aux ouvrages qui nous proposent la totalité des ballades d'Arany, on peut observer que d'autres titres cohabitent avec celui-ci. Il y a „Balladák” (Ed. S) et „Balladái” (Ed. T et U) de l'auteur János Arany; il y a aussi les ouvrages dont les ballades ne constituent que la pièce maîtresse ou l'une des parties: *Arany János eredeti és fordított összes balladái, románcza, legendája és allegoriája* (Ed. G), *Arany János balladái – Bolond Istók* (Ed. L), *Arany János kisebb elbeszélő költeményei és balladái* (Ed. N), et les *Történelmi költeményei és balladái* de l'auteur János Arany (Ed. P). Mais force est de constater que notre titre est le plus fréquent, et surtout qu'il apparaît dès l'origine, en 1877: dès cette époque une perche est tendue à ce que l'on pourrait appeler la

(d) L'examen des manuscrits nous apprend qu'Arany a souvent hésité dans le choix de ses sous-titres, et notamment que le sous-titre „ballada” a été plus d'une fois supprimé ou remplacé par un autre.

(e) Nous n'avons malheureusement pas été en mesure de consulter les éditions originales des KK et ÖK, et par conséquent de vérifier le bien-fondé de l'affirmation qui suit.

(f) Voir le Tableau 1 en annexe.

Tableau 1. Les éditions consultées

Titre	Cote	Sous-titre ou compléments au titre	Cote Sz. Könyvtár	Date de parution	Compléments d'information
<i>Arany János Balladái</i>	A	„fejtegeti Greguss Ágost”	230288	1877	
<i>Arany János Balladái</i>	B	„Magyarázza Greguss Ágost”	11954/1	1877	
<i>Arany János Balladái</i>	C		184307	1887	„Iskolai kiadás”
<i>Arany János tizenöt Balladája</i>	D		502756	1895–1898	„Facsimile kiadás” „Zichy Mihály rajzaival”
<i>Arany János Balladái</i>	E	„Zichy Mihály rajzaival”	?	1897	
<i>Arany–Zichy Album</i>	F	„Arany János 24 költeménye – Zichy Mihály 40 rajzával”	133060	1898	„A Pesti Napló ajándéka az 1898 évre” Préface de Frigyes Riedl
<i>Arany János eredeti és fordított összes balladái, románcza, legendája és allegoriája</i>	G		17174/XII A	1898	„Ezen kiadásban először vannak összegyűjtve a költőnek 32 legnagyobb remekei”
<i>Arany János válogatott balladái</i>	H	„Románcza, Legendája és Allegoriája”	17174/12 b	1898	„Ezen kiadásban csak azon balladák vannak közölve, melyeket úgy didaktikai szempontból, mint tárgyuknál fogva a mindkét nembeli ifjúság számára alkalmasak”
<i>Arany János válogatott balladái</i>	I		243769	1901–1910	Introduction de Frigyes Riedl
<i>Arany János válogatott balladái</i>	J		243300	1902	
<i>Arany János Balladái</i>	K	„Zichy Mihály rajzaival”	66777	1928	
<i>Arany János Balladái – Bolond Istók</i>	L	„Zichy Mihály rajzaival”	127–229	1932	„Beöthy Zsolt és Voinovich Géza tanulmányaival”
<i>Arany János Balladái</i>	M	„Buday György képeivel”	172738	1933	Introduction de 9 pages signées „Erdélyi Szépművés Céh”



<i>Arany János kisebb elbeszélő költeményei és balladái</i>	N		257754	1941	Introduction de Géza Féja
<i>Arany János balladái</i>	O		165983	1948	„Bóka László előszavával, Csiky Gyula rajzaival”
<i>Arany János – Történelmi költeményei és balladái</i>	P		0B30963	1953	„Dr. Nagy Artur előszavával, Csiky Gyula rajzaival” (Buenos Aires)
<i>Arany János balladái</i>	Q		10873	1955	
<i>Arany János balladái</i>	R	„Zichy Mihály rajzaival”	?	1957	Contient l'étude d'István Sötér: „Arany János Balladái”
<i>Arany János – balladák</i>	S		0A20601	1957	
<i>Arany János balladái</i>	T		MA15395	1964	Postface d'István Simon
<i>Arany János balladái</i>	U	„Borsos Miklós rajzaival”	MC68072	1974	Contient l'étude d'István Sötér: „Arany János Balladái”. 22 pages de notes d'Etel Gordon
<i>Arany János – Hunyadi Balladák</i>	V	„Berki Viola illusztrációival”	MC77455	1979	
<i>Arany János balladái</i>	W	„Borsos Miklós rajzaival”	?	1982	Contient l'étude d'István Sötér: „Arany János Balladái”
<i>Balladen von Johann Arany</i>			184280	1886	Version allemande de Brück
<i>Arany – Ballate</i>			?	1914	Version italienne, avec préface et notes, de Francesco Sirola
<i>Arany – Ballate</i>			115441XVII	1922	Version italienne de Silvino Gigante
<i>Arany –</i>			MD16334	?	Version russe
<i>Arany –</i>			44094	1969	Version ukrainienne

Tableau 2. Les ballades retenues

	A 1877	C 1887	E 1897	K 1928	M 1933	O 1948	Q 1955	R 1957	T 1964	U 1974	W 1982
A Dismal mocsárok tava (The lake of the Dismal swamp – Moore)								x	x	x	
Ágnes asszony (Madame Agnès)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
A hamis tanú (Le faux témoin)							x	x	x	x	x
A hegedű (Le violon)										x	x
A honvéd özvegye (La veuve du garde national)								x	x	x	x
A kép-mutogató (Le montreur d'images)		x				x	x	x	x	x	x
A méh románcza (La romance de l'abeille)			x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x
Árva fiú (L'orphelin)	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
A varró leányok (Les jeunes couturières)								x	x	x	x
A walesi bárdok (Les bardes Gallois)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Az egri leány (La jeune fille d'Eger)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Az ördög elvitte a fináncot (The devil's awa wi'th exciseman Burns)								x	x	x	
Az örök zsidó (Le juif errant)										x	x
Az özvegy ember árvái (Le veuf et ses orphelins)										x	x
Az utolsó főpap (Der Hohepriester Frank)								x	x	x	
Az ünneprontók (Les trouble-fête)		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ballada az elűzött és visszatért grófról (Ballade vom vertriebenen und zurückkehrenden Grafen – Goethe)								x	x	x	

Bor vitéz (Bor le preux)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Both bajnok özvegye (La veuve de Both le Brave)	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Éjféli párbaj (Duel à minuit)		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Endre királyfi (Le prince André)			x	x		x	x	x	x		
Hadsi Jurth (Hadsi Jurth – Emil von Wittgenstein)								x	x	x	
Hatvani (Le professeur Hatvani)											
Híd-avatás (L'inauguration du pont)			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Hunyadi csillaga (L'étoile de Hunyadi)	x							x	x	x	x
Katalin (Catherine)										x	x
Kóbor Tamás (Tom O'Shanter – Burns)								x	x	x	
Mátyás anyja (La mère de Mathias)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Népdal (Chanson populaire)								x	x	x	x
V. László (Ladislas V.)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Párviadal (Combat singulier)										x	x
Pázmán lovag (Le chevalier Pázmán)				x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ráchel siralma (La complainte de Rachel)										x	x
Rákócziné (Madame Rákóczi)	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Rozgonyiné (Madame Rozgonyi)	x	x		x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Sir Patrick Spens (Sir Patrick Spens)			x				x	x	x	x	
Szent László (Saint-Ladislas)			x					x	x	x	x
Szent László fűve (L'herbe de Saint-Ladislas)										x	x
Szibinyáni Jánk (Jank Szibinyáni)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Szondi két apródja (Les deux pages de Szondi)	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Tableau 2 (suite)

	A 1877	C 1887	E 1897	K 1928	M 1933	O 1948	Q 1955	R 1957	T 1964	U 1974	W 1982
Szőke Panni (Panni la blonde)			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tengeri-hántás (En décortiquant le maïs)			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Tetemre-hívás (L'assignation devant le corps)		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Török Bálint (Bálint Török)	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x
Tündér király (Erlkönig – Goethe)								x		x	
Varga Mihály (Mihály Varga)										x	x
Vörös Rébék (Rébecca la rousse)			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Zács Klára (Klára Zács)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
<i>Total</i>	15	19	19	24	18	25	26	39	38	48	39

Tableau 3. Le classement des Ballades

	Date	A	C	E	K	M	O	Q	R	T	U	W
		1877	1887	1897	1928	1933	1948	1955	1957	1964	1974	1982
A varró leányok (Les jeunes couturières)	1847									1	1	1
A méh románcza (La romance de l'abeille)	1847			12	1	1	1			2	2	2
Szóke Panni (Panni la blonde)	1847			17	21	3	2	1		3	3	3
Szent László füve (L'herbe de Saint-Ladislás)	1847										4	4
Rákócziné (Madame Rákóczi)	1848	6	1		13		3	2		4	5	5
A honvéd özvegye (La veuve du garde national)	1850									5	5	6
Varga Mihály (Mihály Varga)	1850										7	7
Katalin (Catherine)	1850										8	8
Az özvegy ember árvái (Le veuf et ses orphelins)	environ 1850										9	9
Ráchel siralma (La complainte de Rachel)	1851										10	10
A hamis tanú (Le faux témoin)	1852							3		6	11	11
Rozgonyiné (Madame Rozgonyi)	1852	7	2		15		4	4		7	12	12
Török Bálint (Bálint Török)	1853	8	4	8	12		8	5		8	13	13

groupement par catégories

Tableau 3 (suite)

	Date	A	C	E	K	M	O	Q	R	T	U	W
		1877	1887	1897	1928	1933	1948	1955	1957	1964	1974	1982
V. László (Roi Ladislav V.)	1853	4	3	2	19		5	6		9	14	14
A hegedű (Le violon) Szent László (Saint-Ladislav)	1853		5							10	16	16
Az egri leány (La jeune fille d'Eger)	1853	9	6	14	5	14	7	7		11	17	17
Ágnes asszony (Madame Agnes)	1853	10	7	1	2	7	6	8		11	18	18
Mátyás anyja (La mère de Mathias)	1854	5	8	3	20	16	9	9		13	19	19
Hatvani (Le Professeur Hatvani)	1855										20	20
Szibinyáni Jank (Jank Szibinyáni)	1855	3	11	13	18		13	10		14	21	21
Hunyadi csillaga (L'étoile de Hunyadi)	1855	1								15	22	22
Árva fiú (L'orphelin)	1855	11		18	3	2	10	11		16	23	23
Zács Klára (Klára Zács)	1855	13	10	10	9	13	11	12		17	24	24
Bor vitéz (Bor le preux)	1855	12	9	5	11	10	12	13		18	25	25
Szondi két apródja (Les deux pages de Szondi)	1856	14	12		7	17	14	14		19	26	26
Pázmán lovag (Le chevalier Pázmán)	1856				14	9	15	15		20	27	27
Both bajnok özvegye (La veuve de Both le brave)	1856	2	13		17	15	16	16		21	28	28

A walesi bárdok (Les bardes Gallois)	1857	15	14	6	10	18	17	17		22	29	29		
Az örök zsidó (Le juif errant)	1860										30	30		
Tengeri-hántás (En décortiquant le maïs)	1877			11	23	5	21	18		23	31	31		
Az ünnepontók (Les trouble-fête)	1877		17	7	6	6	23	19	groupement par catégories	24	32	32		
Éjféli párbaj (Duel à minuit)	1877		15	15	22	12	20	20		25	33	33		
Híd-avatás (L'inauguration du pont)	1877			9	8	8	24	21		26	34	34		
Népdal (Chanson populaire)	1877									27	35	35		
Vörös Rébék (Rébecca la rousse)	1877			16	16	4	19	22		28	36	36		
Párviadal (Combat singulier)	1877										37	37		
Tetemre-hívás (L'assignation devant le corps)	1877		16	4	4	11	18	23		29	38	38		
A kép-mutogató (Le montreur d'images)	1877		18							22	24	30	39	39

communauté des utilisateurs de textes, comprenant critiques, historiens, enseignants, enseignés, éditeurs, lecteurs, pour qu'elle regroupe certains poèmes d'Arany sous la même bannière, en quelque sorte emblématique: „Arany János Balladái”.

### *C/ L'appareil critique et la présentation*

Après le titre, c'est l'ensemble de l'appareil critique qui constitue la seconde "enveloppe" des textes rassemblés dans un recueil, et qui, tout autant que son titre, conditionne leur réception, surtout lorsqu'il s'agit, comme c'est le cas pour les ballades d'Arany, d'œuvres relevant du patrimoine national. Nous allons donc examiner les introductions, préfaces, et postfaces contenues dans nos différentes éditions.

#### *Préfaces, introductions et postfaces*

Le fait que ce soit Ágost Greguss qui le premier, en 1877, présenta au public le recueil intitulé „*Arany János Balladái*”, revêt une importance considérable qu'il convient de bien évaluer au seuil de l'histoire que nous tentons d'établir.

Les noms d'Arany et de Greguss sont officiellement associés pour la première fois dès 1865: c'est en effet cette année-là que la très officielle „Kisfaludy Társaság” (“Société Kisfaludy”) publie l'ouvrage primé lors du concours qu'elle avait elle-même organisé en 1864: *A balladáról*, de Greguss. Or, quelles sont les idées directrices de ce volumineux essai? Nous en retiendrons trois:

– malgré la difficulté à délimiter et à définir le genre de la ballade (son chapitre 1 s'intitule “De la difficulté à définir la ballade”, (*A ballada meghatározásának nehézségéről*), on doit et on peut le faire, comme il le montre dans son dernier chapitre, “La définition de la ballade” (*A ballada meghatározása*).

– c'est Arany qui le premier a su, par la ballade, faire la synthèse de la littérature populaire et de la littérature savante, et, ce faisant, nationaliser (*megnemzetiesíteni*) définitivement le genre:

“C'est lui qui s'est résolument engagé sur le terrain de la poésie populaire, et notamment celui de la poésie populaire hongroise, c'est lui qui a puisé dans la conscience naïve du peuple pour en tirer ses œuvres d'art, c'est lui qui a renoué le lien qui unissait poésie populaire et poésie savante, et c'est lui qui fut le véritable créateur de la ballade savante hongroise, lui qui fit germer la graine d'origine dans la terre qui de tous temps avait été la sienne, et qui s'est contenté d'ennoblir la pousse de greffons étrangers, alors qu'avant lui c'était la plante toute entière qui avait poussé à l'étranger avant d'être transplantée.” (1)

– la ballade savante (*műballada*) hongroise n'apparaît pour la première fois dans toute sa pureté que sous la plume d'Arany, et par conséquent ce sont les ballades mêmes d'Arany qui peuvent et doivent servir à définir la ballade en général.



Nous avons donc dès 1865 la conjonction de postulats suivante: les "ballades" d'Arany constituent *un ensemble bien délimité*, Arany, qui en est l'auteur, prend figure de grand poète *national*, enfin cet ensemble figure *le modèle* du genre de la ballade. Et cette conjonction acquiert une solidité plus grande encore du fait qu'elle est établie par une personnalité reconnue, Greguss, et qu'elle reçoit l'aval d'une société savante, la „Kisfaludy Társaság”.

Tous les éléments sont réunis dès lors pour que paraisse et s'impose un recueil intitulé „Arany János Balladái”. C'est ce qui se produit douze ans plus tard, en 1877, dans une édition dont la préface, signée de Greguss, reprend tous les arguments de son ouvrage *A balladáról*: il y définit d'une façon extrêmement didactique le genre de la ballade, il y délimite rigoureusement le "corpus" des ballades d'Arany (il en exclue *Hatvani, Pázmán lovag, A hegedű, A varró leányok, Szőke Panni, Ráchel siralma* et *A méh románcza*, enfin il y renouvelle son affirmation péremptoire:

“La véritable ballade hongroise, c'est Arany qui l'a créée, en se fondant sur la ballade populaire.” (2)

Comment les successeurs de Greguss vont-ils à leur tour se situer par rapport à cet imposant héritage?

Les éditions que nous avons retenues nous offrent des textes non signés (édition M) et des textes signés de Frigyes Riedl, Géza Voinovich, Zsolt Beöthy, Géza Féja, László Bóka, István Sötér et István Simon. Nous n'avons pu consulter que l'introduction de l'édition M, les préfaces des éditions N, O, R et W, et la postface de l'édition T; nous les commenterons à la lumière des trois idées directrices dégagées dans les propos de Greguss.

La question du genre de la ballade, qui occupait une place prépondérante, sinon décisive, dans la préface de Greguss, perd visiblement de son actualité au cours du temps. En fait deux attitudes peuvent être identifiées dans ce domaine: ou la question est quasiment passée sous silence, ou bien, ce qui est peut-être une façon encore plus irrévérencieuse d'en dénier l'intérêt ou l'actualité, elle est présentée comme définitivement résolue. C'est le cas dans la préface de Bóka, qui écrit:

“De nos jours les savants professent 'grosso modo' que les ballades de János Arany traitent de graves problèmes moraux dans un genre particulier, nouveau, qui allie le lyrisme des chants populaires, l'obscurité des antiques récits, et la tension du drame. C'est vrai dans les grandes lignes, mais c'est bien peu pour nous faire comprendre pourquoi ces ballades sont de si incomparables chefs-d'oeuvre.” (3)

Pourquoi ces ballades sont-elles de tels chefs-d'oeuvre: voilà ce qui intéresse maintenant en tout premier lieu nos préfaciers. Mais la question n'est pas innocente: on constate, en lisant notamment Féja, Bóka et Simon, qu'elle est largement provoquée par le désir, exprimé d'une façon plus ou moins explicite, d'arracher les ballades d'Arany à *la poussière académique dans laquelle les "savants" (les „tudósok” de Bóka) les ont laissé s'abîmer.*

Ce désir est transparent dans les premières lignes de la préface de notre édition M:

"Il n'y a pas de mort plus grandiose ni plus triste que la mort des prophètes hongrois, car pour enterrer plus joliment et plus pompeusement, personne au monde ne s'y prend mieux que les Hongrois; quant à revenir du monde des morts, c'est chose rare: la résurrection est difficile. . ." (4)

Et l'attaque, qui se lisait en filigrane—derrière les mots de Bóka ("... lyrisme... récits... drame..."), se fait franche et dericte lorsque Simon écrit:

Quand je me rappelle l'allégation de Greguss, qui avait cours de temps où nous étions étudiants, et selon laquelle *la ballade est une tragédie qui se chante*, je me dis qu'elle a beau lui avoir été suggérée par Arany lui-même, elle n'en est pas moins simplificatrice à l'excès si nous pensons à *Tengeri hántás*, à *Vörös Rébék* ou à *Híd avatás*, et, pour mieux dire, si nous devons la rapporter à n'importe laquelle de ses ballades." (5)

Ainsi, ce sont Greguss et les tenants de l'esprit académique qu'il convient de dénoncer, afin de voir dans les ballades d'Arany, non plus des modèles d'un genre, ou du moins pas seulement cela, mais avant tout des formes et des contenus qui renvoient à autre chose qu'à une catégorie littéraire. Nous allons voir se dessiner peu à peu sous nos yeux cet "autre chose".

Si le goût de la classification a déserté la majorité de nos préfaciers (Sőtér, lui, s'y intéresse à nouveau), il est par contre un aspect des ballades d'Arany que Greguss avait déjà nettement souligné, et que ceux-ci soulignent plus encore et approfondissent: il s'agit de la filiation entre les ballades populaires et les ballades d'Arany.

Greguss nous disait déjà que c'était "en se fondant sur la ballade populaire hongroise" qu'Arany avait créé "la véritable ballade hongroise". Or cette idée est fondamentale pour tous nos préfaciers. Citons quelques uns de leurs propos:

— Edition M;

"( . . . ) son œuvre est ce qu'il y a de plus pur et de plus hongrois dans notre littérature, elle a levé dans la terre hongroise millénaire, dans l'âme du peuple hongrois. . ." (6)

— Féja:

"Il sentait que la densité dramatique de la ballade reflétait l'affrontement des tensions qui avaient éprouvé la Hongrie millénaire, et que c'était dans la ballade que se faisaient jour le mysticisme du peuple, autrement dit de l'homme de la nature, et la relation secrète qu'il entretient avec la grande nature et le monde surnaturel." (7)

— Bóka:

"Ainsi la ballade *Ágnes asszony* n'est-elle pas un poème qui coule dans le moule de la ballade une situation psychologique créée par le poète et mise en forme avec virtuosité, mais un poème qui ennoblit une ballade populaire en la transmuant en œuvre littéraire." (8)

— Simon:

"( . . . ) le profond respect qui était le sien pour les ballades populaires, à l'égard desquelles il s'est toujours senti une dette, car s'il est une chose devant laquelle les grands poètes se sont toujours inclinés, c'est devant l'art créé par le peuple, et la ballade populaire, qui en fait partie intégrante, fut pour lui aussi un maître." (9)

– Sőtér, parlant de la technique et de l'art d'Arany :

"Dans les ballades populaires, la voie qui prévaut est celle d'une tradition plusieurs fois millénaire qui s'est inscrite dans le sang et muée en instinct, tandis que dans les ballades savantes, seuls une technique poétique et un savoir de haut niveau sont à même de remplacer cette tradition." (10)

Par-delà les différences de personnes et de tempéraments, d'époques et de tendances critiques, on dénote la constance du faisceau d'idées suivant: ce qui constitue la spécificité, la grandeur, la beauté, enfin l'unité des ballades d'Arany, c'est qu'elles témoignent de la fusion, pour la première fois réussie, d'un poète avec son peuple, sa terre, sa langue, son histoire, et que cette fusion s'est faite par le biais de la compréhension intime, quasiment innée, qu'avait le poète Arany d'une forme d'expression populaire: la ballade.

On voit alors apparaître clairement l'enjeu du débat: il s'agit de soustraire ces textes aux appétits sans cesse renaissants de "l'école", et de les rendre à Arany dont la parole, aujourd'hui encore, concerne le peuple hongrois et la Hongrie, voire d'autres peuples et d'autres nations.

C'est sur ce dernier point que nous allons réfléchir maintenant en nous penchant sur la troisième idée directrice relevée dans l'ouvrage de Greguss.

A voir le titre de son essai, les intitulés de ses chapitres, et la démarche qu'ils révèlent, on est amené à se demander si Greguss n'a pas voulu signifier que les ballades d'Arany, modèles de la ballade hongroise, pourraient tout aussi bien être considérées comme des modèles de la ballade savante en général.

Les indices qui permettent de le penser sont nombreux: outre ceux que nous venons de citer, nous notons par exemple qu'il déclare dans sa préface que les ballades de Bürger, de Goethe et de Schiller, ne sont à ses yeux que des „regekép” (des "tableaux narratifs", en quelque sorte). (g) Cette idée, ou plutôt cette suggestion, a-t-elle fait du chemin chez les successeurs de Greguss? Aurait-elle contribué elle aussi à ce que le titre „Arany János Balladái”, et la notion qu'il recouvre, s'ancre de plus en plus fortement dans la conscience des utilisateurs des ballades d'Arany? Autrement dit, en reprenant notre exemple proposé plus haut: ces utilisateurs n'auraient-ils pas désiré, plus ou moins consciemment, faire des "Ballades d'Arany" quelque chose comme l'équivalent en leur pays de nos *Fables de La Fontaine* ou de nos *Contes de Perrault*?

Le débat vaut la peine d'être posé, car il y va en grande partie, à nos yeux, de l'avenir littéraire des ballades d'Arany.

(g) „A regekép valamely jelenetet állít szemünk elé, mint bizonyos események eredményét, melyeket magából a jelenet rajzából kitalálunk, s czélja különösen az eseményeknek kedélybeli hatását erősen éreztetni.” (*Arany János balladái*, Bevezetés, 1877)

“Le „regekép” propose à nos regards une scène présentée comme la résultante de certains événements que la trame même de la scène nous fait découvrir, et il vise plus particulièrement à nous faire ressentir avec force l'effet psychique des événements.” (Préface de Ágost Greguss à l'édition de 1877).

Dans l'édition M, nous lisons ces lignes à propos de l'ensemble de l'œuvre d'Arany :

"Elle ne s'est pas desséchée, le temps ne lui a ôté ni sa saveur ni son parfum, elle n'a pas vieilli et n'est pas passée de mode, tout comme l'immortel conte populaire ne vieillira jamais, tout comme Homère ne vieillira jamais, et jamais ne vieillira la Bible." (11)

L'auteur a raison: ni la Bible, ni le conte populaire, ni Homère ne sont encore passés de mode aujourd'hui.

Féja, lui, écrit à propos d'Arany:

"Il était tout empreint de dispositions pour la ballade, de la conception de la vie qui sous-tend la ballade." (12)

Or la ballade populaire est de fait, ou fut, en tout cas au même titre que le conte, un genre universel dans lequel s'est exprimé le monde rural, le monde des paysans, de ceux dont il dit encore:

"Le paysan (. . .) non plus n'aime pas paraître ni se singulariser en s'élevant au-dessus des autres: d'une façon générale il tend à se fondre dans l'universel." (13)

Et nous nous rappelons ses propos sur "le mysticisme (. . .) de l'homme de la nature et la relation secrète qu'il entretient avec la grande nature et le monde surnaturel".

Bóka, bien que visiblement influencé par une tendance critique trop schématique, celle du réalisme socialiste, n'en dit pas moins une vérité profonde concernant les ballades d'Arany:

"(. . .) Arany l'auteur de ballades, Arany l'artiste eut beau tenter de fuir la réalité, c'est bien la réalité qu'il chanta. Comme tous les grands créateurs." (14)

Simon rapproche Arany de Dostoïevsky et de Lorca, et insiste en des termes catégoriques sur l'universalité et la supériorité des ballades d'Arany:

"Si nous considérons les ballades de Goethe, ou encore celles de Schiller, nous voyons que les analogies historiques y concourent à instruire le lecteur sur l'homme en général et sur l'histoire, tandis que chez Arany, ce qui relève de l'homme en général est traité de concert avec ce qui relève spécifiquement du domaine hongrois." (15)

Sőtér, pour finir, met l'accent sur un point très important, celui de la dramaturgie universelle de la ballade: Arany, dit-il, s'efforce de s'identifier au „népi balladamondó" (celui qui dit la ballade populaire):

"(. . .) la difficulté de la tâche provient de son désir de faire de ce genre, qui n'avait été conçu à l'origine que pour un auditoire restreint, ce que Petőfi avait fait de la chanson populaire: un genre qui s'adresse à un vaste public, un genre d'envergure nationale et qui tend à l'universalité." (16)

On le voit: si les termes du débat ont varié au cours du temps, de Greguss à Sőtér, si les successeurs de Greguss se penchent moins sur les aspects formels de la ballade, ils

persistent peu ou prou à penser que celles d'Arany expriment avec souveraineté, dans un genre universel, des vérités qui, à l'instar de celles du conte populaire, concernent également le lecteur universel.

Ainsi les présentateurs successifs des "Ballades d'Arany" ont-ils tout fait pour que ces textes primitivement dispersés acquièrent un statut bien particulier; ils ont largement œuvré pour qu'en soit identifiée la vigueur originelle, conservée la vérité profonde, et perçue la dimension nationale; enfin ils ne se sont jamais départis de la conviction secrète de leur universalité.

Après avoir examiné le rôle des critiques, qui furent aussi, pour la plupart, des historiens de la littérature et des enseignants, voyons maintenant comment les éditeurs ont présenté "Les Ballades d'Arany" à leur public, et d'abord quels sont les textes qu'ils ont retenus.

### *Les ballades retenues*

Le Tableau 2 donne une vision d'ensemble du contenu des 11 éditons intitulées „Arany János Balladái” (ou „Arany János. Balladák”); la première date de 1877, la dernière de 1982.

La première constatation qui s'impose, c'est l'augmentation régulière, au cours des années, du "corpus" des ballades d'Arany: si l'on met à part la première édition, qui n'était matériellement pas en mesure d'insérer les ballades de la période „őszikék” (h), on voit que, de 1887 à 1974, on passe de 19 pièces (dont 18 ballades originales) à 48 (dont 40 ballades originales), et que chaque recueil, celui de 1933 excepté, s'enrichit de nouvelles pièces au cours du temps. Faut-il y voir autre chose qu'une simple démarche incitative, sinon purement commerciale? Quelle interprétation, notamment, faut-il donner à ces propos d'Etel Gordon dans son édition de 1974: "Les ballades de János Arany furent rassemblées pour la dernière fois en 1957 dans une publication des Editions Magyar Helikon.

Le présent recueil s'est enrichi de dix ballades; c'est à ce jour le recueil le plus complet des ballades d'Arany." (17)

En fait les lignes qui suivent nous en suggèrent une:

"Chez Arany, comme chez la plupart des poètes, nous nous heurtons à des cas-limites dans le domaine du genre. D'ailleurs il a souvent modifié lui-même ses sous-titres en faisant d'un „históriás ének” (un récit chanté, genre poétique en vogue aux 16e et 17e siècles) une „ballada”, ou d'une „monda” (légende) une *legenda* (légende pieuse), quand il ne les a pas purement et simplement supprimés. (18)

Autrement dit: ce seraient les hésitations mêmes d'Arany qui permettraient d'étendre le "corpus" de ses "ballades". Mais si ce devait être le contraire? Si c'était

(h) Celle des "colchiques", c'est-à-dire l'année 1877, qui fut particulièrement féconde en poésies et ballades.

justement la réticence d'Arany à sous-titrer ses œuvres „ballada”, dont nous avons parlé plus haut, qui devait inviter les éditeurs à réduire progressivement le volume du recueil en question? On voit que ceux-ci n'en ont rien fait. Quelles purent être leurs motivations?

– Première hypothèse: il y aurait là le reflet d'une tendance que nous avons déjà identifiée: la volonté de voir dans les ballades d'Arany plus et autre chose que des modèles d'un genre strictement défini.

– Deuxième hypothèse: Arany n'étant pas seulement un technicien, un spécialiste, un virtuose excellent dans un genre, mais aussi et surtout un poète imprégné comme nul autre de l'art de la ballade populaire, la volonté de mettre l'accent sur cet aspect de son génie, et de présenter ses œuvres d'inspiration nettement populaire et paysanne à la place qu'elles méritent. D'où, peut-être, le statut définitif de “ballades” qu'acquièrent peu à peu *A hamis tanú* (1955), *A varró leányok* (1957), *Népdal* (1957), *Szent László* (1957) et *Szent László füve* (1974), voire *Hatvani* (1974).

– Troisième hypothèse: la volonté de signifier qu'Arany ne s'est pas toujours caché derrière la fameuse “objectivité” (*tárgyilagosság*) de la ballade, mais que ce sont le rythme et l'esprit mêmes de la ballade qui l'ont incité à cultiver ce genre et notamment à livrer de lui un saisissant auto-portrait avec *Az örök zsidó*, qui apparaît en 1974 dans le recueil (g).

– Quatrième hypothèse: en insérant peu à peu des pièces aussi disparates d'inspiration, de style et de volume, que *A hegedű* (1974), *A honvéd özvegye* (1957), *Katalin* (1974), *Párviadal* (1974), *Pázmán lovag* (1928), *Ráchel siralma* (1974), la volonté de mettre en relief la variété des ballades d'Arany et la richesse d'invention du poète.

– Cinquième hypothèse: en retenant des fragments comme *Az özvegy ember árvái* (1974) et *Varga Mihály* (1974), la volonté de présenter au lecteur le tableau le plus complet des tentatives menées à bien par Arany dans le genre de la ballade.

– Sixième hypothèse: en adjoignant aux pièces originales les ballades traduites, la volonté d'offrir aussi des éléments de comparaison, et peut-être encore de suggérer plus nettement que les ballades d'Arany doivent être appréciées dans un contexte historico-littéraire plus vaste que celui de la Hongrie.

– Septième et dernière hypothèse, qui recouvre toutes les précédentes: la volonté de reprendre à son compte l'initiative de Greguss, mais d'en modifier l'esprit, et de donner aux rares “véritables ballades” d'Arany retenues par Greguss l'extension qui leur permettra d'accéder au rang de classique de la littérature.

(g) Bóka écrit dans sa préface: “Arany a certes fui la réalité en se plongeant dans le monde de la ballade, mais sa fuite fut un échec.” (19) Et *Az örök zsidó* gagne à être lue à la lumière de ces propos de Féja: “Arany soupçonnait déjà que *la forme d'existence* la plus authentiquement hongroise était la ballade, une existence lourde de drame et qui joue avec la mort, une existence dangereuse et tourbillonnante qui se presse en épousant les rythmes orientaux et qui défile à la vitesse des hordes venues d'Orient.” (20)

*Le classement des ballades*

Un autre indice se révèle fort utile pour juger de l'évolution du recueil des "Ballades d'Arany": il s'agit du classement et de l'ordre d'apparition des différents textes. (i)

Nous allons voir qu'ici aussi on observe une tendance générale à rassembler les ballades en un tout cohérent qui soit à la hauteur et du poète et de sa maîtrise d'un genre.

Etel Gordon écrit, en présentant son édition de 1974:

"Toute idée de regroupement ayant été écartée, les poèmes se suivent dans l'ordre chronologique: c'est la disposition la plus satisfaisante du point de vue historique comme du point de vue esthétique." (21)

Elle continue donc d'affirmer (j) la supériorité de son édition sur les précédentes. Or qu'en est-il au juste?

Chez Greguss, dès 1877, prédomine le principe du respect rigoureux de la chronologie; il s'octroie seulement le droit, tout à fait justifié d'ailleurs par les déclarations mêmes d'Arany, d'isoler les ballades du "cycle Hunyadi" et de leur donner la première place. L'édition C, de 1887, respecte aussi manifestement la chronologie. L'édition E, de 1897, illustrée par Zichy, soumet probablement le classement des ballades à des considérations esthétiques ou techniques. L'édition K, de 1928, représente un cas unique: on ne distingue pas d'autre logique que celle de l'arbitraire, ou du goût personnel de l'éditeur, dans l'enchaînement des textes proposés au lecteur. L'édition M, de 1933, semble adopter un ordre basé sur la distinction entre ballades d'inspiration populaire („népi balladák") et ballades historiques. L'édition R, de 1957, repose sur un principe de regroupement souvent pratiqué dans les autres recueils que nous avons consultés mais qui ne portaient pas le titre „Arany János Balladái": "Ballades historiques" („Történelmi balladák") "Cycle Hunyadi" („Hunyadi ballada-kör"), "Ballades traitant de sujets divers" („Különböző tárgyú balladák"), "Ballades d'inspiration populaire" („Népi balladák"), "Traductions" („Fordítások"). Quant aux éditions restantes, édition O de 1948, Q de 1955, et T de 1964, elles adoptent toutes le principe du respect de la chronologie.

On voit par conséquent qu'Etel Gordon n'était pas la première à faire ce choix: en se montrant de plus en plus attentifs à l'égard des dates de création des ballades d'Arany, les éditeurs ont eux aussi offert à leur public le tableau qui lui permettait le mieux de juger de l'évolution du talent d'Arany. Ils ont donc, là encore, conservé la rigueur du professeur d'esthétique qu'était Greguss, tout en redonnant à Arany son vrai visage: celui d'un homme et d'un poète qui rêvait notamment de composer un grand cycle de ballades sur les Hunyadi, et de hisser l'art de la ballade populaire au rang d'art national,

(i) Pour ce qui suit nous renvoyons le lecteur au Tableau 3 en annexe, dans lequel l'édition W de 1982, fondée sur le strict respect de la chronologie, est prise comme base de référence.

(j) Voir ci-dessus.

autrement dit de réaliser dans son pays le rêve que tant de poètes firent en vain chez nous, en France, à commencer par Gérard de Nerval.

Arany, lui, en a réalisé l'essentiel; c'est ce que nous permet de mesurer le travail accompli durant un siècle par ceux qui assumèrent la tâche d'éditer ses ballades, et aussi, n'en doutons pas, par les générations successives de leurs lecteurs: il ne saurait y avoir en effet, aujourd'hui, de recueil intitulé "Les Ballades d'Arany" si un "travail" semblable ne s'était opéré également dans l'esprit de ses destinataires: ses lecteurs.

Pourtant, lorsque l'on pense à nouveau à ces poèmes, alors disséminés çà et là, aujourd'hui si solidement rassemblés en un édifice unique, on ne peut manquer de s'en étonner encore, et de penser que "le phénomène littéraire", pris dans son ensemble, constitue un tissu d'interrogations: aussi déroutant que passionnant.

Quel est l'avenir des ballades d'Arany? La présente étude nous fait dire que cette œuvre, pour s'être ainsi imposée au cours du temps, restera un grand classique dans le champ de la littérature hongroise. Mais quelles sont ses chances dans celui de la littérature universelle? La foi des éditeurs des ballades, dont nous avons tâché de montrer l'affleurement ici et là, est-elle étayée par des signes prometteurs?

Nos recherches nous ont permis d'identifier 6 recueils des ballades d'Arany en langue étrangère: 1 traduction allemande, 2 traductions italiennes, 1 traduction roumaine, 1 traduction russe, 1 traduction ukrainienne. Que valent-elles? Nous n'avons pu en juger personnellement. Souhaitons seulement que le mouvement s'étende: les ballades d'Arany, pour peu qu'on travaille à leur étude et à leur propagation, pourraient bien apparaître un jour comme la plus belle réussite dans le genre de la "ballade savante" à l'époque du post-romantisme et du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle finissant.

### Citations

1. „Ő állott igazán a népköltészet, még a magyar népköltészet alapjára, ő fejtette ki műalkotásait a népezmélet naivságából, ő állította helyre a megszakadt kapcsolatot mű- meg népköltészet között, és ő lett a magyar műballada igazi megalkotója az által, hogy azt a magyar természetes földjén a maga eredeti magvából nevelte föl, s idegen oltványokkal csak nemesítette, míg az ő koráig az egész növény csak átültetett idegen termés volt.”
2. „Az igazi magyar balladát, a népballada alapján, Arany teremtette meg.”
3. „Ma valami olyasfélért vallanak a tudósok, hogy Arany János balladáit mély erkölcsi problémákat fejeznek ki egy különös, újszerű műformában, mely a népdalszerű líraiságot, az ősi, homályos elbeszélést és a feszült drámaiságot egyesíti magában. Ez körülbelül igaz is, de eléggé kevés ahhoz, hogy megértsük: miért olyan páratlan remekművek ezek a balladák.”
4. „A magyar próféták halálánál nincsen nagyszerűbb, nincsen szomorúbb halál. Mert temetni szebben, pompásabban a magyarnál senki emberfia nem tud ezen a világon, de magyar temetés után a halálból ritka, mert nehéz a feltámadás. . .”
5. „Greguss diákkorunkból visszacsengő megállapítása, hogy *a ballada tragédia dalban elbeszélve*, bár éppen Aranyból következett ki, túlságosan is leegyszerűsítőnek tűnik föl, ha a *Tengeri-hántás-ra*, a *Vörös Rébék-re* vagy a *Hid-avatás-ra* gondolunk, jobban mondva, ha valamelyikre vonatkoztatnánk.”



6. „( . . . ) műve a legtisztább, legmagyarabb irodalom, az ezeréves magyar földből, a magyar nép lelkéből sarjadt. . .”
7. „Érezte, hogy a ballada drámai sűrűségében a magyar sors évezredek élményei viaskodnak s a balladában nyilatkozik meg a nép, tehát a természeti ember miszticizmusa, a nagy természettel és a természetfeletti dolgokkal való belső kapcsolata.”
8. „Az *Agnes asszony* tehát egy olyan költemény, mely nem a költő által teremtett, virtuózra formált lélektani helyzetet zárja ballada-formába, hanem amely egy népballadát emel át az irodalomba.”
9. „( . . . ) a mély tisztelettel a népballadák iránt, amivel mindig adósuknak érezte magát, hiszen a nagy költő egy előtt mindig mélyen meghajolt: a népköltő művészet előtt, s ennek egy része a népballada, mely az ő tanítómestere is volt.”
10. „A népballadában egy sok évszázados hagyomány vérré, ösztönné vált útmutatása érvényesül, a műballadákban a hagyományt csak egy magasrendű költői technika és tudás képes pótolni.”
11. „Nem száradt meg, nem vette el az idő sem ízét, sem illatát, nem avult meg és nem ment ki a divatból, mint ahogy az örök népmese nem avul meg soha, ahogy Homérosz nem avul meg soha és nem avul meg soha a Biblia.”
12. „Tele volt balladai hajlammal, balladás életszemlélettel.”
13. „A parasztember ( . . . ) sem szeret egyéni úton kiemelkedni és feltűnni, általában arra törekszik, hogy belesimuljon az egyetemesbe.”
14. „( . . . ) a balladairó Arany, a formaművész Arany hiába próbált menekülni a valóságtól, mégis a valóságot dalolta ki. Mint minden nagy alkotó.”
15. „Ha Goethe balladáit nézzük, vagy akár Schillerét, a történelmi analógia általános emberi és történelmi okulásra vonatkozik, míg Aranynál az általános emberi és a sajátosan magyar vonatkozású fonódik össze.”
16. „( . . . ) szembe kell néznie azzal a nehézséggel hogy az eredetileg csak kis kör testére szabott műfaj éppoly széles körűvé, nemzetivé és általános érvényűvé kívánkozik nála, mint a népdal Petőfinél.”
17. „Arany János összegyűjtött balladái utoljára 1957-ben jelentek meg a Magyar Helikon kiadásában.  
Ez a gyűjtemény tíz balladával bővült; Arany balladáinak eddig legteljesebb gyűjteménye.”
18. „Aranynál – mint a legtöbb költőnél – műfaji határesetekkel találkozunk. Ő maga is sokszor változtatta az alcímet, így lett a históriás énekből ballada vagy a mondából legenda, esetleg az alcímet el is hagyta.”
19. „( . . . ) Arany bizonyára elmenekült a valóságtól a balladák világába, ám a menekülés nem sikerült.”
20. „Arany már sejtette, hogy a legigazibb magyar *életforma* a ballada, a gyorsan pergő, keleti mértékkel, keleti rajok sebességével siető veszélyes s halállal kockázó drámai élet.”
21. „Mindenféle csoportosítást mellőzve, a költemények időrendben következők egymás után: a történelmi és esztétikai szempontok így érvényesülnek legjobban.”



## BLACKWELL AND HUNGARY

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How was it that an Englishman, born in Cobridge, Staffordshire, two years before the birth of the nineteenth century became, for a while, an influential western "diplomat" in Hungary? How is it, that even today, the name of Joseph Andrew Blackwell is not only known but respected by every Hungarian historian of the 1848/49 and of the preceding "reform" era? Is his personality, activities, reports and views — all coming to the fore between the third and the fifth decade of the last century — of special interest to us today?

J. A. Blackwell was the son of a wealthy manufacturer of china products who owned kilns in Cobridge, in the heart of 'The Potteries.' His branch of the family — which, according to family tradition had come from Scotland — was Roman Catholic. Joseph Andrew Blackwell was christened in the Catholic Church, attended the Catholic School, had part of his money invested in the Catholic Congregational trust fund and was one of the circle of Catholic intellectuals in Cobridge. When his father Joseph Blackwell died, the family firm was headed by a younger brother called John Blackwell (incidentally not a Catholic, but Church of England) who became the young Joseph's guardian.

Blackwell spent the 1820s travelling around Europe, sightseeing, learning languages, pursuing amateurish studies of geology, natural history, architecture. His favourite book, at that time, was Childe Harold, his hero Byron, his intellectual development influenced by Lamarck's thesis, that allowed for monkeys to be among our ancestors, decades before Darwin's *Origins of the species* was published. Joseph Blackwell did the *grand tour* of Europe, living in expensive hotels, hiring guides, consorting with continental gentlemen and aristocrats on tour, learning good French, fluent Italian and excellent German. Starting out from London in 1819 he traversed France and Germany, sojourned in Austria and in Hungary, and spent a longish time in Italy. In Hungary he met the learned "professor" Fidelis Mayer secretary to Prince Pál Esterházy, the richest magnate in Hungary and one of the greatest landowners in Europe, west of Russia. On his second continental journey, starting in 1822 Blackwell stayed in France, Switzerland and Italy, for a while, but settled in Austria from the winter of 1826 onwards. In Vienna he met his future wife — writing rather mediocre but sincere love poems to her — visited his in-laws, a retired army officer and his wife in Graz, and seemed to have been ready to live a comfortable life of a gentleman abroad, on the

proceeds of the family firm back in Cobridge. However John Blackwell died in 1828 – the boat was rocking – and his firm was dissolved in 1831. His former partners, the Dillons family carried on.

Joseph Blackwell had to live on – as he put it in a letter to a Cobridge friend Francis Emery – “his wits” and “of his pen.” The former included trading with Bohemian clay and, when back in England for a few years in the late thirties, gathering political intelligence for the Radicals. The latter comprised all his literary and journalistic activities, his work as a publisher’s reader for Dunstable and for Murray. We do not know how he acquired the skill but Blackwell was able to tackle Danish and Icelandic manuscripts, wrote reviews in this field and – when he found himself again with time on his hand in 1846 – he compiled and published a “Northern miscellany”. Meanwhile, in London in 1837, he made the acquaintance of the Russian Chargé d’Affaires (tried to sell English china through him to the Imperial Russian Court) and gleaned as much information from him as to be able to write, convincingly, a short article on *Russian territorial aggrandizement*.

Blackwell’s Hungarian connections came to light with a series of articles, entitled Acts of the Hungarian Diet, 1832–1836, in the 1837 issues of the *Athenaeum*. Apart from reporting from these parliamentary sessions held at Pozsony (equals Pressburg, equals Bratislava) in which the Hungarian reformers of the day (liberals as well as tory radicals) fought the conservatives, and through them the Vienna government, Blackwell had forecasted the eventual outcome of these battles. To put it succinctly, Blackwell predicted that, unless the Austrian government gave way on reforms, and eventually allowed self-government in Hungary, a clash was unavoidable. In these articles, as well as in letters Blackwell was to write to Palmerston, the Foreign Secretary, there are pithy quotations from a pamphlet, entitled “A few remarks on our foreign policy”, which Blackwell published in 1836 but no one saw in this century. From the quotations one may surmise that Blackwell advocated a kind of Danubian federation, with Hungary as its natural, geographical as well as political centre, which could be strong enough to check the Russian tide once the Austrian monarchy fell apart.

Sir Robert Gordon was British Ambassador in Vienna until 1846 and a patron of Blackwell. He had read the *Athenaeum* series, liked them, and commissioned Blackwell to report on the next session of the Hungarian Diet. Thus in 1843 Joseph Blackwell became a diplomatic agent on a daily wage of 2 guineas plus expenses, the modern equivalent of perhaps a hundred pounds. His home at the time, was his wife’s family home in Graz, where his young son was growing up, but he was put up in good hotels in Pozsony and Pest for weeks. Vienna police spies knew and reported about it, but so did the Prince Palatine, the King’s Viceroy in Hungary, or the prelates whose company he sought. At weekends he stayed as a guest at the large provincial houses of titled families, such as the Zichy-Ferraris or, occasionally, the Széchenyis. Although Blackwell believed in the vitality and positively interpreted the progressive side of Magyar nationalism, he was well aware of the Croatian claims as well, and foresaw that the two must clash, well before Hungarian politicians were prepared to tackle the ques-

tion. Of the two chief Hungarian protagonists, the aristocratic, ebullient Széchenyi and the lawyer Kossuth, with impoverished petty-noble background, he liked neither; he thought highly of Eötvös, an eminent educator and a writer of seminal novels, of Szalay, a scholar of jurisprudence who conducted diplomatic missions, of Szemere, the future prime minister of Kossuth's independent 1849 ministry and Count K. Batthyány, the future Hungarian Foreign Secretary.

With the departure of Gordon, Blackwell's immediate boss in Vienna and with the change of the person of foreign secretary – Palmerston replaced Gordon's brother in London – Blackwell's task became more difficult.

Palmerston's balance of power theory would not allow any weakening of Austria and Lord Ponsonby, his representative in Vienna, seemed to have interpreted this policy so, that none should be reported. Consequently we have an interesting, well nigh extraordinary situation involving Blackwell. While Ponsonby's reports support the stability of Austria, reports by Blackwell, channelled through Ponsonby, do the opposite. And what is more, Blackwell had managed to find direct channels to Palmerston, thus avoiding Ponsonby's scrutiny. Between the beginning of 1843 and the end of 1849 Blackwell executed four Hungarian missions. In the last one he had a brief to take preliminary steps for peace negotiations between Austria and Hungary. *Alas*, he said in his concluding report to Palmerston, *it was all too late*.

Having lately travelled between London, Vienna, Pressburg (and occasionally) Zagreb, with short spells at his family's home in Graz, Blackwell now settled in London, once more trying to earn his living with his pen. The two more interesting products of this period between 1850 and 1854 were his long, serialised article on the "History of Hungarian war" (written anonymously) and his translation of K. Batthyány's *Hungarian characteristics*, which is still in manuscript in the library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Meanwhile Palmerston, at the behest of parliament published the "Blue Book" on Hungary in 1851, giving a somewhat prejudiced selection of the correspondence on Hungary. Some of the contemporary reviewers picked out Blackwell who had not hidden the truth. Blackwell – whose missions were secret or semi-secret, and was not used to operating in the limelight –, was embarrassed, all the more so, as he was hoping for another position under Palmerston. As *Punch* called the Foreign Secretary "Chief Judicious bottle holder" on account of his feeble efforts for Hungary, Blackwell, in private, called himself "deputy bottle-holder".

Blackwell's main ambition in life had been the establishment of a British Consulate in Hungary. It came about only after the Compromise between Austria and Hungary – the early efforts had been foiled by Metternich – when Blackwell was already a consul, alas in Stettin. He held forth, steadfast, until his retirement in 1879, concerned with shipping, commercial affairs, toasting his wife on her namesday and polishing up sections of his memoirs. Apart from his voluminous correspondence and many reports of the Hungarian scene, Blackwell wrote a political *memoir*, subtitled the "Two bees." One B. refers to Blackwell, the other to Batthyány who, for translating his book, had promised a piece of land to Blackwell, once he was able to return from exile.

Blackwell's aspirations to become "a Hungarian gentleman" (something in which, another Englishman, John Paget had succeeded) were short lived as the ex Hungarian foreign secretary died in 1854.

Among English historians only Sproxton devoted more than a passing glance to Blackwell. Since the bulk of his political testimony is in Hungary – Blackwell had left his papers to his Austrianised son: Robert, and through him to the Hungarian Academy – Hungarian scholars have had easier access to it. Starting with Jenő Péterfy the literary historian and Jenő Horváth the diplomatic historian, many studies were written if not on Blackwell, but, with the posthumous help of Blackwell, by Hungarians. After the war it was Éva Haraszti, who took the trouble to compare some of Blackwell's original submissions with the edited versions in the Blue Book, and lately, Blackwell was the subject of a diploma thesis by Ágnes Katona.

Apart from Hungary, the Public Records Office in London yields now the Foreign Office documents, the Vienna State Archives contain certain correspondence of a political and the Potteries' Gladstone Museum of a private nature. Apart from that he frequently featured in the diaries of Hungarian contemporaries.

Blackwell described himself in his Journal, 1822 as "swarthy . . . strong of limbs . . . almost robust". Unfortunately there is no portrait of him although a portrait by him – presumably of his friend Count Zichy-Ferraris – survives in the Academy deposit.

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## UNGARISCHE DENKMÄLER – MADE IN AUSTRIA

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Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert hat neben vielen positiven und negativen, gesellschaftlichen und technischen Veränderungen und Neuerungen, die bis zum heutigen Tag nachwirken, auch manches zur Verschönerung der Städte und ihrer Plätze hinterlassen: *Denkmäler*.

Monumentale Plastik, die frei, ohne Architekturbezug und ohne weiteren Zweck als den des Erinnerns an eine Person oder an ein Ereignis öffentlich aufgestellt wurde, bildet eine typische Kunstform des vorigen Jahrhunderts, in der sich das seinerzeitige geistig-philosophische Milieu – auch in Ungarn – ausdrückte. So stehen und sitzen die Heroen der ungarischen Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur in Erz gegossen auf ihren Podesten und wollen Vorbilde und Lehrer der Lebenden sein<sup>1</sup>. Über diese wichtige Aufgabe wird bei so viel Idealismus und Idealität leicht die materielle Seite der metallenen Helden vergessen. Wo sind die Denkmäler entstanden? Ist ihre Herkunft auch so ungarisch, so patriotisch wie die Botschaft, die sie mitteilen wollen? Es ist beileibe nicht so.

Sándor Petőfi, der Dichter der Revolution 1848, wurde in Rednerpose verewigt (Abb. 4.) und auf jenem Platz aufgestellt, der mit seinem Namen an den Beginn der Revolution (15. März) in Ungarn erinnert. Der Standort und die Form des Denkmals sind treffend gewählt, denn Petőfi hatte mit seinen Reden und Gedichten zur nationalen Erhebung beigetragen und fiel im anschließenden Freiheitskampf. Kann es daran gemessen einen "ungarischeren" Dichter geben? – Gegossen wurde die Statue aber in Wien in der *K.k. Kunsterzgießerei Röhlich & Pönninger*, die aus der Werkstatt des Bildhauers Anton Ritter von Fernkorn<sup>2</sup> (1813–1878) hervorgegangen war. Teils durch ihn, teils durch seine beiden Schüler, den kaufmännischen Leiter Joseph Röhlich<sup>3</sup> (1838–1887) und den künstlerischen Leiter der Gießerei Franz Pönninger<sup>4</sup> (1832–1906) entstanden u.a. die Denkmäler für Prinz Eugen von Savoyen, Erzherzog Carl und Erzherzog Albrecht in Wien, Denkmäler für Erzherzog Johann, Kaiserin Maria Theresia, Kaiser Joseph II. und Fürst Schwarzenberg, kurzum lauter kaiserliche Monumente. Der Gedanke, daß unter einem Dach allerhöchste Fürstlichkeiten und ungarische Revolutionäre wie Petőfi friedlich nebeneinander standen, entbehrt nicht einer gewissen Komik.

Anton von Fernkorn hatte schon 1860 und 1861 für den Garten des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums in Budapest die Büsten der Dichter Dániel Berzsenyi und Ferenc Kazinczy gegossen, die der in Wien lebende Bildhauer Miklós Baron Vay<sup>5</sup> (1828–1886) geschaffen hatte. Als Spende des Komitates Somogy kamen die Denkmäler zur Auf-

stellung. Berzsenyi hatte in seinen Gedichten dem erwachenden ungarischen Nationalbewußtsein Ausdruck verliehen. Angesichts der politischen Lage zwischen 1849 und 1867 gewannen seine Worte erneut an Aktualität. Kazinczy dagegen hatte in seinen Werken die Reform der ungarischen Sprache gefördert und wurde als Mitglied der "Geheimen Gesellschaft der Reformen" wegen Teilnahme an der Martinovics-Verschwörung zu Gefängnis verurteilt. So großem Engagement für Ungarn zum Trotz: die Denkmäler erblickten das Licht der Welt in Wien.

Auch später hatte die *K.k. Kunstergießerei* viele Aufträge aus Ungarn erhalten. Vor allem Adolf Huszár<sup>6</sup> (1843–1885), der auch an der Wiener Akademie studiert hatte, ließ seine Statuen (wie seine oben erwähnte Petöfi-Statue) dort gießen:

- die Muse des romantischen Dichters Károly von Kisfaludy, die auch im Garten des Nationalmuseums in Budapest ihren Platz fand und im Zweiten Weltkrieg zerstört wurde (Abb. 7),
- das Denkmal in Szeged für den Piaristen András Dugonics, der den ersten ungarischen Roman (*Etelka*) schrieb und aktiv für den Gebrauch der ungarischen Sprache kämpfte,
- die Statue von József Baron Eötvös, der Oppositionspolitiker während der Reformzeit und erster ungarischer Bildungsminister nach dem Ausgleich war und dessen Denkmal am alten Standort vor den neuen Hotels am Donauufer in Budapest vorteilhaft zur Geltung kommt (Abb. 8),
- und das Denkmal des Revolutionsgenerals Joseph Bem, das in Marosvásárhely in Siebenbürgen seine Aufstellung fand und 1920 zerstört wurde.

Die Erinnerung an den "größten Ungarn", István Graf Széchenyi, wurde für die *K.k. Kunstergießerei* zu einem Großauftrag. Nach dem Modell des Bildhauers József Engel<sup>7</sup> (1815–1901) wurde dort 1879 das Denkmal mit seinen vier kolossalen Statuen gegossen, das vor der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Sichtweite der Kettenbrücke Széchenyis aufgestellt wurde (Abb. 6). Der jüdische Künstler hatte bis 1866 im Ausland gelebt und nicht ohne Widerstand den die ungarische Nation bewegenden Denkmalswettbewerb gewonnen.

All diese Denkmäler zur Erinnerung an die Kämpfer für die ungarische Sache gewannen ihre Gestalt auf kronfiskalischem Grund und Boden Österreichs, in Gebäuden, in denen rund einhundert Jahre lang Kanonen gegossen worden waren. Diesem Gußhaus, das mit seiner früheren Bestimmung an die Kanonen erinnerte, die 1848/49 auf Ungarn gerichtet waren, wurde nun – wenige Jahre später – die Verwirklichung jener Denkmäler übertragen, die die Verteidiger Ungarns in Wort und Tat verherrlichten.

Doch auch andere Gießereien arbeiteten für Ungarn. Am entferntesten lag wahrscheinlich das *Gußwerk in Lauchhammer* (Kreis Liebenwerda, Regierungsbezirk Merseburg), wo 1896 nach dem Entwurf von György Kiss<sup>8</sup> (1852–1919) das Standbild für Gyula Graf Andrassy entstand. Graf Andrassy war in seiner Jugend Adjutant bei dem Revolutionsgeneral Görgey gewesen und deshalb verurteilt und *in effigie* hingerichtet worden, während er 1867 als Ministerpräsident Kaiser Franz Joseph I. zum König von Ungarn krönte. Die Gußstätte seines Denkmals lag jedoch weit von seinem Vaterland entfernt, in



der Zeit Christian Daniel Rauchs<sup>9</sup> (1777–1857) Erfahrung und Ruhm mit Kunstgüssen hatte.

Aus dem in der mährischen Bezirkshauptmannschaft Boskowitz gelegenen Blansko, aus der dortigen *Erzgießerei der Fürsten und Altgrafen zu Salm-Reifferscheidt-Reitz*, kam ein Denkmal nach Budapest, das ungeliebt und unerwünscht war: das Hentzi-Denkmal (Abb. 2). Es erinnerte an den Heldentod des in Debrecen geborenen kaiserlichen Generals Heinrich Hentzi von Arthurm am 2. Mai 1849 in Buda, bei der vergeblichen Verteidigung gegen die ungarischen Revolutionstruppen. Von 1852 bis 1899 stand es auf dem Paradeplatz und fristete danach ein Schattendasein im Garten der Kadettenschule, wo es 1918 während der Astern-Revolution zerstört wurde. Entworfen hatte es – neben Franz Bauer – Hans Gasser<sup>10</sup> (1817–1868), den die Einladung Erzherzog Josephs von Österreich, *Palatinus Hungariae*, nach Budapest geholt hatte, wo Gasser fast als Wahlungar starb. Sein Werk, das Hentzi-Denkmal, bot aber ständigen Anlaß, „um so empfindlicher die Gefühle des Ungarntums zu verletzen.“<sup>11</sup>

Die Stammutter aller bisher genannten Gießereien ist aber die *Königlich bayerische Kunstergießerei* in München unter Johann Baptist Stiglmaier<sup>12</sup> (1791–1844). Zwei der prominentesten Denkmäler Ungarns entstanden hier. Das erste „ungarische“ Denkmal (ungarisch, weil es durch ungarische Spenden zustandegekommen ist) war das Standbild für den sehr beliebten Palatin Joseph (Abb. 5). Gleich nach dem Tode des Erzherzogs (1847), dem man seine Stellungnahmen für Ungarn gegen die Wiener Zentralregierung hoch anrechnete, waren Pläne für das Denkmal aufgenommen worden, die erst 1869 mit der Enthüllung auf dem nach ihm benannten Platz (*József Nádor tér*) in Budapest abgeschlossen werden konnten. Entworfen hatte es der Münchner Johann von Halbig<sup>13</sup> (1814–1882) und gegossen Stiglmaiers Nachfolger Ferdinand von Miller<sup>14</sup> (1813–1887). – Im folgenden Jahr, 1870, entstand in München nach dem Modell des ersten ungarischen Großmeisters der Bildhauerei, Miklós Izsó<sup>15</sup> (1831–1875), das Denkmal für Mihály Vitéz Csokonai, das in Debrecen, seiner Heimatstadt, aufgestellt wurde. Csokonai war Ungarns bekanntester Vertreter des „Sturm und Drang“ und in seinem Gedankengut dem gleichzeitig verstorbenen Friedrich von Schiller vergleichbar. Ein ähnlich großes Echo wie die frühen Schiller-Denkmäler in Deutschland fand auch das Projekt des Csokonai-Denkmal – zumal es von Ungarns damals prominentestem Bildhauer ausgeführt wurde.

Wie stets im neunzehnten Jahrhundert nahm die Presse und damit die Bevölkerung großen Anteil an diesen Denkmalsprojekten. Sie waren ein Teil der Bildung des Nationalbewußtseins. Kränkte es die Ungarn nicht, daß die „Geburt“ nicht in Ungarn stattfand? Die Zeitgenossen störte es nicht. Z. B. wurden die beiden letzten Denkmäler in der damaligen Presse<sup>16</sup>, die an anderer Stelle ihrem nationalen Bewußtsein betont Ausdruck verlieh, hoch gelobt und umjubelt. Der „Schönheitsfehler“ wurde ignoriert.

Umgekehrt muß man sich wundern, daß es in Wien keinen Widerstand gab, als die Gußstätten von *Carl Turbains Söhnen*, die an zahlreichen Staatsaufträgen mitgewirkt hatten, 1890 nach dem Modell von György Zala<sup>17</sup> (1858–1937) das Denkmal für die dreizehn Märtyrer von Arad gossen. Schließlich galt die Verehrung dreizehn Revolutionsgenerälen von 1848/1849, die nach Wiener Ansicht Hochverrat an Kaiser und Reich verübt hatten. Versuche, den Guß durch direkte oder indirekte Maßnahmen „von oben“ zu verhindern,



Abb. 1

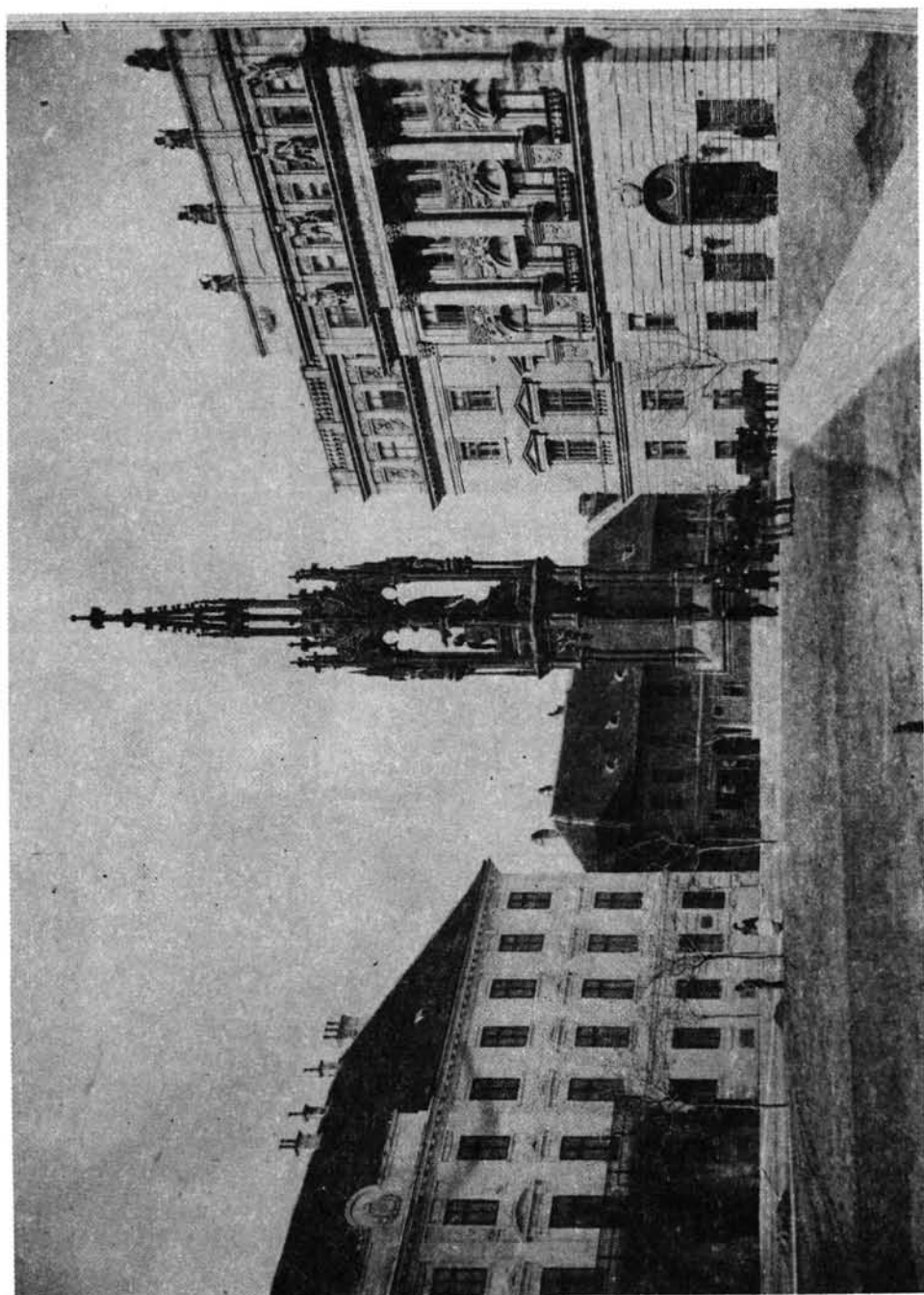


Abb. 2



Abb. 3



Abb. 4

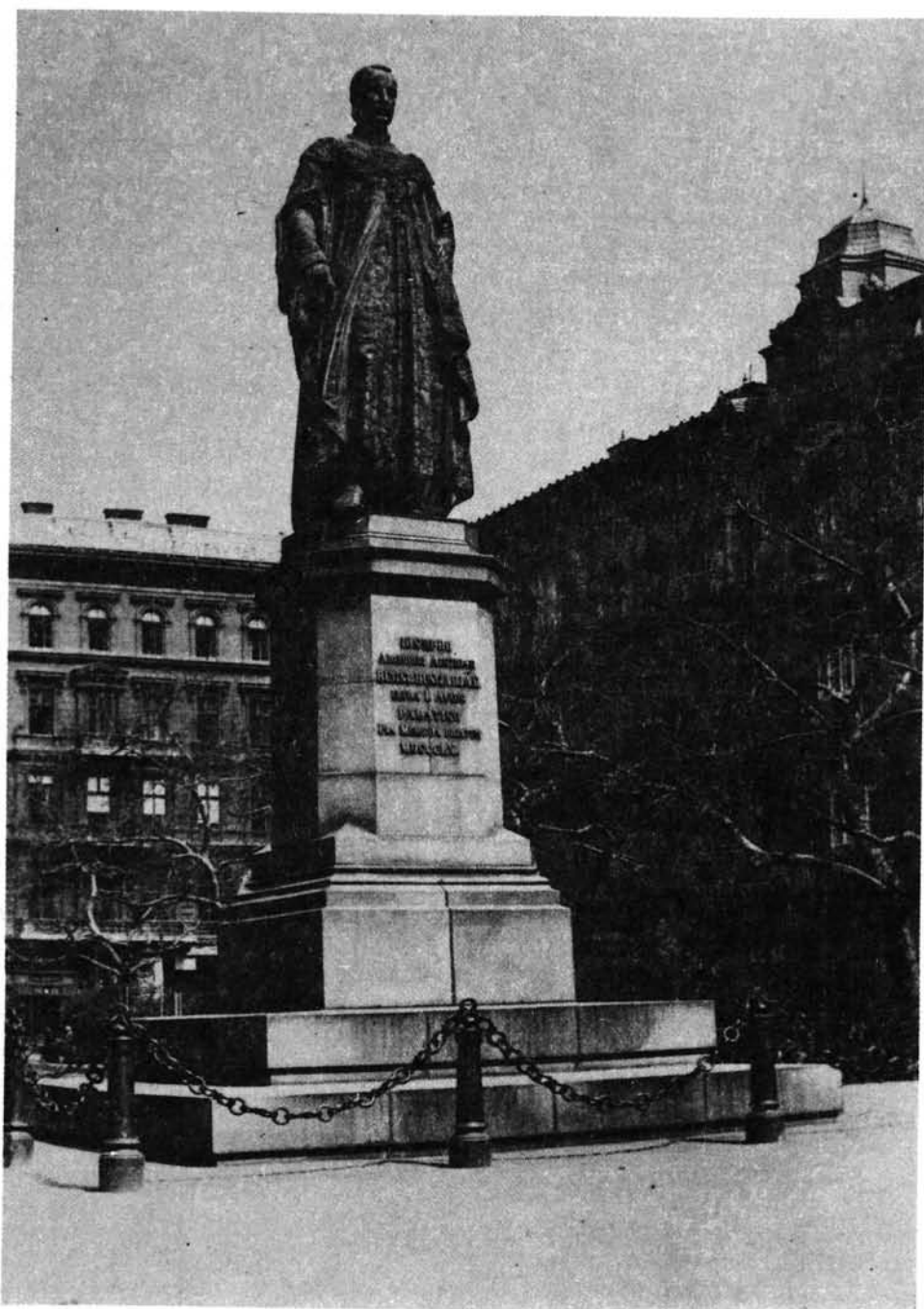


Abb. 5



Abb. 6



Abb. 7



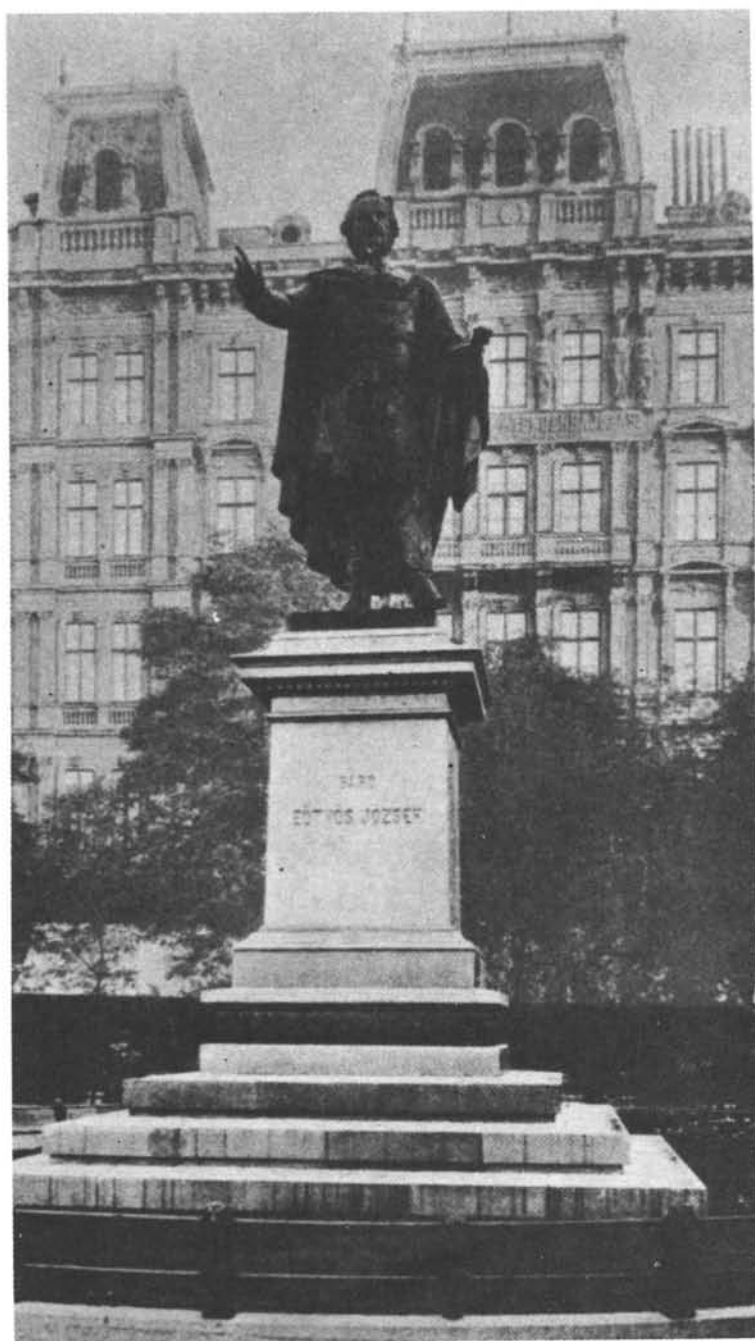


Abb. 8

sind nicht bekannt. Für die Gießerei galt dagegen der Satz: Geschäftsinteresse geht vor nationalen und historischen Empfindungen.

Versucht man ein Resümee aus den hier skizzierten Denkmalsgeschichten zu ziehen, so fällt besonders der eklatante Gegensatz zwischen dem hohen magyarischen und dem oft betont anti-österreichischen, anti-deutschen oder anti-habsburischen ideellen Anspruch der Denkmäler und deren Entstehungsgeschichte auf.

Allein aus Platzgründen konnten auf den vorigen Seiten nur einige exemplarische Denkmäler herausgegriffen werden. Gab es denn keine Denkmäler, die in Ungarn gegossen wurden? Es mag für das ungarische Selbstverständnis tröstlich sein zu erfahren, daß es einige Ausnahmen der hier aufgezeigten Regel gab.

Als an den heldenhaften Widerstand der ungarischen Truppen gegen die kaiserlichen und russischen Eindringlinge 1849 erinnert werden sollte, entwarf für den größten Schlachtort, den Paß von Branyiszkó, der Bildhauer József Faragó<sup>18</sup> (1821–1895) aus Lócse ein Denkmal. Gegossen wurde es 1871 in *Prakfalva*. Diese Gießerei stellte aber nur Eisengüsse her. Das hier genannte Beispiel zeigt sehr deutlich, wo der Grund für die Gußvergabe an außerungarische Gießereien lag: Es gab keine Bronze gießerei in Ungarn, die solche Monumentalgüsse hätte bewältigen und verwirklichen können. Auf Grund dessen entstand der Gegensatz zwischen materiellem Ursprung und ideellem Anspruch bei den ungarischen Denkmälern des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts.

So braucht sich Sándor Petöfi seiner metallenen nichtungarischen Herkunft nicht zu schämen und kann weiter seine flammenden Reden halten. Schließlich kann niemandem ein Vorwurf gemacht werden, wenn die äußeren Umstände die Verwirklichung ungarischer Ideen auf ungarischem Boden unmöglich machten.

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## ANTHROPOLOGY AND POLITICS

### Craniology and Racism in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy

TIBOR FRANK

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It was probably Franz Joseph Gall (1758–1828) who, for the first time in modern Europe, tried to juxtapose intellectual abilities and certain sections of the brain, in other words he gave an “ideological” interpretation of brain-formations. According to Gall “there are as many different kinds of intellect as there are distinct qualities . . . One individual may have considerable intellect relative to one fundamental power, but a very narrow one in reference to every other. . .”<sup>1</sup>

Gall’s teachings rapidly spread in Hungary where his first apostle and populariser, Viktor Szokoly emphasized that “the teaching of Gall differs mainly from the older kind of psychology in that it combines the bodily and psychic phenomena of people’s lives. . . It is on this connection that phrenology puts its main stress and it strives to explain what kind of contact exists between soul and its main organ, the brain – and again, what is the link between certain basic capacities of the soul and the cranial organs corresponding to these faculties.”<sup>2</sup>

Modern anthropology may boast of forerunners from the French Enlightenment such as the naturalist Buffon (Georges-Louis Leclerc, 1707–1788) who, in his celebrated *Histoire des Quadrupèdes*, started to examine races as early as 1765.<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, anthropology can be considered a science in its own right only since 1859, when the *Société d’anthropologie* was founded in Paris. At that time, research was concentrated primarily on the skull as the most outstanding, most characteristic part of the human body which could moreover be easily collected and studied. Studies of the skull, however, were, up to the mid-19th century, conducted unsystematically, and with a measure both of naivety and one-sidedness. Researchers considered it their duty to set up their own “craniological” schemes to solve “the secret of the soul, the measure of intelligence, the medium type of mankind and its division into races.” One might argue today that the phrenology of F. J. Gall, the “kephalometry” of Moritz Benedict, the convict-typology of Cesare Lombroso, or the studies in facial angles by Peter Camper are nothing more than mere scientific humbug. National animosity or antagonism already played a role at this point of the history of skull-research: a different “horizontal” was used for craniometry by the Germans than by the French. Special systems were established by the Swedish scientist Anders Johann Retzius between 1840 and 1860 who differentiated among certain national skulltypes according to his craniometric indices. Different again were the methods of the French Paul

# ARCISME

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## PHRENOLOGIA,

minden rendü olvasó számára

közli és jegyzetekkel kíséri

**Szokoly Viktor,**

a magyar k. természettudományi társulat rendes tagja.

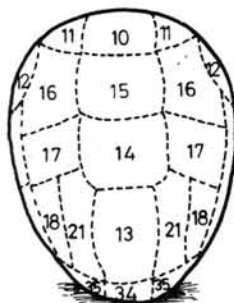


A szövegbe nyomott, részben eredeti, 162 fametszettel.

Pest, 1864.

Kiadja Hartleben Adolf.

Fig. 1. Frontispiece of V. Szokoly's book



- 9. Composition
- 20. Wit
- 21. Imitation
- 29. Orderlines
- 32. Music
- 33. Language

Fig. 2. Creative capacities of the brain, an illustration in Szokoly's book

Broca and Paul Topinard, or, for that matter, those of the German Hermann Welcker and Rudolf Virchow. The Hungarian anthropologist Professor Lajos Bartucz was right when he declared that "in fact . . . the greater the number of systems and quantity of skull measurements and examinations, the smaller the number of actual results. What is more, earlier statements previously considered valid became in time more and more illusionary and, in the 70s and 80s of the last century, people in and out of the circles of anthropologists started to speak of the failure of craniology."<sup>4</sup>

Craniology concentrated mainly on *craniometry* which was founded on the scientific belief in the measurement of the skull. "The leaders of craniometry were not conscious political ideologues. They regarded themselves as servants of their numbers, apostles of objectivity. And they confirmed all the common prejudices of comfortable white males — that blacks, women, and poor people occupy their subordinate roles by the harsh dictates of nature."<sup>5</sup>

It was in the enthrallment of quantification that the first major master of craniometry, Paul Broca (1824–1880) lived and worked. He was the founder of the *Société d'anthropologie* of Paris and a professor of surgery at the Sorbonne. It was Paul Broca who first stressed with an international impact that the *measures* of the brain are interrelated with human intelligence. "Among the questions heretofore discussed within the Anthropological Society," Broca explained, "none is equal in interest and importance to the question before us now. . . The great importance of craniology has struck anthropologists with such force that many among us have neglected the other parts of our science in order to devote ourselves almost exclusively to the study of skulls. . . In such data, we hoped to find some information relevant to the intellectual value of the various human races."<sup>6</sup>

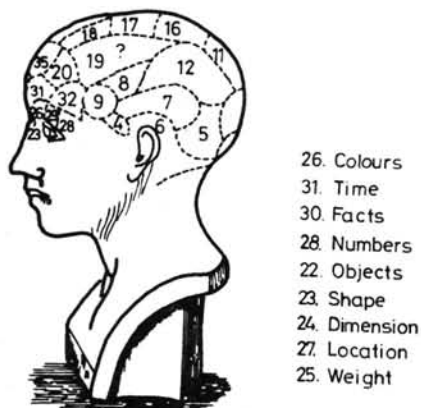


Fig. 3. Evaluative capacities of the brain, an illustration in Szokoly's book

Die Gewichtsverhältnisse der Gehirne österreichischer Völker.  
I. Die Magyaren

Nr. Körperbau	Krankheit	Gesamtm- hirn	Groß- hirn	Klein- hirn	Brücke
1 Mittelgroß	Tuberculose	1324,49	1161,54	142,18	20,77
2 Groß	Tuberculose	1295,99	1140,77	138,85	16,37
3 Mittelgroß	Tuberculose	1229,24	1094,81	120,26	14,17
4 Mittelgroß	Tuberculose	1293,79	1138,59	138,85	16,35
5 Mittelgroß	Tuberculose	1190,97	1061,99	114,81	14,17
6 Klein	Tuberculose	1520,26	1367,18	134,49	18,50
7 ?	Tuberculose	1247,95	1080,61	148,75	18,59
8 Klein	Tuberculosis peritonei	1366,06	1198,75	149,81	17,50
9 Mittelgroß	Tuberculosis peritonei	1157,09	1010,61	132,31	14,17
10 Klein	Tuberculosis peritonei	1318,92	1165,90	137,76	15,26
11 Mittelgroß	Morb. Brightii	1344,17	1182,31	142,37	19,68
12 Mittelgroß	Caries	1298,27	1128,75	148,75	20,77
13 Mittelgroß	Dysenterie	1240,26	1109,04	118,11	13,11
14 Mittelgroß	Dysenterie	1331,03	1191,09	123,59	16,35
15 Klein	Typhus	1605,58	1425,13	162,95	17,50
16 Klein	Typhus	1177,86	1012,76	148,75	16,35
17 Mittelgroß	Typhus	1350,68	1221,67	113,75	15,26
18 Mittelgroß	Typhus	1277,44	1121,09	138,85	17,50
19 Mittelgroß	Typhus	1269,81	1105,77	145,45	18,59
20 Groß	Pyämie	1473,27	1295,00	158,59	19,68
21 Klein	Pyämie	1305,91	1141,87	145,45	18,59
22 Groß	Erysipel	1188,85	1040,13	133,46	15,26
23 Mittelgroß	Erysipel	1440,45	1260,00	160,77	19,68
24 Mittelgroß	Meningitis	1293,91	1137,50	140,06	16,35
25 Klein	Meningitis	1339,78	1185,61	136,67	17,50
26 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1357,31	1174,68	157,50	25,13
27 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1291,62	1138,59	136,67	16,36
28 Groß	Pneumonie	1327,72	1157,18	154,17	16,37
29 Klein	Pneumonie	1415,27	1246,87	150,90	17,50
30 Klein	Pneumonie	1300,33	1164,81	120,26	15,26
31 Klein	Pneumonie	1319,05	1155,00	144,37	19,68
32 Klein	Pneumonie	1396,64	1251,25	130,13	15,26
33 Klein	Pneumonie	1278,05	1245,77	118,11	14,17
34 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1293,79	1136,35	188,85	18,50
35 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1350,74	1181,25	149,81	19,68
36 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1285,07	1125,45	143,27	16,35
37 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1254,43	1087,18	150,90	16,35
38 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1373,69	1206,35	148,75	18,59
39 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1334,33	1179,04	135,61	19,68



Nr. Körperbau	Krankheit	Gesammt- hirn	Groß- hirn	Klein- hirn	Brücke
40 Groß	Pneumonie	1253,37	1082,76	153,11	17,50
41 Groß	Lungenödem	1509,33	1359,49	131,25	18,59
42 Mittelgroß	Pleuritis	1364,94	1206,35	140,00	18,59
43 Klein	Nephritis	1162,51	1029,17	119,17	14,17
44 Klein	?	1270,78	1117,76	137,76	15,26
45 Klein	?	1338,66	1172,50	150,90	15,26
46 Mittelgroß	?	1392,25	1234,81	141,00	16,35
Mittel . . . . .		1322,86	1165,89	139,74	17,62

Fig. 4. Data concerning Hungarian skulls, by A. Weisbach, 1866 (see note 11.)

Broca was determined when he declared that there is a close relation between the volume of the brain and intelligence: "In general, the brain is larger in mature adults than in the elderly, in men, than in women, in eminent men than that in men of mediocre talent, in superior races than in inferior races. . . Other things equal, there is a remarkable relationship between the development of intelligence and the volume of the brain."<sup>7</sup>

Broca fought a serious battle with those anthropologists who, like the German Friedrich Tiedemann, had questioned the validity of the views he advocated, already in the first half of the century. In his 1837 book *Das Hirn des Negers mit dem des Europäers und Orang-Outangs verglichen* Tiedemann had been led to the unambiguous conclusion that there are no significant differences between the size and the structure of the European and the Negro brain, and that the latter is in no way in a closer connection with that of the ape than the former. Broca should also have seen from the work of Professor Emil Huschke of Jena University (*Schaedel, Hirn und Seele des Menschen und der Thiere nach Alter, Geschlecht und Race*, 1854), that contemporary science regarded "anthropological anatomy", based on the comparison of the brain volume of different peoples, as "terra incognita" and a "tabula rasa", with incidental recording of individual differences without any real scientific observations.<sup>8</sup>

Two major Hungarian poets may serve as telling examples of the measure of the penetration into Hungarian intellectual life by the studies of headshapes coming from abroad. János Arany wrote in his comic epic poem entitled *Bolond Istók* ("Istók the Fool") in 1850:

"Nothing more foolish than by outward show  
to draw conclusions on the inner merit.  
Dr Gall must allow he is madly  
trying to find reason by splitting hairs.  
(A hollow sound reveals a good melon.)  
Not all heroes may appear heroic. . ."<sup>9</sup>

Die Gewichtsverhältnisse der Gehirne österreichischer Völker.  
II. Die Rumänen und Walachen

Nr. Körperbau	Krankheit	Gesamthirn	Großhirn	Kleinhirn	Brücke
1 Klein	Tuberculosis peritonei	1344,36	1190,00	131,25	13,11
2 Klein	Tuberculosis peritonei	1378,08	1182,31	175,00	20,77
3 Mittelgroß	Tuberculosis peritonei	1499,49	1322,31	157,50	19,68
4 Mittelgroß	Tuberculosis peritonei	1351,87	1176,87	157,50	17,50
5 Mittelgroß	Tuberculosis	1244,59	1092,63	135,61	16,35
6 Mittelgroß	Tuberculosis	1402,13	1229,37	154,17	18,59
7 Groß	Tuberculosis	1296,03	1129,81	147,63	18,50
8 Klein	Tuberculosis	1392,25	1235,90	137,76	18,59
9 Klein	Dysenterie	1394,52	1245,77	131,25	17,50
10 Mittelgroß	Caries	1172,41	1041,25	116,99	14,17
11 Mittelgroß	Pyothorax	1296,00	1128,75	150,90	16,35
12 Mittelgroß	Pyelitis	1367,18	1207,50	141,09	18,59
13 Klein	Pneumonie	1106,74	972,31	120,26	14,17
Mittel . . . . .		1326,58	1165,75	142,83	17,22

Fig. 5. Data concerning Rumanian skulls, by A. Weisbach, 1866

Imre Madách, author of the celebrated Hungarian philosophical drama *Az ember tragédiája* ("The Tragedy of Man" 1862) presented in the horrifying "Phalanstery-scene" a visionary world in which a "Scientist" is instructed thus by one of the leading characters of the scene, "The Aged Man":

"Now, scientist, examine well the heads  
Of these two children.  
(The Scientist obeys.)"  
And answers:  
"This child should have the training of a doctor.  
That one will be a shepherd."<sup>10</sup>

Scientific methods were, indeed, quickly taken over from French and German schools and spread throughout the Austrian Monarchy. They were also applied to the measurement of the peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. See for example Albin Weisbach's "Die Gewichtsverhältnisse der Gehirne österreichischer Völker mit Rücksicht auf Körpergröße, Alter, Geschlecht und Krankheiten" which was published in Volume I of the then recently founded German anthropological journal *Archiv für Anthropologie*, in 1866.<sup>11</sup> The author, a military doctor and self-trained anthropologist, had already published some data concerning the *skulls* of the Austrian peoples. In

Die Gewichtsverhältnisse der Gehirne österreichischer Völker.  
VII. Die Böhmen und Czechen

Nr. Körperbau	Krankheit	Gesammt- hirn	Groß- hirn	Klein- hirn	Brücke
1 Groß	Typhus	1397,76	1253,90	144,36	17,50
2 Groß	Typhus	1285,04	1134,17	135,61	15,26
3 Mittelgroß	Typhus	1210,80	1050,00	143,30	17,50
4 Groß	Pyämie	1363,85	1206,35	142,24	15,26
5 Groß	Pyämie	1409,75	1250,13	143,27	16,35
6 Mittelgroß	Pneumonie	1334,36	1179,04	138,97	16,35
7 ?	Pneumonie	1458,98	1282,95	156,35	19,68
8 Groß	Pleuritis	1223,79	1066,35	141,09	16,35
9 Groß	Pleuritis	1449,20	1277,50	149,83	21,87
10 Mittelgroß	Pleuritis	1247,89	1100,26	129,04	18,59
11 Mittelgroß	Pleuritis	1392,25	1240,26	134,49	17,50
12 Mittelgroß	Selbstmord	1401,03	1236,99	146,54	17,50
13 Groß	Tuberculose	1402,12	1241,35	143,27	17,50
14 Mittelgroß	Tuberculose	1391,12	1222,76	151,99	16,37
15 Mittelgroß	Tuberculose	1292,82	1138,59	138,97	15,26
16 Mittelgroß	Tuberculose	1399,94	1243,59	138,85	17,50
17 Mittelgroß	Tuberculose	1391,19	1233,75	137,76	19,68
18 Groß	Tuberculosis peritonei	1354,07	1168,11	168,46	17,50
19 Groß	Tuberculosis peritonei	1320,13	1157,18	145,45	17,50
20 Groß	Tuberculosis peritonei	1306,93	1135,26	154,17	17,50
21 Mittelgroß	Tuberculosis peritonei	1302,63	1149,49	138,85	14,17
22 Mittelgroß	Dysenterie	1434,97	1266,54	148,75	19,68
23 Groß	Dysenterie	1415,20	1241,35	156,35	17,50
24 Groß	Morb. Brightii	1551,99	1358,40	175,00	18,59
25 Mittelgroß	Morb. Brightii	1469,94	1297,18	154,17	18,59
Mittel . . . . .		1368,31	1205,25	146,28	17,48

Fig. 6. Data concerning Czech skulls, by A. Weisbach, 1866

this particular study, however, he elaborated with exemplary exactitude and competence the material of the Vienna military hospitals and civilian poor-houses, altogether 429 cases, in which he compared *brain-weight* measurements. He compared 243 German, 87 Slavonic, 53 Rumanian and 46 Hungarian brains and published comparative tables revealing the body-structure, the illness of the deceased, the total weight of the brain and its constituting elements. Weisbach's tables suggest that it was the brain of the Slavonic peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy which weighed heaviest. According to his figures, the average Hungarian brain-weight was 1322,86 g, somewhat less than that of the Rumanians (1326,58 g), more than that of the Italians (1301,37 g) or the

Poles (1320,59 g) and the Ruthenians (1320,63 g). High above the others stands the figure for Czech brain-weight averages (1368,31 g), a much larger volume than that of the Slovaks (1310,74 g) or the Southern Slavs (1305,14 g). Weisbach pointed out that the German males of the Empire could boast of a relatively smaller brain-weight only (1314,50 g) which, nevertheless, was much larger than that of German women (1180,15 g). The Austrian doctor's conclusions concerning the gradual loss of the brainweight in relation to age coincides with the results of modern anatomical data: the brain of elderly people, both male and female, loses something like 100–150 gs in the course of 30–60 years.

His results concerning the various peoples of the Habsburg Monarchy, however, reveal no significant differences in terms of mathematical statistics. Still, Dr Weisbach repeatedly emphasizes that Czech people have got the heaviest brain within the Empire. "Werden die einzelnen Völker nach den vier hier vertretenen Familien zusammengenommen", the author concluded, "so ergibt sich, daß die slawische Familie das größte Gesamthirn, die romanische das kleinste, und die zwischen beiden stehenden magyarische noch ein größeres Gesamtgewicht besitzt, als die dem romanischen Stamme fast gleiche deutsche; ferner daß das Großhirn beim magyarischen Stamme relativ am größten, kleiner beim slawischen, noch mehr beim romanischen und am kleinsten beim deutschen..."<sup>12</sup> (Let me remark at this point that, as a political side-effect, these conclusions of Dr Weisbach were immediately taken over and quoted by the contemporary British press where they served as means of a pro-Czech propaganda.)<sup>13</sup>

European anthropology found followers and, what was more, prominent and internationally recognized followers in Hungary at a fairly early date, in the third quarter of the 19th century. Fresh impetus was given to anthropological research in Hungary by the VIIIth International Congress in Anthropology and Ancient History held in Budapest, in 1876. It was for this reason that the Budapest Statistical Office started to collect anthropological data on school-children: based on the pattern and example of the German Anthropological Association, the Office started to examine systematically the colour of Hungarian children's eyes, hair and skin, as early as the spring of 1875. This was the first-ever major anthropological survey in Hungary, covering altogether 14 616 Budapest children. With this investigation Hungary took the lead in Europe where there was no collection of data of that sort on such a large scale before. The research considered three different Budapest groups of people: Hungarians, Germans, and Jews.<sup>14</sup>

It was in the very years, i.e. also with a view to the then forthcoming international congress, that a Budapest psychiatrist and neurologist, Dr Sámuel Scheiber published his 1873 *Pro Memoria* in which he suggested to the Ministry of Religion and Education the establishment of a separate anthropological department within the Hungarian National Museum and offered for that purpose his own collection of 20 "racial" skulls. In his open letter to the Minister, Ágoston Trefort, the doctor pointed out that "we Hungarians who strive to acquire modern achievements in other fields as well, should not fall behind in the demands of the times in this particular science; we should start

to concern ourselves with anthropology and endeavour to make it feel at home in this country. Only a few people in our country have been doing research in anthropology. Therefore, in my opinion, one of the first things we should do is to establish an anthropological museum, and thereby disseminate knowledge by means of popular and scientific lectures in this field, thus laying the foundations of an anthropological society."<sup>15</sup>

From the viewpoint of real anthropology the greatest achievement of 1875 was not the Budapest survey or the *Pro Memoria* of Dr Scheiber but the publication by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences of József Lenhossék's *Az emberi koponyaisme. Cranioscopia* ("The Science of Human Skulls. Cranioscopy"). It was József Lenhossék's book which, for the first time in Hungary gave fresh information on the then highly or, rather, over-valued branch of anthropology. Lenhossék based his results on the investigation of 267 living human beings, 61 recently deceased and 15 exhumed.<sup>16</sup>

The most significant achievement of the 1876 international congress in Budapest was its direct impact on Hungarian intellectual life which turned in the coming years with growing interest towards the problems of anthropology. The Natural Science Association (*Természettudományi Társulat*) promoted the cause of anthropology in Hungary by conducting original research and by publishing popular works.<sup>17</sup> It was the Association which arranged for the translation into Hungarian of Paul Topinard's *L'anthropologie (Az anthropológia kézi könyve)* which may be considered the first modern handbook of anthropology. The 1876 original was quickly followed by the 1881 Hungarian version, with an introduction by Paul Broca, and in the translation of the would-be first-ever Hungarian professor of anthropology Aurél von Török.<sup>18</sup> The National Society of Archaeology and Anthropology was established in the spring of 1878 and the year in which Topinard's book came out in Hungarian saw the birth of the Department of Anthropology at Budapest University. Contemporary science in Hungary could indeed boast of the fact that Budapest University housed the fourth Department of Anthropology in the world.<sup>19</sup> The state budget for 1881 argued the case of the Department, pointing out that "anthropology . . . is not at all represented at our universities, though it is a branch of the natural sciences which is all the more important as it deals with man himself, one of the main targets of science and, by endeavouring to determine the scientific character of races, peoples, and nations, to study the traces of man's ancestry, development and education, and the cultural level of pre-historic times. It also investigates the basic causes of our physical, intellectual, moral, social and even historical existence and thus it may serve not only as an auxiliary science for philosophy, physiology, sociology and history but rather as their real foundation." Trefort added in his parliamentary argumentation: ". . . anthropology is a fertile field in Hungary which was and is inhabited by different races in times ancient and modern." "A well-organized and complete university cannot lack this branch of science."<sup>20</sup>

The establishment of the Budapest Department was yet another achievement of the Minister of Education of the day, Ágoston Trefort whose admirable educational policies were in the mainstream of European intellectual life and who able to find

a suitably gifted professor for the Department in the person of Aurél von Török de Ponor (1842–1912).<sup>21</sup> Von Török, a Transylvanian nobleman by birth, was well-equipped with an eminent body of knowledge in anatomy, physiology and histology, and brought to bear Broca's Paris teachings in a direct way. He started to build his own anthropological school according to the then most esteemed French pattern. His students and followers, Professors Mihály Lenhossék (1863–1937) and Lajos Bartucz (1885–1966) both emphasized that "in the course of his 31 years at Budapest University he achieved a lasting fame in the annals of international science. . . . There was probably no other scientist who studied craniology and particularly certain questions of the methodology of craniometrics so deeply, with such a cult of thorough penetration. . . . He created with painstaking effort the great bone- and skull collection of the Department of Anthropology which, as far as the numbers are concerned, has few equivalents even abroad."<sup>22</sup>

It is perhaps curious to see that the father of the "craniometer" filled the 630 pages of his basic *Grundzüge einer systematischen Kraniometrie* with mostly abstract, theoretical and purely methodological problems.<sup>23</sup> He wrote what he called a "Methodische Anleitung" to the "kraniometrischen Analyse der Schädelform für die Zwecke der physischen Anthropologie, der vergleichenden Anatomie – sowie für die Zwecke der medizinischen Disziplinen – (Psychiatrie, Okulistik, Zahnheilkunde, Geburtshilfe, gerichtliche Medizin) und der bildenden Künste (plastische Anatomie)." Published in Stuttgart in 1890, von Török's book met with a dubious reception from the world of international science. Georg Buschan considered it "exemplary", a book "which will continue to figure as the masterwork of anthropological literature". The Austrian A. Weisbach did not agree: he thought it highly problematic whether or not von Török would find followers at all. Basel University Professor Julius Kollmann called von Török's measurement simply a *cul de sac* and was very sceptical about the probable use of his Budapest colleague. "If he succeeds in presenting the use and necessity of his 5000 measurements we shall meet him again" – a sarcastic Kollman wrote.<sup>24</sup>

What was altogether totally missing from von Török's work was the national viewpoint and Mihály Lenhossék characteristically criticized him three years after von Török's untimely death when he stated: "our gratitude would be greater, had he put his talent, energy and unflagging zeal, or at least part of it, into a much neglected field which is much closer to our soul, a step-child of Hungarian science: i.e. the anthropology of the Hungarian people. It is my strong belief that in this way he could have acquired much greater regard abroad than with the particular, often sterile trend of his activities."<sup>25</sup>

Not as if von Török had not given it due consideration, that "from amongst the scientific work referring to the description of Hungary it is anthropology which, though of great importance, is most neglected."<sup>26</sup> And he also advocated the programme of Hungarian anthropology shortly after the establishment of his Department: "Another task of Hungarian anthropology, which is equally important from a scientific viewpoint and is of undoubtedly far greater significance from the viewpoint of public life should be the planned and systematic investigation of the inhabitants of our

# GRUNDZÜGE

EINER

# SYSTEMATISCHEN KRANIOMETRIE.

Methodische Anleitung

zur

KRANIOMETRISCHEN ANALYSE DER SCHÄDELFORM FÜR DIE ZWECKE DER  
PHYSISCHEN ANTHROPOLOGIE, DER VERGLEICHENDEN ANATOMIE

sowie

für die Zwecke der medizinischen Disziplinen  
(Psychiatrie, Okulistik, Zahnheilkunde, Geburtshilfe, gerichtliche Medizin)  
und der bildenden Künste (plastische Anatomie).

EIN HANDBUCH FÜRS LABORATORIUM

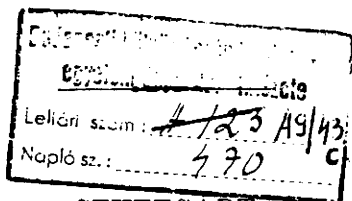
VON

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*Lelt. III Corp 685  
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MIT ZAHLREICHEN ABBILDUNGEN.



STUTT GART.

VERLAG VON FERDINAND ENKE.

1890.

Fig. 7. Outlines of the "Systematic Craniometrics", by A. von Török

country according to geographic and political regions from anthropometric, ethnographic and demographic viewpoints, something which was hitherto not dealt with at all. This investigation shall reveal the ratio of independent and mixed anthropological types in our country; the types that are diminishing and that tend to spread; the external and internal, that is, racial factors that play a part in the local social life of certain regions of the country, particularly from a cultural and an economic viewpoint. This investigation should reveal among other things the medium type of the Hungarian race and how it underwent changes due to the mixing of the blood among groups of peoples and nationalities living with or nearby the Hungarians. We must also add that this investigation alone could reveal whether or not the Hungarian type progressed in a physical sense due to this continuous mixing of the blood, as a mental progress undoubtedly manifests itself in the most happy way possible. This question is particularly important, not only from a scientific viewpoint but also from that of the state itself. Hitherto, however, we had no knowledge whatsoever of all this."<sup>27</sup>

"Does the Hungarian have his own skull, his own face, his own stature by which he may be recognized from amongst thirty other white nations?" – this question by Béla Tóth was put in the daily called *Magyar Hírlap* (22 April 1893) to Aurél von Török at the height of nationalist propaganda and there was a reproach attached: "... science has hitherto done nothing to determine the essence of the Hungarian type." Professor von Török answered the question a few days later, putting forward the then views of Hungarian anthropology as a science. He emphasized first of all that the question is "so difficult and so intricate" that it cannot really be answered in a newspaper article. "The Hungarians today" – the scientist argued – "must show a much greater variety of types due to the phenomenon of continuous mixing than for example the Hungarians thousand years before. As we have varieties of types even in arch-Hungarian regions which cannot be properly judged as to whether they are more real or more ancient (i.e. if one doesn't know the older types), one may safely conclude that the real, characteristic type of the Hungarians can only be recognized from amongst the many combinations or varieties only after a very exact examination of the older types."<sup>28</sup>

Hungarian anthropological research later seemed to underline the argument of von Török and his conclusions were generally accepted: "The decision in the question of the Hungarian type will succeed only to the extent to which we may trace contemporary Hungarian types back to the earliest types – on the basis of the types found in the old sites."<sup>29</sup>

I would like to remark here that von Török and his Budapest school started to work some time before Franz Boas who actually founded American anthropology "of which he made a science" (Margaret Mead). The cranial index as a methodological tool also appeared in Boas' work and Boas strived to point out that the impact of the American environment can be recognized even in the head-measurements of the foreignborn. "A direct influence of environment upon the bodily form of man has been found in the case of American-born descendants of immigrants from Europe," he wrote. "The effect of American environment makes itself felt immediately, and increases slowly with the



increase of time elapsed between the immigration of the parents and the birth of the child."<sup>30</sup> We have to bear in mind at the same time that while von Török was charmed by his own craniometric method scientists in Spain produced evidence of the intricate interrelation between the grey substance of the brain and the cellular system of the spinal cord: Santiago Ramón y Cajal was awarded the Nobel Prize in psychology and medicine "in recognition of his work on the structure of the nervous system," as early as 1906.<sup>31</sup>

This relatively early and high quality start to Hungarian anthropology was unfavourably counteracted by the gradually growing lag which was registered by a more and more astonished scientific opinion abroad. This was also a consequence of the unexpected death of von Török just before the outbreak of World War I which put an end to the existence of his Department at the University of Budapest for several decades.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, well before von Török's death the outstanding American anthropologist William Z. Ripley published his *The Races of Europe. A sociological study* (1899). In it Ripley quoted Topinard on the Hungarians as a people representing "one of the most beautiful types in Europe", but he was doomed to failure when he tried to add a scientific explanation. "The physical characteristics of the Magyars have been but little investigated scientifically," he wrote. "We know less of them than of almost any other great European people."<sup>33</sup> At the very time Jean (Johann) Deniker, the famous, Russian-born French ethnographer published a map in his 1899 *Les Races de l'Europe* on which the vast-central parts of what we may term "historical" (i.e. pre-1920) Hungary were left blank from an anthropological point of view. This meant that science knew next to nothing from an anthropological viewpoint of the

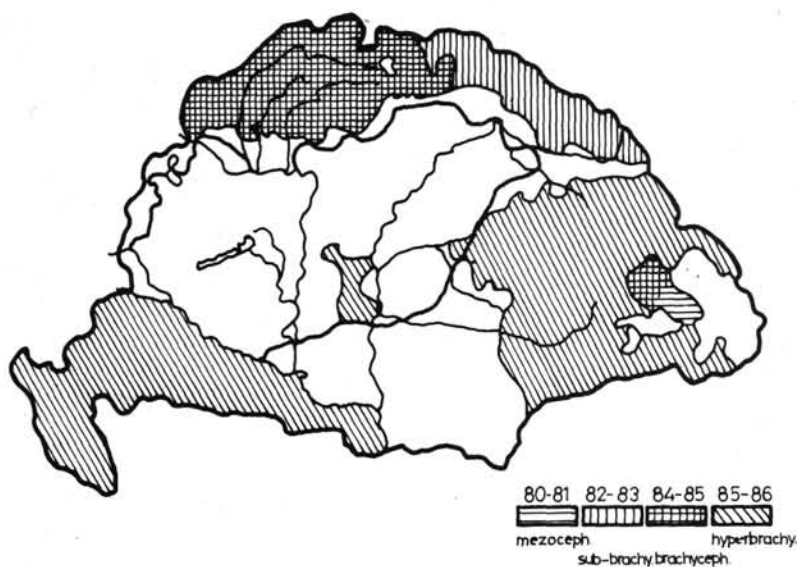


Fig. 8. Craniological Index Map of Hungary by J. Deniker

people living there. Deniker's map spread rapidly throughout the whole of European science and scholarship as if to underly the validity of Ripley's judgement: we meet the same drawing in the third edition of Johann Ranke's popular *Der Mensch* of 1912 and in Volume II of Franz Birkner's *Die Rassen und Völker der Menschheit. Der Mensch aller Zeiten*, a great summary intended for a large reading public. These maps presented anthropological symbols only in the North and North-Western, Slavonic parts of "historical" Hungary and the Roumanian parts of what we call Transylvania in the South-East of the country in the pre-World War I period. Professor Mihály Lenhossék was right to point out that "this white patch in the midst of Hungary ought in fact to be labelled the black patch of Hungarian science, could we consider it wholly justified. We should, however, not call this *tabula rasa* presentation of Hungary on the racial map of anthropology as being fully valid. We already have data at our disposal," he continued in 1915 at a festive meeting of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, "but they are not sufficient, they do not cover the whole of the country in a systematic way and differentiate according to regions and they lack the most important condition of such statistical surveys: a large corpus of material upon which to found conclusions. It is dangerous to draw general conclusions from insufficient material, such data should be stored until they are numerous enough to use. That our existing data were not taken over by foreign scientists is our fault: we did not pave their way to foreign literature."<sup>34</sup>

Particularly difficult was the question of the research into a "pure race" in an ethnically mixed region like the Carpathian basin especially in the period of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, a difficulty which in many respects has continued up to the present time. This may also serve as an explanation as to why the Hungarian Aurél von Török tried to achieve "objective" methods of measurement by way of abstract theoretical constructions. And though this was partly fostered by his own intellectual pattern, his cautiousness may be accounted for by a general demand of scientific reliability. All this led to the unfinished character of his work, while similar research carried out by others, even in its unfinished state, was hastily and mistakenly used by politicians and ideologues of other nations for their own purposes with considerable success.

The lack of scientific investigations was reflected even by the parliamentary debates of the Dual Monarchy. Lajos Kossuth's one-time secretary of state, the learned Ferenc Pulszky MP and director of the Hungarian National Museum, set out to explain in one of his parliamentary orations that there is no Hungarian type as "the last Hungarian man proper had vanished from the earth a long time ago, centuries before. Thus did that small nation from the East, the core of today's Hungarians, mix, couple, change, level out."<sup>35</sup>

Notwithstanding all the results in organization, collection and elaboration, Hungarian anthropology was unprepared to meet World War I and the peace treaties that were so fatal for Hungary. In a 1938 book anthropologist Lajos Bartucz quoted Professor Felix von Luschan's *Völker, Rassen, Sprachen* (1922): "It is such a sad state in which the study of Hungarian skulls is found. . . Professor Török had piled up

several thousands of skulls in Budapest, from different regions of the country and we have become accustomed to the idea of them serving as the real future source of prospective Hungarian anthropology. Upon his death, however, it became evident that the skulls were heaped up without any notes whatsoever and there is not a single note as to their origins. I myself was so deeply stricken by this discovery that I started with all the tools at my disposal to collect Hungarian skulls and to group them according to age and place of origin."<sup>36</sup>

Bartucz argued that Professor Luschan was partly wrong, as the skull-collection of von Török was accompanied by a considerable quantity of notes which could have adequately told the story of their origins. Bartucz saw the source of the problem at a deeper level: "The collection of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Budapest is of lesser value from the point of view of the anthropology of Hungary because originally it was not genuine as it did not come from systematic excavations, and it lacked the necessary connection to the archaeological material of the graves which is imperative for the elaboration of the material from the point of view of racial anthropology."<sup>37</sup>

This is why and how the Hungarian delegation at the peace negotiations at Versailles in 1919-1920, otherwise so well-prepared and erudite from an ethnic, historical, linguistic and general scholarly point of view, lacked suitable scientifically valid data concerning the anthropology of Hungary and its political connotations. Hungarian anthropology thus proved to be unprepared for its particularly national tasks at a dramatic moment in history when other peoples or groups of peoples made good use of the results of anthropological research.

Certain trends of anthropology were gravely abused in a tragic way after World War I. The racist tendencies of anthropology received a large part of its data and arguments for its particular "logic" to misuse scientific or pseudoscientific results. In his notorious *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, Count Joseph Arthur Gobineau made use of the craniometric data of the American Samuel G. Morton thereby advocating the racial superiority of the "white man".<sup>38</sup> György Lukács was right to point out that "Mit der Betonung der prinzipiellen Ungleichheit der Menschen wird notwendigerweise die Konzeption der Menschheit verworfen, und mit ihr verschwindet eine der höchsten Errungenschaften der Wissenschaft der Neuzeit: der Gedanke der einheitlichen und gesetzmäßigen Entwicklung der Menschen..." "...in dieser Leugnung der Weltgeschichte [konzentrieren] alle wesentlichen Momente der Attacke auf die Vernunft."<sup>39</sup>

*Die Grundlagen des 19. Jahrhunderts* by Houston Stewart Chamberlain was heavily dependant on the use of craniometric research as "scientific" evidence. Just before the outbreak of World War I Chamberlain declared: "Am Schlusse des 19. Jahrhunderts durfte ein Gelehrter noch nicht wissen, daß die Form des Kopfes und die Struktur des Gehirns auf die Form und Struktur der Gedanken von ganz entscheidendem Einfluß sind, so daß der Einfluß der Umgebung, wenn er noch so groß angeschlagen wird, doch durch diese Initialtatsache der physischen Anlagen an bestimmte Fähigkeiten und Möglichkeiten gebunden, mit anderen Worten, bestimmte Wege gewiesen wird; er durfte nicht wissen, daß gerade die Gestalt des Schädels zu jenen Charakteren gehört,

welche mit unausrottbarer Hartnäckigkeit vererbt werden, so daß durch kranilogische Messungen Rassenunterschiede und aus gemischten noch nach Jahrhunderten die atavistisch auftretenden ursprünglichen Bestandteile dem Forscher offenbar werden; er durfte glauben, daß die sogenannte Seele außerhalb des Körpers ihren Sitz habe, und ihn wie eine Puppe an der Nase herumführe! O Mittelalter! Wann wird deine Nacht von uns weichen?"<sup>40</sup>

We have no space, and there is perhaps no need, to discuss the whole direction of craniometry and other, originally sober anthropological methods in serving the anti-human racist ideologies and political practices of Hitler's Germany. It is sufficient, perhaps, to point out that Hitler's chief anthropologist, the notorious Hans F. R. Günther had already published his first books immediately after World War I in which (*Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes*, 1922<sup>1</sup>; *Rassenkunde Europas*, 1924<sup>1</sup>) he "founded" Hitler's politics of genocide, books which were published in dozens of subsequent editions.<sup>41</sup> Günther made a directly racist use of the methodology of anthropology originally elaborated by reliable and solid scientists like Rudolf Martin (*Lehrbuch der Anthropologie*, 1914):<sup>42</sup> "Gerade aus dem Anblick. . . verhältnismäßig einheitlichen Menschengruppen in bestimmten Gebieten lassen sich schließlich, wenn die Rassenkunde zunächst nur die wichtigsten leiblichen Merkmale der einzelnen Rassen festgestellt hat, auch weitere, der Messung bisher nicht unterworfenen Züge erschließen, und das seelische Verhalten solch einer verhältnismäßig einheitlichen Menschengruppe gibt jeweils Hinweise auf das seelische Bild der ins Auge gefaßten Rasse."<sup>43</sup>

(Hitlerist racism certainly found Hungarian followers as well. Some Hungarian anthropologists were rather "insecure" in the Fascist times. Some of them, like Lajos Méhely and Mihály Malán served Hitlerist ideas. Others, like Miklós Fehér or Lajos Bartucz chose illegality or actual physical danger in the crucial period of 1944–1945. It is to these latter two that Hungarian anthropology should be grateful for a relatively tranquil survival and easy reawakening in the post-war era.)

The fact that anthropology entered the service of fatal political powers has discredited some of its methods, including craniometrics and brain-weight measurement which learned to liquidate people rather than to support the study of them. Even the really scientific and much-praised typology of Ernst Kretschmer, originally value-free, was considered dangerous after it became misused in a racist-oriented way, thus contributing to the value-hierarchy of "racial science". Scientific opinion in the post-World War II era turned against all kinds of typologies with mistrust and, sometimes, open rejection. In a book also published in German W. McDougall wrote in 1947: "There is no rationalist basis for searching for such types. On the contrary, it contradicts obvious probabilities. Such a hopeless and mistaken question can only be made famous and respected by the literary talents and scientific prestige of a Jung, Kretschmer or Spranger."<sup>44</sup> In a new edition of his *Allgemeine Psychopathologie* (1946) even Karl Jaspers took a highly critical stand against the typology of Ernst Kretschmer.<sup>45</sup> Decades were needed in international scientific life to appreciate the value of typologies in a more realistic way again, with all its results and possible sources of error.

Brain research, for a long time at least, turned away from the dubious methods of

craniometry and brain-weight measurement and gave its attention primarily to the structure of brain, its elementary components and their intricate interrelations. The future will decide whether or not craniology was a mere curiosity, an episode or a *cul de sac* in the history of science.<sup>46</sup> We might also argue that craniometrics served as a working hypothesis or a search for the correct way for "real" anthropology at a time when up-to-date methods were not yet invented or introduced. Historians of science must decide whether or not these scientific investigations resulted in realistic statements. As yet, many questionmarks still remain. For its part, craniology offered – gave, or might have given – scientific or at least seemingly scientific data and arguments for those who endeavoured to advocate or prove the superiority of their own race over others.

Anthropology in East-Central Europe has been gradually changing with a view to scientific needs. Craniology gave way to the scientific notion of "type", a complex notion indeed which may vary in space and time but never distinguishes among the "intellectual" capacities of various peoples. It serves the basic truth that "all men are created equal", though they might differ in a physiological sense from one another as a response to their organic and inorganic environment. This difference cannot be registered, however, as "better" or "worse", only as being – different.<sup>47</sup>

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## THE HUNGARIAN ORIGINS OF JOSEPH PULITZER

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"We are a democracy, and there is only one way to get a democracy on its feet in the matter of its individual, its social, its municipal, its state, its national conduct, and that is by keeping the public informed about what is going on." — Joseph Pulitzer (32)\*

The name of Joseph Pulitzer (1847–1911) is known nowadays mainly for the Prizes endowed by him and awarded annually for notable achievements in American journalism, letters and music. In most countries outside America, including Hungary, few know more about him than that he was a millionaire who donated large sums for noble purposes. A penniless immigrant joining the Union Army in the Civil War, the youth kept body and soul together by hard labour; then as a newspaper editor and publisher, and later as a congressman, he came to live the life of a real American until his death. This is perhaps why so little was known about this great, self-made man even in his native town of Makó and in Hungary in general, which he left in 1864 with the purpose of making some sort of military career.

By way of introduction, we should begin with what is already widely accepted and acknowledged: Pulitzer was one of the greatest figures in modern journalism and a democratic reformer of his age. Trained under Carl Schurz, he first founded and made a respectable newspaper of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in 1878. Meanwhile, he studied law and became active in politics. His career as an innovator of mass-appeal journalism really began in 1883 when he bought the nearly bankrupt *New York World* and made it a hardhitting exponent of democracy and social justice based on mass circulation and initially upon an appeal to the interests of working people. The period 1883 to 1885 is not only pivotal in the history of *The World*, but also in the history of the international press. There developed the subordination of politics to "news", with a consequent development of the highly efficient machinery of reporting and news-gathering. It was the era of the creation of chains, an age of enlargement and improvement in the appearance of newspapers. We note the growing importance of the editorial page and of advertising. With the development of printing technology, newspapers became the first real medium of mass communication, so influential in American political life even today.

No one better represented this new journalism than Pulitzer. As for techniques, he introduced many that other papers later borrowed, some guardedly and almost against

\*The numbers in brackets correspond to numbered items listed in the Bibliography at the end of the article.

their own will, others wholeheartedly. He was, for example responsible for the first extensive use of illustration (excellent, expressive cartoons), for the development of the sports page. He also played a role equal to that of any other publisher in making women part of the newspaper reading public. He established his credentials as a master journalist by responding quickly and adroitly to the drift of social change. "The American people want something terse, forcible, picturesque, striking, something that will arrest their



1. Joseph Pulitzer

attention, enlist their sympathy, arouse their indignation, stimulate their imagination, convince their reason, awaken their conscience. . . It [*The World*] is read by, well, say a million people a day; and it's my duty to see that they get the truth; but that's not enough, I've got to put it before them briefly so that they will read it, clearly so that they will understand it, forcibly so that they will appreciate it, picturesquely so that they will remember it, and, above all, accurately so that they may be wisely guided by its light." — Pulitzer thus summed up his views to one of his secretaries, Alleyne Ireland, as described in the latter's book (32).

As a publisher, Pulitzer's regard for the dignity and the responsibilities of his profession was also crucial. It influenced him in many ways, notably in making him a leader among those who agitated for social reform. The presence in *The World's* large readership of many who were dispossessed and helpless, lent a tone of personal involvement to its fearless and independent editorials that other papers did not share. *The World* became a "national institution." Although Democratic in its principles, it was one of the leading independent voices of opinion in the United States and frequently attracted notice as a



crusading organ. In the 1880's it successfully supported Grover Cleveland for the presidency and advocated the governmental curbing of monopolies, the right of workers to unionize, the imposition of stiff taxes on large incomes and inheritances, thorough civil service reform while taking the side of immigrants against a largely hostile native America. Pulitzer and his staff perfected (if not invented), the use of the news columns to support editorial attacks with campaigns of exposure.

In 1887 he established the *Evening World* and, in the meantime, he served in Congress, being the first Representative of Hungarian birth there. Pulitzer's newspapers temporarily — especially during a competitive war with William Randolph Hearst in the 1890's — resorted to sensationalism and other "yellow journalistic" practices. It was at that time that he became an advocate of war with Spain. But, again, *The World* was restored by its publisher to its former eminence, a high-minded journal of intelligent opinion. The repeated disclosures of municipal graft, state corruption and business abuses reached their climax in the crusade of 1905 against the mismanagement of the principal life insurance companies. *The World's* attacks on individuals, including President Theodore Roosevelt, resulted in the indictment of Pulitzer for criminal libel but the case was never prosecuted.

Pulitzer's chief efforts — as far as they may be summed up — were bent on the restriction of trusts and other aggregations of wealth at a time of steadily growing industrial capitalism. From 1883 to 1911 *The World* led all other American newspapers in demanding the break up of monopolies by antitrust laws, and a close watch over "money power". This paper was the most consistent crusader against governmental corruption and the economic exploitation of the poor, testifying to the publisher's steadfast loyalty to convictions formed at the beginning of his career. In Pulitzer's own words from his "confession of faith", "There is not a crime, there is not a dodge, there is not a trick, there is not a swindle, there is not a vice which does not live by secrecy. Get these things out in the open, describe them, attack them, ridicule them in the press, and sooner or later public opinion will sweep them away" (32).

In his later years Pulitzer, stricken with almost complete blindness and ill health, relinquished direct management of his publications, though continuing to control policy. His bequest made possible the founding of the Pulitzer School of Journalism at Columbia University and the establishment of the Pulitzer Prizes.

## 1.

After settling down in the *New World*, Pulitzer never denied his Hungarian background but neither did he emphasize it too often (28). And he was fully aware, even at the zenith of his career, that he could never become a president of the United States because he was a foreign born, an immigrant. As he himself left no autobiography or memoir behind, in most of the significant printed sources on him — monographs, histories of journalism, encyclopaedias, etc. — the years before his emigration appear as an almost perfect "terra incognita". This phase of his life is generally treated only briefly and vaguely. His descent and family background, along with the circumstances in which he spent his youth, have

never been revealed with full authenticity and precision for various reasons. Perhaps, the most important of these has been a lack of relevant source materials for those who wrote about him in the United States. This usually resulted in accepting what had previously been recounted about his family of the Hungarian period or fictionalizing it as Granberg did in his biographical story, *The World of Joseph Pulitzer* (38). The little that has been known so far about Pulitzer's origins was mainly derived from two of the earliest books on him: the first written by Ireland and the second by Don Seitz, another close associate of the publisher (32, 33).

In Hungary, the number of printed sources on Pulitzer are very limited and not based on genuine research. The first more or less thorough study on him was published in Budapest, in a series of books entitled *Karrierék* [Careers] (20) right after his death. More than fifty years later, Tivadar Ács in a chapter of his work on Hungarians in the American Civil War made a lengthier mention of Pulitzer but he, also, was far from giving new biographical details (21). From the period between the two books, only some superficial newspaper articles on Pulitzer are available. Nevertheless, almost all of the important Hungarian encyclopaedias, old and new alike, make brief mention of him or the Prizes, which are more or less correct.

As a matter of fact, Pulitzer's name was hardly known even in Makó, his native town. Until quite recently it has been impossible to discover any trace of his existence at his place of birth. No street was named after him, no building was marked and no statue or monument there kept his memory alive. A picture in the Museum and the widow of the last distant collateral relative were there only to remind the visitor of the name. It was mainly the old, local people who might have heard about him but even they hardly knew more than "that he made a legendary fortune in America". However, efforts have been made by the present author to uncover facts about Pulitzer's Hungarian background and, as a result, now it is better known in his native country and elsewhere. The town of Makó, too, has since expressed its respect for its great son in numerous ways: the publication of a bibliography in 1985, anniversary celebrations in 1986-87, an exhibition, a bronze marker, etc. Even a film report was presented by the Hungarian Television in April 1987.

There is perhaps, only one thing on which all the significant foreign and Hungarian printed sources unanimously agree: Pulitzer's date of birth. All other particulars referring to his Hungarian background differ according to the several biographies written and published about him. Such mistaken or disputed particulars are, for example, the place of his birth; the nationality and religion of his parents and hence his own descent; the particulars of his brothers and sisters; the occupation and property status of the parents; his education; the circumstances in which he left Hungary, etc. The writer of the present article would like to point out some of these, common mistakes and by disclosing new details to make an attempt at giving a brief sketch of the Pulitzers in Hungary.

## 2.

The religion and the nationality of the parents are crucial questions in judging Pulitzer's descent. Several of even the most significant monographs and biographies on him, including the German *Lexikon des Judentums*, accept as-factual the information which had been spread in America and printed by Ireland and Seitz: that Joseph's father was a Hungarian Jew while his mother had been a Christian, an Austro-German Catholic. Already in the thirties Edmund Vasváry, in his work *Lincoln's Hungarian Heroes*, rejected the veracity of this assertion as regards the mother's side (36). In fact the truth, as verified by numerous authentic documents, is that both parents were Hungarian born Jews. These documents, along with many other relevant sources used in this study, were discovered in the Csongrád County Archives of Szeged, the Municipal Archives as well as the Museum of Makó, and the Metropolitan Archive of Budapest.

In the popular conscription of Makó from the year 1850, each member of the Pulitzer family is entered separately and, unmistakably, under the heading of Religion as "Israelitic" and under Nationality as "Jewish". Besides, there are other official records from this time, such as e.g. registers of issued passes and passports, which, among the particulars and various other data, state the religion as well. They also confirm that Mrs. Pulitzer was also a Jew born in Hungary (1).

The family of the Pulitzers on the father's side was extremely wide-spread in the Hungary of the last two centuries. The ancestors had several lines of descent with many branches distantly and vaguely related if they had any relationship at all except for a common name. The Pulitzers or Politzers, as the name was spelt by members of some other branches of the family, first came to Hungary at the beginning of the 18th century from Moravia. Their name can be derived from a place name there (12). In southern Moravia, then a province of Austria, the village of Pullitz or in the native language Pulice had a considerable Jewish population in the 18th century. Formerly, in the Middle Ages it also had the name of Policz (22). This village, from which the Pulitzers took their name, is now in the Třebíč district of Czechoslovakia, near the Austrian border and has the name of Police, not to be confused with another village of the same name in north Moravia.

In the 18th century, Nicolsburg, a major city in Moravia, also had Politzers living within its walls. Two of them were traders and another one was Chief Rabbi of the province around 1770 (8). It is a historical fact that a large number of Moravian Jews came to Hungary, first as traders, later as permanent residents at that time. Hungary, then, was also part of the Austrian Empire and Jewish immigration from Moravia increased in the second half of the century due mainly to economic reasons. Owing to the favours granted by big landowners the majority of Jews, suitably for their economic functions, such as e.g. delivery of goods, leaseholding, huckstery, village commerce, money-lending, first settled down in manorial centres, countrytowns and villages of the Treasury. The Moravian Jews, quickly spreading in many parts of the country with their commercial activities, contributed considerably to the economic revival of Hungary that had only shortly before been liberated from the long Turkish occupation. Hostility or

discrimination in some towns here, too, often made them wander on and seek a new place for permanent residence within the country.

In the Hungary of the 18th century, as is shown by local conscriptions of Jews, we can find Pulitzers [Politzers] living in several localities along the main pathways Moravian Jews followed to populate the country. In Nyitra County, formerly north-west Hungary, for example, where trading contacts had been the most intensive among Moravian Jews, we can find several Politzers in various places between 1730 and 1746. In Buda, the first Politzer, Isaac appears with his family in the conscription of 1735 as a kosher butcher. It is clearly indicated that he still paid an annual tax of 6 florins to Prince Valter, his hereditary lord in Moravia. Following the expulsion of Jews by a Royal Decree from Buda in 1746, the Politzer family moved to neighbouring Óbuda. Later, at the turn of the century and soon after, Politzers also lived in some other parts of central Hungary (where most of the Jews gathered because of its economic importance) like Zsámbék, Óbuda, Pest, Irsa, etc. (8). The southern parts, the Great Plain with its excellent possibilities of corn growing and trade in land produce soon attracted many of the immigrant Jews. Szeged and its neighbouring area was a thriving agricultural and business centre with many Jewish traders at its fairs already in the first half of the 18th century. Lebl Politzer, a goldsmith, and his family, who arrived here from Óbuda, were among the first Jews let into the city to settle permanently in 1786. His son Salamon, also a goldsmith and a leading figure in the community, moved in 1870 to Vienna where he ran a jewellery of good reputation (18).

The town where the earliest settlement of the Pulitzers was registered in Hungary is Nagyvárad, then south-east Hungary, now Oradea, Roumania. Abraham, son of Aaron Pulitzer, was recorded there living as early as 1722 (19). Several members of the family lived there throughout the century and in 1736 one of them, Moyses, still paid tax to his hereditary lord Count Berchtold back in Moravia, the lord who evidently owned the village of Pullitz there (8).

### 3.

Regarding Makó, Joseph Pulitzer's native town, it was the county town of Csanád and the property of Bishop Stanislavich in the first half of the 18th century. The Bishop, a big landowner himself, first granted Jews permission to settle there permanently around 1743. Csanád County and Makó, which lies on the right bank of the river Maros, 200 kilometres south-east of Budapest and 30 kilometres east of Szeged, had previously been a relatively scarcely populated area with fertile land and good agricultural possibilities. At first, as a favour from the Bishop to encourage settlement, Jews were not requested to pay any other tax than that for "tolerance". Earlier commercial experiences of Jews visiting the area – so conveniently near to Szeged, a thriving trading centre for land produce – along with the hospitality of local landowners must have provided a great impetus for those who thought of settling there permanently. It was recorded that the very first Jews who arrived there had come from the County of Pest. The first conscription of the Jews of Makó from 1773 shows that their community consisted of 158 people altogether and most of the common trade among the men was in raw hide. Most of these

retail dealers first had been hawkers or itinerant tradesmen with one or two horses, living in rather poor conditions (16).

It was especially after the turn of the century, following the Napoleonic wars, that with the upswing in corn production Makó really became a provincial market centre. Despite the great flood of 1821 and the great plague of 1831, by 1836 the Jewish population of Makó rose to 1120, of whom 144 owned houses. By 1828 there were as many as six Pulitzer families existing in the town (2). Outside Makó, many of the surrounding villages were also gradually populated by Jews who arrived as newcomers from more or less distant places. With the growth in population by the middle of the 19th century, at least a dozen of the neighbouring villages and towns such as Apátfalva, Csanád, Hódmezővásárhely, Csongrád, Arad also had several Pulitzer families living among their Jews (5).

In the last century, the Jewish community of Makó, then occupying a fairly centrally situated section of the town, had a reputation for their traditionally, religious spirit. It always had devout and learned rabbis like Salamon Ullman whose activity (1826–63) acquired a national reputation for the community. The Jewish tradesmen of Makó who had managed to accumulate a certain amount of capital, regularly came with their locally bought up land produce (mainly grain and wool) to the greater trading centres to sell them to wholesale merchants. In the period between 1800–1850 Hungarian Jews – and the community at Makó was no exception in this respect – despite the rigid feudal conditions, began to achieve a bourgeois status and emancipation. Article XXIX of 1840 annulled many discriminatory measures, such as the prohibition to move freely within the domicile, but it still did not give them full equality with other non-noble inhabitants of the country. At this time the majority of Jews inclined towards both linguistic and social integration and the religious reform necessary for this. During the revolution and struggle for independence against Austrian Habsburg rule in 1848–49, they took the side of the Hungarian liberation movement. It was in July 1849, shortly before the collapse, that at last the National Assembly passed the total emancipation of those being of the “Mosaic religion”.

#### 4.

Whether it was from Pest County or Nagyvárad or directly from Moravia that the first Pulitzers arrived at Makó is not clear. Their first representative there, was Baruch Simon Pulitzer who, in the conscription of 1773 appears as a newly married retail dealer in raw hide, with a house of his own (16). He was born in 1751 but the place of his birth is not known. As is reflected in the conscriptions of later years, he had several children, one of whom must have been Mihály, Joseph's grandfather (2). Baruch Pulitzer, who was among the leaders of the local Chevra Kadsha (Religious Society) of the community, died in about 1830 (17).

As compared to the existing hiatuses in describing his ancestry in the 18th century, the material available on Joseph Pulitzer's grandparents and parents is quite abundant. The grandfather, Mihály (Michael) Pulitzer was undoubtedly born at Makó, some time

between 1779 and 1784. (All the various sources state a different year for his birth within the period indicated.) According to the death register of the Jews of Pest, where he died, his death occurred on 22 April 1870, "at the age of 88" (5). He lived a long and active life as a well-to-do merchant trading in land produce. His wife, i.e. Joseph's grandmother, was a native of Csongrád town, not too far from Makó to the north-west, where several Jews from Pest County had formerly settled. Rosalie (Sali, Sara, Susan) Schwab, as her maiden name was, was born either in 1788 or 1789 and died in Pest on 5 January 1863, "at the age of 75" (5).

Mihály Pulitzer, as listed in a conscription of Jewish tax-payers at Makó from the year 1809, had a tenant, a maid and a servant in his household (2). In 1816, by way of an exchange for a house and 2500 florins he received a plot from the county authority. He established his new residence in the town centre of Makó, at No. 2410, Market Place (3). In 1834 he had a new stone house and fence built for himself, which was quite unusual at that time. In the 1820's he was already such a well-to-do merchant with such a well reputed business that even councillors turned to him for loans. In the 1830's and 1840's a juryman and member of the community leadership, he was the highest tax-payer among local Jewish shopkeepers (3). As a member of the Jewish community board he often served as a spokesman and a delegate in his people's affairs in the town, which included the demand for emancipation. In July 1849 he was nominated as one of five councillors to sit on the Municipal Council and to represent the Jews of the locality (16).

By all standards, Mihály Pulitzer was a successful businessman of his time. He had excellent trading contacts with the merchants of Pest (still not united with Buda officially at this time) whose great national fairs he regularly visited. What he sold there was the grain, wool and tobacco he had bought up locally at Makó and in its vicinity. In turn, for his shop he ordered consumer goods such as spices, coffee, sugar, pepper, grapes, lemons as well as such products as clothes, flannel, candles, matches and even playing cards. He was part owner of an oil stamping press and a mill on the river, and had large quantities of wheat in his barn. He also had a few cattle and horses necessary for the business, with some land outside the town used mainly for fodder-crops (1). By the mid-1850's he had moved his permanent residence from Makó to Pest, though he kept the house and a vineyard at Makó as his own property. He lived there in the Jewish district, at No. 1, Zwei Mohrengasse (Két Szerecsen Street) as a widower, to the end of his life (5).

## 5.

One of the most important source materials relating to Joseph Pulitzer was found in the Csongrád County Archives. It is an attested copy of the birth and death register of the Jewish community at Makó, from the last century. According to this register József (Joseph) Pulitzer was born on 10 April 1847, at Makó. He was ritually included in the religious community on 17 April. Consequently, the *Magyar Zsidó Lexikon* [Hungarian Jewish Encyclopaedia], *The Encyclopaedia Americana*, and *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* (ed. by I. Singer, New York) are definitely wrong in giving Budapest as his place of birth.

So were earlier the inscription in the Museum of the Statue of Liberty in New York (Pulitzer launched the fund raising campaign for the construction of its pedestal) and the Hungarian book in the *Karrierek* series, the former naming Budapest, the latter Miskoic as his place of birth. The parents indicated in the register are: Fülöp Puliczzer (sic!), a "trader" as father, and Elize Berger, as mother. The sponsors were a certain Anna Brüll a relative, and Salamon Ullman, the local rabbi (3).

According to the register of birth, Joseph was the fourth child in the family Seitz, and after him Swanberg in his excellent monograph Pulitzer, mistakenly assert that there were altogether four children in the family, placing Joseph as second after "Louis" and before Albert and "Irma". In fact, the first was actually Lajos Lázár (Louis), born on 7 January 1840. The second and third children were: Borbála (Barbara), born in 1842 and died 20 March 1847, a few weeks before Joseph's birth; and Breindel, born in 1845 and living thirteen months until 24 June 1846. Both little girls died of what were then incurable diseases. The fifth child of the Pulitzers was Anna Fanny Franciska, born in 1849 and living eleven years until her death on 13 July 1860. Albert, who was born 10 July 1851 and later went to America after Joseph, died in Vienna, in 1909. The seventh child was a boy named Gabriel (Gábor), born in 1853, and who died in 1855, also at a very early age. All these children were born at Makó. But later, after the family's move to Pest, an eighth and a ninth child were born to them as well: Helene and Arnold, the latter living nine months until he died on 26 October 1856 (3,5).

The eldest boy, Lajos, as verified by documents, first went to the Jewish elementary school in Makó. Then, from 1852 on he was taken each year by his parents to an "economic school" in Vienna until he died on 7 June 1856, in Pest. His untimely death was caused by tuberculosis at the age of 16 (1,5). He had probably been considered by the family as a would-be successor to the father's business. Interestingly, however, no mention was ever made in the registers or other documents of a sister called "Irma" in the family.

## 6.

The father, whose real name was Fülöp (Philip) Pulitzer, and who sometimes signed his name as *Puliczzer* (but never "Ignác" or "Frigyes" and "Politzer" as Kende and after him Lengyel put it in their books *Magyarok Amerikában* and *Americans from Hungary*), was, also, born in Makó, in 1811. The earliest official record on him is the copy of a certificate in the minute-book of the Municipal Council of Makó, dated 26 May 1841. As a recommendation, it is stated there that "Fülöp, son and partner of the merchant Mihály Pulitzer, trading in wool, tobacco and other things has a house and shop of his own and is a sober, peaceful man of good will, an honest and popular trader" (1). Fülöp was not the only child of Mihály: he had several brothers and sisters. His brothers, Mihály-Mayer, Simon and Áron all became businessmen, too, the latter two having served as members of the National Guard in the Revolution of 1848. The eldest brother, Mihály-Mayer, himself

a "respected tradesman of high repute at Makó", moved his residence to Pest around 1850. The names of his sisters were Katalin, Róza, and Josefa ("Pepi") (1).

Fülöp Pulitzer was a tall, intelligent man with dark brown hair, a moustache, beard and a hooked nose, as described by contemporary records of issued passports. He was a well-trained businessman. It was on 5 October 1838 that he married Elize Louise Berger, Joseph's mother who also came from a Jewish family of traders in Pest. Born there in 1823, a tall, dark haired woman with a round face and blue eyes, she may have been a "beauty" but she did not prove to be a clever enough successor in her husband's business when troubles came years later (1). There were scores of Bergers in the Pest of the last century, and which part of the empire the ancestors migrated from remains to be discovered. What is known with certainty about Elize Berger, is that she came from a family of Jews and was not born in Austria proper, as is asserted in several biographies. The Bergers were given permission to settle permanently in Pest in the second and third decades of the 19th century. The name of Lazar Berger, Joseph's maternal grandfather, was mentioned for the first time in the conscription of "nontolerated" Jews in Pest from the year 1811. In a few years his family became "tolerated", with a residence in Király Street. His wife, Catharina, the maternal grandmother of Joseph, was referred to as a "Jewish proselyte" by the 1838 wedding record of the Budapest Jewish Community Archive. According to the Jewish conscription of 1837, Ludwig Berger, brother of Joseph's mother, was a married merchant and living in Pest (4).

In the early 1840's Fülöp Pulitzer became quite independent in business. In 1843 he bought himself and his family a plot of about middle size for 3 000 florins. He established his new trading enterprise in the town centre of Makó by having a new house with outhouses built on the plot right across from the County Hall (3). It was here, at No. 1637 Megyeház (Úri) Street, that on a spring day in 1847 their son Joseph saw the world for the first time. Already by 1844, Fülöp had been trading in land produce "in large quantities". Just like his father, he also bought up locally grown tobacco, grain, onion and wool to sell to other wholesale merchants in various parts of the country. He ordered rape, spices, sugar for his shop and occasionally stored fish in his warehouse. Before his business trips he often turned to the magistrate for letters of recommendation and it is obvious that he always got the best certificates, usually describing him as a punctual tax-payer, a sober and honest merchant who enjoyed great respect in town and was a "man of excellent means" (1).

In the late 1840's he had servants of his own, went on business trips with his own wagons and horses for which the fodder was grown on his own piece of land just outside the town. Sometimes he advertised hay for sale. During the Revolution of 1848-49 he was food-supplier to the insurgent troops in southern Hungary (1). At this time he also served as juryman in the Jewish community (16). Following the defeat of the War of Independence the Austrian victors imposed punishments on Jewish communities for their alignment to the cause of freedom; the invading troops brought affliction upon the Jews of Makó, too, by looting their homes and shops. But Fülöp Pulitzer, although two of his brothers had previously served in the revolutionary army, was clever enough to avoid disaster with his family: he went on with his trading activity as a "military food-supplier"



to the Austrian troops as well, for a couple of years more. In the 1850's he remained a successful, wealthy merchant who still often went on business trips in the Austrian Empire, occasionally accompanying his eldest son, Lajos to an "economic school" in Vienna (1).

The family of the Pulitzers by no means suffered any kind of privation at this time and little Joseph must have had a really carefree and cheerful boyhood. A private tutor was even hired to come and teach the children at home (27). Their father, with the help of loans from the council, made new investments in his business on a large scale. With his wares, he frequently visited the great national fairs in Pest which, by then, was already considered the capital of Hungary, especially from an economic point of view. By 1854, Fülöp Pulitzer had become the "foremost merchant with the highest credit" in the town of Makó (1).

## 7.

In the spring of 1855 the Pulitzers made a great decision: in the possession of an excellent letter of recommendation from the Chief Magistrate of Makó they turned to the Council of the City of Pest for permission to settle there permanently (1). Joseph was exactly eight years old when this happened. The father, in his petition addressed to the Council, gave several reasons why they had decided to move to the capital. These included the enumeration of his trading in land produce on a large scale; that he had already had business contacts with many of the merchants of Pest; that with his stock and shipments of land produce he was always present at the national fairs; that his wife was a native of Pest and her relatives were tradesmen of high repute in the markets of Pest, etc (4). Still in the same year, on receiving permission to settle, the Pulitzers sold their fine house and having fulfilled their obligations in taxation they left Makó for good. The incentives for the family's move to Pest with five young children were far from anything like being threatened by bankruptcy or the father's illness and wish to retire. Simply, they had a desire for greater chances of prosperity in business and they followed in the footsteps of some other members of the family (e.g. Mihály-Mayer, Fülöp's brother), who had already successfully taken up residence and established themselves in Pest, which was not just an economic and cultural centre of the country but also a centre for the Hungarian Jewry.

On 1 January 1856 Fülöp Pulitzer reopened his business in Pest, extending it by trading in raw products as well. The family first took up residence at No. 6 Waitzner Street, at the Golden Stern Inn, which was near the Jewish area of Pest, where the old Pulitzers (i.e. Joseph's grandparents) lived, and quite close to Újvásártér, i.e. the New Market Place, where the great national fairs were held. Pulitzer's enterprise soon held out promises of such prosperity as never experienced before. His turnover for the first year was 90 000 florins. In a short while he was able to do business on a large scale again and managed to raise the necessary trading fund requested from tradesmen who wished their firm to be incorporated. Early the next year, following a thorough auditing of his



business matters by the authorities, his financial condition and commercial expertise were found sufficient enough for having his enterprise registered. At the same time he became a member of the Commercial and Industrial Chamber of Pest. No doubt, a turnover of 84 000 florins achieved already in the first three months of the year 1857 proved to be a new upswing in business and indirectly in the family's wealth (4).

Despite the sorrow over the deaths of their eldest son, Lajos, and their youngest child, Arnold in 1856, the family was well off, and Fülöp and Louise Pulitzer probably did their best to provide their children with everything they could afford including a good education. As no trace of the Pulitzer children has been found in the existing school registers of Pest it is likely that Joseph continued receiving a private elementary education.

## 8.

A real disaster came to the family when Fülöp Pulitzer suddenly became ill with tuberculosis and business had to be neglected. At this time they rented a different flat, at No. 2 Göttergasse [Bálvány Street] in the fashionable Leopoldstadt district of Pest, not far from their previous residence by the New Market Place. Everything seemed to collapse at once when the father died on 16 July 1858, at the age of forty-seven (5).

Pulitzer's testament was officially opened on 27 June 1859, almost one year following his death, in the presence of his widow and her brother. It was written on 22 June 1855,

Wollte die übereinstimmung dieser beiden nicht erreicht werden  
 können, so soll meines Vaters (Kasimir Pfeffer) und, soll Kraft  
 dieser Verfügung und die bestimme, wie ich Anweisungen erhalten  
 werden, und verwahrt werden soll.

4te Teil von abgeben meines gebliebenen Gütern, so  
 die ich angefallen herbeifahrt meine, dem Leben befreundeten Kindern  
 gegeben, und denselben beibringe icher. Geschicklichkeit, wenn ich  
 angefallen werden.

Wollte ich nicht, so soll diese Verfügung, wenn ich  
 angefallen, gegeben mit anderen. (Soll am 22. Juni 1855)



3. The finishing lines of the testament written and signed by Fülöp Pulitzer, the Publisher's father. (Metropolitan Archive, Budapest)

at the time when the family had only just moved from Makó to Pest. It was written in the testator's own handwriting throughout and signed by himself. The document, as customarily requested, was written in German, in Gothic script. The handwriting itself, too, reflects a highly intellectual mind and an educated person's good command of German (4).

The will suggests uncertainty and worry about the family's prospects in case of trouble. It was made at a time when Fülöp Pulitzer had only just settled with his family in their new place in the capital city of Hungary; when he was only about to reestablish himself as a new merchant there; and when recent political and economic restrictions had been imposed on Jews, such as e.g. their prohibition from purchasing any real estate. All these circumstances plus fear of an untimely death, the doubtful fate of the children and that of the fortune in the future are reflected in the testament. Though it was written in a condition "sound in body and mind" the father's chief anxiety, that he would die while all his children were still under age, proved, unfortunately, to have been well founded. All things considered, and above all, what the will reflects indeed is the father's philanthropic feelings and an overwhelming fondness for his family: his children and his wife.

In the first place, Fülöp Pulitzer left to the local poorhouse and the Jewish hospital ten florins each. In the second paragraph of the testament he bequeathed each of his children – "Lajos, József, Albert and Franciska and Helene" – their compulsory share of the inheritance, with the appointment of their mother to be "their guardian and curator" while they were minors. His "beloved wife née Louise Berger" was given right to the free administration of the children's share and to become a beneficiary of it under the reservation that she would always require the approval of her acts from either his brother Mihály-Mayer Pulitzer or her brother Ludwig Berger. He chose this solution because, he thought, the compulsory shares themselves, being hardly enough for education and upkeep, would provide a greater income for these purposes than by dividing the inheritance up and placing the children under public guardianship authority.

As regards Louise Berger, she was named "heiress general" in the testament, though with the condition that "she may enjoy the fruits of her own share only". And, despite the fact that she received the right "to administer and make use of the property falling to her to the best of her knowledge", again, she was bound in her acts to the approval and agreement of either one of the two brothers already mentioned, or of Pulitzer's aunt, Rosalia Hoffmann. Nothing was left in the last will to any of the collateral relatives, the brothers or sisters of Fülöp. He also ordered that following the death of his wife or any of his minor children, even their shares would have to pass on to the remaining children within the family, as soon as they became of age.

## 9.

After Fülöp Pulitzer's death, the business went nearly totally bankrupt. No reserve fund seems to have remained and neither of the brothers (both tradesmen) appointed in the testament seem to have been able or willing to help the widow. Louise Pulitzer's tax

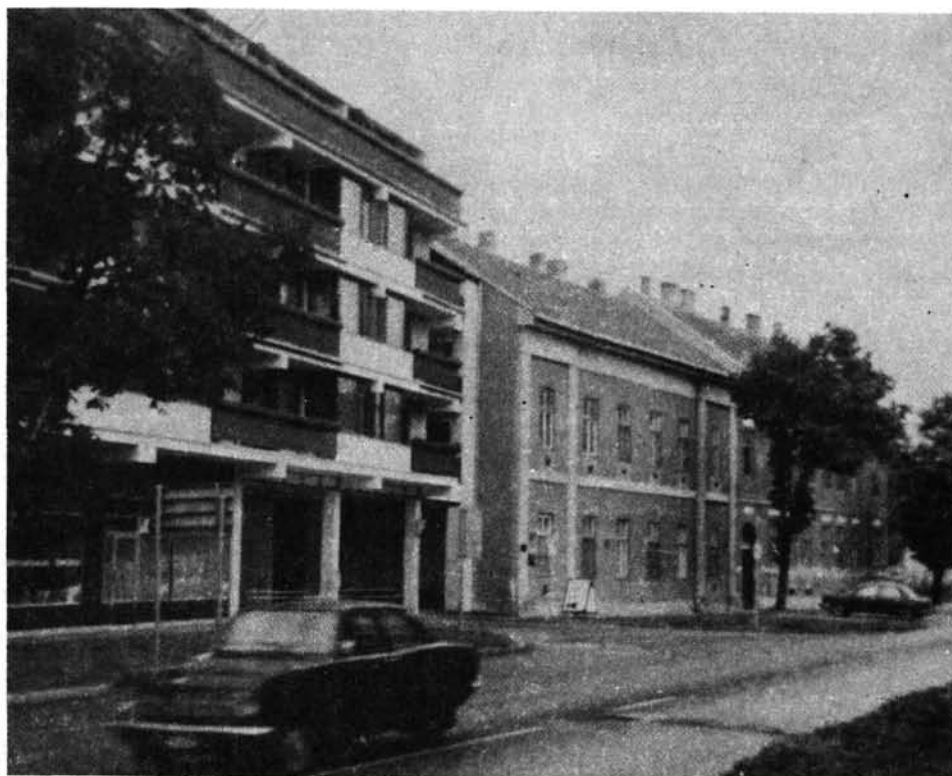
arrears grew so high that in a few months she was unable to pay them and her property had to be seized. The family, heavily in debt, was plunged into poverty. Finally, following petitions to reschedule terms of payment, the widow was granted permission by the revenue office to settle her tax arrears in monthly installments beginning in February 1859 (4).

The future fate of the Pulitzers after these events remains in relative obscurity. Joseph, now eleven and the eldest child in the family, along with his brother and sister became Fatherless, whose support and further education in those circumstances must have meant a real ordeal to their widowed mother. Nevertheless, by some later Hungarian newspaper accounts, Mrs. Pulitzer was said to have continued business activities by running a small flour shop while Joseph attended Hampel's Economic School in the following years (26). Yet another distress came to them when Joseph's little sister, Anna Fanny, suddenly died in July 1860, at the age of eleven. At this time the family, poverty-stricken, still occupied the same home in Göttergasse that their father had established (5). The fact that Joseph left home at seventeen against his mother's will to become a soldier in the United States may well have been the result of an effort made to lighten the burden of the family as well as an outcome of some sort of disagreement with his stepfather, Max Blau (Frey?). His unsuccessful efforts, to enter the various armies of European countries are well-known from Hungarian and American sources published at the beginning of this century. Albert, his younger brother, shortly followed suit: he also sailed to America later to become a newspaperman himself.

Reading biographies about Joseph's excellent knowledge of German after his immigration to the United States one might raise the question: how is it that his German was so good if his mother was not Austrian born? After the defeat of the Struggle for Independence in 1849 the whole of Hungary was brought under the absolute political control of the Austrian government. Though Hungary had formed a part of the Habsburg Empire even before, now oppression became so strong after the Revolution that the Hungarian language was not acknowledged as official. German was introduced as obligatory in all the offices, schools and other public institutions all over the country. In such circumstances, it would have been more difficult for an open-minded young man to ignore German than to master it.

The Vienna connection of the family must have been on the father's side. Earlier, about the middle of the century, three Pulitzers went from Hungary to study medicine at the University of Vienna. Theodore and Ignatio Pulitzer published their doctoral dissertations there in Latin (23,24). Adam Pulitzer became the most famous of them, a well-known otologist and professor of medicine in Vienna, and already the author of several studies in the 1860's (25). They were probably closely related to one another, the latter being a cousin of Joseph's.

The home where Joseph Pulitzer was born in Makó is no longer there in its original form. In 1895 the one-story building was remodeled by one of its new owners for use as a post office which functioned until the 1920's. The one-time residence of the Pulitzers is now No. 4. Dózsa György street, opposite the old Country Hall (*vármegyeháza*) — a last witness to Joseph's childhood.



4. Joseph Pulitzer's birthplace at Makó

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## THE RED NEWS-REEL OF THE TANÁCSKÖZTÁRSASÁG: HISTORY DREAM AND CINEMA IMAGINATION

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In this essay, we shall try to present some practical considerations concerning the possibility of a concrete connection between cinema and history. Better, we shall present some considerations about the possibility by using a film document as a history source. Marc Ferro in his well-known *Cinéma et Histoire. Le cinéma agent et source de l'histoire* (Denoël-Gontier, Paris, 1977) has already explored this field with loose and rather fragmentary studies. Dedicated to Jacques Le Goff – hence owing very much to the 'Annales' school – Ferro's studies allow us to expound the question in a far more correct way.

### Diagram of the relations between cinema and historiography

Proceeding *per summa capita*, the *status questionis* of cinema/history relations can be seen in the following way:

1. A film document is not considered as a (reliable) source of history. Ferro remarks that, at the beginning of the century at least, "sources used by sanctioned historians form a *corpus* which is as hierarchical as the society to which they address their work. As in this society, documents are divided into classes where one could easily distinguish privileged ones, outcasts, tramps and *Lumpen*. Benedetto Croce wrote: "History is always contemporary". Now, at the beginning of the 20th century, this hierarchy reflects power games; in the first rank, we find the glamorous State Archives, manuscripts or printed papers, rare documents, all the expression of His Highness the Power, of the power of families, parliaments, chambers; then follows the group of the non-secret printed documents: juridical and legislative texts, first expressions of power; then newspapers and publications which do not come from the power only but from the whole of cultivated society. Biographies, sources of local history, travellers' reports all form the last rank; these documents occupy the lowest position in the making of the thesis. History is analysed from the point of view of those who arrogate the direction of society to themselves: statesmen, diplomats, magistrates and directors".<sup>1</sup>

2. A film "is part of the mental universe of a historian": partly because its language "proves to be unintelligible, because it is difficult to interpret it – just like dream language"<sup>2</sup>; partly because of "a blindness, an unconscious refusal, coming from more complex causes"<sup>3</sup>; paraphrasing Michel Foucault, Ferro gives as a proof of these more

complex causes the unexamined reasons which cause historians to transform some monuments of the past into 'documents' and some others not; and, on the other hand, to transform some documents of the present into 'monuments' and some others not.<sup>4</sup>

3. A film is not part of the mental universe of a historian, this being because of a prejudice which is not unreasonable. As Ferro says, for a man of culture, cinema is "a dulling machine, a pastime for illiterates, and for mean creatures degraded by needs". The bishop, the deputy, the general, the notary, the professor, the magistrate share this judgement by Georges Duhamel. They do not compromise themselves in this "show for helots". First jurisprudence verdicts perfectly show how film is accepted by ruling classes. Film is considered a sort of washout; Law does not recognise the author's existence. The images in movement are due to the special machine which produces them. For a long time, Law has considered the writer of the *subject* as the *film* author. As a rule, copyright was not recognised to the one who filmed. He was never considered a cultivated man, but he was called an image 'hunter'. Even today, as far as films on topical subjects are concerned, cameramen remain anonymous; images are signed by the producing house (...).<sup>5</sup>

4. A film is not accepted as a historical source even when it is a reportage and not fiction, because of its feeble truthfulness and the obvious possibility of it being manipulated. "How could you rely", Ferro goes on, "on films on topical subjects when everybody knows that these images, these pseudo-representations of reality are selected and can be transformed as they are arranged during an unchecked montage, a trick, a falsification. A historian would be unable to use documents of this kind. He works in a glass cage, »here are my reference points, here are my proofs«. He will never admit that his choice of documents, their assembly and the order of his argumentations are a montage, a trick, a falsification too. Studying the same historical sources, did different historians write the same history of French Revolution?"<sup>6</sup>

5. In comparison with the beginning of the century (and with cinema beginnings), the world has changed as well as the conception and the purposes of history.

— the Romantic mirage of an integral 'resurrection' of the past (as Michelet called it) has vanished; another project set off; it is the Marxist project of the individualization of the historical process in the analysis of the production *system* and class struggle; starting from other premises, this project confirms the hypothesis that history always has a meaning; it is a project that enacts a new kind of historic objectivity based on isonomy: the historian "exactly as subject — and a subject who cannot be reduced to a mere 'point', but as a subject really present in history, with his own interests, his own choices, his own decisions, a historic and partisan subject — (...) can tell the truth about history, exactly because his conscience is not outside history but it represents the historical moment of conclusion in history".<sup>7</sup>

— according to this point of view, the greatest historic objectivity corresponds to the greatest subjectivity: this is also one of the preliminary positions of the 'Annales' school, as Georges Duby has recently reaffirmed in his *Dialogues* with the philosopher Guy Lardreau: "I am quite positive of the subjectivity of the historical discourse. I am quite positive it is the product of a dream which is not totally free however, since the big

curtains of images that compose it must be fastened with hooks. These hooks are the tracks we spoke of before: concrete tracks printed on the landscape, material objects found by archeology, files, chronicles, reports, and theories on world order. However, desire creeps among these hooks".<sup>8</sup> Which desire? The desire to set up connections between these tracks: connections which will be easier if tracks are evident and which will be more difficult where tracks are wide apart. It is the imagination of the historian that will give form to this desire.<sup>9</sup>

— for Duby and for all those of the 'Annales' school, sources become "a sort of support, or, better, a spring-board used to make a dash, to build with the greatest skill a sound, well-grounded hypothesis about what events or structures could have been."<sup>10</sup>

6. So, history has become once again what it was in the Classic World, and this is due to two new methodologies: the marxist one and the 'Annales' one — no more explanation and doctrine but narration and discourse just as Quintilian said: *scribitur historia ad narrandum, non ad probandum* (Institutio oratoria, 10,1,31).

7. If history is the product of a dream — a dream "delimited, as Duby says, by the world uproar in which the historian lives" and "conditioned by the historian's environment"<sup>11</sup>: but anyway a dream — why should history dream ever refuse that rich mine of "dreamed material" coming from cinema — which is, after all also known as "the dream workshop"? In fact going back to Marc Ferro's opinion images have a great subversive and jurisdictional power. "A film, as Ferro says, bears witness. The reality which cinema presents appears as terribly true; one finds out that it does not necessarily correspond to the assertions of leaders, to the schemes of theorists, or to the analysis of the opposition. It may pour ridicule on their statements instead of illustrating them. We can understand why Churches, priests of all creeds, and every kind of teacher watch with scrupulous and almost maniacal attention over these images in movement which they are still unable to analyse, to control and to possess. A film can dismantle what has been built up with great skill by many generations of statesmen and thinkers. A film destroys the illusory image that every institution, and every individual has created of himself in front of society. The camera reveals the real mechanism of all that, and it can tell much more than one *would* tell about oneself. It reveals secrets, it shows the other side of society, its lapses. It pays attention to structures. All this is enough to understand why after a moment of surprise, there comes a moment of suspicion and dread. The image, the sound image, this product of Nature, will not find a language, as it is with the Savage. The idea that a gesture could be a sentence, and a look a long speech; is totally unbearable: this could mean that images, sounds, a shouting girl, a frightened crowd are the material for another story, different from history, could this be a sort of anti-analysis of society?

It is necessary to start from images. We must not look merely for illustration, confirmation or denial of another kind of knowledge: namely the knowledge of written tradition. It is necessary to consider images for what they are, and to stop calling upon other forms of knowledge so as to grab them in a better way. Historians have already put sources of popular origin in their proper place first, the written ones, then the non-written ones: folklore, popular arts and traditions, etc. We still have to study the film with reference to the world that produced it. The hypothesis is that a film — image of

reality or not, document or fiction, genuine plot or pure invention — is history. The postulate is that what has never taken place and, even what did take place — beliefs, intentions and man's imaginary system are history as well as history itself".<sup>12</sup>

8. Hence it seems quite right to consider a film as a source for history. Its reliability depends on its genuineness: the more significant/signifying it is the more ingenuous it is, i.e. unaware of its use goal, not arranged for a thesis, not reticent but curious about the unusual and the usual as well. Paraphrasing Montale, we could say something fit for both the poet and the operator: no cameraman knows exactly what he is allowed to film. A cameraman does not catch — when he is filming — all the complex meanings of the reality he is 'printing' on the film.<sup>13</sup> The objective eye retains also what the biological eye cannot see.

### Homologation of the iconic source

After these premises, we are allowed "to start from images", as Ferro exhorts. In other words we should not look for confirmation of the assertions of written tradition, but build a new imagination — we mean a richer, more complex imagination — of a big event. In the Middle Ages, they used to say *fortis imaginatio generat casum*. We overturn this apophthegm when we assert that the Magyar Tanácsköztársaság *casus* provoked the *fortis imaginatio* of the cinema Directorate in service of the People's Commission for Education<sup>14</sup>; and even today, it can be the source of the same generous imagination among historians and students of cinema. By imagination we mean what DUBY means: a faculty which is able to establish connections between the different 'tracks' we possess about a certain event (i.e. the Tanácsköztársaság); a faculty which is able "to fill a gap, to serve as a bridge, to fill up the silence in a certain way, using what I already know".<sup>15</sup>

There are no doubts that the Magyar Tanácsköztársaság was a very important event. The historian Enzo Santarelli has remarked about it in a very clear and concise way: it is the only revolutionary event of the Baltic—Danubian—Balkan area preceding the establishment of the popular democracies of the second post-war period. The Tanácsköztársaság represented not only a strong wave of the revolutionary sea-storm crossing Europe from East to West at the end of the First World War. It was also a prototype of the socialist and internationalist evolution (just hinted at but unachieved) of the movements of identification and national independence which were a consequence of the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire.<sup>16</sup> Hence, it is a relevant, historical event. Added to that, the more exceptional and the more sudden an event is, the more it provokes — as DUBY remarks, a flowering of peculiar relations, a sort of swarm of discourses. In this superabundance of discourses, people say things that are usually left unsaid because they are banal. That is to say, they belong to everyday life and that nobody is interested in when everything is all right.<sup>17</sup>

The film documents that the *Magyar Filmintézet* (the Cinema Institute of Budapest) now possesses — that is twenty-five news-reels which are three to six minutes long — are extraordinary examples of this kind of unusual document. These documents are not shown because they "belong to everyday life", for they have a meaning simply because

they are inserted in a very special event. *Fortis casus generat imaginationem*. We will try to exert our imagination over this *fortis casus*: Duby's historical imagination and the symbolic imagination which allows us to see what is implicit and thus to go further, and to see what is said so to catch what is unsaid. We will exert that right/duty which Duby considers as peculiar to the historians who are always "compelled to insinuate their invention".<sup>18</sup>

### Vörös film: A revolution report

We will call *Vörös film* ("Red Film") this homogeneous *corpus* (*macrotext*). It is made up of twenty revolutionary news-reels which, as a whole last about eighty minutes. These news-reels were filmed during the 133 days of the Tanácsköztársaság and beyond it too; the last news-reel sequences were filmed on Balaton, one or two days after the official end of the republican experience.

Some leading ideas, some recurrent messages go across the *corpus* (*macrotext*): the *corpus* carries out the deliberation of the decree of April 12th 1919, according to which the Magyar Tanácsköztársaság nationalized the cinema industry. It was the first time that such a thing had happened in the whole world.

The *Vörös film* author, in a juridical as well as in a semantic sense,<sup>19</sup> is the political commissar Béla Paulik. He was, at first, responsible of the cinema directorate; Júlia Komját is at his side; she is the artistic and dramatic director of production.<sup>20</sup>

But as modern literary criticism has pointed out, the real author is the implicit author, immanent in the text<sup>21</sup>. In this case, it corresponds to the collective spirit of cinematographers — a revolutionary spirit, although not always marxist, nevertheless has the dimension of an "intellectual proletariat" according to the correct hermeneutics of Nemeskürty.<sup>22</sup> The implicit author has many names. The first names which must be thought of are those of Károly Escher and of all the other operators and technicians who worked for four and a half months to give life to the news-reels of the Tanácsköztársaság.

We can recognise two moments in its history: the period of the pacific expansion of the republic (March 21st — April 15th); and the period of the defensive contraction and of the internal disagreement, which started with the Romanian attacks (April 16th — August 1st).<sup>23</sup>

The *Vörös film* has positive reactions to those different situations: its *Leitmotiven* are the exaltation of its country and of revolution<sup>24</sup> during the period of pacific expansion. They are the defence of the republic against Romanian and Czech 'revanchismes', against the Entente that supported them; and against reactionaries menacing the internal order.<sup>25</sup> The armed wings of the Tanácsköztársaság are the Red Army and the Red Guard<sup>26</sup>, who were active during the period of defensive contraction and internal disagreement.

Both periods have another common *Leitmotiv*: care was taken to show how the republic was providential for the proletariat and especially for the weakest part of it: the young.<sup>27</sup> The microevents that the 'aulic' history usually records from other sources are practically missing in the *Vörös film*; they are present only by reflection and never

through protocol ceremonies, as was to happen in the news-reels of Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. Not one event mentioned hereafter is recorded as "a conquest of revolution": the nationalization of industry (only for industries with more than twenty workers — that is, one hundred people), the nationalization of vast estates (48% of cultivated land), and the elections of the Soviets involving men and women over 18. The same thing happens for other important Government actions, such as the split between Church and State, the self-government of factories, the house reform, work Acts, and the laicization of schools (two thirds of which were under ecclesiastic direction).<sup>28</sup>

These are very important measures and they have a big revolutionary significance. The Executive passed these measures with great promptness, as if it was anxious to hurry up to win a challenge with history.

One of the reasons for this hurry was the great number, in fact, the thousands of war prisoners, farmers, workers and intellectuals who had come back from Russia as eye-witnesses of revolution. It is useless to underline the power of their persuasion. Plautus has already said: *Pluris est oculatus testis unus quam auriti decem* (Truculentus, 490).

The Executive was anxious on one hand, to underline its substantial difference from the legal government which had taken the power after the democratic-bourgeois revolution on October 30th of the previous year<sup>29</sup>; on the other hand, it wanted to validate the alternative that took place without a formal power transition, but without shedding blood either.<sup>30</sup>

So the *Vörös film* is not at all a catalogue of ceremonials. On the contrary, it is a radiography: the radiography of the reaction of a group of 'real' men facing a real situation which is as short as it is rich in political, ideological, and artistic provocations.

The *Vörös film* not only witnesses but 'expresses' a concrete historical situation too. Expressing it, the *Vörös film* makes it free from the incoherence of its presentation and transforms it in an order of interhuman relations of great perspective: an order which includes every progressive movement of a people looking for greater freedom, a more effectual justice, and a real increase in the promotion of Man.

On one side, there is a political 'event' of big historical dimensions and, on the other side, there is a documentary and expressive 'result', such as the *Vörös film*. These two realities are connected by the cause/effect relation described by Duby: "the event is like a stone thrown into a pond: it makes some slime from the bottom come to the surface and this shows what is happening in the lowest strata of life".<sup>31</sup> We can ever risk saying: the document is just like the event. The events of the Tanácsköztársaság were exciting and tumultuous, so the productive moment of the *Vörös film* is exciting and conflictual too.

### Conflict in production

The big problem was to conciliate two poles: on one hand, the ideological impetuosity of the men of the Party (that is the commissars who directed the business) who had a great revolutionary faith, but no competence at all concerning film production; on the

other hand, the competence of the experts of this sector who were considered unreliable and reluctant (and such a suspicion was not always wrong) by the top.

The ritual mistake of revolutions was made: the roles of faithful incompetents and unreliable experts were overthrown. Pindar had already tried to warn about the fatal danger of this mistake: "horses for the quadriga and oxen for the plough". It was useless.

Béla Paulik was the first to be responsible for national cinema production as a political commissar. He had a very complicated personality and was rarely able to use his wide powers properly.

His April whim to enlist 'all those whose job is cinema'<sup>32</sup> in the autonomous 32nd regiment of the Red Army (proving that cinema was an important weapon) provoked the inevitable intervention of the Government's Revolutionary Council.<sup>33</sup> The order was cancelled, Paulik was relieved of his command, and he was appointed to coordinate filming at the front.<sup>34</sup> The office of 'political commissar of cinema activities' was abolished. Two other people were appointed as substitutes: István Radó, an excellent cinema expert, was appointed by the People's Commission for social production as Commissar of production; and László Márkus, writer, critic and stage-director, was appointed by the People's Commission for Education as artistic Commissar.<sup>35</sup>

The experiment of centralized and autocratic direction had been a big failure with Paulik. The gradual decentralization of national cinema gave better results. Vilmos Tarján, accredited reporter of the 'Sera', was appointed to coordinate the *Vörös film*.<sup>36</sup> Many others worked on it. Among all these, the most famous was Michael Curtiz (1888–1962), who eventually became a great author of sophisticated comedies in Hollywood in the 1930's and the 1940's. At the time of the Tanácsköztársaság his name was still Magyar: Mihály Kertész was even appointed as supervisor for the *Vörös film 5* that had to celebrate the manifestations of the 1st May 'freely'.<sup>37</sup> When he realised that things were going extremely badly, Kertész left for Vienna and never came back. This meant a deterioration of the production team. Those who were ideologically engaged kept on supporting the situation *unguibus et rostris*. Those who were doubtful and recalcitrant became more and more devoted to obstructionism.

Revolutionary tension had undergone some acceleration of its radicalism thanks to some active thinkers who, as Júlia Komját did, spread new passionate manifestos to fix the new nature of cinema. This provoked the excitement of those who were intransigent on both sides. Júlia Komját firmly proclaimed the ostracism of "the romantic, sentimental, mystical and deceptive themes, which belonged to the bourgeois ideology"; she claimed the necessity of an authentic art based on social ethics, and on a dynamic, oriented by the 'natural sciences' conception of the world.<sup>38</sup> She wrote that "every surreptitious insinuation of old ideas which were useful for the purposes of capitalism, is an act of stupidity. An act of stupidity is a counter-revolutionary act".<sup>39</sup>

After a few weeks, Júlia Komját pressed ahead again with stronger arguments, in her article *Film Problems*. She said a final 'no' to fiction stereotypes composed on the love-hate axis – an always gratuitous axis – and she said 'no' to the film-makers' habit of simply satisfying their public appetites and to their being rewarded by cheers of approval

when the public was driven to a fairy world where "everybody is happy" and where all the villains are punished.<sup>40</sup>

In spite of controversies, there was a big production.<sup>41</sup> As far as fiction films are concerned, there were remarkable results with over three or four films each month. There were nearly thirty fiction films (not all feature films). They were short works, such as *The Red Question*, *The Prodigal Son*, *Love Remedies*, *Good-for-Nothing*, *Whims*, *The Burglar*, and *The Rape of the Luck*.<sup>42</sup> However there were even more engaging films like *God's Son*, *Devil's Son*, taken from a progressive novel by Terka Lux; or like *Money*, from one of Gorki's tales; like *Miss Julia* by Strindberg; or like *Yesterday*, a revolutionary comedy which mixes syndicalism and adulteries. The latter was branded as a "mess of bad taste, disingenuous and lacking culture" by the Central Council of Cinema.<sup>43</sup> As far as documentaries are concerned, twenty parts of the *Vörös film* were joined under the banner of revolutionary optimism. The morals, which are the implicit author of the *Vörös film*, are totally positive. The optimistic level can be measured by the project prepared after May 1st 1919: it is the project of a city of cinema — at Szentendre and Leányfalu or at Kamaraerdő — which should have been built following the "modern methods of English and American architecture", i.e. with giant settings — a street in Nuremberg style, a copy of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, a rococo mansion with a garden, a Greek temple, and Turkish thermal baths.<sup>44</sup>

Optimism and reticence are the two lines concerning the *Vörös film*, and they are applied with perfect coherence to the logic of the precarious period of the Tanácsköztársaság. This is due to the fact that optimism is the faith of revolution and reticence is a logical-strategic figure that must attest the reliability and the firmness of the so called 'internal front': even though, as Eco insinuates, reticence "helps in suggesting in a more persuasive way, what could seem banal once it is said".<sup>45</sup> The presentation of the troubles and failures of the republic proved the eagerness of self-punishing sincerity and it was not an omission of truth. It was not censorship. By László Márkus's order, the author (the director) had the ultimate responsibility for the film — hence its censor. It is true that someone abused this privilege and produced a film "against the spirit of the age".<sup>46</sup> That is why, on May 10th, a decree stated the principle that "films should be revised before their projection".<sup>47</sup> The *Vörös film* was also subject to this law. But as far as the *Vörös film* is concerned, we propose the hypothesis of self-censorship. Its film makers did not want to displease the Power, and they did not want to present themselves as defeatists. Besides, circulation is always a virtue in a situation which is not a status of right. Silence (that is to say the omission of unhappy ideas) was already regarded as supreme wisdom in Pindar's age<sup>48</sup> and it is a rule of propaganda. The *Vörös film* is inspired by *metanoia*. Propaganda is the best way to advertise revolutions. Who could ever advertise a stale product? Beyond optimism and the golden rule of reticence what else can be said about the *Vörös film*? We can comment on the little, arhythmic, discontinuous beat which is nearly puzzled in front of the non-ceremonial everyday life; we notice in each film the great attention to details, to the ephemeral and to casual facts; we can distinguish a refusal to catalogue the official character of anything but a few,



malicious exceptions. This is a disposition which refuses, as Jacques Le Goff says, seduction of history and which defines itself in comparison with the story lived by men.

Not one of the 226 events or fragments of events of the *Vörös film* maxireport on the revolution possesses something exciting or something glorious. We can read each of the twenty short chapters of the *Vörös film* as a confirmation of the crisis of historicism, namely a confirmation of the 'mise en question' of the possibility of finding an exact meaning of history in each single event. This is what Paul Veine is thinking when he says that in the final analysis, history is not driven by profound causes like 'the rise of bourgeoisie' or the 'redemption of proletariat'. We are not very far from the problematic attitude of a marxist like Eric Hobsbawm who – in his recent *Work, Culture and Ideas in Industrial Society* – destroys the vain convictions of 'historiographic' historians. He claims that we run the risk of forgetting that the objects and the subjects of our research are human beings. Historians must remember that men – not the 'working class', but working men and women, who are real people and often ignorant, narrow-minded and full of prejudices – are the objects of their studies. "For many of us", he says at the end, "the final goal of our research is to create a world where workers can live their own life and their own history, instead of receiving it as ready-made from someone else, even from professors". To sum up, if history has a meaning, we must look for it in history itself and not in men.<sup>49</sup>

The *Vörös film*, considered as a macrotext, and having the 'esprit de révolution' as implicit author as well as a various patchwork composed by many, insignificant, curious or even dull microtexts, is everything and nothing at the same time. It is a *corpus* and a magma at the time, something that no historian (a cinema historian or even a pure historian) could ever master by his professional technique alone. He could master it only by using a wide point of view, a perspective which is philosophical and aesthetical at the same time. It is philosophical because it concerns the large number of questions about existence which are still present in our century. It is aesthetical because the historian needs more and more to take a new possession of the events and characters which are the objects of his study. We think that this need is the product of the historian's never ending swing between philology and imagination. Philology certifies acritically the 'historicity' of an event; imagination fills the blank existing between a sure event, the previous and the following one (which is also DUBY's idea).

Working on the *Vörös film*, we ourselves try to proceed following the rhythm of this swing between the philological confirmation of facts belonging to the historical experience of the Tanácsköztársaság and the effort of imagination (and we mean also symbolic imagination) we want to make from now on. Both tensions contribute to a reaffirmation of the utility of the *Vörös film* as a historical document which strengthens the historicity of the Republic of councils. For us, today, historicity colours the 133 days of the Tanácsköztársaság as well as the twenty numbers (that is, the 266 episodes) of the *Vörös film*. If by history we mean everything that produces a considerable quantity of social, political and aesthetic effects, the 133 days and the 266 episodes of the *Vörös film* (chance wants that the 266 episodes of the *Vörös film* are exactly the double of the days of the Republic) 'make', that is to say 'are', history with great dignity. We mean by this

that the 133 days and the 266 episodes still reproduce and amplify passions, feelings, ideas and culture in the individual conscience and in collective consciences.

### The most dangerous tracks

We must now give substance to the historical discernment. We must follow the tracks and establish continuity where there appears to be none, from the fragmentary information supplied by the *Vörös film*. We can create this global vision – with the contribution of imagination – by cross reading the *Vörös film* as a macrotext. This cross reading of the macrotext allows us to define some themes which comprise the founding elements of the complex Tanácsköztársaság diorama. These themes are grouped in 'narrative units'. By 'narrative unit' we mean a short film sequence lasting about thirty seconds, documenting a situation or an event and illustrated by a subtitle.

The themes are presented following in order of intensity:

- The Red Army, sword of the Republic (126 narrative units; hereafter n.u.)
- Proletariat and its leaders, *omphalos* of the new society (109 n.u.);
- Liturgies deepening the communication inside the Army and the proletariat, i.e. allocutions (33 n.u.) and march pasts (33 n.u.).

The significant clause of the *Vörös film* is the sequence showing the happy proletarian boys, at the holiday camps on the banks of Balaton, running towards the waters of the 'Hungarian sea' and diving in – surely ignoring the end of the 133 day Republic. This clause-sequence and the other four information groups of the *Vörös film* can have – like every other text – a double meaning: a denotative and a connotative reading.

### The red army tracks

On the denotative level, the theme 'Red Army-sword of the republic' is present in the whole arch of its function. Just like a big organism which needs invention and consolidation, the *Vörös film*, without following a logical progression (which is the result of spreading our observation over all the macrotext) but following an iterative order instead, shows all the main moments of the creation of the Army. So we can see: the enlistment and the training (7 n.u.); the moments concerning the quarters in Budapest and in other towns (8 n.u.); surveillance of the Danube and the junctions of many roads, surveillance of many river banks, the patrol of the river with the light 'monitors', and war units used during the resistance against the sedition organized in Szeged (8 n.u.).

The *Vörös film* then shows moments of war outside the capital: from the happy departures of troops by train (7 n.u.) – there was an armoured train for quick displacements and a defensive fortress (1 n.u.) – to the description of places near the front (2 n.u.).

The Army was fighting on two fronts: the Transylvanian front at the Tisza against the Romanians, which from April 16th was commanded by Vilmos Böhm and the Czech

front. In spite of General Fauchet's efforts, there was no front with the new Serbo-Croat-Slovenian State.<sup>50</sup> However, the Republic also had to face the Counter-Revolutionary Committee of Vienna. This acted on the orders of Count István Bethlen and Szeged's Anti-Bolshevik Committee where Rear-Admiral Miklós Horthy was entrusted with responsibility for military affairs.<sup>51</sup> This committee inspired an insurrection in Budapest on June 24th, but this was immediately crushed by the Red Guard.<sup>52</sup>

That is the reason why the richest narrative section of the *Vörös film* is the section that exposes different moments of military life near the front. There are approach marches, transfers using motor vehicles, the happy crossing of towns and villages, barracks, training and manoeuvres (even with heavy weapons), the changing of the guard, the frequent inspections by officers, and officers reviewing troops which are spurred, incited or reproached. There are moments of relaxation spent for personal hygiene, mess-time and showing mascots. Then, almost on the sly, scenes of battle (7 n.u.), war destruction (2 n.u.), and the care of injured soldiers, are shown as if it was unusual and dangerous due to the lack of expertise of operators; last come the obsequies of those soldiers and citizens who died for the Tanácsköztársaság (6 n.u.).

The whole military span, from enlistment to death, is fully reported in the *Vörös film*. The fact that 47% of the macrotext is occupied by the Red Army – that is to say by the military part of the republic, the armed wing of the Tanácsköztársaság – is not a mere coincidence. It signifies the fact that film-makers, and operators considered freedom, national independence, and defence of the revolution to be primary values.

*Ubi libertas, ibi patria.* The Latin motto is good for 1919 Magyars during the 133 days of the Tanácsköztársaság. Alfred de Vigny's idea (in *Servitude et grandeur militaires*) of the army as a "nation inside the nation" proves to be absolutely appropriate for the *Vörös film*<sup>53</sup>. However, as history teaches, the so-called "War God" is always on the side of the biggest and best equipped army. The *Gott mit uns* is not a shield but simply the commemoration of a wicked relativity.

### Proletariat and infancy tracks

The second great theme of the *Vörös film* is the internal front, to which the proletariat gives life with its peculiar quality: its untiring activity (12 n.u.). To this untiring activity corresponds – almost to underline a cause and effect relation or a right and duty correspondence (*qui iure suo utitur neminem laedit!*) – the idea of the republic as the supplier (12 n.u.) – a lavish and thankful mother. Feudal times are not so distant a memory. Meanwhile, the proletariat is fighting for the right to have its primary needs defended (house, health, food).

Even the bourgeois intellectuals are shown as "fit for manual works" (2 n.u.). This points out that all the citizens found, in their work, equality and their right of citizenship – that is the right to belong to the republic.

The most evident and the most edifying sign (a persuasive sign for the public too) is that the greatest care of the republic is towards children, proletarian children, towards the

weak and the helpless ones. In fact, they are the *omphalos* of the new society. They deserve prompt care, starting from primary needs: it is necessary to chase from their sight the ghost of hunger (the long war has just finished and post-war period was not much better); their bodily health must be granted (here come tidy houses, play gardens, country excursions, summer holiday camps) and so must their mental health (and here come amusements, entertainments and a cinema specially for them).

The pedagogical cares of the Tanácsköztársaság are quite evident. Films produced for adults are not intended for "the intellectual enjoyment of children who are sensitive, innocent and impressionable". By a decree of May 8th, children under 10 were not admitted into cinemas, except for those cinemas showing films for children. By another decree five cinemas in Budapest were reserved for children. They were prepared and opened on May 31st. They showed documentaries, fairy tales and cartoons. There was even a film specially made for children: *Oliver Twist* by Márton Garas.

It was the first time in the world that a government had worried about planning the education around and through images for the young (and in July, a similar type of planning was prepared for the popularization of science among adults). Horthy's regime retained this supremacy — at least as far as concerns children's access to the cinema.<sup>54</sup>

The internal front is not formed only by proletarians and their children. It is a rich weft of interrelations, of comparisons, of information, of correspondence.

There is the anonymous town crowd (5 n.u.); everyday life moments in the streets and in the quarters of the capital, and a crowd queuing up to buy scarce commodities (2 n.u.).

The press did not hide the growing difficulties caused by the "economic block" of the Entente. People were advised to spare food for two reasons: the greatest part of the agricultural territories was in the hands of the enemy and farmers — because of their instinctive self-interest — were not convinced of the justice of sending foodstuffs to their "proletarian brothers".<sup>55</sup>

### The rites of confirmation of the tracks of consent

Private life was hard, at least for proletarians. On the other hand political life was brisk.

According to the visual documents — or better, the historic material — of the *Vörös film*, political life was the scaffolding of the internal front. For the first time ever in Hungary, the leaders — soldiers or civilians — of this political life (who are also the soul of this life) tried to establish a direct relation with great masses. They did that in the only possible way: they appeared in the big mass assemblies (9 n.u.). Béla Kun appears in 7 n.u.; other leaders in 15 n.u. appearing 6 times in the provinces.

In ancient times (and it is enough to think of Thucydides) speeches were considered the face of the spirit.<sup>56</sup> In fact, leaders' speeches to the crowd — to civilians in Budapest and to soldiers at the front — provide a wide gallery of the faces of the revolutionary spirit of the republic. The tone is invariably peremptory, their gestures are invariably

emphatic, their power of persuasion was strong (and nothing seemed able to weaken it). It is important to measure the stress laid on the speeches shown in the *Vörös film*: they are presented in 33 narrative units (and Béla Kun speaks three times only) which have short subtitles explaining just one of the many subjects exposed by the particular speaker.

Speeches, as Thucydides teaches, give many kinds of information. They describe the speaker as well as his audience. They offer the co-ordinates of a situation, of a project, of an opportunity. They are the final balance or the prelude of an action. Their purport depends on these human "variables" that situate and justify them. In a revolutionary context, more than ever, speeches are shadows. Only actions give credibility to speeches.<sup>57</sup> The speeches of the *Vörös film* must be read as a reflection of revolutionary actions; albeit a pale reflection, because they are voiceless speeches. Yet they have their own consistency.

Oral communication is the great vehicle of transmission of revolutionary passion, and passion, or conviction, is the only persuasive "orator". Films do not allow us to find out something about the persuasiveness of those speeches. Their number is really impressive. Almost 13% of the narrative units of the *Vörös film* are occupied by speeches. It is even more strange that in the *Vörös film*, the answer, the logical correlation of leaders' speeches, and the collective reply to their ideological exhortations, have the same frequency as those speeches. There are 33 narrative units containing speeches, and 33 containing march pasts, parades, demonstrations — always with a remarkable presence of the crowd, which becomes a multitude on May 1st, the official Republic Day<sup>58</sup>. Six are funeral cortèges. The dead — as Thucydides had already remarked<sup>59</sup> — are always praised. Each revolution needs its dead. They are its martyrs, its witnesses. They are useful because they teach us to despise death, which is considered as something insignificant in comparison with a great cause. The living find consolation in staying together. They think that even though they have many reasons to despise their actual life, they have no reason to be afraid of death, which will find them in any case.

Even funeral cortèges are an assertion of life: a life that must go on, if only to find time enough to change it. This seems to be the meaning of every kind of cortège in the *Vörös film*. They have something fabulous about their nature. Their regular and measured steps — which seem almost clumsy — give the impression of surprise, emotion, enthusiasm for something new, and something pleasant — something that people are afraid to lose immediately. The cortèges convey a sort of 'dismay'. It is a kind of dress rehearsal which is too far from any reasonable, possible expectation to be considered real. Here, the imagination of the historian goes beyond any plausible induction. He is probably looking for the symbolic meaning that every cortège possesses in Western symbolic "imaginaire".

What we have said till now is the result of reading the *Vörös film* as a denotative macrotext. In the case of such a reading it is conveyed as a discontinuous macrotext with peculiar narrative fragments, which can be grouped, as we have seen before (main themes). We can also express some orderly reflections, as we have so far tried to do.

### Symbolic tasks of the imagination

Empty and unknown spaces are extremely wider than those "reported" episodically and in a fragmentary way by the *Vörös film*. That is why, following the connotative tracks, we must prepare for a great increase of the imagination. We do that to give a hint of some possible connections in the *abruptum*, i.e. in the intermittent discourse of the *Vörös film*. So we have a second possibility to strengthen the historical hermeneutics of the *Vörös film*; in hermeneutics we can find in the four big narrative groups of the *Vörös film*: the Red Army, the proletariat-*omphalos* of the new society, speeches and cortèges. We will add a note on the clause of the *Vörös film*, namely, the boys in the waters of lake Balaton.

#### 1. The Red Army, Sword of Revolution

What is a weapon in a symbolic respect? It is the anti-monster which can yet become a monster in its turn. A weapon is created as an instrument to fight an enemy, but it can be withdrawn from its original purpose and it can be used against a friend or simply against someone else. There is a fundamental amphibology in a weapon: it can be simultaneously an instrument of justice and oppression, of rescue and suppression, an instrument of defence and conquest. What ever, a weapon, with its positive or negative nature, materializes the idea of a will firmly oriented towards an aim.

From a moral and spiritual point of view, in the Western world, weapons stand for interior powers: virtues are nothing but functions finally balanced by the spirit supervision.

The Red Army (or better, its incessant presentation in the *Vörös film*) stands for the primary solicitude of the republic and for the ratification of its potentiality of bearing comparison with internal (the Red Guard) or external opposing forces. It is not to be outclassed and it must be able to stand any challenge with equal force. The red colour, which distinguishes this army from any other, is a sort of support for the symbology of the weapon defending the Tanácsköztársaság. In fact, red is the fundamental symbol of origin of life in all its power, force and exuberance. Red is the colour of fire and blood, with all their ambivalences. If red is a dim, dark, dull red, it is a nocturnal, feminine, secret, funeral colour. If red is bright as fire, it is a solar, male, stimulating, spurring colour. It is the symbol of ardour, of impulsive and generous force, of youth, of a free and sound eros, a bellicose and triumphant eros. The Red Army has a definite and predominant presence in the *Vörös film*. It underlines the affirmative tension of revolution — which appeals to all the exuberance of the male — to impose itself in an international context and to prove its authority in front of recalcitrant and hostile forces at home.

## 2. *The Proletariat – the Omphalos of a New Society*

For the proletarian revolution, which followed the bourgeois revolution led by Count Károlyi's, it is normal for the proletariat to be the *omphalos* of the society which must be built. The *omphalos* is the universal symbol of centrality. Many cosmologies say that the world has its origin in a navel and from this the epiphany of life spreads with great force in the four fundamental directions. Let's remember the Delphic oracle, centre of the Apollo cult. The tradition says that the Delphic *omphalos* was placed exactly where the god had killed the Python serpent and near the cleft which swallowed the waters from the Deucalion flood. Apollo placed himself at the centre (in the navel) of the earth so he could direct the human genre from there. Delphos (world *omphalos*) and proletariat (*omphalos* of the new society) stand for the living power prevailing over the blind and monstrous forces which generate chaos. We could say in modern language that it is the centre of life's rational order. This order is not obtained through an overwhelming imperiousness, but with no external help, through an inner control, through reinforcement of personality, and through self-discipline. The stress of the *Vörös film* on the proletariat-*omphalos* is like an order: an order to do one's founding duty without compromise, and without the support of other classes. The proletariat must succeed by the force of its compactness and innovative centrality.

## 3. *Speeches and Cortèges: a Double Modality to Consolidate Proletarian Centrality*

The *Vörös film* indicates the two ways of consolidating proletarian compactness and centrality: its leaders' speeches and the choral answer of mass cortèges.

Which is the symbolic charge of the word-tool used in the leaders' speeches? It is the human word: an audible sound and a penetrating form. The word is the *alter ego* of the male semen. It penetrates the ear – which is almost another female sex – and it goes down towards the deep conscience to fecundate the seed of action and create a new embryo. This is the embryo of a brand new reality. In this case, it is the embryo of a new, egalitarian and progressive society.

The ideas of a fecundating word, of the fertility of a speech, of a *Verbum* bringing the seed of creation, (origin of the whole creation and intended as the first and essential manifestation of the divinity) can be found in the cosmogonic conception of many peoples. The word is the initial act which establishes the profound sense of existence: it is the Greek *Logos* – that is to say word, sentence and speech at the same time – and also reason and intelligence, even divine thought. Each word, each speech symbolizes the manifestation of intelligence through language; and intelligence is a modality of existence: the self-thinking existence which expresses itself "in persona" or the existence which is known and communicated by someone else.

So, the recurrence of perorations in the *Vörös film* is the unconscious affirmation of the rationality of revolutionary discourse, and of its possibility to penetrate the con-

science of the proletarian masses with fertile results. Where the revolutionary word is accepted, it activates the embryo of the new society which is due to spring from the proletariat. The receptivity of these proletarian masses is proved by cortèges, mass meetings and demonstrations. What is the symbolic range? What is the connotative value of these "human chains" running in the streets of the capital to celebrate a day (May 1st) or to show a common will? The chain, the series, the sequel are the symbol of the communicative and solidary ties of a community (a big or a small one) and of each action that affects it. Hands and arms can be joined to form a chain. It is a human chain: it is the sign of the will to adapt oneself to a certain kind of collective life, namely to conform to a group. This exalts personal will and destroys every compulsion: it is a free, spontaneous acceptance. It ratifies a pact of collaboration, a unanimous and assertive reply to the call of the revolutionary message conveyed by the leaders' word.

The movement of this human chain, the so called "circumambulation" (that is to say, the way of moving of the cortège), recreates in a modern manner, the very ancient habit of "reproducing" the sun's vital movement. A march past has this cosmic value in that it conforms to an ordered and universal rhythm where everybody wants to be inserted so as to be in complete harmony with it. Imitation of the star cycles is the same as expressing a desire to take part in and "guarantee", world harmony — thus adopting the rhythm of every personal microcosm to the rhythm of the macrocosm.

One of the first solemn assertions of the Tanácsköztársaság was to qualify itself as an integral part (microcosm) of the big, international proletarian movement (macrocosm).<sup>60</sup> This feeling of being a part of a wider, European movement finds its correlative part in the great "motion" of the masses reproducing, by "circumambulation", the concrete act of insertion into the great circuit of the world proletarian revolution.

### The Lustral Bath Clause

Just a short note on the closing sequence of the *Vörös film*: the bathing boys at the proletarian holiday camps by the side of Balaton. They are bathing in the little "Magyar sea" while the republic is dying. The symbolic meaning is obvious. It is difficult to say whether the *Vörös film* operators and set-dressers were conscious of the end or not; but even though it is an involuntary clause and its meaning is still intact.

The *Vörös film*, a documentary macrotext of the republic, closes with a lustral bath in the lake waters: and the lake is the eye of the earth through which infernal gods — the gods of origin — watch the life of human beings. In doing so, they judge it. Nobody ignores the purifying and regenerating virtues of water. These virtues are always active, in every place and in every time, in sacred and profane domains. Bathing is the first rite which sanctions the great moments of life: birth, puberty and death. Immersion stands for uterine regression: it answers to a call for safety, to a need for relaxation, for *ressourcement*, as the French would say, and for a return to the matrix. At the same time, immersion stands for the acceptance of a moment of oblivion and it hints at the abandon of quarrels, fights and disagreements. Immersion breaks life as a hiatus. It is an interrup-



tion, to which it necessarily gives an initiation value. In this case, water occurs as a purifying, regenerating and fecundating value. The young proletarians bathe in Balaton and this acquires a pregnant and clear sign, a prophetic sign. It says: there will be a break in the continuity of revolution and history will define its length; it will be a necessary and useful break, an intermission which prepares a new life for a regenerated society – a society which is definitely fecund.

In conclusion we want to remark, that the convergence of the symbolic signs of the *Vörös film* are evoked by a connotative reading; the proletariat-*omphalos* idea, the fecundating discourse idea, the cortège/repetition of an idea of solar vitality, the regenerating idea of the bathing they all give strength to the “revolution = life” equation. This equation certifies the motive which is present throughout the *Vörös film*. Life and revolution are synonyms of victory. This is a lasting victory, a victory which remains in spite of little defeats, personal deaths, and precarious counterrevolutions.

Now, the study of the hermeneutics of the *Vörös film* macrotext seem to be complete – at least partially. It is an uncertain, crooked, irregular macrotext, but its imperfections and defects make it lively and vital. We could even say that for the *Vörös film* imperfection is its “raison d’être”. The incompleteness is a challenge, an injunction, an entreaty to action to lose no time in self-satisfaction.

One of the main ideas of Chateaubriand’s *Histoire de France* is that all the revolutions which are not achieved in customs and in ideas are destined to failure. The *Vörös film* is a sketch of the new society. Every sketch must be achieved, integrated and finished off. Completing is living, having completed is dying.

### Provisional conclusion

The conclusion we can draw from the attempt to follow some tracks or, to use Duby’s words, to find a new representation of the Tanácsköztársaság (“starting from images” as Ferro remarked) the *Vörös film* images analysis made by us is partial and provisional.

We began from images because we recognized that those animated signs – the first real name of cinema is “animated photography” – have the dignity of a historical source beside other traditional sources. This dignity should be verified philologically by further studies on the film material kept at the *Magyar Filmintézet*, by comparing these studies with the result of studies made on other written sources and by looking for further testimonies if not of contemporary people (we have been told that no author of the *Vörös film* is still alive) then of those people who, in one way or another, got in touch with the different authors – real or implicit – of the *Vörös film*.

The result of a further study, developed in that way, could be definitive. It should keep in mind the following factors:

– the news-reel covers a well-determined and rather short period: the shorter the chronological scissors are, the better are the results of studies. The main worry of those who follow the “Annales” can be respected from this point of view: chronology for history is absolutely decisive.

— this research gives freedom of action to imaginative hermeneutics and to symbolic imagination (we think of Duby's 'dream of history'). The results of this provisional research should be compared with the results of other research made by traditional historians who follow traditional sources and traditional methods. It is right to think that from the comparison, the different results could either cancel each other out or melt in a wider and convincing synthesis without expecting Michelet's "total resurrection of history". We do not want to give any absolute value to the comparative method. We would just like to assert the right rules of interdisciplinary study.

These rules allow us to get over the barriers established for single disciplines without expecting to get over medieval prudence: *omnis comparatio claudicat*. Even though our results are provisional — and we insist on this judgement — they still are evident (at least as far as the *Vörös film* is concerned: a news-reel which was born in exceptional conditions, with no apologetic pretensions, with no celebratory purposes and with little propaganda). The result is that with the unwitting eye of the cameraman, the *innocent eye* (and we use *innocent* in its etymological meaning: an eye that does not damage, that does not spoil anything) of the camera is able to keep a catalogue of images which can be frequently examined; this is a catalogue which brings back the passion and the tension of an exceptional event, lived by the minority of a people who already are a minority in Europe, but who are able to find inside themselves the will to create new measures for a good government.

Lamartine had already pointed out that time only can teach men to govern by themselves and that their education takes place through revolutions.<sup>61</sup> This rule fits the Magyar people who, in the short time of little more than a century, have seen the birth of many revolutions.

Besides, the *Vörös film* seems to regain at least one of the morals of history against the common tendency to go over the old saying *historia est magistra vitae*. That is morals that are still suggested by Duby.

To know history — and above all, the history of revolutions — and to try to recover its thickness, fervour and tone through contemporary and documentary images, allows people to have a freer judgement. If it is not useful to teach progress, history can be at least a lesson for citizens. History can help to form people who are able "to act and to operate with full knowledge of the facts, and who are less entangled in the net of an ideology. History also teaches the complexity of reality. It teaches us to read the present in a less naïve way, to grasp how the different factors of a culture and of a social moulding interact reciprocally".<sup>62</sup> So, is it really worth nothing to have the possibility to count on more conscious and aware people for society?

#### Notes

1. M. Ferro, *Cinéma et Histoire. Le cinéma agent et source de l'histoire*, Paris, 1977. Italian translation: *Cinema e storia. Linee per una ricerca*, p. 95. Every quotation of this essay is translated into English by the author himself.

2. *Ibidem*, p. 92.

3. *Ibidem*, p. 93.
4. M. Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir*, Paris, 1966, pp. 14–15.
5. M. Ferro, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
6. *Ibidem*, p. 97.
7. G. Lardreau in G. Duby, *Dialogues*, Paris, 1980. Italian translation: *Il sogno della storia*, Milano, 1986, p. 14.
8. G. Duby, *op. cit.*, p. 46; cfr. pp. 39–40.
9. *Ibidem*, p. 40.
10. *Ibidem*, p. 46.
11. *Ibidem*, p. 49.
12. M. Ferro, *op. cit.*, pp. 100–101.
13. Cfr. *Ibidem*, p. 29.
14. I. Nemeskürty, *A képpé varázsolt idő*, Budapest, 1983, p. 183.
15. G. Duby, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
16. E. Santarelli, "Tra storia e storiografia", in *Ungheria oggi*, no. 13/14, luglio – dicembre 1979, p. 68; cfr. also G. Borsányi, *Mosca guardava con grande speranza Béla Kun e la Repubblica dei Consigli*, *ibidem*, pp. 21–28.
17. G. Duby, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–64.
18. *Ibidem*, p. 42.
19. Etymologically, the word 'author' comes from a radical \*auc/aug (*augeo, auctoritas*) and a suffix -tor used to fix the *nomina agentium*. Originally it meant: the one who has the first idea of something and makes it grow.
20. "Socialized Cinematographic Firms" is the legal name of the directorate for cinematography. It had to organize the production, the distribution and cinemas in Budapest; it had to promote the trade of Hungaria films abroad, to form actors and to educate and inform its public. Cfr. Nemeskürty, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–184 and M. Bálint, *A magyar némafilm története 1918–1931*, Budapest, 1976, p. 31.
21. Cfr. M. Corti, *Principi della comunicazione letteraria*, Milano, 1976, p. 41.
22. I. Nemeskürty, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–181.
23. E. Santarelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–73. Cfr. M. Ormos, "L'intervento dell'Intesa" in *Ungheria oggi, op. cit.*, pp. 40–41.
24. Cfr. I. Barta, I. T. Berend, P. Hanák, M. Lackó, L. Makkai, Z. L. Nagy, G. Ránki, *Histoire de la Hongrie des origines à nos jours*, Budapest, 1974, 475; L. Barta, "Chauvinisme et communisme" in *La République des Conseils-Budapest 1919*, Paris, 1979, pp. 53–56.
25. M. Ormos, *op. cit.*, pp. 37–48.
26. G. Péteri, "Le radici della nuova egemonia", in *Ungheria d'oggi, op. cit.*, pp. 4–20. Cft. *Histoire de la Hongrie*, pp. 467–468.
27. *Histoire de la Hongrie*, p. 468.
28. E. Santarelli, *op. cit.*, p. 72.
29. H. Vass, "L'influence internationale de la République hongroise des Conseils," in *Nouvelles Études Hongroises*, no. 14, 1979, p. 42.
30. E. Santarelli, *op. cit.*, p. 70; and also T. Hajdú, "Mihály Károlyi il giorno della proclamazione della Repubblica dei Consigli", in *Ungheria d'oggi*, pp. 29–36.
31. G. Duby, *op. cit.*, p. 64.
32. M. Bálint, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
33. Cfr. *Histoire de la Hongrie*, p. 466.
34. M. Bálint, *op. cit.*, pp. 34–35.
35. *Ibidem*, p. 35.
36. *Ibidem*, p. 36.
37. *Ibidem*, pp. 61–62. Cfr. E. Santarelli, *op. cit.*, p. 73.
38. M. Bálint, *op. cit.*, p. 39.
39. *Ibidem*, p. 40.

40. *Ibidem*, p. 41.  
 41. *Ibidem*, p. 42.  
 42. *Ibidem*, p. 44.  
 43. *Ibidem*, pp. 44–48. Cfr. I. Nemeskürty, *op. cit.*, pp. 187–188.  
 44. M. Bálint, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51.  
 45. Cfr. U. Eco, “La bustina di Minerva”, in *L'Espresso*, no. 21, 1 giugno, 1986, p. 242.  
 46. M. Bálint, *op. cit.*, p. 37.  
 47. *Ibidem*, p. 53.  
 48. *Odi nemeae*, 5, 18.  
 49. G. Duby denies the existence of a ‘vector’ for history, *op. cit.*, p. 134 and so he concludes his *Dialogues* saying: “I really think that (history) has no meaning at all” p. 184.  
 50. *Histoire de la Hongrie*, p. 473 sqq.  
 51. *Ibidem*, pp. 474–475.  
 52. *Ibidem*, pp. 478–479.  
 53. On the same subject, cfr. E. Santarelli’s study *Italia e Ungheria nella crisi postbellica*, Urbino, 1968. The beautiful image of André de Vigny considering the army as ‘a nation within a nation’ became real in a short time. From May 2nd (day of general mobilization) to May 24th (day of reconquest of Miskolc, taken by the Czechs on May 2nd) the Red Army – formed by trade-union workers – increased the number of its effective force: from 65,000 to 220,000. The interest of the *Vörös film* is quite comprehensible.  
 54. M. Bálint, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–55.  
 55. *Ibidem*, pp. 59–60.  
 56. Seneca, *Ep. ad Lucilium*, 115.  
 57. Terenzio, *Hecyra*, 857–860.  
     *Ba.* Bene factum et uolup est. *Pam.* Factis ut credam facis.  
     Antiquamque adeo tuam uenustatem obtines  
     Ut uoluptati obitus, sermo, aduentus tuos, quocumque adueneris  
     Semper siet.  
 58. E. Santarelli, *op. cit.*, p. 73. Cfr.  
 59. *Hist. Pell.*, 2, 45, 1.  
 60. Cfr. *Histoire de la Hongrie*, pp. 466–467.  
 61. A. de Lamartine, *Méditations poétiques. Cours familier de littérature*, Paris.  
 62. G. Duby, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

# NAME LANGUAGE SHIFT IN ÁRPÁDHON, LOUISIANA

## A Content Analysis of Tombstone Inscriptions

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This paper is an attempt to describe the dynamics and analyze the variation in the language shift of the people of Árpádhon — an ethnic enclave near Albany, Livingston Parish, Louisiana, USA — as reflected in the tombstone inscriptions in the two Hungarian cemeteries of the community. The effects of certain individual, micro and community level demographic characteristics are investigated.

### The Location of the Study

Árpádhon is “the largest rural Hungarian community in America”, reads a leaflet published by its proud inhabitants for touristic purposes. (Albany . . . n.d.) Even if granted, this statement qualifies not so much Árpádhon itself but, much rather, the residential distribution patterns of American Hungarians: not even the most generous estimates would figure that the number of Hungarians living in Árpádhon exceeds 4–500. In 1985, the local elementary school’s Hungarian language and culture program involved about 100 students, 35–40% of whom were of Hungarian descent.

Árpádhon is difficult to define. Throughout its ninety-some year history, its Hungarian inhabitants have never been able to get their community the status of an officially recognized town of the U.S.A. (This fact has to do, according to interpretations by the contemporary members of the community, with their inability to form a local political pressure group.) Its name also shows some ambiguity: various sources call it “Maxwell” (after the earlier name of the nearest town), “Albany” (after the nearest town’s current name) and “Hungarian-Settlement”, following the pattern of the nearby French Settlement. “Árpádhon” seems the name most preferred by local Hungarians so I chose to use it here.

Árpádhon was founded in the last decade of the 19th century. (Different sources offer different estimated foundation dates ranging from 1893 through “the turn of the century”. Considering the reference of the name “Árpádhon” to the Hungarian Millennium, the year 1896 seems the most likely date, as proposed by Hosh (1971).)

The immigrants were (according to both local oral history, Koertvelyessy, 1982 and Puskás, 1982a) typically landless peasants from the peripheral and relatively deprived areas of the Hungarian part of Austria–Hungary. Just like the hundreds of thousands

migrating to the U.S.A. around the turn of the century, the ancestors of the people of Árpádhton condensed in the then booming heavy industrial areas of the States, particularly in the Great Lakes region, along the East Coast and in the mines of Pennsylvania. The primary motivation for the emigration of these masses of agriculturalists was their hunger for land. Industrial labor was alien to them, and it took an immense amount of their adaptive capabilities to cope with the novel urban environment. Thus, it is easy to see why there was a substantial response to Brackenridge Lumber Company's advertisements, placed in American Hungarian newspapers, which recruited workers for an establishment in Louisiana, some 50 miles north of New Orleans. The company not only provided labor opportunities but also sold, at a reasonable price, much of the cutover timberland to its workers who had a chance this way to reenter the familiar rural environment and fulfil their long-lasting dreams about becoming independent farmers.

As Koertvelyessy summarizes, "Most farms were small, generally under 50 acres. Commonly only a small part of each farm was devoted to cultivating such crops as strawberries, peppers, cucumbers, beans and squash. The sawmill's closure in 1916 forced the Hungarian settlers to rely entirely on farming or other business ventures. The opening of the railroad in 1908 induced the development of the village of Albany, and many Hungarians established businesses there." (Koertvelyessy, 1983:224, citing Hosh, 1971.) Strawberries proved especially profitable. Some of the crop was shipped directly north by the railroad, which was very easy to access. One of the local growers called Árpádhton "the strawberry capital of the world" on his case-labels. Hosh notes that "the founders of [Árpádhton] actively promoted their new home and an unknown poet blatantly advertised its virtues." (1971:17-18)

In its early years, Árpádhton had even its own printed media in Hungarian: "Theodore Zboray, one of the founders of [Árpádhton], established the *Árpádthoni Kertészlap* (Árpádhton Gardener's Magazine) in 1913. [...] By 1915 Mr. Zboray changed the publication's name to *Amerikai Magyar Kertészlap* (American-Hungarian Gardener's Magazine) and had replaced the editor.[...] The magazine apparently ceased publication in 1916." (Hosh, op. cit. 18-19)

Initially both churches of the community (the St. Margaret Catholic Church and the Hungarian Presbyterian Church) had markedly Hungarian character. The material that is available of the histories of the churches (St. Margaret . . . , 1970, and Minutes . . . , n.d.) shows that the Catholic church began the integration into mainstream American life earlier than the Presbyterian one. This may well be the result of the work of a charismatic Presbyterian minister, Sándor Bartus, who served several decades in Árpádhton not only as a clergyman but also as a teacher, a community organizer and an active member of the farmers associations. Services in Hungarian ceased in the late 1960s in the Hungarian Presbyterian Church. "The settlement's original churches, however, still function, and maintain about 100 Hungarian-American families on their membership rolls." (Koertvelyessy, 1983:225)

Hungarian immigration to Árpádhton stopped, for all practical purposes, in the period before World War II. (Hosh, 1971). This, initially all-Hungarian community has undergone almost the total process of ethnic acculturation during the last eighty-some years.

By the mid-1980s it is some roadside markers, the abovementioned Hungarian school-program, the name of the local Hungarian churches, a cultural association and an annual *Szüreti mulatság* (Harvest Dance) that manifest the ethnic identity of the people of Árpádhon. The "old" language is still understood and even spoken by the elderly but it has completely lost its functionality: it is very rarely used uninhibitedly by the younger generations. One can find only trace elements of organic Hungarian folkore: *magyarnóta* (quasi-folkloric, composed music) and operetta-songs of the nineteen-thirties style have completely overtaken musical folklore, the ladies keep trying to reconstruct Hungarian meals using English language cook-books published in Hungary, and *waltzers* and *polkas* alternate with *csárdáses* in the Harvest dance program.

### The Decomposition of the Problem: Variables

Language shift (that is, in this case, the functional extinction of the ethnic language) is regarded as the linguistic aspect of ethnic acculturation. Language shift is legitimately the subject of both linguistics and those social sciences interested in studying social change or, more specifically, changes in ethnicity. In this study, the latter perspective is endorsed: not so much the linguistic phenomenon *per se* but rather its social ramifications will be focussed upon.

The tombstone inscriptions in Árpádhon's two Hungarian cemeteries will be used as sources of information for this study. Although data were collected to support the content analysis of the complete inscriptions, this paper will focus only on the language shift in the names. For this author, the general literature on name language shift appears extremely scarce. This is certainly a pilot study, in the sense that neither a closely knit and established theoretical framework nor an extensively tested empirical-methodological pattern has been found available to support some of its efforts and ideas.

It is obvious that names are the most important identifiers of people. During the individual's lifetime, they both serve practical purposes — they denote the individual — and have symbolic significance. On a tombstone, however, a name loses much of its practical importance, and the symbolic expressive connotations become central. It is very hard to tell — at least in general — to what degree tombstones are "private" expressions and to what degree they are symbolic presentations of the public self. Either one of these aspects dominates, it seems justified to look at headstones in an ethnic enclave like Árpádhon as indicators of, among perhaps many other things, ethnicity.

In this study, tombstones are regarded as documents of which names are crucially important parts. This study is a content analysis of these documents, in other words it aims at "making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context". (Krippendorff, 1980:21)

It is an empirical question to what degree it is the deceased person's perceived will or the surviving family's relatively "independent" decision that determines the character — in this case, ethnic character — of the inscription. This study may provide some data that will contribute to answering this question.

*Dependent Variables*

To measure the ethnicity of the names, a series of simple variables was set up, on the basis of the linguistic differences in creating and spelling names between English and Hungarian. For each variable, the greater values represented the Hungarian or the "more Hungarian" features. (See Table 1)

Table 1. List of Dependent Variables

Variable name	Values		
	"Low" Ethnicity	Mixed	"High" Ethnicity
Word Order of the Name	0		2
Language of the Given Name	0		2
Language of the Surname	0		2
Diacritical Marks	0	1	2
Spelling (if Hungarian)	0	1	2

The word order of Hungarian names is the reverse of those in English: the surname comes first and the given name follows (e.g.: *Bartus Sándor* rather than *Sándor Bartus*).

The variables "language of the given name" and "language of the surname" contained information about whether the Hungarian or the English version of the name is indicated on the tombstone (e.g.: *Imre* versus *Emery* or *Király* ['King'] versus *King*).

The presence or absence of Hungarian diacritical marks (in the letters *ö*, *á*, *ű*, etc.) was recorded with the following categories: "missing", "attempted but incorrect" and "correct Hungarian".

The variable "spelling of the Hungarian portion of the name" was recorded in the following categories: "anglicized" (that is, in order to achieve a similar English pronunciation as in *Chabina* instead of the original *Csabina*), 'attempted but misspelled' (e.g.: *Miháj* instead of *Mihály*), and "correct Hungarian".

For facilitating the analysis, a name-ethnicity index was computed from these variables, simply by summing the values in each of the five variables and multiplying the result by 10. Thus, each of the components got equal weight in the index, and the range of the index was 0 through 100, conveniently comparable to other characteristics of the tombstones.

*Independent Variables*

Tombstone inscriptions offer just a fairly limited array of individual level demographic information.

Religion here simply indicated the church the cemetery belongs to (either Catholic or Presbyterian). Thus, the study cannot account for denominational intermarriage which



fact is perhaps a potential source of bias in the data. In such intermarriages, however, the typical pattern has been the conversion of one of the partners to the other's church. Hence, the religion variable here means actually religion at death.

Gender appears to be a fairly simple information to gain from the headstones. On the other hand, there were some cases where it was impossible to find out about the deceased person's gender (e.g.: illegible given names or markers like "the little baby of Mr. and Mrs. such-and-such").

Age at death was computed by subtracting the year of birth from the year of death.

### Hypotheses

#### *Frequency Distributions*

Diacritical marks and word order are expected to be the most rapidly shifting linguistic aspects out of the five dependent variables. The reason for this is primarily linguistic: diacritical marks and word order are those aspects of Hungarian names which are the most obviously different from what the English-speaking environment is accustomed to.

Surnames will change more slowly than given names: at birth, everybody receives a new given name (this is a question of parental decision which offers an opportunity for shifting) while surnames follow the father's one (this is the automatically "conservative" component of one's name). This "conservatism" is the reason why surnames may serve as a convenient source of information for linguistic history.

#### *Change over Time*

The overall ethnicity of the name is expected to show a steady decline over time. The steepness of the decline, however, is not expected to be necessarily even. 20th century history shows at least two problematic periods during which it might have been especially hard (or, more formally, psychically costly) for the Hungarian members of the Árpádhon community to maintain their ethnic identity. One of these was the conservative era before and during World War II. (To get a picture of the political leanings of the people of Árpádhon in the 1910s, consider the overt support of the *Árpádhoni Kertészlap* for Mihály Károlyi's progressive political ideas.) The early fifties with Stalinism on one side and McCarthyism on the other constitute the other period of difficulty in this regard. It was in these periods that, for the Hungarians of Árpádhon, their country of origin (Hungary) and their chosen new land (the U.S.A.) were politically very much at odds.

*Variation Determined by Demographic Variables*

Protestant denominations have traditionally been regarded more nation-state oriented than Catholics: among other things, the Protestant churches have offered their services in the national languages ever since they existed, whereas the Catholic church has shifted from Latin to the national languages only fairly recently. When this took place in the Catholic church of Árpádhon, nobody even thought of Hungarian being the national language they should switch to: English was accepted and has been used without interruption since then. Hence, the local Presbyterian church's very late shift to English, as mentioned in the introduction, fostered the hypothesis that Presbyterians would have a higher score than Catholics on the name-ethnicity index.

Women are expected to score higher on the name-ethnicity index: it has been women who have had less education and less frequent contacts outside the family. Or, in a "human capital" conceptual framework, the economic incentives to shift to the new language are higher for those that work or trade outside the house (= men) than for those that typically stay at home (= women). For the same reason, just as Grenier has found it among Hispanic Americans, women have had fewer opportunities than men to learn the new language. The psychic costs of shifting from the ethnic to the new language might be greater for women whose traditional function in the family division of labor has been to preserve and pass along cultural-ethnic orientations. (Consider the expression "*anyanyelv*" or "mother tongue".) (Partly after Grenier, 1984:539-49)

According to the language shift literature, age is supposed to have an effect on language shift. As Grenier observes, "the longer a person has been exposed to a language, the lower the opportunity costs to learn it." (1984:539) We have, however, no way of telling from the tombstone data to what extent age at death expresses duration of exposure to English. There is no way of knowing whether the deceased person had been an immigrant or born in America. Also, if he/she was an immigrant, one cannot tell when the immigration happened. From these data, it is not possible to estimate the length of exposure to English. It is hypothesized that age at death may have some effect; neither its direction nor its extent can be predicted.

Year of birth is regarded as a variable pertaining primarily to individual history: the earlier someone was born, the more likely he/she is to have been raised in Hungary or in a family in the transitional period of ethnic acculturation but certainly relatively close to the departure from Hungary. One could perhaps look at year of birth as a proxy for generationality (immigrant, first or second generation American, etc.). It is an unfortunate limitation of the data source that from these tombstone inscriptions it is not possible to infer about immigrant/generational status. It will be assumed, nevertheless, that the earlier date of birth is likely to point to more exposure to a Hungarian family environment. So, the earlier the year of birth, the greater the score is expected to be on the name-ethnicity index.

### Methods and Data

No sampling was involved: the total population of altogether 512 tombstones was recorded. The earliest headstone in the cemetery of the St. Margaret Catholic Church was dated 1906, while the first grave in the cemetery that belongs to the Hungarian Presbyterian Church was marked 1913. Nobody knows where those that died before these dates were buried. As a result, this study has a built-in temporal bias too: there are no data about the earliest graves. However, this bias is probably negligible considering how small Árpádhon was in the first fifteen to twenty years: as Hosh summarizes, "by 1902 there were eight Hungarian families living in the area: by 1908 there were nearly forty and [...] by 1910 about seventy". (1971:11 cites Hoffmann, 1911:74). Also, probably some of the grave markers, especially those not made of stone or concrete but perhaps wood, might have decayed by the time the study was made. This might constitute some class-bias, particularly as regards the very early tombs: this study cannot account for the inscriptions of those whose deceased family has not been wealthy enough to build durable headstones. It is not possible to estimate the extent of this bias therefore all one can do is to assume that the data will be robust enough so that neither the temporal nor the class bias will seriously destroy their quality.

In a recent publication of the headstone inscriptions in Livingston Parish, Louisiana (1980) about 18–20, possibly Hungarian names were found in cemeteries other than the ones surveyed here, which fact indicates that for the people of Árpádhon, the overwhelmingly typical pattern was to be buried in the cemeteries of one of the two Hungarian churches of the community.

Of course, this method cannot account for those that were born and perhaps grew up in Árpádhon but died and are buried elsewhere. This is regarded as some sort of self-selection: by the act of out-migrating from Árpádhon these people have detached themselves from the community that this study is to focus on. (This is, therefore, not a bias in the data but, rather, merely a characteristic of Árpádhon.)

Frequency distributions of the dependent variables were observed, and in case of nominal level independent variables (religion and gender) analyses of variance, in case of ratio variables (year of birth, of death and age at death) regression analyses were performed. Regression analysis was used when nominal and ratio level variables were combined too.

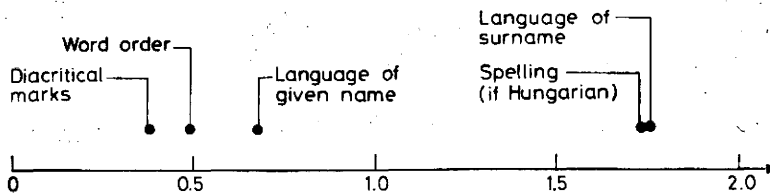
### Findings

#### *Frequency Distributions*

A summary of the findings about the degree of Hungarianness (relative stability, or conservativeness) of each dependent variable is presented in Table 2. As expected, the diacritical marks and the word order are the most volatile aspects of the name while the most "conservative" aspects are the spelling of the Hungarian part of the name and the language of the surname. Surnames seem more conservative than given names. (See also Figure 1.)

**Table 2. Mean and Standard Deviation Values for Each Single Dependent Variable, All Cases, in Ascending Order of Means (Scale: 0-2)**

Variables	Means	Standard Deviations
Diacritical Marks	.380	.752
Word Order	.498	.866
Language of the Given Name	.688	.950
Language of the Surname	1.746	.668
Spelling	1.748	.548



**Fig. 1. Means of single dependent variables**

Table 2 shows that the five single dependent variables appear in two clusters. The results have not rejected the respective hypothesis: the difference between the mean scores of diacritical marks or the word order versus the most proximate one of the rest of the variables (= language of the given name) is positive. (See lines 1 and 2 in Table 3.) The difference between the mean scores of surnames and given names is also very safely positive. (See line 3 in Table 3.)

**Table 3. Differences between Means of Some Dependent Variables (Scale 0-2)**

Contrast	Upper Limit	Lower Limit	Significance
Diacritical Marks versus Language of the Given Name	.416	.260	P < .05
Word Order versus Language of the Given Name	.302	.078	P < .05
Language of the Surname versus Language of the Given Name	1.160	.956	P < 0.5

*Change over Time*

For the total population, the frequency distribution of the name-ethnicity index was as follows: mean = 55.56 (range theoretically 0–100, observed: 20–100). The standard deviation was 23.15. The number of valid cases was only N = 426. (The loss of 86 cases is due to the fact that in the name-ethnicity index only the complete cases were observed: in case of missing data in one variable, the whole case was ignored.) Figure 2 provides the histogram of this distribution.

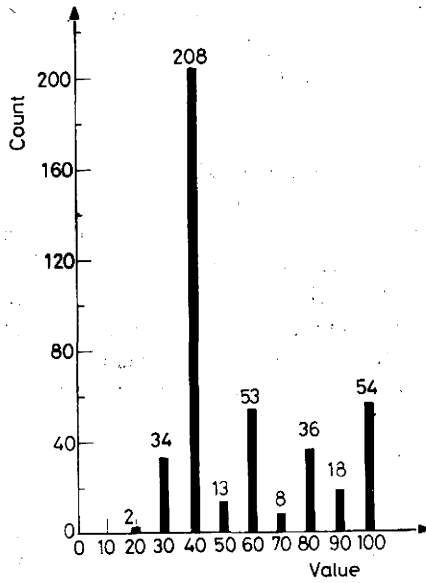


Fig. 2. Histogram of the frequency distribution of the name-ethnicity index (Range: 0-100)

mean 55.56	standard error 1.121
mode 40	standard deviance 23.147
valid cases 426	missing cases 86
median 40.00	variance 535.8

A regression analysis was run in order to somewhat more specifically detect the effect of the year of death on the ethnicity of the names. (Table 4 provides a summary of the effects of various factors on the name-ethnicity index.) The effect of the year of death is negative: the later the person died the less ethnic his/her name appears on the tombstone. Year of death is the one single independent variable that explains the most of the variation:  $r^2_{\text{death}} = 22.2\%$ .

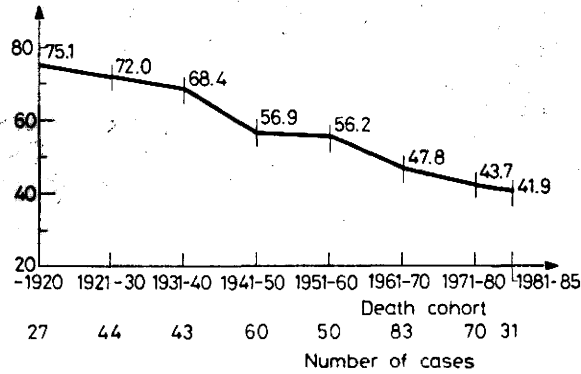


Fig. 3. Name-ethnicity index by decades of years of death (Range: 0-100)

*Variation Determined by Demographic Variables*

Religion's effect is minute: Catholics have a mean score of 54.55, while Presbyterians have a score of 57.48 on the name-ethnicity index. The difference is in the expected direction - Presbyterians scored higher - but it is virtually negligible and, as the analysis of variance indicated, the relationship is not significant statistically:  $P = .214$ .

Gender has a somewhat stronger effect than religion. The mean score of women is higher than that of men. The difference is moderate:  $d = 7.53$  (scale: 0-100). This effect is statistically very significant:  $P = .001$ , but gender in itself explains a mere 2.6% of the variation which is, again, almost negligible.

The hypothesis on the effect of the age at death on the ethnicity of the name must be rejected on the basis of the data. (See line 4 in Table 4)

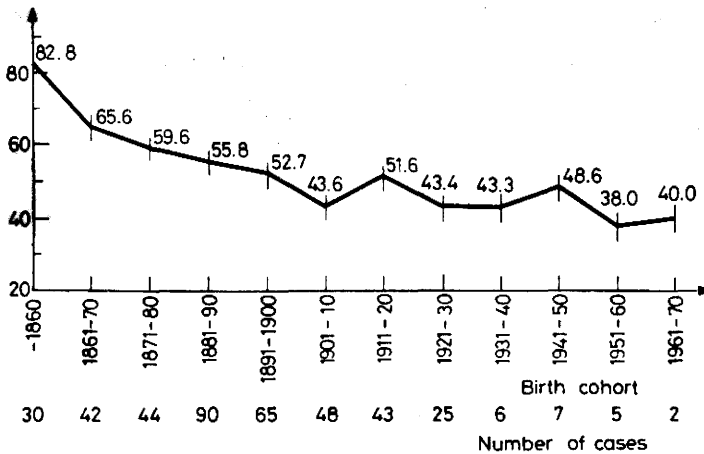


Fig. 4. Name-ethnicity mean scores by 10-year birth cohorts (Range: 0-100)

**Table 4. A Summary of the Effects of Various Single Predictor Variables and their Combinations on the Ethnicity of the Names**

Predictor Variable(s)	Direction of the Effect	Explained Variation [%]	Significance
Year of Death	negative	22.2	.0000
Religion	none	none	.214
Gender	negative*	2.6	.001
Age at Death	none	none	not significant
Year of Birth	negative	13.1	.0000
Year of Birth		not in the equation	
and Year of Death	negative	26.7	.0035
and Interaction	negative		.0000
Religion	none		not significant
and Gender	negative*		.0315
and Year of Birth	negative	27.9	.0000
and Year of Death	negative		.0000

\*female = 0  
male = 1

Figure 4 shows the trend in the overall ethnicity of the same by 10-year birth cohorts. There is a steady decline until the 1900's. Then, in the 1911–20 birth cohort, an increase is observed. The later birth cohorts show a fluctuating pattern which can probably be attributed to the small number of cases in those cohorts. The inconsistent pattern at the beginning of the 20th century needs to be explained. One possible explanation follows here:

Árpádhon was established in 1896. Take the birth cohorts prior to that point in time: the pattern is a steady decline – just what one would expect in an immigrant community. The two, perhaps three cohorts following the foundation date are probably mixed in terms of migrational status: some members of the cohorts were locally born, some were perhaps born elsewhere in the New World while, certainly, some of them were born back in Hungary. The inconsistency of the pattern might be due to the heterogeneity in the migrational status of the respective cohorts.

Notwithstanding the inconsistency, the negative effect of the year of birth on the ethnicity of the name is very significant statistically. Only the amount of explained variation is moderate:  $r^2_{\text{birth}} = 13.1\%$ .

*Combinations of Independent Variables*

In order to increase the explained variation, further regression analyses were performed, using various combinations of the independent variables, testing for both separate and interaction effects.

When year of birth and year of death were combined, the increase of explained

variation was only minor:  $r_{\text{change}}^2 = r_{\text{int}}^2 - r_{\text{death}}^2 = 26.7 - 22.2 = 4.5\%$ . (See lines 6 to 8 in Table 4).

In an even more complex regression analysis, (See lines 9 to 12 in Table 4) the inclusion of four independent variables (religion, gender, year of birth and year of death) increased the amount of explained variation compared to the equation of the single variable year of death only a mere  $r_{\text{change}}^2 = r_{\text{comb.}}^2 = r_{\text{death}}^2 - 27.9 - 22.2 = 5.7\%$ .

### Some Concluding Remarks and a Further Comparison

It appears that the five separate aspects of the ethnicity of the name are grouped into two clusters: one for those subject to relatively quick change (these are the diacritical marks, the word order and the language of the given name, with means ranging between .380 and .688) and another for those that are more stable (such as the language of the surname and the spelling of the Hungarian part of the name – the latter being contingent upon the former –, with means of 1.746 and 1.748, respectively). The difference between the means of the variables with the most proximate values is approximately 1 on a scale from 0 through 2, statistically significant ( $P < .05$ ). This relationship seems to indicate that separate aspects of name do not have an even distribution of symbolic/expressive values: in accordance with observations made by linguists-historians, surnames have a special conservative character. Another piece of evidence to support this conclusion is that the language of the surname, besides being much less apt to change than given names, is also more consistent – its distribution is less widely dispersed:  $s_{\text{surn}} = .688$  while  $s_{\text{given}} = .950$ .

When taken separately, year of death explains about 1.7 times as much variation as does year of birth. This fact seems to point toward the conclusion that the headstones reflect more the mind-set of the surviving microcommunity than that of the deceased person as perceived by the survivors. This question is important in order to somewhat more precisely define just what this study measured. The data do show that both year of birth and year of death have some effect, but the effect of the more directly microcommunity level variable (year of death) appears to be markedly greater than that of the more individual level one (year of birth).

The hypothesis on the effect of religion must be dismissed: religion does not discernibly influence the scores on the name-ethnicity index. At the same time, this study did not reject the hypothesis on the effect of gender: women seem to have slightly higher scores than men do. Age at death seems indifferent in regards to the ethnicity of the name.

The fact that the only community level variable in this study – religion – appears to have no effect on the ethnicity of the names helps to further narrow the scope of its demographic determinants. The data have revealed that it is the individual and the microcommunity level where the symbolic/expressive ethnic contents of the name are determined. However, a word of caution is at order. The regression equation that combined all those factors which had appeared to be of any effect on ethnicity, left



about 72.1% of the variation unexplained. (See Table 4). In other words, theoretically, there is plenty of room for community or macro-level demographic variables to be effective on the ethnicity of the names. Here one encounters limitations arising from the type of research design used: variables pertaining to socioeconomic status are missing as well as those related to community population size, population distribution, interethnic relations, relative isolation, etc. No data were found on these aspects.

There is an opportunity, however, to make a further interesting comparison in order to indirectly check the validity of our measurement of ethnicity as expressed by the names. For a bio-anthropological study on Hungarian Settlement (Árpádthon), Tibor Koertvelyessy has collected some data on the dynamics of ethnic endogamy in the community. From his table (1983:228) on types of ethnic intermarriages by decades of marriage cohorts, a table of change in ethnic endogamy was compiled, using the following recording scheme:

both partners full-Hungarians	4
one partner full Hungarian, other part-Hungarian	3
one partner full Hungarian, other non-Hungarian	2
both partners part-Hungarians	2
one partner part-Hungarian, other non-Hungarian	1

Table 5. Mean Scores, Index of Ethnic Endogamy, Hungarian Settlement, by 10-year Marriage Cohorts (Scale 1-4)

Decade	Mean	Number of Cases (Marriages)
1901-1910	3.75	4
1911-1920	3.65	26
1921-1930	3.33	33
1931-1940	3.48	52
1941-1950	2.99	68
1951-1960	2.33	30
1961-1970	2.13	39
1971-1980	1.65	31
Total	2.86	283

Computed from:

Koertvelyessy, Tibor (1983) "Demography and Evolution in an Immigrant Ethnic Community: Hungarian Settlement, Louisiana, USA". *Journal of Biosocial Science* 15, 223-236. Table 4.: Ethnic Endogamy in Hungarian Settlement (% distribution), p. 228.

See Table 5 for a description of the changes in ethnic endogamy in Árpádthon in the twentieth century.

Both decrease of ethnic endogamy and language shift are crucial components of ethnic acculturation. As it was shown earlier, the language shift of the names is at least partially determined by individual and micro-level variables while ethnic endogamy (marriage) itself is a micro-level phenomenon. On Figure 5 these two indices were plotted for the marriage/death decades from 1911 through 1980. Apparently, the plots form almost a straight line: the correlation  $\rho = .956$  – is very close to the maximum 1.

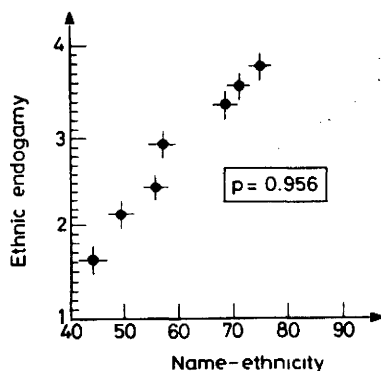


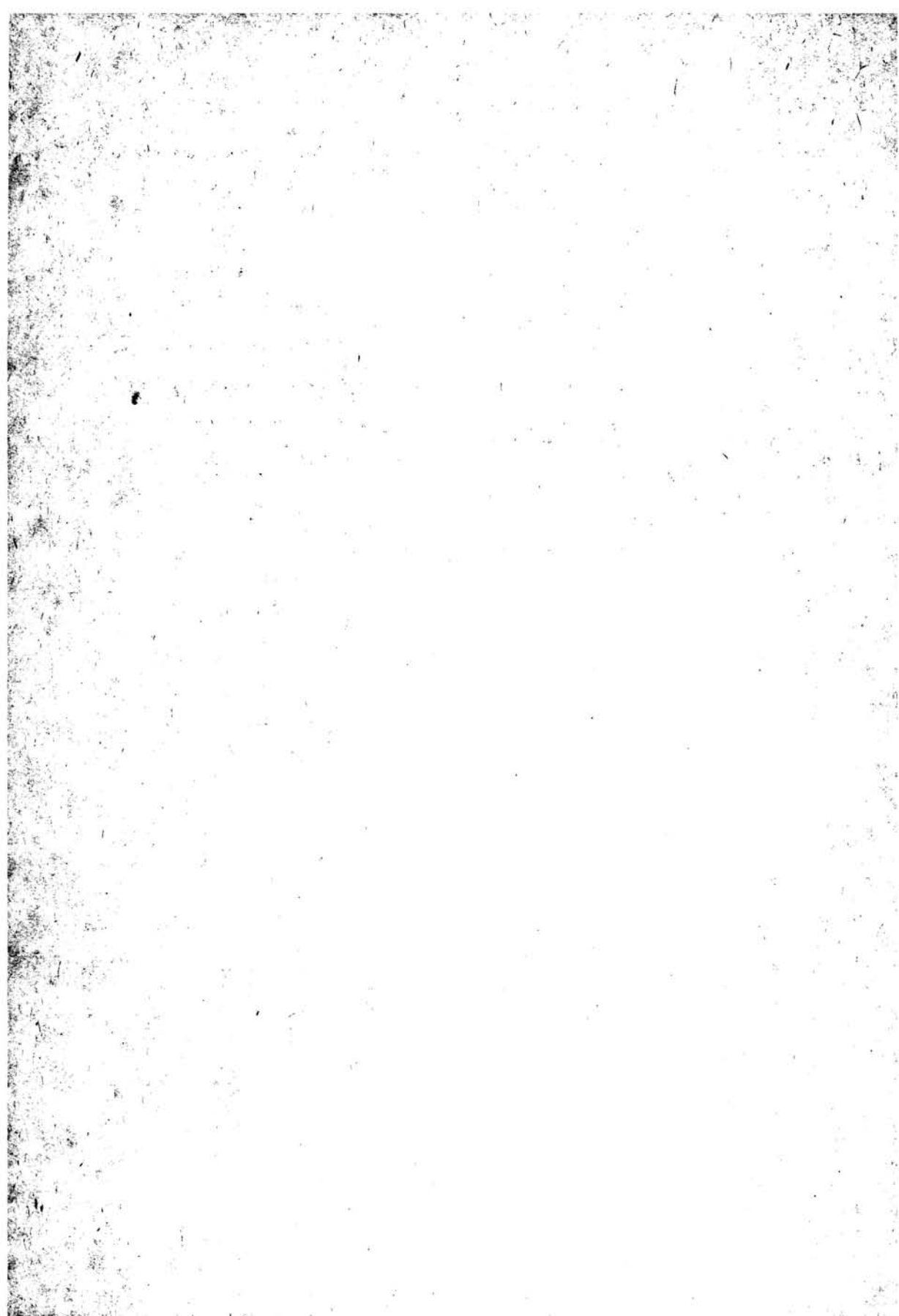
Fig. 5. Ethnic endogamy and name-ethnicity, for marriage and death cohorts (decades) 1911–1980

Thus, even though the information source for this study was admittedly limited, one can conclude that the measurement of name language shift was probably not grossly invalid: when compared to an independently obtained, different variable on ethnic acculturation, it shows a strong and clearly positive correlation.

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## HUNGARIAN STUDIES IN POLAND

Research into the connections between the histories of Polish and Hungarian literature only began in earnest after World War II. Papers concerning this subject were also written earlier (1,2)\*, but these were few in number, and of a popular or critical character. Very often those engaged in translating Hungarian literature, such as B. Jaroszevska, or S. Duchinka-Pruszkowa, wrote sketches popularizing the works of the most appreciated Hungarian authors.

It was about Petőfi that the Poles wrote most often. The book entitled "The Lute and Sword" (1893) written by Albert Zipper(3) was of some literary value, even though he had only become acquainted with Hungarian literature through German.

After World War II the character and scope of Hungarian studies in Poland altered fundamentally. The main reason for this was the creation of a Hungarian Department at Warsaw University. The Hungarian Institute of Culture in Warsaw also played, and continues to play, a very stimulating role. The main figures of Hungarian studies in Poland were, from the outset Professors István Csapláros and Jan Reychman. The first has contributed to the development of Hungarian studies in Poland in two different ways: both as a scholar and as a teacher of many generations of students at the Hungarian Department in Warsaw, producing some talented literary historians. Because they have been able to continue their work on Hungarian language and literature the possibility exists of planned and systematic research aimed at creating an integrated approach to Hungarian studies as a whole. This very ambitious aim seems somewhat difficult to realize at the moment – in spite of the great number of studies published over the last decades on Polish–Hungarian comparative literature.

All these efforts should, I feel, be coordinated between Polish and Hungarian scholars. Undoubtedly some kind of cooperation does exist between the two sides, but there is no division of labour according to different scholarly tasks or capabilities. This difficulty could be overcome through planned and long-term co-operation.

Let us, however, move on to those achievements which cannot be ignored. Three collections of studies resulted from the cooperation between Polish and Hungarian scholars. The first was published in both countries, in both languages. *Studies from the History of Polish–Hungarian Literary and Cultural Contacts* (1969) was edited by Jan

\*Numbers in parenthesis refer to the bibliography at the end of the paper.

Reychman (4) in Poland. The next volume, *Studies from the History of Polish-Hungarian Literary Contacts*, edited by István Csapláros (5), was published nine years later. The third, and so far latest book (6) of this series, published in 1979, contains papers by Hungarian scholars active in Poland. Entitled *From the History of Polish-Hungarian Historical and Literary Contacts*, it was edited by I. Csapláros and A. Sieroszewski. The list of the authors of the studies published in these three volumes includes nearly all those scholars who deal with Hungarian literature in Poland. Besides the above mentioned names (Csapláros, Reychman and Sieroszewski) one finds the names of J. Ślaski, E. Cygielska-Guttman, J. Jakubiuk, A. Korol, J. Zimierski, J. R. Nowak, J. Trzcińska-Mejor and the representatives of the youngest generation of Polish Hungarologists in Poland: L. Hensel, T. Worowska, etc.

Many other papers and articles written by these authors were published in various Polish scholarly and literary periodicals. Certain very important books have been edited at the Hungarian Department of Warsaw University, such as the Multivolume bibliography of translation of Hungarian literature into Polish and the *Pocket Dictionary of Hungarian Writers* (1977) (7).

What is the state of Hungarian literary history in Poland? These studies are primarily concerned with the problems of Polish-Hungarian literary contacts from the earliest times to the present day. Unfortunately, the number of truly original Polish studies on the history of Hungarian literature is very small. Polish scholars rely on the works and achievements of their Hungarian colleagues. Only some of the critical studies dealing with contemporary Hungarian literature are original and do not merely duplicate work undertaken by Hungarians. This weakness of Hungarological work produced in Poland is due to the fact that such work is limited to comparative studies. Such a limitation can partly be justified by the difficulties of obtaining access to original Hungarian sources, especially to manuscript collections. There are many foreign scholars who have written scores of original and comprehensive studies on Polish literature. Their number include C. Backvis, D. Beauvois, P. Cazin, J. Fabre, S. Graciotti, K. Krejčí and G. Maver. In their investigation of Polish literature from another perspective – from the outside as it were – they have been able to detect certain aspects imperceptible to Polish scholars. Polish scholars might avail themselves of similar possibilities with regard to Hungarian literature. Studies in this direction could produce a Polish synthesis of the history of Hungarian literature. We are still waiting for such a book; one could not produce an entire handbook, secondary both in its sources and conclusions.

Comparative studies by Polish scholars touch on the following range of problems: the reception of the literary works of Hungarian writers in Poland (and occasionally, of Polish writers in Hungary); Polish topics in the works of Hungarian authors and vice versa (e.g. 8.); mutual contacts between the authors, their correspondence, etc.; comparative analysis of some of the literary developments which occur in both literatures; and Polish-Hungarian cultural contacts in earlier centuries. The majority of these papers are detailed and make a valid contribution.

How do these contributions square up against the background of the history of Hungarian literature? By answering this question it will be easier to conclude as to what

kind of subject matter remains to be investigated. Concerning the earliest times the achievements of Polish scholars are really important. I am thinking above all of J. Ślaski's detailed studies entitled "From the History of Cultural and Literary Contacts between Poland and Hungary in the Renaissance" (10), "Old Polish and Old Hungarian Literatures" (11), "Janus Pannonius and the Poles" (12). The same scholar is the author of some very important studies on Polish-Hungarian printing centres in earlier centuries and on Hungarian motives in Kochanowski's poetry. From other papers referring to this period I. Csapláros's "Copernicus in the Hungarian Intellectual Culture" (9), J. Nowak-Dłużewski's "Polish-Hungarian Cultural and Literary Contacts in the Early Humanism" (13), M. Cytowska's "Hungarian Enthusiasts of Erasmus Rotterdamus in Cracow. Joannes Antoninus Cassoviensis" (14), J. Snopek's "Kochanowski in Hungary" (15) and to some extent T. Mikulski's "Adam Czahrowski from Czahrow. A Literary Portrait" (16) should be mentioned. There are no recent papers on the greatest Hungarian poet of the Hungarian Renaissance: Bálint Balassi and his very close contacts with Poland. He should deserve more attention and his poetry should be analysed in a more general context, that of the patterns of Polish and Hungarian Renaissance poetry.

Scholars in Poland do not show much interest in the period of the Hungarian Baroque. It is difficult to point to a concrete work dealing with this problem, although we can find many references in the above mentioned studies written by J. Ślaski. There is only one paper written by I. Csapláros "The Hungarian Marseillaise as a Source of Inspiration for Polish Literature" (17) which shows all the characteristics of a study in the history of literature. The studies written by J. R. Nowak and J. Jakubiuk devoted to Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II are of a rather historical character. J. Tazbir's "Polish Brethren in Transylvania" (18), J. Snopek's bibliographical outline "Gábor Bethlen in Polish Archives of Manuscripts" (19) and J. Leszczynski's study "Gábor Bethlen's Governments in Górny Śląsk (Upper Silesia) /1620-1624/" (20) also transgress the bounds of literature. As a scholarly desideratum it might be suggested that the following subjects be considered: a comparative study of the models of Baroque literature in both countries, and a detailed analysis of the oeuvres of Pázmány, Zrínyi, S. H. Lubomirski, J. A. Morsztyn, W. Kochowski, W. Potocki's and others.

The literary contacts of the Enlightenment are sufficiently well elaborated and it must be admitted that most of the work in this area has fallen to the Hungarian specialists on Poland. The two most important books about this period are those of Csapláros "Polish Questions in Hungarian Literature of the Enlightenment" (21) and of Reychman "From Polish-Hungarian Cultural Contacts in the Period of the Enlightenment" (22). Some of the studies by the above mentioned authors devoted to particular problems are also worth mentioning, two other works by Reychman: "Hungarian Jacobins of 1794 and the Kościuszko Insurrection" (23) and "From the Cultural Interests in Hungary of the Poles at the End of the XVIII<sup>th</sup> Century" (24) deal with the same time period. A. Sieroszewski's monograph refers again to the same epoch "Maurycy Beniowski in the Literary Legend" (27). At the same time attention has to be paid to many attractive themes which have not yet been considered. Among others, one might mention the following: literary genres of the Polish and Hungarian Enlightenment, the forms of political literature in the

Polish and Hungarian Enlightenment, the character of French and English inspiration in the Polish and Hungarian literature of the Enlightenment, utopia in the Polish and Hungarian Enlightenment, etc.

Many Hungarian specialists working in Poland and Polish scholars in Hungary are interested in 19th century literature. From the epoch of Romanticism we find more systematic and more frequent signs of mutual interest in the literature of both countries.

In Poland the main works by Hungarian scholars are the books of Csapláros "Kraszewski and Hungary" (28) and of Sieroszewski, "The Hungarian and Polish Historical Novel in the Epoch of Romanticism" (29), studies by the same authors "Ferenc Kazinczy and Poland" (26), "Polish Romanticism in Hungarian Literature" (30), "Liszt's Triumphant Journey through Poland" (43), "The Hungarians' Relation to the Neighbouring Southern Slavonic Peoples in T. T. Jez's works" (31), "Chopin's Cult in Hungarian Literature" (32), "Gyula Sárosy, Hungarian Poet of Romanticism, the Lover of Polish literature and People" (33), and "Mazepa in Hungarian Theatres" (34), "Słowacki in Hungary" (35). We should also mention J. Ślaski's "From the History of Jókai in Poland" (36), A. Mazurkiewicz's "Poland and the Poles in the Works of M. Jókai" (37), A. Korol's "János Arany and Poland" (38), J. Jakubiuk's "Sándor Petőfi in Poland" (39) and E. Cygielska-Guttman's "New Data Concerning the Reception of Imre Madách's 'The Tragedy of Man' in Poland" (40).

Some works by Csapláros refer to the period after the epoch of Romanticism; three of them deal with the Hungarian reception of the works by Sienkiewicz, Reymont and Żeromski and one deals with the treatment of the January uprising in Hungarian literature. There are only a few works which refer to the epoch of Modernism, such as the sketch by T. Samociuk "Antoni Lange — the Propagator of Hungarian Literature in Poland" (41) and the papers by J. Trzcńska-Mejor and J. R. Nowak devoted to Endre Ady.

As to the literature of the last decades, its products are those most often translated into Polish and it is much favoured by historians of literature and critics (42). Among works dealing with the history of Hungarian literature one should mention studies on Polish affairs in László Németh's works, E. Cygielska-Guttman's study of Lajos Áprily's Polish correspondents, J. Jarmolowicz's paper on Rózewicz's contacts with Hungarians, T. Worowska's essay on the analogies between the poetical world of W. Szymborska and Ágnes Nemes Nagy, and J. Zimierski's thesis on Hungarian literature in Poland after World War II. Of course, all this is just a drop in the ocean of themes and problems, but no account has been given here of the parallel work undertaken by scholars in Hungary which complements that done in Poland.

To finish the picture, mention should also be made of certain studies situated on the borders of literary history, folklore and ethnography. These would include works by authors such as H. Linsemann-Kwaśniewska, L. Hensel, T. Zalesińska. The contribution of J. Reychman, I. Csapláros, E. Mroczko, A. Sieroszewski, A. Krawczykiewicz to the great Polish-Hungarian dictionary, and a textbook of the Hungarian language by E. Mroczko together with an outline of Hungarian grammar by the same author should also be mentioned. Linguistic studies have been published among others by J. Reychman.



Books by J. R. Nowak – though intended as works of popularization – possess considerable scholarly value; in particular, I have in mind his book “Hungary known und unknown”.

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## PROBLEMS AND PATTERNS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF LIBRARY SERVICES FOR ETHNIC HUNGARIANS IN THE UNITED STATES IN THE FIRST DECADES OF THE 20th CENTURY

### Introduction

Hungarian library collections are a very important source of identity maintenance among Hungarians living abroad. What kind of libraries have served the Hungarian immigrants in the US, what kind of development they have gone through and what kind of role they have played during the decades since Hungarians settled in the US are questions which have so far been discussed in only a few studies.<sup>1</sup> No effort, however, has been made to follow the development of libraries maintained by Hungarian associations, although the early history of the libraries of Hungarian associations represents the beginning of the history of Hungarian library collections in the US. This study, however, does not strive to give a full picture of the question from the beginning until the present day. Instead, it attempts to describe the main pattern of one aspect of their development and to analyse their circumstances during the period of mass immigration, which lasted until 1914.

### Background

The reasons for founding these libraries are based on the main motives and features of the mass immigration which took place at the turn of the century. This generation of immigrants left Hungary to escape from misery and to solve their hopeless economical conditions. Although they had chosen to emigrate, most of them did not give up the hope of one day returning to their homeland – indeed many of them have in fact done so.<sup>2</sup> This provided the initiative for their strong desire to maintain fluency in their mother tongue and to learn the literature and history of their native land even in their new country, in the United States of America. They themselves were conscious of this need. In contemporary publications and in requests sent to the Hungarian authorities we frequently find the manifestation of their patriotic feelings.<sup>3</sup> To serve their social and cultural needs, Hungarian–American associations were soon born. These organizations played an important role in the national identity maintenance of this generation. By 1911 the different kinds of Hungarian–American associations numbered 1339.<sup>4</sup> Besides the main social, political, religious or cultural goals of these associations, most of them included in their directives the goal of fostering the Hungarian culture among immigrant Hungarians. Their by-laws often described what their objectives were in this respect.<sup>5</sup> Forums available to them in the pursuit of these objectives were the Hungarian press (published by them), Hungarian theatre performances, readings and verse recitals and celebrations of the traditional national festivities.<sup>6</sup>

No matter whether they were religious or different kinds of political or cultural organizations, soon they all strived for the foundation of cultural centres – so-called Hungarian Homes or Hungarian schools. Books were also assigned an important role in their cultural policy and its concern for Hungarian identity. They supported the publishing of Hungarian books<sup>7</sup> and the distribution of Hungarian books<sup>8</sup>, but above all they supported the creation of a library service for the members of the associations and the Hungarian communities.

### The Role of Cultural and Political Motives in the Development of the Libraries of Early Hungarian–American Associations

To maintain libraries was not an entirely new programme for Hungarian associations. By the turn of the century an increasing number of associations in Hungary had organized libraries for their members, and many of the associations had been organized especially to provide a library service for certain groups of society. It was, however, a new kind of task to create libraries in an alien environment to serve the community as an ethnic group. In the beginning the Hungarians did not regard themselves as ethnics, a special group of the new society. Rather, they still regarded themselves as part of the old country, failing to adjust their objectives to ethnic goals. Although they lived in a society in the United States that had established a good library service for its English-speaking citizens, they could not cope with these developments. In their cultural isolation they turned to the

home country for ideals and sources, and in their organizational work they followed Hungarian patterns.

What kind of library development in Hungary could serve as an example for the emigrants? By the second half of the nineteenth century a great number of reading 'cabinets', so-called casinos (clubs) and reading circles with libraries had been established.<sup>9</sup> They were small collections and they all served a small group of different social strata of the society – thus they served only a small proportion of the whole population. A public library service did not yet exist at that time in Hungary. The largest classes of the society, the peasants and the industrial workers, were in the greatest need of a library service. To solve this problem the National Committee of Museums and Libraries (*Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Bizottsága*) – later called the National Council of Museums and Libraries (*Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Tanácsa*) – was organized by the government in 1874.<sup>10</sup> Its main mission was to launch the free library movement by providing economical support to the libraries of certain cultural associations and later by distributing entirely new library collections to associations and communities requesting them. A list of books to be offered was compiled. Different library collections, including standard bookcases, were assembled according to size: there were libraries for 2000, 1000, 500, 400, and 300 crowns. These libraries were mailed on contract by two editorial offices, the Franklin and the Athenaeum, to the addresses selected by the Council. A manual was published describing how these libraries should be maintained.<sup>11</sup>

The character of the life of associations in Hungary and the role of the libraries in their activities set the standards for Hungarian Americans in their organization of libraries. Not only were the ideals taken from the home country, but they were also dependent on Hungarian resources during their organizational work. They applied to Hungarian authorities for support. Many of these applications have been preserved in the Hungarian National Archives (*Országos Levéltár, Budapest*)<sup>12</sup> and provide the opportunity to follow the pattern of how these libraries were organized.

The applications were addressed to three Hungarian authorities: the Hungarian Ministry of Religion and Education, (*Vallás- és Közoktatásügyi Minisztérium*), the Ministry of Agriculture (*Földművelésügyi Minisztérium*) and the National State Alliance (*Országos Nemzeti Szövetség*). In general all the requests were processed, as they coincided with different initiatives found in the policy of the Hungarian government concerning emigrants who had left Hungary.

During this period a movement was launched under the name 'American action'.<sup>13</sup> It had its roots in the nationality problems alive in both Hungary at that time and preserved in America among immigrants who had come from Hungary.

The Slavic emigrants who left East and North-East Hungary originally belonged to the Greek Catholic Church. In America the Greek Orthodox Church opened its doors to them, where they had the chance to become acquainted with the ideas of the panslavic movement. In case of their remigration they could have become the distributors of these not very welcomed ideas in Hungary. The cultural support provided in the frame of 'American action' through the Greek Catholic Church aimed to retain them in its sphere of influence and away from the panslavic ideas.<sup>14</sup> Soon the 'American action' was

extended to the Hungarians as well, who mainly belonged to the Roman Catholic and the Reformed Church.<sup>15</sup> This extension of the programme was based on the recognition that the readjustment of the returning masses would cause severe problems for those who remigrated and for the whole society – without the continuity of their native culture, and without preserving the political views of the home society and its national feeling. So for the programme called 'National Sponsorship for Hungarians living abroad', money was provided for the organization of Hungarian schools in the United States and to send them teachers and textbooks. The Hungarian–American press was sponsored as well as the foundation of Hungarian library collections. This library programme was an extension beyond the borders of the Hungarian free library movement. It signified a particular pattern in library development for Hungarian–Americans. Compared to the public library service already developed in the United States, the Hungarian free library movement had its weak points and the professional librarians of Hungary strived to remodel the Hungarian library service according to the modern public library system they had encountered in Western Europe and in the United States.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, as has been mentioned, the source of a library ideal for the ethnic Hungarians in the United States remained the system of the home country. This led to the rather singular situation of Hungarian–Americans becoming familiar with the American system through the changing Hungarian system.

#### Facts about the Organization of the Libraries of Hungarian Associations

According to the documents available in the Hungarian National Archives, applications for books or entire library collections arrived in Hungary in 1906 from the following sources: *First Hungarian Sick Benefit Society in Woodbridge, N. J. (Woodbridge-i I. Magyar Betegsegélyző Egylet)*<sup>17</sup>, the *Hungarian Greek Catholic Youth Association in Bridgeport, Conn. (Bridgeporti Magyar Görögkatolikus Ifjúsági Egylet)*, *Baross Gábor Benefit Society in St. Paul, Minn. (St. Pauli Baross Gábor Társas és Segélyező Egylet)*: Mihály E. Martin on behalf of the Hungarian residents of Chicago, Ill. and its surroundings; in 1907 from the *Saint Joseph Sick Benefit and Funeral Society for Men and Women in Aurora, Ill. (Aurorai Szent József Férfi és Női Betegsegélyző és Temetkezési Egylet)*, the *First Hungarian Youth Association in Cleveland, Oh. (Clevelandi Első Magyar Ifjúsági Egylet)*; in 1908 from the *Hungarian Social Circle in Trenton, N. J. (Trentoni Magyar Társaskör)*, the *Hungarian Educational and Musical Circle in Chicago, Ill. (Chicagói Magyar Önképző és Dalkör)*, the *Hungarian Educational Circle in Lorain, Oh. (Loraini Magyar Önképzőkör)* and in 1909 from the *Saint Emerich Educational Circle in Norwalk, Conn. (Norwalki Szent Imre Önképzőkör)* and Mihály Bíró, the priest of the Reformed Church in Buffalo, N. J.<sup>18</sup> Of course, this list is far from being complete. Although the applications of many other Hungarian communities or associations could not be found, references to the processing of their applications prove that their requests reached Hungary.

These applications were processed in the following way. They were examined and judged by the office of the Prime Minister with the help of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Külügyminisztérium). Information was gathered on the political and economical status of the applicants by the Hungarian Embassy in Washington, D. C. and by the appropriate Hungarian consulates.<sup>19</sup> If a request was reviewed favourably, it was forwarded by the Prime Minister either to the Ministry of Religion and Education or to the Ministry of Agriculture, so that one of these could execute the decision and send the collection to the applicants. The method of processing is illustrated in a letter written by the Agricultural Minister and addressed to the Prime Minister:

Referring to your Honoured official communication of March 31 of this year. No. 461, I have the honour to inform you that I have called the Franklin Editorial office to mail a free library collection, charged to my portfolio and containing 100 volumes selected according to the defined library standard of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> type of library collections, to the Saint Joseph Benefit and Funeral Society for Men and Women in Aurora, Ill. The attached enclosure is to be sent back.<sup>20</sup>

Those applications that were sent to the Ministry of Religion and Education for execution were then forwarded to the National Council of Museums and Libraries. This is documented, for example, in a letter from the Educational Minister written on August 14, 1907 to the Prime Minister:

Referring to your Honoured official communications of January 4 of this year, Nos. 5623 and 6115, I have the honour to inform your Dignity that I have given permission to the Council of Museums and Libraries to provide 100, namely one hundred, crowns for books to be given to the Baross Gábor Benefit Society in Saint Paul and I have also permitted them to mail a library collection valued at 300 crowns plus a bookcase to the association in Bridgeport.<sup>21</sup>

Data concerning the measure of support provided by the Ministry of Agriculture is not available. However, that concerning the Council's activity is given below. These data are based on the Archives of the Council<sup>22</sup> and its minutes published in its official review, the *Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő* 1907–1916. The list of the Hungarian–American associations, institutions and communities and the money allocated to them by the Council from 1906–1914 reads as follows:

1907	Chicago, Ill.	1000 crowns
	Bridgeport, Conn.	300 crowns
	Baross Society in St. Paul, Minn.	100 crowns
	New York Public Library, N. Y.	2000 crowns
1908	Hungarian Conversational and Reading Circle in Pecks Hill	300 crowns
1909	Philadelphia Public Library, Pa.	500 crowns
	Newark Public Library, N. J.	200 crowns
	Hungarian Invalids of the Pittsburgh Hospital, Pa.	400 crowns
1910	Hungarian Educational Circle in Lorain, Oh.	150 crowns
	Hungarians of Southnorwalk	200 crowns

1911	Hungarian Cultural Circle in Akron, Oh.	100 crowns
	The Hungarian Colony of Buffalo, N. Y. (Károly Böhm vicar)	150 crowns
	The Imperial and Royal Austro-Hungarian Sub-Consulate in Cleveland, Oh.	400 crowns
	New York Public Library, Yorkville Branch, N. Y.	500 crowns
	Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, Pa.	400 crowns
	Hungarian Educational and Choir Circle in South Bend, In.	100 crowns
	Youth Association of the Hungarian Reformed Church in West Cleveland, Oh.	200 crowns
1912	Youth Association of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Bridgeport, Conn.	250 crowns
	Hungarian Reformed Church in Homestead, Pa. (later for- warded to Hamburg)	250 crowns
	Youth Association of the Hungarian Reformed Church in Perth Amboy, N. J.	300 crowns
	Roman Catholic Reading Circle in Scranton, Pa.	100 crowns
	Hungarian Reading Circle in Throop, Pa. (later forwarded to Chicago, Ill.)	100 crowns
1913	Hungarian Reformed Church in Mac-Keesport, Pa.	100 crowns
	First Hungarian Association in San Francisco, Cal.	400 crowns
	St. Louis Public Library, Mo.	500 crowns
1914	Hungarian Reformed Church in Mac-Keesport, Pa.	100 crowns
	First Hungarian Association in San Francisco, Cal.	400 crowns
	St. Louis Public Library, Mo.	500 crowns <sup>2 3</sup>

Thus the Council supported 22 out of 28 requests from Hungarian-American libraries from 1906-1914, altogether contributing 9,750 crowns.<sup>24</sup> Of the 22 grants 3 founded entirely new libraries; in all the other cases the money served to expand existing collections.

During this entire period, funds of the Council for library support totalled 489,115 crowns, of which 21,870 crowns were used for the support of Hungarian library collections abroad. The 9,750 crowns sent to Hungarian-American libraries constituted 44.5% of this sum. As is obvious, the free library movement provided very modest financial help to Hungarian-American libraries. However, almost half of the whole sum sent abroad was sent to America.

Did any specific policy guide this distribution and if so, how was it developed? Applications for libraries, which arrived at random from abroad, drew the attention of Hungarian cultural policy to the need for a planned library programme for Hungarians living abroad. The question was raised by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1908, as referred to in a letter sent to the Educational Minister by the Prime Minister:

As regards the last paragraph of the official communication of the Minister of Foreign Affairs concerning the library service to be planned and organized for American-Hungarians, I deem it

expedient to assign the project to the National Council of Museums and Libraries – to be studied and handled confidentially. From the point of view of Hungary I should like to take a stand on the basis of its report.<sup>25</sup>

As a result the support of libraries had grown into a fullscale programme by 1919. This programme included not only the Hungarian–American libraries but the sponsorship of all Hungarian collections existing abroad. In 1919, at the request of the Hungarian Prime Minister, the Hungarian embassies and consulates conducted a survey to find out where and to what extent library support was needed for Hungarian communities abroad. The Government attempted to form a policy for action in this field and launched a programme through the National Council of Museums and Libraries. This attempt of the Prime Minister is cited in 1913, in the minutes of the Council:

In 1909 Count Charles Khuen Héderváry, Prime Minister, requested the Joint (Austro–Hungarian) Minister of Foreign Affairs to instruct all our foreign representatives to inform us where Hungarian library collections already exist in our official districts and where they need to be enlarged or where new libraries should be established. A great number of reports have arrived from which it appears the foundation of Hungarian libraries is needed in approximately 70 places abroad. László Lukács, the [present] Prime Minister suggests the distribution of these libraries should be spread over the course of five years, 14 libraries being donated in each year. Of these, 7 or 8 should be sent to America if possible, where the Imperial and Royal Embassy in Washington, D. C. would take charge of their placement. A plan for distribution should be prepared.

The programme of the council is also described in the minutes:

The task has been assigned to Dr. Zoltán Ferenczy, who in his report suggests that of the libraries' 500 crowns each year, 8 should be sent to America and 6 to European countries: first of all to Romania, Bulgaria, Germany and Switzerland, England, Italy, Turkey, France and perhaps to Bukovina.<sup>26</sup>

In line with this programme, the Council set aside 7000 crowns for 14 Hungarian collections abroad in its budget for 1914. However, no evidence can be found in the reports of the Council that this programme was in fact carried out – in all probability due to the outbreak of World War I. No further mention is made of the sponsorship of foreign Hungarian library collections in the minutes of the following year concerning the budget for 1915/1916.<sup>27</sup>

Given the lack of data, the only conclusion to be arrived at is that this programme was not revived after World War I.

#### **Data on the Character and Activity of the Libraries of Hungarian–American Associations**

These libraries generally numbered not more than 100 or 200 volumes. For example, the library of the First Sick Benefit Association in Woodbridge, N. J. owned 155 volumes in 1906,<sup>28</sup> the Baross Gábor Benefit Society in St. Paul, Minn. had 156 volumes in 1914



and 230 volumes in 1920,<sup>29</sup> and the First Hungarian Youth Association reported 254 volumes in 1907.<sup>30</sup>

Their collection development was based either on further support coming from the Council — as in the case of the First Hungarian Association in San Francisco, Cal. — or on their own sources. What were these sources? They comprised the loan fee, a few cents per book,<sup>31</sup> modest donations from members,<sup>32</sup> and the income from different social events organized by the association, e.g. balls, bazaars etc.<sup>33</sup>

The content of these libraries was probably very similar to that of collections organized by the National Council of Museums and Libraries in Hungary. The main goal of the free library movement was to serve the uneducated masses.<sup>34</sup> The requirements described by the Hungarian emigrants in their applications themselves were based on this ideal. They applied for books of the following kinds:

... Mainly easy-to-understand historical works, descriptions of Hungarian folk life, the works of the best-known Hungarian writers and books dealing with agriculture should be sent.<sup>35</sup>

How was this demand satisfied, based on the lists published by the Council for book selection? The remains of one of the surviving libraries of this kind shows that feature. It is the library which belonged to the *Baross Gábor Benefit Society in St. Paul, Minn.*<sup>36</sup> It contains works by the following writers: László Arany, Elek Benedek, József Gaál, Ferenc Herczeg, Mór Jókai, Miklós Jósika, Zsigmond Kemény, Mignet, Kálmán Mikszáth, Viktor Rákosi, Zsigmond Sebők, Ede Szigligeti, Szikra (Mrs. Sándor Teleki), Kálmán Thaly, Károly Vadnai, and Gereben Vas. All of them can be found in the lists of the Council.

What kind of service were these libraries able to provide for their readers? Although the answer needs further research, the data uncovered so far have led to the following hypothesis. The libraries were small, the educational level of the readers was low and the opportunity to borrow books was insufficient. In some places the lending service was well organized, although in most places the hours when this service was available were rather rare, usually only on one or two Sundays a month. This service was probably well organized in Woodbridge, N. J. because they complained that their 155 books were not enough to meet the demand. It was probably less satisfactory in St. Paul, where 26 out of 156 books were borrowed in 1914 and 19 in 1916.<sup>37</sup> What was the real reason for this low book circulation and what caused the great interest for the books in Woodbridge? This question and, generally, the question about the way in which the motives of the service of the libraries of Hungarian associations were defined, need more research before an answer can be given. What can be stated now is that the characteristics and the differences were mainly based on local conditions: the size of the Hungarian community, the extent of the membership of the association, its social composition, the measure of activity of the association, the level of service provided by their library and, last but not least, the quality and content of the library collection and the possibility for book supply to refresh the collection. This is the most important question to be examined. At this point we know that the contemporary criticism of the free library movement in Hungary

drew attention, in 1906, to the inadequacies concerning the content and book supply of the libraries in Hungary.<sup>38</sup> Knowing this, it is still safe to say that Hungarian-American libraries probably had an important role because they served as the primary source of Hungarian reading material for Hungarian-Americans in the first years of mass immigration. The role of the Hungarian collections developed in American public libraries is not discussed in this article. It will be the subject of another study. Here, let it suffice to say that the libraries maintained by the associations offered more attractive access to Hungarian material than the Hungarian collections of the American public library system for the first generation of immigrants who did not strive to step out from their Hungarian-American environment. Use of the American libraries required further adjustment to American institutions.

### Further Developments

Further developments can be followed on two tracks. First, how has this library movement been expanded? Second, how have these early library collections survived and changed and how has their function been modified during their history? Research must be continued in order to give complete answers to both questions.

To answer the first one, the history of the support for Hungarian libraries from the Hungarian Reformed Church and the Catholic Church in Hungary has to be examined. According to data available in the Hungarian National Archives, both churches played a role in the expansion of the free library movement for Hungarian-Americans. It seems the programme initiated by the Hungarian Reformed Church was more successful than that of the Catholic Church. By 1906, 10 congregations out of those that had joined the Hungarian Reformed Church had free libraries.<sup>39</sup> By 1907 the foundation of free libraries for Hungarian-Americans became a programme of the Hungarian Reformed Church. Among the instructions for László Bede, who was sent to the US as the representative of the Hungarian Reformed Church, one included the following statement:

The board of the Convent has decided to establish libraries for all those scattered settlements in addition to the congregation, that are large enough to be able to take advantage of such a library service.<sup>40</sup>

To answer the second question, data concerning the history of the individual libraries must be collected. The history of these early libraries is very diverse. Many of the early associations were short-lived, disbanding in a short time, as was the case with the reading circle in Throop, Pa. and in Scranton, Pa. Thus the National Council of Museums and Libraries had to change its earlier decision in 1912 and the 100 crowns allocated to each had to be forwarded to a different institution; to the Home of Women in Chicago.<sup>41</sup>

But many of those libraries that were founded in the early decades of the century have survived until the present day. It is interesting to follow their adjustment to the new features of the Hungarian ethnic community. During the following decades the Hungarian-Americans became permanent residents of the US. The Hungarian ethnic group was

joined by members of the higher educated social classes, who created their own Hungarian-American intellectual life. They published books of their own and, as a result, their libraries started to build a new type of book collection, the collection of Hungarian-American book-publishing. A good example of this kind is the library of the St. Stephen Catholic Church in Los Angeles. The album published for its 50th anniversary writes about this goal:

... besides the 1200 books that we have now, we are going to purchase new books to make sure, if it is possible of representation for all those Hungarian writers who live abroad...<sup>42</sup>

### Conclusions

Research on library services for Hungarian-Americans can provide valuable information on the questions of their assimilation and identity maintenance.

Much work is still needed to study the role of different types of library services and their importance for different generations.

The historical background provided here raises the urgent question of the present needs of ethnic Hungarian-Americans, including their need for the further supply of Hungarian books.

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19. Ibid. OL ME K26 XXII 1908 package no. 748.
20. Ibid. OL ME K26 XXII 1908 package no. 748 (XXII 1908 4237). "Folyó évi március hó 31-én 461. szám alatt kelt nagybecsű átírata kapcsán a melléklet visszavárása mellett van szerencsém Nagyméltóságodat tisztelettel értesíteni, hogy egyidejűleg felhívtam a Franklin Társulatot, hogy az aurórai magyar Szent József betegsegélyző és temetkezési egyesületnek (Aurora, 111. Un. St. of America) egy 100 kötetből álló, s a megállapított minta szerint az I. és III. könyvtár-csoportokból egybeállított népkönyvtári gyűjteményt tárcám terhére díjtalanul küldjön meg."
21. Ibid. OL ME K26 XXII 1908 package no. 748 (XXII 1907 4320). "Hivatkozással Nagyméltóságodnak f. év január hó 4-én 5623 sz. alatt kelt, továbbá ugyancsak f. év január hó 4-én 6115. sz. alatt kelt nagybecsű átíratára van szerencsém Nagyméltóságodnak nagybecsű tudomására hozni, hogy a St. Pauli Baross Gábor Egyletnek adandó könyvekre 100 azaz száz k.t, a bridgeporti egyesület részére pedig egy szekrényvel ellátott 400 k-ás könyvtár adományozását engedélyeztem a Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Orsz. Tanácsának."
22. Ibid. OL MNM K737 Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Tanácsa.
23. See the annual reports of the National Council of Museums and Libraries in *Múzeumi és Könyvtári Értesítő*:

1 (október 1 1907):	109–112.
2 (március 1 1909):	53.
3 (június 15 1909):	178.
4 (december 15 1960):	261.
5 (július 1 1911):	300–301.
6 (július 15 1912):	223.
7 (március 1 1913):	288.

24. Ibid.
25. National Archives, Budapest – Record Group OL ME K26 XXII 1908 package no. 748 (XIX 1906 4997).  
 “Ami pedig a külügyminiszteri átirat utolsó bekezdését illeti, mely az amerikai magyarságnak könyvtárakkal leendő tervszerű és szervezett ellátását illeti, erre vonatkozólag megjegyzem, hogy célszerűnek látszanék e kérdést bizalmas tanulmányozás végett a Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Tanácsának kiadni, mely szerv szakvéleménye alapján kívánnék e kérdésben itthoni szempontból állástfoglalni.”
26. Ibid. OL MNM K 736 Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Tanácsa 1913, p. 419.  
 “. . . gróf Khuen-Héderváry Károly miniszterelnök még 1909-ben felkérte a közös külügyminiszter urat, utasítsa összes külképviseleti hatóságainkat, hogy tájékoztatást adjanak afelől, vajjon hivatali készletekben mely helyeken vannak már magyar könyvtárak, továbbá, hol van szükség a meglévő könyvtárak kibővítésére, illetőleg újak létesítésére. Erre nagy számú jelentés érkezett be, amelyekből kitűnt, hogy kb. 70 külföldi helyen volna magyar könyvtár létesítésére szükség. Lukács László miniszterelnök azt javasolja, hogy a könyvtárak szétküldése 5 esztendőre osztassék, öt évenként 14 könyvtárnak adományozása mellett. Ezekből azonban évenként 7–8 lehetőleg Amerikába küldessék, hogy a washingtoni cs. és kir. nagykövetség gondoskodnék azoknak elhelyezéséről. A szétküldés sorrendjére tervezet készítenőd. Az ügy kiadatott Ferenczi Zoltán dr. urnak aki jelentésében javasolja, hogy a könyvtárakból (á 500 k) évenként 8 küldessék Amerikába, 6 pedig európai helyekre és pedig elsősorban Romániába, Bulgáriába, Németországba, továbbá Svájcba, Angol–Olasz–Török–Franciaországokba s esetleg Bukovinába.”
27. Ibid. OL MNM K737 Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Tanácsa 1916, p. 159.
28. Ibid. OL ME K26 XIX 1906 package no. 660 (XIX 1906 1980).
29. IHRC, St. Paul, Minn. – Baross Gábor Benefit and Aid Society in St. Paul. Minutes. (1904–1916), p. 197. and (1916–1930) p. 97.
30. National Archives, Budapest – Record Group OL ME K26 XXII 1908 package no. 748 (XXII 1907 2843).
31. *A St. Paul-i Baross Gábor Társas és Betegsegélyző Egylet alapszabályai (By-laws of the Baross Gábor Benefit and Aid Society in St. Paul)* [3. ed] (New York: Amerikai Magyar Népszava, 1918), p. 10.
32. IHRC, St. Paul, Minn. – Working's Sick Benevolent and Educational Federation. Branch 116. Minutes. (November 12<sup>th</sup> 1924), p. 7. and (January 21<sup>st</sup> 1927), p. 46.
33. IHRC, St. Paul, Minn – Minutes of the Hungarian American Organizations.
34. *Utastítás a népkönyvtárak tervezésére. A népkönyvtárak számára ajánlható művek jegyzékével kiadja a Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Tanácsa (Guide-lines for the planning of free-libraries including the list of recommended books published by the National Council of Museums and libraries).* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1902) p. 7.
35. National Archives, Budapest – Record Group OL ME K26 XXII 1908 package no 748 (XXII 1908 5563):  
 “. . . főleg könnyen érthető történeti munkák, a magyar népeletből vett leírások, a legismertebb magyar írók és költők művei, s mezőgazdasági kérdésekkel foglalkozó könyvek küldessenek.”
36. Ilona Kovács, “St. Paul-i Baross Gábor Társas és Betegsegélyző Egylet könyvtárának története, mint az amerikai–magyar egyleti könyvtárak egy példája (The history of the Baross Gábor Benefit and Aid Society Library, St. Paul, Minn.)” *Az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár Évkönyve* 1980 (1982): 577–582.
37. IHRC, St. Paul, Minn – *Baross Gábor Benefit and Aid Society in St. Paul*. Minutes. (1904–1916), p. 197. and p. 241.
38. Ervin Szabó, Általános irányelvek népkönyvtárak könyveinek megválogatására (Guide-lines for the selection of books for free libraries, in *Szabó Ervin könyvtártudományi cikkei és tanulmányai* (Budapest, 1959) pp. 87–98.

39. National Archives, Budapest – Record Group OL ME K26 XXII 1908 package no. 748 (XIX 1906 5102).
40. Ibid OL ME K 26 XXII 1909 package no. 797 (XXII 1907 4588)  
 “A konvent elnöksége elhatározta, hogy gyülekezeten kívül mindazon szórványokon is fog egy-egy népkönyvtárat felállítani, hol a lélekszám elegendő arra, hogy a könyvtár használatából eredményt lehessen elvárni.”
41. Ibid OL MNM K737 Múzeumok és Könyvtárak Országos Tanácsa 1912 798 és 8450.
42. *St. Stephen Roman Catholic Church* (Los Angeles, 1969), p. 18 and 47.

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### HUNGARIAN STUDIES IN NORTH AMERICA: THE HUNGARIAN STUDIES REVIEW

The *Hungarian Studies Review*, formerly *The Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies*, is a biannual inter-disciplinary forum for work in Hungarian Studies, currently edited at the University of Toronto. It first appeared under the earlier title in 1974, and over the twelve years of its existence has produced a highly impressive body of scholarly work unparalleled in range, depth and consistency by any other contemporary venture of its kind in the Anglophone world.

Plans for the establishment of a North American periodical to be devoted entirely to Hungarian studies were already being made as early as 1971, but only came to fruition when the late Ferenc G. Harcsár (1910–79) founded the Hungarian Readers' Service in Ottawa in 1974. *The Canadian-American Review of Hungarian Studies* was launched by Dr Harcsár and N. F. Dreisziger (Assistant Professor in the Department of History at the Royal Military College of Canada) in the same year, and has been published by the Hungarian Readers' Service ever since. The opening volume of the *Review*, combining the first two numbers in a single issue, ran to a modest forty eight pages and carried no editorial introduction of aims or statement of policy. Its leading article – ‘A Canadian Meets the Hungarians’ – was by Watson Kirkconnell, one of the foremost pioneers of Hungarian studies in Canada, and the translator of several volumes of Hungarian poetry. From 1975 until his death in 1977, Kirkconnell was Honorary Editor of the *Review*, and also, in the words of Dreisziger, ‘one of the journal's mentors’. A special issue of the *Review* appeared in the Autumn of 1977 as a tribute to Kirkconnell, containing the first part of his translation of János Arany's epic poem *Toldi*, and an extensive account of his life and activities by Dreisziger, who edited the journal single-handed until 1981.

If the first (double-issue) volume of the *Review* had left room for some apprehension as to its editorial and financial resources and chances for survival, any such doubts were quickly dispelled by the length and quality of the numbers which followed.

Containing four substantial scholarly studies and a strong review section, the opening number for 1975 (Vol. II, No. 1) set the pattern and standard for future issues. In 1976 a brief indication of editorial policy did appear on the inside cover of the *Review* (Vol. III, No. 1) announcing that the journal aimed to provide 'a non-partizan forum for the scholarly discussion and analysis of issues in Hungarian history, politics and cultural affairs'. The order in which these priorities of interest are listed is in itself significant, for perhaps the major accomplishment of the *Review* throughout its twelve year life has been its consistently lively and informative contribution to Hungarian *historical* scholarship in North America. This emphasis has never led, however, to a neglect of other areas of interest, and the admirable openness and flexibility of the editorial position first outlined in 1976 has been reiterated and sustained ever since.

In 1981 the *Review* combined forces with the University of Toronto's Chair of Hungarian Studies (founded in 1978) and Professor George Bisztray joined Dreisziger as co-editor. The journal was renamed the *Hungarian Studies Review* signifying, according to its editors, their belief that 'we are now ready to shed our geographic limitation and assume the task of serving the interest of Hungarian studies wherever English is a recognized language of scholarly communication' (Vol. VIII, No. 1). Although the association did not involve any change in editorial policy, it did secure considerable financial benefits as the Toronto chair provided a fully equipped editorial office and a salaried editorial secretary. In addition, the printing and distribution of the *Review* were subsequently undertaken by the University of Toronto Press.

Since joining hands with the Toronto Chair of Hungarian Studies, single issues of the *Review* have tended to focus on one or two areas of particular interest, offering an outline of leading themes on the front cover. Thus the first number for 1982 (Vol. IX, No. 1) concentrated primarily on 'The Hungarian Folk Ballad' and 'Film Studies', followed by an issue on 'Hungary's Economy' and 'Noteworthy Immigrants'. Similarly, the first number for 1984 (Vol. XI, No. 1) was entitled 'Minorities and Minority Affairs in Hungary, 1935-1980', while Volume XI No. 2 was devoted to 'Hungarian Literature in the Twentieth Century'. The presentation of these points of focus has in general combined an imaginative diversity of approach with an unfailingly interesting and instructive emphasis on historical background. Thus, for example, the collection of articles on the Hungarian economy in Volume IX. No. 2 includes not only an interview with Rezső Nyers, one of the initiators of Hungarian economic reform in the 1960s, but also a polemical discussion of the national economy between 1849 and 1867, and a look at the 'Fiscal Independence of Sovereign States... ' in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The most impressive achievement of the *Review* to date has undoubtedly been its publication of five special issues on themes of considerable importance to Hungarian Studies both in and outside of Hungary. The first of these appeared in 1976 (Vol. III, No. 2), offering extensive analysis of the background to, and implications of, the tragic events of 1956. Mention has already been made of the second special issue of the *Review* (Vol. IV, No. 2), the full title of which was 'Hungarian Poetry and the English-Speaking World: A Tribute to Watson Kirkconnell'. Apart from containing

material directly relating to the life and work of Kirkconnell, the issue also included articles on 'Hungarian Poetry in Translation', 'The Image of Hungarian Poetry in the English-Speaking World' and an introduction to, and extract from, Thomas R. Mark's new translation of Madách's *The Tragedy of Man*. The third and fourth special issues of the *Review* focussed on themes more directly related to the context of Hungarian studies in North America. The first number of Volume VII (1980), entitled 'Hungarian-Canadian Perspectives: Selected Papers', was mainly concerned with aspects of early Hungarian immigration, settlement and culture in Canada. The two-part special volume published in 1981 under the title 'Hungarian Cultural Presence in North America' (running to a total of 203 pages), gave a still more comprehensive and regionally differentiated overview of the history and character of Hungarian communities in the area. The first part contained five lengthy papers, supplemented with documents on language usage ('An Interview with a Hungarian American') and on Hungarian schools in Canada in the 1930s, while the second part was devoted to a sixty page study of 'The Hungarian Experience in Alberta'. The latest, and perhaps the best, of the *Review's* special studies considers Hungary's role in the Second World War (Vol. X, Nos. 1 and 2, 1983). It is 196 pages in length and contains six substantial articles on 'The Road to War' and four on 'The Search for Peace'.

Since its foundation in 1974 the range of the *Review* has remained remarkably broad, carrying articles on themes as diverse as 'Physical Education and Socialist Ideology in Hungary', 'The Hungarian Image of Benjamin Franklin' and 'The World of Hungarian Populism'. One finds close analyses of literary texts side by side with essays on Hungary's role in international relations and the contribution of Hungarian scientists to the development of biochemistry. Articles are almost invariably impeccably annotated, directing the reader to a wealth of supplementary literature in both English and Hungarian. To all those with an interest in Hungarian studies in the Anglophone world — and especially to those with no access to the Hungarian language itself — the *Hungarian Studies Review* continues to provide a rare and invaluable service.

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### OVER 100 YEARS OF COOPERATION BETWEEN FINNISH AND HUNGARIAN MUSEUMS

In 1860 Marie von Wittenheim donated to the Ethnographic Department of the Helsinki University Museum of Ethnography a cockade decorated with the Hungarian colours and coat of arms. According to information handed down in the family, the cockade had belonged to the Hungarian freedom fighter General Arthur Görgey. He took the cockade from his helmet on the battlefield of Világos on 13 September 1849 and offered it to the negotiator of the Czar's army, Lieutenant Grigorjev. This symbol of the



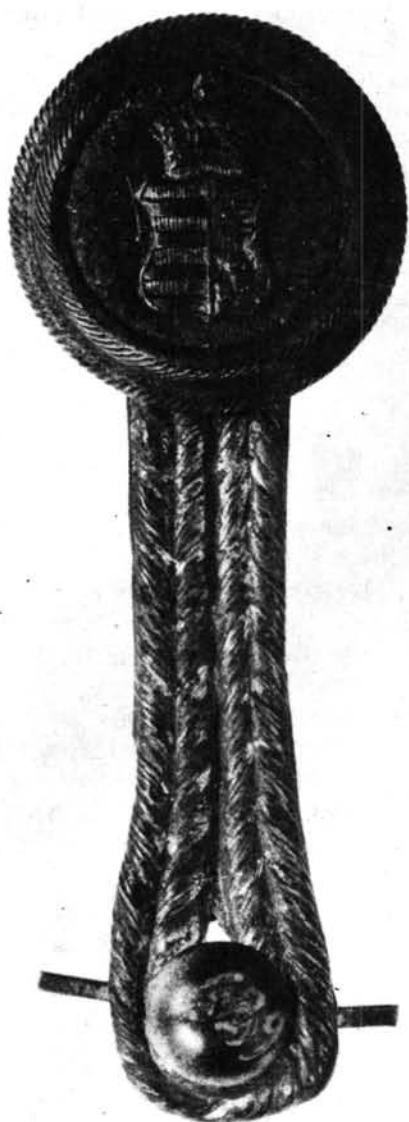


Fig. 1. Cockade belonging to Arthur Görgey. (Photo: Ritva Bäckman, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.)

'proud people of Hungary' was the only one of its kind in the Finnish National Museum's collections until 1921.

The first Finnish exhibit to appear in the Hungarian National Museum (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*) originated from Antal Reguly's collection. Returning from a trip to Finland in 1841, he brought with him a simple buckle belonging to a peasant costume. In 1889 this was joined by a collection consisting of about 60 items. Living in Finland at that time with his family was Béla Vikár. Alongside his work in translating into Hungarian the Kalevala, the Finnish national epic, he collected a number of artefacts from the town of Sortavala in Karelia. In Helsinki Béla Vikár met the Curator of the State Museum of History, Theodor Schvindt, who was interested in procuring duplicates for the Hungarian National Museum. The idea was warmly welcomed in Hungary, and in 1889 a total of 300 Finnish objects duly arrived.

The kinship of the Finnish and Hungarian peoples, together with an interest in researching their common origins and culture, brought the research worker János Jankó to Finland in 1897. The purpose of his visit was to study Finnish folk culture prior to travelling to Siberia. He was taken round the museum collections by the young U. T. Sirelius, and was sufficiently inspired as to offer to produce a collection of pictures of the Finnish peasant artefacts. It was Jankó who persuaded Sirelius to embark on a study of fishing methods in Finland. The two set off first for Russia and St. Petersburg, and from there to western Siberia to visit the Ostyaks, or Ob-Ugrians. The journey held great ethnographic significance, as it marked the beginning of a scientifically organized ethnographic study of the Finno-Ugric peoples.

Helsinki and the Finnish National Museum (*Kansallismuseo*) soon became the centre for Finno-Ugric ethnography. In 1902 the young curator Vilmos Semayer asked Axel Olai Heikel, an expert on the Volga Finns, to take him on an expedition. The following year Heikel and Semayer spent three weeks in Russia. The young Semayer benefited greatly from Heikel's knowledge and expertise, and the Hungarian National Museum thanked Heikel profusely for organizing such a successful trip. But the exchange was mutual: Heikel's diaries show just how thoroughly Semayer acquainted him with the Hungarian National Museum and its collections. In fact, the diaries show the floor plan of the Museum and the arrangement of exhibits: it appears that Heikel's help was sought in planning a department for Finno-Ugric peoples.

Theodor Schvindt, whom Béla Vikár knew from the Museum, spent a week or so in Hungary on his return from Egypt in spring 1908. There, the ethnographer Zsigmond Bátky showed him the collections of the Museum of Ethnography. The popularity of Finnish researchers is also reflected in the list of members admitted to the Hungarian Ethnographic Society. Half of the foreign members were Finnish ethnographers and philologists.

The Finnish National Museum suddenly became aware of the paucity of Hungarian exhibits during preparation for a Finno-Ugric exhibition in the 1920s. Inspired by a feeling of kinship between the two nations, an exhibition of Hungarian folk art and applied arts was first organized in Helsinki. For this purpose the National Museum purchased from Hungary a number of 'embroidered textile products'. The Finno-Ugric

exhibition was opened in March 1923. Despite the recent acquisitions, U. T. Sirelius, then head of department, considered that Hungary was under-represented at the exhibition, and the following year procured, with the help of the Hungarian National Museum, two splendid shepherd's cloaks and two ladies' short fur coats.

Exchanges became more frequent in the 1930s, and personal and official relations began to go hand in hand. The museums at Miskolc and Debrecen donated a collection of



Fig. 2. The Finno-Ugric cultural congress of 1931 was attended by a group of Hungarian ethnographers. Pictured here are (from the left) István Ecsedi from Debrecen, Zsigmond Bátky and István Györfly from Budapest, and Ilmari Manninen (standing) of the Finnish National Museum. (Photo: E. Laakso, National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki.)

almost 300 items to "our kindred people", at the same time receiving the support of private individuals, peasants, shepherds and even businessmen. The items donated consisted mainly of textiles that had been handed down from one generation to another, together with examples of the work of potters and shepherds. In 1929 Dr Ilmari Manninen became head of department at the Finnish National Museum and began to urge museums to engage in an official exchange of exhibits. As a result, the Hungarian National Museum's collection of Finnish exhibits grew by 180 items, while the Finnish National Museum added 204 exhibits to its Hungarian collection. The museum was thus able to call on its own collections to stage a Hungarian exhibition in honour of the Finno-Ugric cultural congress of 1931.

Ilmari Manninen began to plan an expedition to Hungary and the Balkan states to acquire further artefacts. As a researcher into the Finno-Ugric peoples he needed more

material for comparative studies. He set off on the expedition, which was to last one year, in 1934. He spent around six months in Hungary touring the countryside and acquainting himself with various ethnographic collections. He acquired for the Finnish National Museum three splendid complete costumes, two from the villages of Mezőkövesd and Szentistván, and the third from the Kalotaszeg area of Transylvania. The costumes were on display at Ilmari Manninen's memorial exhibition in autumn 1935.

By the time World War II broke out, the collections of both museums had swelled considerably and the exchange of researchers was a regular practice. This fruitful cooperation continued once conditions had stabilized towards the 1960 s. In 1958, the director of the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography (*Néprajzi Múzeum*), György Domanovszky, suggested to the Finnish National Museum that the exchange of exhibits and researchers between the two countries could well be resumed. So it was that in autumn 1959 János Kodolányi Jr., a curator from the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography, arrived in Finland. During his stay he visited Helsinki and the province of Uusimaa, as well as Lapland, and produced just as detailed an account of his journey as his predecessor Béla Vikár had done 70 years earlier.

In 1959 Finland and Hungary signed a joint cultural agreement, and the very next year the Finnish National Museum received a collection of items compiled by János Kodolányi. This was used to form a Hungarian exhibition at the National Museum in spring 1961. Visitors were able to listen to Hungarian music as they toured the exhibits. On behalf of Finland, curator Toini-Inkeri Kaukonen compiled a collection for the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography in 1960. Dr Kaukonen spent some time in Hungary on an exchange basis financed by a grant from the Ministry of Education.

The first exchange exhibition was opened in 1970 in honour of the 20th anniversary of the Finnish-Hungarian Society. The small exhibition of folk art, held in the Finnish National Museum, clearly brought out the conservative features of Hungarian folk art, with some exhibits dating from the 1700s. In 1973 the Finnish National Museum reciprocated with an exhibition in Hungary depicting the Finnish wedding tradition.

In 1978 Finland's National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments began talks aimed at stepping up the exchange of experts between museums. As a result, a clause relating to the exchange of researchers was included in the working proposals of the cultural agreement, the parties involved being the National Board of Antiquities, the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography, the National Museum and the Workers' Museum. Researchers now have the opportunity to spend ten days a year studying the museums and research activities in each other's countries.

The latest result of exchanges between the two countries' museums was an exhibition of home furnishings, arranged in 1980. The interior of the peasant home originated from the village of Fadd in southern Hungary. Urbanization is changing the face of the rural environment in Hungary, as elsewhere, and the interior provides a detailed portrayal of the peasant way of life in Hungary at the beginning of this century. By way of return, Finland provided furniture and *ryijy* rugs to add to the Finnish collections at the Hungarian Museum of Ethnography in 1982. The era of the exchange of exhibits is now drawing to a close. Finland's museums already have close on a thousand exhibits from

Hungary, principally furniture, ceramics, costumes and textiles. Research workers can now carry out the groundwork for their research in Finland and continue their work by means of an exchange visit to Hungary. The republic finds the collections both enjoyable and stimulating, while students can learn a great deal from them about the culture of the Hungarian people.

The Finnish collections in Hungary were used in 1985 to put on an exhibition of Finnish art to mark the 150th anniversary of the Kalevala. The exchange of exhibitions will continue: we are still very much interested in each other's cultures. From Finland's point of view, the gap in our knowledge has now been bridged. Our internationally important Finno-Ugric collections are well balanced, thanks partly to the very notable exhibits we have obtained from Hungary.

Museovirasto, Helsinki

*Ilkó Lehtinen*

## RECENT TRENDS IN HUNGARIAN VERSE RESEARCH

Research in Hungarian versification is a demanding task for both linguistic and literary reasons. Hungarian poetry is relatively rich in rhythmic organizing principles (different systems exist simultaneously as e.g. phrase-stress, syllable-length, metre-link, sentence-intonation, syllable-counting principles etc.) which are intrinsic to the phonetic structure of the language. All these principles were at some time activated by various metric conventions (folk poetry, sung poems, and airs, translation from Old Greek and Roman poetry, or European poets, Finno-Ugric folk poetry etc.) in the successive periods of the history of Hungarian versification.

The complexity of the problem explains why a general synthesis on Hungarian versification has rarely been attempted; so far only János Arany, László Négyesy, János Horváth and László Gáldi have attempted to produce comprehensive theories of the Hungarian verse rhythm.

In the recent past (mainly from 1952 to 1966) the problem of the linguistic (syntactic, phonetic) foundation of different Hungarian rhythm systems inspired lively debates (by Lajos Vargyas, László Szabédi, Zsigmond László, Iván Főnagy etc.). László Gáldi's distinction between abstract metre and realized rhythm and László Péczely's insights into the aesthetic functions of verse forms offered new approaches to metric research.

A brief survey of the history of metric research prior to 1978 and of the important issues at the time is available in András Kecskés's and Andrew Kerék's study in English: *Directions in Hungarian Metric Research. In Language, Literature and Meaning II: Current Trends in Literary Research*. Ed. John Odmark, Amsterdam, 1980, pp. 319–359. It also contains a bibliographic reference list of 55 items. That is

the reason why my present paper hopes to direct attention to changes only after 1978, to the latest issues and to works in preparation.

An unprecedented working meeting in the history of Hungarian verse research took place at the Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen on 3–4 July 1978. Experts of sharply contrasting opinions gathered to exchange ideas and to discuss the possibilities of future cooperation. Lajos Szuromi, the organizer of the meeting, took pains to record every significant element of the conversation on tape and printed for university circulation the proceedings that very year. (Szuromi, Lajos: *Verstani párbeszéddek* /Prosodic Dialogues/, Debrecen, 1978, 236 pp.).

Following the meeting in Debrecen, the Institute of Literature of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences organized an even more comprehensive debate in Budapest on 13 December 1979. Eight scholars presented their full analyses of the much debated rhythm of a poem by Endre Ady. The lectures were at first photocopied at Debrecen University (1980) in 50 copies, then the papers were supplemented by a *précis* of the debate and subsequently published by the Institute of Literature, „*A Tisza-parton*”: *Ritmikai kérdések egy Ady-vers kapcsán* /“On the Banks of Tisza-river”. Rhythmical Problems Appearing in a Poem by Endre Ady/ (Ed.: Szerdahelyi, István, and Kecskés András, Budapest, 1981, MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 112 pp.).

In November 1980, the Institute of Literature invited seventeen scholars to join a *Verse Research Committee* (Verstani Munkabizottság). Unfortunately, two prominent representatives of the senior generation, László Péczely and Zsigmond László died shortly afterwards, while others declined to accept the invitation. However, a committee of twelve members have regularly been in communication ever since.

The statutory meeting of *Verstani Munkabizottság* was held on 23 January 1981 in Budapest. (Its chairman is István Szerdahelyi, the secretary is András Kecskés.) The participants established a quinquennial programme and decided to draw into their activity as many external contributors (poets, teachers, researchers, students etc.) as possible. At present there are over fifty honorary members in permanent contact with the committee. They take part in the meetings, read papers and engage in research.

The first International Congress on Hungarology (*I. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus*) was held in Budapest on 10–14 August, 1981. Hungarian verse was among the central topics of the discussions. András Kecskés, one of the speakers at the plenary meeting on August 13th outlined the history and the present state of Hungarian Verse Research (See: Kecskés, András: *Irányzatok és álláspontok a magyar verselméletben*. /Trends and Positions in Hungarian Versification Theory/, *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 86 (182) pp. 482–492.). An important publication of the congress: *A magyar vers* /Hungarian Verse/ *Az I. Nemzetközi Hungarológiai Kongresszus előadásai*. Ed.: Béládi, Miklós – Jankovics, József – Nyerges, Judit. Budapest, 1985, Nemzetközi Magyar Filológiai Társaság, 501 pp., with 75 papers.

A large number of special summarizing publications on metrics appeared at the same time. László Orosz chose a remarkable period in his analysis of the metric theories in Hungary between 1760 and 1820, offering a survey of contemporary contributions to the theme (*A magyar verstani eszmélkedés kezdetei* /Beginnings of

Hungarian Metrics/ Budapest, 1980, Akadémiai Kiadó, 154 pp. — Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek, 97.) Important elements of Hungarian prosody are discussed in Péter Szilágyi's collection of essays and studies. He attempted to find a new historical interpretation of the aesthetic function of verse form (*Forma és világkép* /Form and World Concept/ Budapest, 1981, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó. 330 pp.).

András Kecskés' book is both a study and a handbook: it focuses on problems of identifying and transcribing the actual, sounding verse rhythm, and deals with questions concerning the linguistic bases and the aesthetic function of rhythm (*A vers hangzásvilága* /Sound Universe of Verse/ Budapest, 1981, Tankönyvkiadó, 207 pp.).

The first fruit of an attempt of computer analysis is the processing of 300 early lyric pieces of Petőfi, by Lajos Szuromi and Pál Jékel, a computing mathematician (*Petőfi metrumai I.* /Petőfi's Metres Vol. I./ Debrecen, 1980, 651 pp.). Eight coding positions serve to determine in figures the most important factors of the sound rhythm. The book has a short German summary.

A general work on metric systems is István Szerdahelyi's and Erika Szepes's *Verstan* /Metrics/ (Budapest, 1981, Gondolat, 598 pp.). Both authors are participants in the editorial work for the publication of the *Világirodalmi Lexikon* (a multi-volume encyclopedia of world literature). Through their work on the more than ten volumes of the Encyclopedia they have gained an overview, which has enabled them to offer a uniquely comprehensive systematization of versification in world poetry. Some aspects of their work (exclusion of free verse from the concept of verse, statements on Hungarian beat-stressing (*ütemhangsúlyos*) verse, etc.) immediately gave rise to violent debates. (See e.g.: *Tiszatáj* 1982, No. 6–9; *Irodalomtörténet* 64 (1983) No. 1.; Rákos, Péter: *Reflexiók egy Verstanról és a verstanról* /Reflections on metrics and on a book named Metrics/ in *Irodalomtörténet* 75 (1983) pp. 186–213.

The number of publications on verse rhythm has considerably increased in various journals and reviews. A polemic, in several rounds, about András Kecskés's study *Ritmuselvek és versrendszerek* /Rhythmic Principles and Verse Systems/ was published by the *Kritika* monthly in 1980 and 1981. Lajos Szuromi exposed his views on Sándor Petőfi's and János Arany's use of metres in the yearbook *Studia Litteraria* in 1981 and 1982, published by the University of Debrecen. István Szerdahelyi commented on the aesthetic questions of abstract forms in his *A versritmus szemantikája* /Semantics of Verse Rhythm/ in *Magyar Filozófiai Szemle* 1981. László Elekfi elaborated his paper originally read before the Verse Research Committee, into a linguistic study (*Beszédütem, versütem* /Speech Measure, Verse Measure/ in *Magyar Nyelvőr* 196 (1982) pp. 129–138.).

It is a welcome improvement that in school textbooks metric information is nowadays more elaborate and up to date than it used to be, but the general picture is still far from rosy. Exemplary are the textbooks for children between the age of 10 and 14. The Verse Research Committee endeavours to link research and training. The methodological attempt by Lajos Szuromi (*A versritmus elemzése az iskolában* /Verse Rhythm Analysis at School/ Debrecen 1980, 111 pp.) serves this aim. A small practical handbook (Kecskés, András–Szilágyi, Péter–Szuromi, Lajos: *Kis magyar verstan* /A

Short Hungarian Versification/ Budapest, 1983. Országos Pedagógiai Intézet, 156. pp.) was published by the National Pedagogical Institute.

According to the working programme of the Verse Research Committee in 1981 the question of beat stressing versification (*ütemhansúlyos verselés*) was discussed after lectures given by István Szerdahelyi, András Kecskés and László Elekfi. Two fundamentally different approaches were proposed, namely a conventional (logical) interpretation of Hungarian verse-rhythm and a syntactic (phonological) one. This contrast in opinion was also apparent at a conference devoted to the textual analysis of three epigrams by Miklós Zrínyi, held on 17–18 December, 1981. The material of the conference was already published, edited by András Kecskés: „Az idő és hírnév”. *Zrínyi három epigrammájának ritmikája* /“Time and Fame”. Rhythmical Patterns in Zrínyi's Three Epigrams/ Budapest, 1984. MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 175 pp.

1982 was devoted to the problems of quantitative (*időmértékes*) versification in Hungarian, and first of all to the iambic metres, the predominant metres in modern Hungarian poetry. Hungarian iambic verse was analysed from different aspects: Péter Szilágyi approached it from a historical angle, Ágnes Nemes Nagy examined it from the viewpoint of a poet and translator and Erika Szepes set it in an international context. Győző Ferencz studied the correlation of linguistic and rhythmic phenomena in the Hungarian equivalents of classical Greek and Roman metrical forms.

In 1983 the debates centred around “simultaneous” versification, a characteristic product of Hungarian prosody, since a considerable part of modern Hungarian poetry is of bimetric nature: i.e. it displays characteristic features of both the beat-stressing versification and the quantitative one. Péter Szilágyi and Sándor Varga examined the development of these verse forms in the last century. Lajos Szuromi pointed out important theoretical connections and methodologic aspects. A work by Szuromi on simultaneous versification is to be published.

Mention must be made of a number of works under preparation on subjects within the scope of the verse Research Committee: Katalin Soltész wrote a monograph on János Arany's versification; Péter Szilágyi on Endre Ady's metres; András Kecskés's studies deal with János Horváth's theoretical works on metrics (*Literatura*) and with Hungarian beat-stressing versification. (See Kecskés, András: *A magyar ütemhangsúlyos verselés* /Hungarian Beat-Stressing Versification/ in *Irodalomtörténet* 66 (1984) pp. 334–363., and his book *A magyar vers hangzásszerkezete* /Sound System of Hungarian Verse/ Budapest, 1984. Akadémiai Kiadó 294 pp. – *Opus. Irodalomelméleti tanulmányok* Vol. 8.). Ágnes Pálfi and Péter Turcsány wrote a study on Arany's metrics (*Arany Toldijának versmértéke és ritmusa* /Rhythm and Metre in Arany's Toldi/, in *Irodalomtörténet* 66 (1984) pp. 936–955.), based on an all round inquiry. (See the review Szerdahelyi, István: *Bonyolult verstant vagy tudományost?* /Do we need a complicated or a scholarly founded versification?/ in *Irodalomtörténet* 67 (1985) pp. 617–631.).

Other works are also under preparation, such as a comprehensive study on Hungarian approaches to problems of metre by András Kecskés in the Hungarian Academy's Institute of Literary Studies. Péter Szilágyi's verse historical studies are now con-



cerned with the bisecting twelve-syllabic verse (*alexandrine*) form and the rhythmical evolution in Mihály Babits's poetry. Lajos Szuromi continues processing Petőfi's metres by a computer project.

In Szeged a metric repertory of early Hungarian poetry is being prepared under the direction of Iván Horváth using computers. István Szerdahelyi wrote his summarizing dissertation on Hungarian beat-stressing versification.

The Verse Research Committee offers a possibility for impartial, open and fair polemic; a consensus in all questions is not regarded as necessary.

The Committee in its second term (from 1986 to 1990) devotes its activity mainly to general topics: characteristics and limits of Hungarian versification. Several seminars and publications are scheduled. Proceedings of previous meetings, on *vers libre* and modern Hungarian versification are in progress. For the members of the committee a stencilled series of bibliographies are available: hitherto three issues appeared. *A magyar verstani irodalom annotált bibliográfiája 1981–1982* [Annotated bibliography of Hungarian versification studies 1981–1982], edited by Dénes Kövendi et al., Budapest, 1984. 20. pp.: *A magyar verstani irodalom annotált bibliográfiája 1979–1980* [Annotated bibliography of Hungarian versification studies 1979–1980] edited by Dénes Kövendi et al., Budapest, 1985. 24. pp., and *A magyar verstani irodalom annotált bibliográfiája 1977–1978* [Annotated bibliography of Hungarian versification studies 1977–1978] edited by Dénes Kövendi et al., Budapest, 1986. 32 pp., respectively. Because of practical reasons the bibliographies run backwards, i.e. the next issue will cover the years prior to 1977 and so on.

We welcome all colleagues who take interest in our work and wish to cooperate with us. (Address: Kecskés, András – Budapest, MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, Ménesi út 11–13, H-1118, Hungary.)

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## TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF TEACHING OF FOLKLORE AT A HUNGARIAN UNIVERSITY

As we are all aware that the term *folklore* was coined by an Englishman in 1846, one might ask, how it is possible that we are celebrating the bicentennial of folklore education and research at a Hungarian University? A very brief answer is that even if the term is of later origin, the phenomenon itself derives from a more noble age. In a country – Hungary, as you might guess – with such rich cultural traditions the kind of jubilee we celebrate, and when we choose to celebrate it,<sup>1</sup> is a question of decision and devotion.

If we understand the term folklore to be equivalent with folk life, we can boast that the first printed books belonging to the topic date from more than two centuries ago in

Hungary. The erudite Lutheran scholar, Mátyás Bél (1684–1749) published his introduction to a general description of the past and present life in Hungary in 1723 (*Hungariae antiquae et novae Prodromus*), the first volumes of which appeared from 1735 on (*Notitia* . . .)\* His forerunner, to whom he owes much, was the Esztergom Archbishop, Miklós Oláh (1493–1568) who had already written his Latin work *Hungaria* in 1536. (It is no coincidence that this was published by Bél in 1735, as an important part of his *Adparatus ad historiam Hungariae*.) The Calvinist (later Roman Catholic) Priest, Ferenc Otrokocsi Foris in his book *Origines Hungaricae* (1693) deals also with problems of early Hungarian history, which belong today to the domain of ethnography and folklore. Although they were forerunners to later scientific research, and often connected with it in a direct way, they still were not included in the professors' body of a university in Hungary.

Among those Hungarian pre-folklorists a special mention should be made of the Piarist professor, an ardent writer, András Dugonics (1740–1818). He started his activity as professor of pure and applied mathematics at Nagyszombat, in 1774, a position he kept until 1808. He was three times Dean of the philosophical faculty (1779–80, 1792–93), and even *rector magnificus* of the university for one term (1787–88). His literary works are full of apt descriptions of Hungarian folk customs, parables, fables and proverbs. His two-volume publication of Hungarian proverbs and sayings (*Magyar példabeszédek és jeles mondások* – 1820) was published posthumously. His book on miracles at Radna (*Radnai történetek* – 1810) is also a classic of folk religion studies Hungary. Still we cannot name him as the first university professor of folklore in Hungary.

It was two centuries ago that Daniel Cornides (1732–1787) was appointed by the emperor Joseph II in 1784 to the professorship of “auxiliary historical studies” replacing the retired professor Károly Wagner. He was given a year of absence, which he spent in Germany in 1785, and in Pest he started in fact two hundred years ago his work, which also was connected with a librarian's position at the University library.

The oldest university in Hungary with an uninterrupted existence is the present Loránd Eötvös University in Budapest. Its Founding Charter was dated on May 12, 1635 by the archbishop of Esztergom, Cardinal Péter Pázmány, Jesuit, scholar, writer and a strong personality even from a distance of 350 years. All other universities in Hungary today are to a greater or lesser degree daughters or granddaughters of this *alma mater*. The most important cultural and research institutions in Hungary, such as e.g. the National Széchényi Library (1802), the actual National Museum (1802), the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (1825) etc. are by centuries younger than the university, which houses even today not only the teachers and the students, but also a world famous library, several research institutions, an archive, and a small collection of its own relics.<sup>2</sup>

The history of the university<sup>3</sup> parallels the history of higher education and research in Hungary. Its first phase in Nagyszombat (Tyrnau/Trnava) was ended by a charter of Queen Maria Theresa in Juli 1769, as a result of which the university came under her royal patronage. The next year, in September 1770 its new regulation, the *Norma Studiorum* was published. In 1777 the university moved from Nagyszombat to Buda, to the Royal

\*See *Hungarian studies* vol. 1, no. 2, 1985. pp. 191–212. (Editorial note.)

Palace at the castle hill. Because the next Habsburg king of Hungary, Emperor Joseph II transferred the Hungarian state offices from Pozsony/Pressburg/ to Buda, the university had to move in 1784 to the other side of the Danube, to Pest, to approximately the same place as its present main offices are situated. Emperor Joseph II also fostered religious tolerance toward protestants in the country, modernizing and at the same time Germanizing the cultural life of Hungary, including the university an atmosphere, which shifted towards a more practical and even a technical line.<sup>4</sup>

The history of a university chair of "auxiliary historical studies" at our university is in fact a well studied topic.<sup>5</sup> According to the 1770 *Norma Studiorum* of Queen Maria Theresa the Vienna university served as the model for the Hungarian royal university. From 1774 on a separate chair was established (apart of the chair of Rhetoric) and it was incorporated by István Katona, a noted Roman Catholic expert of medieval Hungarian history. In 1777 a general education act, known as the first *Ratio educationis* came into power,<sup>6</sup> which stressed the practical importance of historical studies too. This was the reason why yet another separate chair of "auxiliary" historical studies (i.e. diplomatics, heraldics, sphragistics etc.) was established. Its professorship was regularly connected with a custodian's place at the university library. Since history and the above mentioned subjects were not very far one from another, the professors could shift the main stress of their teaching and research according to their own special interests. The first full professor of numismatics and archaeology, from 1777, was István Schönvisner (1738–1818), who was at the same time also adjoint librarian of the university. In the same year (1777) an eminent Jesuit historian – later a good friend of Cornides – György Pray (1723–1801) became both director of the university library, and also professor of diplomatics at the university. Károly Wagner (1732–1790) was also appointed as professor of heraldics and sphragistics in 1777. Because of his poor health he retired in 1784, causing a reshuffling of several positions. Pray was appointed as his successor (until 1790), and so the chair of diplomatics became vacant. Cornides was accepted as a professor of diplomatics, and from the next year (1785) until his early death in 1787 he held this position. The successor of Cornides as professor of diplomatics was Márton Schwartner (1759–1823), who was a full professor of the university from 1788 until his death. One should further mention that as far as we know, the very first Protestant (Lutheran) professor at that definitely Catholic university was Cornides (and the second was his follower, Schwartner). According to some documents Cornides was a free mason too.<sup>7</sup>

With Schwartner we arrive at the age of liberal reforms in Hungary (1825–1848), with growing interest in Hungarian history, language and culture. The first chair devoted to Hungarian language and literature at the university was created on 3rd July 1802, and was held by the previous Piarist, a famous linguist, Miklós Révai (1749–1807). His follower, Ferenc Czinke (as professor of Hungarian from 1807 to 1829) was not an important scholar. When he retired, a curious idea was put forward by university circles, namely to reunite the Hungarian chair with the chair of diplomatics and heraldics. This latter, since the death of Schwartner (1823) was vacant too, or was occupied by temporary lecturers only. István Horváth (1784–1846), an ardent and fervent Hungarian patriot, and a good

but rather phantastic historian, held it from 1830 to 1837 as a subsidiary professor, and from 1837 to 1846 as a full professor. From 1830 Horvát also acted as a subsidiary professor of Hungarian, and on 1st February 1837 he was appointed as full professor of Hungarian. At the same time the chair was finally transferred to the Philological Faculty. Horvát died on 13th June 1846. During his last weeks his son, Árpád Horvát gave some of the lectures, and continued to do so later. In 1847 a *concursum* for a professorship was opened. The two most important candidates were Mihály Horváth (later Roman Catholic bishop, and minister of education in Kossuth's liberty war government, and an excellent historian) and Ferenc Toldy (1805–1875) literary historian, who in 1846 became director of the university library, but already from 1835 was the secretary of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. Toldy was a Hungarian of German origin (his family name was originally Schedel), a many sided scholar and of course a firm Hungarian patriot. He had studied medicine in Berlin, to become a *med. dr. et artis oculist. magister*, and in 1833 applied to be *extraordinarius docens* of macrobiotics and diaetetics at the university in Pest. His inauguration was made on 5th April 1834. Being a classic of folk medicine studies, it is surprising that he was neglected by most of the later ethnomedicine activists in Hungary.<sup>8</sup> However the *concursum* for a Hungarian chair in 1847 was undecided. Then the liberty war (1848–49) broke out, which created very different circumstances for the university as a whole.

The famous day of the Hungarian revolution in 1848, the 15th March, was not only greeted but even created by university students in Pest. As early as two days later (17th March) the first reform suggestions for the university were made. During the summer the minister of religious and educational affairs in the Batthyány government, baron József Eötvös asked for more precise reform suggestions. A project for a chair of Hungarian literary history was made by Ferenc Toldy.

In the meantime Árpád Horvát and other subsidiary professors became full professors, and the poet János Garay (1812–1853), who was an employee of the university library, became on 26 April 1848 the professor of Hungarian language and literature. War events prevented regular education, and after the suppression of the 1848 Hungarian revolution the privileges of the university were suspended. In 1850 German became the official language of the university. Garay was dismissed from the university on 27th December 1849. Árpád Horvát, professor of diplomatics was able to save his position only after long and troublesome hearings. A key figure of the new, absolutarian and Austrophil era was the Piarist János Reisinger (1802–1868), unimportant as a scholar. He became professor of history and numismatics together with archaeology in 1840. The revolutionary government had pensioned him off in June 1848. But with the victory of Austria, in the late summer of 1849 he came back, and from 1850 to 1860 he was appointed (not elected!) Dean of the philological faculty.

Already in 1848 the institution of private lecturers (equal to German university position of a *Privatdozent*) has been suggested. Because it was a German way of teaching, the new regime kept it alive. By November 1850 four people had applied for *venia legendi* as private lecturers: among others Pál Hunfalvy (1810–1891) and Ferenc Toldy. Hunfalvy, one of the founding fathers of Finno-Ugric studies and ethnography in Hungary,

was rejected, because he had been a deputy to Kossuth's revolutionary assembly in 1848–49. Toldy, then director of the University library, whose German was impeccable, was granted the right to teach at the university as *privatus docens*. His immediate topics were aesthetics and literary history, and he in fact has had his lectures for some years. The appointment was the more important, since the teaching of Hungarian subjects at the university during the years after the defeat of the Revolution (1849) was very poor. Following Garay a certain József Machnik acted as *supplens* for professor of Hungarian. In 1857 he became *professor publicus* (but neither "ordinarius" nor even "extraordinarius"), a post he held until 1861. He was absolutely unknown as a scholar and more against, than for, the Hungarians. Hungarian history ceased to be a subject of university lectures in the autumn semester of 1851/52 university year.

By the 1860 "October Diploma" the political absolutarianism came to an end in the country, and again a free and Hungarian university arose. After a long period of preparations partly caused by personal circumstances (illness, retirement etc.) in 1866 a chair for Hungarian history was reconstituted. On 26th April 1861 Ferenc Toldy finally got his full professorship<sup>9</sup> in Hungarian Literature and language. Since at this time there was no full professor of Hungarian history at the university, he offered to deliver lectures on Hungarian history also, with special emphasis on cultural history. From the academic year 1862/63 he was in fact engaged in such lectures.

Ferenc Kiss occupied the chair of archaeology from 1849 until his death in 1859, after which time it was vacant. In 1863 the excellent scholar Flóris Rómer (1815–1889) originally a Benedictine priest became *Privatdozent*, then in 1866 he became extraordinary professor and from 1868 full professor of the subject. In 1877, because of his other commitments, he resigned. His successor for about 10 years was an expert on provincial Roman archaeology, Károly Torma. Another important scholar of archaeology, József Hampel held the chair from 1891 to 1913. Both he and his follower, Bálint Kuzsinszky (from 1914) also diligently worked on topics of Hungarian archaeology.<sup>10</sup>

The years after 1867 (a period of political reconciliation with Austria) and before World War I were very productive for Hungarian cultural life, including the university. From 1870 János Hunfalvy (1820–1888) the younger brother of the Finno-Ugrist Pál Hunfalvy, mentioned above, became professor of the newly created chair of general and comparative geography. In his opinion geo-graphy and ethno-graphy were sister sciences. His lectures often (as e.g. 1873, 1878, 1879) were labeled as "ethnography". The same tradition was kept alive by later geographers, e.g. by Géza Czirbusz (1853–1920), who from 1910 was full professor of geography, and from 1913 the chairman of the institute of geography at the university. His students include later ethnographers and folklorists. In 1872, following earlier attempts a chair of Altaic comparative philology (in fact for Finno-Ugric linguistics) was created. Its first professor was József Budenz (1836–1892). He also continued the already established tradition in Hungarian studies of Finno-Ugric cultures of not separating language from folklore or from early history and anthropology.<sup>11</sup>

On 8th September 1881 Aurél Török (previously professor of biology at the medical faculty of university in Kolozsvár) was appointed full professor of anthropology

(*embertan*) in Budapest, a post he held until his death (2nd September 1912). His lectures from the autumn term in 1882/83 until autumn term in 1902/03 were entitled "Ethnography of Asia", "Ethnography of the Primitive peoples", or simply "General Ethnography" (*általános néprajz*). Its topic is clear from a more precise description "*Néprajz (ethnographia) embertani alapon*" (Anthropology /ethnography/ based upon physical anthropology). Unfortunately, after his death at the Philosophical Faculty anthropology was never more an accepted subject, and at the Faculty of Sciences archaeology became only considerably later an independent university chair.

After Ferenc Toldy's death (10 December 1875) the faculty divided the "Hungarian" chair, into two bodies, viz. history of Hungarian literature and Hungarian linguistics. Pál Gyulai (1826–1909), a leading critic and a first class scholar in literary history became full professor of literature in the summer of 1876, but the chair for Hungarian linguistics took time to fill. After various subsidiary lecturers, Zsigmond Simonyi (1853–1919) became *Privatdozent*, in 1877, lecturer in 1878, extraordinary professor in 1884, and finally in 1885 the first full professor of Hungarian linguistics at the university. His works include dialect studies, and under this heading folk literature and genre research too. The other professor of Hungarian literature Zsolt Beöthy (1848–1922) from 1896 till 1903 regularly delivered lectures on various genres of Hungarian folklore.<sup>13</sup>

At this prosperous era there was hardly a new professor at the faculty of philosophy, who did not work for a while on topics connected with folklore. In 1867 the faculty suggested that the chair of aesthetics after many years of vacancy should be filled by Ágost Greguss (1825–1882), who wrote a famous book on ballads.<sup>14</sup> He started his lectures in spring 1870. In 1872, one of the oldest university chairs of art history in Europe was created. As first professor Imre Henszlmann (1813–1888)<sup>15</sup> started his career with studies of folk tales as early as 1846. In 1881 the chair of history, previously one chair was divided into an ancient and a modern history professorship. The above mentioned archaeologist, József Hampel was in charge of the first for the ten years between 1881 and 1891. Later a third historical chair (for mediaeval history) was also created. The world famous Orientalist, Ignác Goldziher (1850–1921) worked at the chair of Semitic philology as *Privatdozent* from 1872, from 1894 as honorary full professor, and finally from 1905 as acting full professor. The world's first university chair of Turkish philology has a curious history. Already in 1865 count Herman Zichy had offered a special chair of Eastern languages to Ármin Vámbéry (1832–1913) a spectacular scholar of Turkic languages, who was of the opinion that Hungarians were not of Finno-Ugric origin. At that time he was only given the title "public teacher", but from 1868 he was extraordinary professor, and from 1870 full professor. He retired in 1905. He and his followers were also engaged in ethnologic and folklore researches.<sup>16</sup>

When after a quarter of a century of services Pál Gyulai asked in 1902 for retirement, the chair of Hungarian literature after some debate was divided into two professorships. Frigyes Riedl, who among other topics studied the historical ballads of Hungary, was appointed as one of them (and he served as university professor of new Hungarian literature until 1921) at the very end of 1904. His elected colleague, Károly Széchy died within about a year. Finally, in February 1908, Lajos Katona (1862–1910) was

appointed to the chair. He had lectures on folklore within the framework of literature already in 1903 as extraordinary lecturer. He was more a comparative folklorist, than anything else. Katona died in 1910,<sup>17</sup> and after him the professors of old Hungarian literature in fact did not pay too much direct attention to folklore. A notable exception was János Horváth (1878–1961), professor between 1923 and 1948, who devoted thorough study to the history of Hungarian folklore collections and their impetus on Hungarian national literature.

The first world war, then the poverty (and rigid traditionalism) thereafter of the university did not foster the teaching of folklore at the university. Only from the 20s were there projects for new, "national" university institutions, among them one for ethnography and folklore, and another for musicology, designed to Zoltán Kodály. After very many years of disputes 18th July 1934 István Györffy, an ethnographer was appointed as full professor of ethnography (including also other fields of research, such as folklore too).<sup>18</sup> The next year Elemér Schwartz, who in fact was directing already an interesting German ethnography and folklore program, was nominated for a chair of German linguistics. In 1935 the chairs at the faculty were turned into "institutes", a denomination which we keep even today (*Néprajzi Intézet*). There are several documents and summaries available about the last 50 years of ethnography and folklore at the university, the anniversaries of which were duly celebrated. That is why I do not want to tell this last chapter of the story in detail.<sup>19</sup>

One more remark might still be needed here. In 1922 at the university of Budapest, Sándor Solymossy (1864–1945) became a *Privatdozent* of ethnology, and also gave lectures on folklore. He was a folklorist, who gained a full professorship in folklore at Szeged in 1929.<sup>20</sup> It is well known that he was the teacher of Gyula Ortutay, who after World War II was professor of folklore (and head of the *Néprajzi Intézet*) at Budapest university for many years.

It was professor István Györffy, a progressive teacher with powerful friends in political life (among others the prime minister Count Pál Teleki), who built up the system of education of ethnography at the university. He used to invite assistant lecturers, mostly also experts of material folk culture, and rural sociology. Folklore was irregularly taught at his time in the university but the topic was well represented among Ph. D. theses submitted to him. After his sudden death (3rd October 1939), in fact two professorships were opened in ethnography in Hungary, as for some years the northeastern half of Transylvania was again a part of Hungary. From 1940 Károly Viski (1882–1945) was the head of the newly founded chair of ethnography at Kolozsvár university. In 1941 he was invited back to Budapest (and his chair in Kolozsvár was filled later by Professor Béla Gunda (1911–)). Viski paid more attention to some kinds of folklore, especially of folk art than Györffy, and during his chairmanship folk music, folk dance and folk custom research were also a part of the university curriculum. His death after the hardships of the Second World War (September 4, 1945) marked the end of the first phase in the history of the institution of ethnography at the university in Budapest.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps it should be mentioned here that from the end of the thirties a long list of important scholars gained the *Privatdozent* status at Szeged university, both in ethno-

graphy and folklore. All the more recent full professors, like Ortutay, Tálasi and Gunda took that degree. Among them there was also Professor Sándor Bálint (1904–1980), who between 1947 and 1964 lead the university chair of Szeged. He was a specialist in Hungarian folk religion, and also wrote monographs on ethnography. In recent years Imre Ferenczi (1931–), a folklorist has been the chairman of the Szeged chair. As I mentioned above, Béla Gunda, the many-sided ethnographer, who worked on folklore topics too, was from 1943 on the chairman of Kolozsvár university institute of ethnography. After World War II some professors and institutions from Kolozsvár were shifted back to Hungary, and in 1949 he was appointed as professor of ethnography at Debrecen university, a post he held until his retirement in 1979, when his former student, Zoltán Ujváry (1932–) got the chairmanship. Ujváry is a folklorist, specialized in folk customs and drama. As far as its researches, theses, archives, library etc. are concerned Debrecen university institute of ethnography (*Néprajzi Intézet* at *Lajos Kossuth Tudományegyetem*) is engaged both in ethnography and folklore, concentrated on the Carpathian area. Thus during the last half a century at the other Hungarian universities (Szeged, Debrecen and for a time in Kolozsvár too) folklore and ethnography has always been well represented, often by shifting the chairmanship between the two lines. Students and assistants have always been engaged in work in both fields.

In Budapest, after Viski's death it was the prominent folklorist, Gyula Ortutay (1910–1978), who took over the chair. In 1950 and 1951 the university institute was reorganized, two chairs were separated. Ortutay was made head of the folklore department (*Folklore Tanszék*) and at the same time chairman of the whole institute (*Néprajzi Intézet*), and István Tálasi (1910–1982) was appointed as professor of the newly founded material ethnography department (*Tárgyi Néprajzi Tanszék*). This is the system we have also today. In spite of the existence of two chairs, the teaching subject is a joint one, the students are the same, the library is a joint one, thus the institute is in fact a close unit. In 1966 a Research Group of Ethnography at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (*A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Néprajzi Kutató Csoportja*) was created, first as a separate staff at the Folklore Chair, then as an independent unit which moved away from the university buildings. Professor Ortutay, director of that Research Group from the beginning until his death had to choose between the two chairmanships. He gave up his university professor's salary, although he still gave some of his university lectures and from 1972 Tekla Dömötör (1914–1987) became chairperson of the university folklore chair. Her major research areas were folk theatre, folk customs, legends and folk beliefs. She retired in 1984, but already since 1979 Vilmos Voigt (1940–) has been the chairman of the Folklore Chair in Budapest. For further information we should add that Professor Tálasi retired in 1980, and then Jenő Barabás (1920–) became the head of the Material Ethnography Department. His speciality is ethnographic atlas, habitat and dwelling. A former student to Béla Gunda in Debrecen, Attila Paládi-Kovács (1940–) headed the department for one year since September 1985 (and again from the summer 1988).

It would be an interesting task to describe the detailed history of ethnology at Hungarian universities. In fact eminent scholars in various institutions have taught



ethnography. For more than one hundred years, physical anthropology was very close to ethnography in Hungary. After the World War II Lajos Bartucz (1885–1966) was professor of physical anthropology in the faculty of sciences at the university (1959–1965), and from 1935 to 1944 he was director-in-chief of the Hungarian Ethnographic Museum too.<sup>22</sup> However, that para-history of folklore teaching at Hungarian universities should be written in a separate essay.

It would be again the task of a separate paper to describe in detail the folklore education during the past two centuries at our university. In a nutshell we could state that from Cornides until about the revolution in 1848/49 it were mostly the professors of Hungarian history (and of auxiliary historical studies) who concentrated on questions of folklore and folklife. Then gradually professors of Hungarian literature paid more and more attention to old Hungarian genres, and even directly to folklore. Already in one of his very first books (*Handbuch der ungarischen Poesie* – 1827–28) Ferenc Toldy incorporated folk songs. His history or anthology books of Hungarian literature deal with folklore, too. Among other things he worked on folk tales, legends, mystery plays and other genres. Pál Gyulai was one of the foremost folk ballad, folk tale and folk drama scholars in his time. From 1872, i.e. prior to his appointment as university professor, he was the initiator and co-editor of the Hungarian folk poetry collection (*Magyar Népköltési Gyűjtemény*). In his lectures from the academic year 1882 he has often mentioned folklore topics, too. Thanks to some lucky coincidence, we were able to re-publish some years ago his 1888–89 lectures on Hungarian folk poetry (on song, tale and legend: *A magyar népköltészetéről. Dal. Mese. Monda.*)<sup>23</sup>

Another important feature at our university has been that not only Hungarian philologists, but also professors of Finno-Ugric, Turkic, Semitic languages, Classical Philology, Oriental Studies etc. were outstanding folklorists, publishing much, and directing many students toward folklore themes. Comparative or general folklore research, as one prefers to call it, has been and is extraordinarily well represented at our faculty of philosophy. A tendency dear to us, is that of establishing high standards, requiring noble ambitions, ensuring also a firm future to our discipline.<sup>24</sup>

#### Notes

1. The following paper was delivered on 15th November, 1985 at an international meeting *Bicentennarium Cornidis*, organized by the Department of Folklore at Loránd Eötvös University, which took place at the Council Room of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. A small exhibition, presenting the most important documents related to Professor Daniel Cornides kept in the Archives of the Hungarian Lutheran Church – in fact previously unknown even to specialists – was arranged for the participants of the meeting. We thank for the kind help of the Hungarian Lutheran Church, and especially to dr. Béla Vető, Director of the Archives of the Hungarian Lutheran Church. The meeting was chaired and greeted by Professor Péter Hajdú, Chairman of the Language and Literature Division of The Hungarian Academy of Sciences.
2. See: Papp, József: *Hagyományok és tárgyi emlékek az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetemen*. Budapest, 1982. (See our review in *Hungarian Studies* vol. 1, no. 2 |1985| 319)
3. The most important summaries, referring to earlier or similar publications: Szentpétery, Imre: A

- Bölcsészettudományi Kar története 1635–1935.* Budapest, Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1935. (A Királyi Magyar Pázmány Péter Tudományegyetem története: IV. kötet) – Sinkovics, István szerk.: *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Története 1635–1985.* Budapest, 1985. – Szögi, László: *A Short History of Loránd Eötvös University of Budapest. 1635–1985.* Budapest, 1985.
4. See: Tóth, András–Ladányi, Andor szerk.: *Dokumentumok a magyarországi felsőoktatás történetéből 1760–1790.* Budapest, 1981. (Felsőoktatástörténeti Kiadványok: 7.)
  5. See: Muszka, Erzsébet: *A történelem és a történeti segédtudományok oktatása egyetemünkön 1770–1848.* Budapest, 1974. (Fejezetek az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem történetéből: 1)
  6. See: *Ratio Educationis. Az 1777-i és az 1806-i kiadás magyar nyelvű fordítása.* Szerk.: Mészáros, István. Budapest, 1981.
  7. On Cornides the major bibliographic references have been included into the general reference works of Hungarian philology, as e.g.: Szinnyei, József: *Magyar trók élete és munkái.* Vol. II., Budapest, 1893, 113–115. – Kókay, György: *A magyar irodalomtörténet bibliográfiája 1772–1849.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1975. p. 369. (A magyar irodalomtörténet bibliográfiája: 2.) – The first German biography of Cornides was published in: *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* . . . von J. S. Ersch und J. G. Gruber, Neunzehnter Theil, Leipzig, Johann Friedrich Gleditsch, 1829. S. 327–329, written by G. K. Romy. His *Commentatio de Religione veterum Hungarorum* was published by Christianus Engel (Viennae, 1791), a not complete (and philologically not correct) Hungarian translation was published in: Diószegi, Vilmos szerk.: *Az ősi magyar hitvilág.* Budapest, Gondolat, 1971. pp. 13–32, (second edition, 1978). General publications on university history, mentioned elsewhere in this paper, regularly refer to Cornides too.
  8. See e.g. Hoppál, Mihály–Törő, László: *Népi gyógyítás Magyarországon – Ethnomedicine in Hungary.* Budapest, 1975. (Orvostörténeti Közlemények – Communicationes de historia Artis Medicinae – Supplementum 7–8.)
  9. Toldy's activity was not yet studied by Hungarian folklorists. See however: Voigt Vilmos: „A magyar népmesekutatók a múlt század első felében”. In: Kriza, Ildikó szerk.: *Kriza János és a kortársi eszméradlatok. Tudománytörténeti tanulmányok a 19. századi folklorisztikáról.* Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1982. pp. 143–147.
  10. On history of university teaching of archaeology in Hungary see Professor János Banner's paper (manuscript in the library of the Chair of Archaeology at Loránd Eötvös University). A shorter publication: Oroszlán, Zoltán: „Egyetemünk Régészeti Tanszékeinek kialakulása és története”. In: *Dissertationes Archaeologicae* 8 (1966) 55–72.
  11. See: „Vorträge der Festtagung anlässlich des hundertjährigen Jubiläums der Begründung des Lehrstuhls für finnisch-ungarische Sprachwissenschaft an der Loránd-Eötvös Universität. In: *Annales Universitatis Scientiarum Budapestinensis de Rolando Eötvös Nominatae – Sectio Linguistica* – tomus V (1974) 3–152.
  12. See: *Dissertationes Ethnographicae* 5 (1985) 70–72.
  13. See the perhaps not full list of his lectures In: *Dissertationes Ethnographicae – Tanulmányok az anyagi kultúra köréből* 5 (1985) 71–72.
  14. Greguss, Ágost: *A balladáról.* Pest, 1865, (and in later editions too).
  15. On Henszmann's folkloristic activity see my short summary in: Dömötör, Tekla–Katona, Imre–Voigt, Vilmos: *Folklorisztikai tudománytörténet. Szöveggyűjtemény.* I. (1840–1900). Budapest, 1978. 246–248.
  16. The only summary of the Oriental studies at the university: Czeglédy, Károly: „Orientalisztika”. In: Sinkovics, István szerk.: *Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem története. 1945–1970.* Budapest, 1972. 554–569. (With further bibliography.)
  17. The latest (but neither full nor in folklore research experienced) publication of some of his papers: Katona, Lajos: *Folklor-kalendárium.* Szerk.: Reisinger, János. Budapest, 1982. (A magyar néprajz klasszikusai.) On his university career see my chapter in Dömötör–Katona–Voigt *op. cit.* 15–21.
  18. On the prehistory and origin of the university institute, *Néprajzi Intézet* see my short paper: “A

- tudósnevelés központi szerve. Fél évszázados a néprajzi oktatás egyetemünkön". In: *Egyetemi Lapok* XXII. No. 10. (9 June 1980), p. 2.
19. A short summary of the history of Material Culture Chair was made by István Tálasi, of Folklore Chair by Tekla Dömötör in a jubilee volume edited by Sinkovics (mentioned above in note 16. pp. 570–574, and 575–577). The Chair of Material Culture celebrated its 50th anniversary by a meeting on 8th June 1984, the material of which was published in a special issue of its irregular publication: *Dissertationes Ethnographicae* 5 (1985). In this volume József Papp gave a short history of the Material Culture Chair, with references to earlier data: "A néprajzoktatás története a budapesti Tudományegyetemen" (pp. 49–68). Very important material is included in the annexes to his paper (pp. 69–97, and 38 facsimili without pagination), mostly from the years 1926–1951. A not full list of university lectures about folklore and folklife from 1864 on are of great importance, because some of the data presented here were previously unknown. Dr. Papp could use hitherto unpublished documents from the University Archives (*Az Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára*). Still his data are not always explained or discussed. The whole topic should be treated in a more exhaustive manner.
  20. On Solymosy's Budapest university activity see my short chapter in the second collection of papers of folklore research, similar to the book mentioned in note 15 (in press).
  21. On Györffy and Viski see the special number of the journal *Ethnographia*, vol. LXXXV (1974) no. 1. The latest (centennial) meeting about Györffy was published in the same journal *Ethnographia* Vol. XCV (1984) No. 4.
  22. See: Bartucz, Lajos: *A magyar ember. A magyarság antropológiája*. Budapest, 1938. (In: Magyar föld magyar faj – vol. IV.)
  23. Edited and introduced (pp. 167–169) by Imre Katona, in the publication mentioned in note 15 (pp. 171–237).
  24. In my short paper I did not want to be exhaustive. Works quoted above, generally refer to further literature.

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Vilmos Voigt



## REVIEWS

### Ein neues etymologisches Wörterbuch der uralischen Sprachen

Károly Rédei: Uralisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Unter Mitarbeit von Marianne Bakró-Nagy, Sándor Csúcs, István Erdélyi†, László Honti, Éva Korenchy†, Éva K. Sal und Edit Vértes. Band I. Uralische und finnisch-ugrische Schicht, Budapest, 1986-1988. Akadémiai Kiadó, XLVIII + 593 S.

Die obige Publikation ist der Anfang zu einer großen und wichtigen sprachwissenschaftlichen Unternehmung, und zwar zu einem uralischen etymologischen Wörterbuch (in weiteren UEW). Die Konturen dieser Unternehmung sind bereits im ersten Heft (Budapest, 1986. XLVIII + 84 S.) klar zu sehen.\* Dieses Heft enthält das Vorwort, mehrere einleitende Kapitel sowie die Etymologie der Wörter, deren Ursprung vom Herausgeber bis zur uralischen bzw. finnisch-ungarischen Zeit zurückgeführt wird. Außerdem berichtet das Vorwort über so wichtige Fragen wie die Zielsetzung und die Quellen des UEW, die Art und Weise der Lautbezeichnung, den Kreis der Etymologien, mit denen sich das UEW befaßt, über die Gliederung des etymologischen Stoffes und die Prinzipien, nach denen die Etymologie der einzelnen Wörter ausgearbeitet ist bzw. die Wortartikel angeordnet sind. Darauf folgt eine kurze Geschichte der Arbeit am Wörterbuch. Im Vorwort werden auch die etymologischen Wörterbücher genannt, die den Wortbestand der uralischen Sprachen vor dem UEW behandelt haben, und es wird erklärt, warum sie nicht ausreichen, über den gesamten Wortschatz der finnisch-ungarischen bzw. uralischen Grundsprache zu informieren. Ein Kapitel wie "Frühere Arbeiten", welches in der ersten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts in Monographien üblich war, gibt es natürlich nicht. Es ist aber nicht uninteressant zu untersuchen, wie sich das UEW zu den früher erschienenen etymologischen Wörterbüchern verhält.\*

1. Von etymologischen Wörterbüchern, die sich dasselbe Ziel wie UEW gesetzt haben, ist früher nur ein einziges erschienen, und zwar *Fenno-Ugric Vocabulary* von Björn Collinder (1. Auflage: Stockholm 1955, 2. Auflage: Hamburg 1977). Rédei stellt mit Recht fest, daß dieses als Universitätslehrbuch in erster Linie didaktischen Zwecken dient und deshalb den wissenschaftlichen Anforderungen nicht restlos Genüge tun kann. Auch enthält es nicht den vollständigen gemeinsamen Wortschatz der finnisch-ungarischen bzw. uralischen Sprachen, einige Schichten (wie die ungarischen, finnisch-permischen und finnisch-"wolgaischen" Etymologien) wurden in ihm überhaupt nicht behandelt. Unter diesen Umständen bleiben nur drei neue etymologische Wörterbücher, deren Verhältnis zu UEW ins Auge gefaßt werden soll. Hier seien sie in der Reihenfolge ihres Erscheinens erwähnt.

Als Ganzes ist das etymologische Wörterbuch des Syrjänischen das älteste von ihnen Лыткин, В. И.—Гуляев, Е. С.: *Краткий этимологический словарь коми языка*. Москва, 1961. (Im weiteren: ESK). In dieses Wörterbuch sind nur jene uralischen Wörter aufgenommen worden, die Entsprechungen im Syrjänischen haben. Ähnlich steht es mit dem etymologischen Wörterbuch des Finnischen (*Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*, Helsinki 1955-1978. Im weiteren: SKES); darin werden nur jene uralischen Wörter behandelt, die Entsprechungen im Finnischen haben. Auch das etymologische Wörterbuch *A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei* (Finnisch-ugrische Elemente des

\*Our review, written in 1986, deals only with the first issue of the Dictionary. (Ed. note.)

ungarischen Wortschatzes) im weiteren: MSzFgrE\* enthält natürlich nur die Etymologien solcher ungarischen Wörter, die in den finnisch-ugrischen bzw. uralischen Sprachen mit etymologischen Entsprechungen vertreten sind. Die Etymologien uralischer Wörter im Wörterbuch *A magyar nyelv történeti-etimológiai szótára* (Historisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch der ungarischen Sprache. – Im Weiteren: TESz\*\*) beruhen im wesentlichen auf den entsprechenden Wortartikeln in MSzFgr E.

Wenn man jetzt die Frage stellen wollte, welches von diesen drei etymologischen Wörterbüchern für das UEW am besten genutzt werden konnte, könnte man keine eindeutige Antwort geben. Es ist offensichtlich, daß im Finnischen und im Syrjänischen bedeutend mehr Wörter uralischen (finnisch-ugrischen) Ursprungs erhalten sind als im Ungarischen. Wenn man also die bloße Zahlenmäßigkeit berücksichtigt, müßte man in dieser Hinsicht das Wörterbuch des Syrjänischen und des Finnischen bevorzugen. Eine andere Antwort muß aber gegeben werden, wenn auch andere Gesichtspunkte berücksichtigt werden. Es leuchtet ein, daß der Charakter eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs nicht allein durch die Zahl der in ihm behandelten Etymologien bestimmt wird. Einige der Besonderheiten des UEW sollen im folgenden kurz behandelt werden.

2. Die Etymologien sind nach den rekonstruierten Grundformen alphabetisch geordnet. Der Überzeugung des Herausgebers nach ist nämlich die lautgeschichtliche Erforschung der uralischen Sprachen bereits so weit fortgeschritten, daß sich die grundsprachliche Form der etymologisch zusammengehörenden Wörter der verwandten Sprachen mit größerer oder wenig großer Wahrscheinlichkeit erschliessen läßt. Dieser Umstand ermöglicht die Anordnung der Etymologien nach rekonstruierten Grundformen. Der Herausgeber ist sich im klaren darüber, daß dieses Verfahren nur in dem Fall gebilligt werden kann, wenn er angibt, wie das rekonstruierte phonologische System der uralischen bzw. finnisch-ugrischen Grundsprache seiner Ansicht nach aussieht. Deshalb unterläßt er es nicht, dieses phonologische System gleich im Vorwort (S. IX–X) darzustellen.

Wenn wir das phonologische System der rekonstruierten Konsonanten (S. IX–X) näher betrachten, finden wir nur wenig Auffallendes. Bedenken erweckt nur die Rekonstruktion eines palatovelaren Spiranten  $\gamma$ . Die Annahme dieses Spiranten beruht wohl auf Etymologien wie fi. *juoda* ~ lp. *jukkât* 'trinken' usw., wo sich also im Finnischen dem lappischen *k* gegenüber ein Schwund zeigt. Die unregelmäßige finnische Vertretung nach langem Vokal läßt sich aber in ursprünglichen *e*-Stämmen auch ohne die Annahme eines fgr.\* $\gamma$  gut erklären, vgl. E. Itkonen: "Beiträge zur Geschichte der einsilbigen Wortstämme im Finnischen", *Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen* 1949 (Bd. XXX) 3–14 und 1969 (Bd. XXXVII), in seiner Rezension: "Zwei Lehrbücher der Geschichte des Ungarischen" 393. – Über das Vorhandensein der in der Literatur viel diskutierten Quantitätskorrelation der Verschlusslaute äußert sich der Herausgeber vorsichtig: es wird kategorisch weder verneint noch bejaht. – Mit verständlicher Vorsicht verhält sich der Herausgeber auch in der Frage des Vokalismus der fgr. bzw. uralischen Grundsprache: "Über den Vokalismus der ersten Silbe gibt es in der uralischen (finnisch-ugrischen) Sprachwissenschaft noch keine allgemein akzeptierte Auffassung" (S. X). Wahrscheinlicher nennt der Herausgeber das Vokalsystem a), welches – wenigstens in seinen Hauptzügen – von Steinitz und seinen Anhängern angenommen wird. Das Vokalsystem, das vom Herausgeber unter b) dargestellt wird, ist mit dem Namen Erkki Itkonens verknüpft. Bei den rekonstruierten Grundformen steht an erster Stelle die nach der Meinung des Herausgebers wahrscheinlichere Grundform. Weshalb der Herausgeber das Vokalsystem a) für wahrscheinlicher hält als das Vokalsystem b), wird in UEW nicht ausgeführt. Es muß aber zugegeben werden, daß einige kurze Bemerkungen im Vorwort eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs die vorliegende Frage nicht hätten entscheiden können.

Nach dem Grad ihrer Wahrscheinlichkeit werden sichere und unsichere Etymologien unterschieden; die unwahrscheinlichen Etymologien werden erwähnt, aber natürlich abgelehnt. Bei der Entscheidung

\**A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei. Etimológiai szótár.* Főszerkesztő: Lakó, György. Szerkesztő: Rédei, Károly. I–III. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967–1971–1978. – A. Jászó, Anna: *Szótármutató a magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei című etimológiai szótár I–III. kötetéhez.* Ebenda, 1981.

\*\*Bd. I–IV. Főszerkesztő: Benkő, Loránd. Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1967–1970–1976–1984.

des Wahrscheinlichkeitsgrades der Etymologien wird den Bedeutungen der miteinander in etymologischen Zusammenhang gebrachten Wörter gebührende Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet.

3. Was die Art und Weise der Anführung der sprachlichen Belege anbelangt, wird bei den finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen mit langer Schrifttradition (Finnisch, Estnisch, Ungarisch) die moderne Orthographie benutzt, die Belege aus den anderen Sprachen werden aber – mit gewissen Ausnahmen – phonematisch transkribiert. Zur im UEW gebrauchten phonematischen Transkription wird auf das Werk *Zur Vereinfachung der FU-Transkription (Castrenianumin toimittelta 7.* – Helsinki, 1973) verwiesen. Die in diesem Werk publizierte phonematische Transkription der ostjakischen Mundarten wurde von János Gulya ausgearbeitet. Gegen diese Transkriptionsweise erhebt Edit Vértes z. B. in ihrer Untersuchung "Einwände gegen die »Vereinfachung der FU-Transkription« vom ostjakischen Standpunkt" (*Journal de la Société Finno-Ougrienne* 76 (1980) 83–98) mehrere Einwände, die man nicht einfach stillschweigend übergehen darf. Auch Rédei publiziert im UEW (S. XXIII) "Modifizierungen und Ergänzungen zur phonematischen Transkription" des Ostjakischen. Man würde in diesem Kapitel gern darüber lesen, ob Rédei die kritischen Bemerkungen von Vértes in der genannten Untersuchung und darüber hinaus in den Schriften "Phonetische und phonematische Transkription im Ostjakischen" (*Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 50 (1978) 149–54), und "Zur Phonetik der nördlicheren westostjakischen Mundarten" (*Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* XXXIII (1983) 123–165) von derselben Verfasserin berücksichtigt hat oder nicht, und wenn nicht, aus welchem Grunde. Eine "phonematische" Transkription, die über die Lautform der Wörter keine richtige Aufklärung gibt, kann nämlich der Lautforschung mehr schaden als nutzen.

Beachtung verdient auch das Prinzip, nach dem Rédei im UEW alte Formen aus der ungarischen Schriftsprache entweder anführt oder nicht. Er schreibt: "Finnische, estnische und ungarische sprachgeschichtliche Formen. . . werden nur dann angegeben, wenn sie zur etymologischen Beweisführung nötig sind" (S. XXI). Meines Erachtens ist dies das allein richtige Prinzip bei einem etymologischen Wörterbuch, das kein sprachgeschichtliches Wörterbuch sein will. Ganz sinnlos war also das Vorgehen der Leitung des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft (*Nyelvtudományi Intézet* in Budapest), als der Herausgeber des MSzFgrE verpflichtet wurde, nach jedem ungarischen Stichwort ohne Ausnahme auch die sog. "älteste" sprachgeschichtliche Form anzugeben (vgl. MSzFgrE Bd. I. S. 8). Der Zweck dieser Anordnung war nur, dieses Wörterbuch von einem anderen abhängig zu machen und dadurch das planmäßige Erscheinen des MSzFgrE zu verhindern.

Des weiteren ist noch zu bemerken, daß das UEW nicht nur die finnisch-ugrischen und samojeischen Fortsetzungen der rekonstruierten Grundformen angibt, sondern kurz auch auf weitere, in der Literatur behandelte (jukagirische, altaische, indoeuropäische) Beziehungen verweist. Es folgt also in dieser Hinsicht demselben Prinzip, das auch MSzFgrE zu Grunde gelegt wurde.

Zum Schluß soll noch erwähnt werden, daß UEW am Ende eines jeden Lemmas Literatur über die betreffende Etymologie anführt.

4. Die erste Lieferung des UEW enthält (nach meiner nicht kontrollierten Rechnung) 150 Lemmata. Sie wurde in der Finnisch-Ugrischen (Uralischen) Abteilung des obenerwähnten Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Budapest zusammengestellt. Die Vorbereitungen zum UEW sollen laut Vorwort des Herausgebers in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahres 1966 begonnen worden sein, also in demselben Jahre, als die Ausarbeitung der endgültigen Form der Wortartikel für den ersten Band des MSzFgrE abgeschlossen wurde. Wann begann aber die Materialsammlung, d.h. das Exzerpieren der etymologischen Literatur? Es ist wohl keine nebensächliche Frage, war doch das Exzerpieren der riesig großen und vielsprachigen etymologischen Literatur keine einfache und kurzfristige Arbeit. Dem Vorwort nach (S. XII) wurde die Materialsammlung den Zielsetzungen des UEW entsprechend erst im Jahre 1969 auf sämtliche uralischen Sprachen erweitert. Dies ist wohl so zu verstehen, daß das Exzerpieren jener Etymologien, die kein ungarisches Glied haben, erst seit dieser Zeit vorgenommen wurde. Diese Behauptung steht aber im Widerspruch zu dem Bericht Péter Hajdús über die Sammeltätigkeit, die im Rahmen der Vorarbeiten zu MSzFgrE vorgenommen wurde ("A magyar szókészlet finnugor elemei című termunka", *A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Nyelv- és irodalomtudományi Osztályának Közleményei* IV(1953) 511-514). Hajdú berichtet

nämlich darüber, daß im Rahmen der genannten Arbeiten bereits bis zur Mitte des Jahres 1953 ungefähr 17.200 Zettel, d.h. 6400 Etymologien, die kein ungarisches Glied haben, geordnet wurden. Hätte Hajdú falsche Angaben mitgeteilt, oder hätte der Herausgeber des UEW dieses bedeutende Material ungenutzt gelassen? Ich halte weder die eine, noch die andere Annahme für wahrscheinlich und das umso weniger, da das Exzerpieren der Etymologien ohne ungarisches Glied auch meiner Erinnerung nach bereits im Rahmen der Arbeiten am MSzFgrE im Jahre 1950 begonnen und bis wenigstens 1960 fortgesetzt wurde. Die Sammeltätigkeit im Rahmen der Vorarbeiten zum UEW hätte viele Jahre länger in Anspruch genommen, wenn der Großteil des genannten Materials den Mitarbeitern des UEW nicht bereits 1969 zu Verfügung gestanden hätte. Dies ist eine Tatsache, die m. E. hätte erwähnt werden können.

Die Konzeption, die Redaktionsprinzipien und die Vorschläge für die phonematische Transkription wurden von Juli 1966 bis Juni 1968 unter der Leitung Károly Rédei's von István Erdélyi, Éva K. Sal und Edit Vértes, also von Forschern, die auch als Mitarbeiter des MSzFgrE bekannt sind, ausgearbeitet. In demselben Institut arbeiteten also dieselben Forscher an zwei etymologischen Wörterbüchern zur gleichen Zeit. Wie sehr dieser Umstand die Vertiefung in die Probleme der für den II. und den III. Band des MSzFgrE auszuarbeitenden Etymologien förderte und die Arbeit des Herausgebers des letztgenannten Wörterbuchs erleichterte, ist eine Frage, die kaum ausführlicherer Erörterungen bedarf. Man ist geneigt, auch die Frage zu stellen, ob zwischen diesem Umstand und der Tatsache, daß der II. Band des MSzFgrE erst 1971 und der III. Band desselben Wörterbuchs erst 1978 erschienen ist, nicht etwa ein enger Zusammenhang vorliegt.

Als eine Erleichterung für den Herausgeber des UEW kann noch erwähnt werden, daß die Abfassung der Lemmata unter anderem von István Erdélyi und Éva K. Sal, also von Forschern vorgenommen wurde, die sich auch als Mitarbeiter des MSzFgrE bereits ausgezeichnet hatten.

5. Was und wieviel Neues hat das UEW den Etymologen zu bieten? Dies ist eine Frage, die in allen Einzelheiten erst nach langen Nachforschungen beantwortet werden könnte. Einiges können wir jedoch bereits aufgrund des 1. Heftes feststellen.

Es ist klar, daß die Lemmata, die die Etymologie ungarischer Wörter behandeln, in den meisten Fällen im wesentlichen deutschsprachige Varianten der Lemmata des MSzFgrE sind. Das erklärt sich aufgrund von zwei Tatsachen: 1. die Etymologie ist seit ungefähr vier Jahrzehnten keine so bevorzugte Gattung der Sprachwissenschaft, wie sie es früher war; neue Etymologien und Modifikationen alter Etymologien treten also heutzutage viel seltener auf als zuvor; 2. Károly Rédei als Redakteur des MSzFgrE hatte bereits während der Redigierungszeit dieses Werkes ausreichend Möglichkeit, seine eigenen Feststellungen im Zusammenhang mit der Etymologie ungarischer Wörter zur Sprache zu bringen. Es ist natürlich, daß auch die Literatur über die im UEW behandelten ungarischen Wörter im allgemeinen mit der von MSzFgrE übereinstimmt, erweitert jedoch um Hinweise z.B. auf TESz, SKES Bd. V und VI (1975, 1978) und Janhunen, SW (*Samojedischer Wortschatz*. Helsinki 1977), die bei der Abfassung der Lemmata in MSzFgrE noch nicht berücksichtigt werden konnten. Es kommen einige Hinweise auch auf Werke vor, die bereits vor dem Erscheinen der einzelnen Bände des MSzFgrE erschienen, in diesen jedoch nicht erwähnt sind. Das erklärt sich daraus, daß z.B. die Handschrift des III. Bandes des MSzFgrE nach der endgültigen Ausarbeitung der Lemmata lange Zeit bei der Leitung des Instituts für Sprachwissenschaft und dem Verlag auf die Drucklegung wartete. Allerdings geht das UEW in der Publizierung der Literatur über die in ihm behandelten ungarischen Wörter in manchen Fällen natürlich weit hinaus. Im Wortartikel über *arwa* (S. 16–7) z.B. findet man einen Hinweis auf einen, noch in Druck befindlichen Artikel von L. Honti [“*Ősmagyar hangtörténeti talányok*” *Magyar Nyelv* 81 (1985) 140–155.] Seither ist dieser Band erschienen, und auf S. 146 sind wirklich einige Bemerkungen über das ung. Wort *ár* ‘Preis’, *áru* ‘Ware’ zu finden. Druckfehler habe ich nur wenige gefunden. Auf S. 9–10 steht ein Verweis auf Hajdú *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 65:67. Richtig ist es: Bd. 55:67 (siehe MSzFgrE. 464).

Bedeutend mehr bietet das UEW im Vergleich zu SKES. Wie bekannt, sind im letzteren Werk die literarischen Hinweise sehr spärlich, und die rekonstruierte Urform der behandelten Wörter finnisch-ugrischen bzw. uralischen Ursprungs ist höchstens ausnahmsweise angegeben. Die rekonstruierten



Grundformen im UEW tragen in hohem Maße zum Verständnis der Zusammengehörigkeit der miteinander verglichenen Wörter bei.

Ein weiterer Umstand, weswegen das UEW dem SKES gegenüber viel zu bieten hat, ist der, daß die ersten 4 Bände des SKES von 1955 bis 1969 erschienen, im Vergleich zum UEW also teilweise schon veraltet sind. Ein gutes Beispiel bietet uns die Behandlung des fi. Wortes *hapsi* 'Haar'. In SKES (I. Bd. 1955) steht über die Etymologie dieses Wortes beinahe nichts, im UEW aber finden wir eine, zwar unsichere, etymologische Deutung mit ausführlicher Literatur. Schließlich ist nicht zu vergessen, daß das SKES nur des Finnischen kundigen Lesern, das UEW aber allen offen steht, die des Deutschen mächtig sind.

Die Forscher, die sich für die Etymologie interessieren, werden wohl die bedeutenden Zusätze im UEW mit Freude begrüßen. (Allerdings befindet sich meines Wissens in Finnland die neue, deutschsprachige Fassung des SKES in Vorbereitung.) Das meiste Neue hat das UEW im Bereich jener Sprachen zu bieten, die noch kein ausführliches, wissenschaftliches etymologisches Wörterbuch haben. In diesen Fällen finden wir oft den Namen Károly Rédei, der die etymologische Literatur der uralischen Sprachen bereits vor dem Erscheinen des UEW um zahlreiche Etymologien bereichert hat (vgl. z.B. "Szófejtések" (Wortdeutungen) in *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* Bd. 76 (1974), 79 (1977), 80 (1979), 81 (1979), 82 (1980), 84 (1982), 85 (1983), 87 (1985) usw.). Etymologien in diesem Bereich können dem einen oder dem anderen von uns als neu erscheinen, obgleich sie in der Literatur bereits behandelt worden sind. Die Mehrzahl dieser Etymologien konnte nämlich bisher höchstens nur mit Hilfe von Wortregistern zu den verschiedensten Werken und Zeitschriften aufgefunden werden.

Es muß noch hervorgehoben werden, daß nicht nur die neuen Etymologien, sondern auch die Korrekturen mancher Irrtümer in alten Wortdeutungen für die Forschung wertvoll sein können. Von solchen Korrekturen findet sich in UEW eine ganze Menge. Z.B. unter *asē* 'stellen usw.' können wir lesen, daß das syrj. *ezjn* 'Bootlandungsstelle am Flußufer' keine Übernahme des kar. Gliedes *ažen* 'Lage: Platz, Stelle' der Wortfamilie fi. *asema* ist, weil das Wort auch im Wotj. eine Entsprechung hat: (WIED.) *ozon: vžannj-o*. 'Fähre'. Was aber Rédei unter *aske* gegen die Zuordnung von ung. *oson* 'schleichen' zu *askel* fi. 'Schritt' etc. ohne Verweis auf TESz. schreibt, können wir größtenteils bereits in letzterem Werk lesen.

6. Zum Schluß soll noch die Frage aufgeworfen werden, welchem Zweck das UEW dient. In der ersten Hälfte unseres Jahrhunderts brauchte man sich über diese Frage den Kopf nicht zu zerbrechen. Anders ist es aber heute! In unseren Tagen bemerkt man nämlich nicht selten die Bestrebung, die Etymologie als eine überholte Gattung darzustellen, die mit der Sprachwissenschaft kaum etwas zu tun und eben deshalb keine Existenzberechtigung mehr habe. Wozu sollte z.B. die etymologische Forschung der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen dienen? Die Antwort lautet heutzutage etwa folgendermaßen: "Zum Nachweisen der Verwandtschaft der finnisch-ugrischen Sprachen. Diese Verwandtschaft ist aber bereits seit der Zeit von József Budenz nachgewiesen! (Weitere etymologische Forschungen braucht man also nicht)". Diese Ansicht ist aber einseitig und eben darum falsch. Die Etymologie ist nämlich nicht nur ein Hilfsmittel zur Vorgeschichte, der Paläontologie, der Psychologie usw., sondern auch die Grundlage für die finnisch-ugrische (uralische) historisch-vergleichende Lautlehre und ist unentbehrlich auch zur Morphologie, besonders zur sog. Wortbildungslehre. Deshalb ist es kein Wunder, daß "zurückgebliebene" Forscher, die der Etymologie weiterhin einigen Wert beimessen, nicht nur in Ungarn, sondern auch im Ausland noch immer existieren. Z.B. die ausgezeichnete finnische Forscherin Aimo Hakanen äußert sich über den Charakter und die Bedeutung der Wortforschung folgendermaßen (hier in deutscher Übersetzung): "Die Erforschung des Wortschatzes ist das Gebiet, wo sich die Aspekte der synchronischen und der diachronischen Forschung am deutlichsten treffen und beide ihre Notwendigkeit erweisen. Im Wortschatz widerspiegelt sich am klarsten auch die außersprachliche Wirklichkeit, und in ihm sind am ehesten auch die Veränderungen der außersprachlichen Wirklichkeit wahrzunehmen. Die Erforschung des Wortschatzes ist im breitesten Sinne des Wortes die Erforschung unseres eigenen Hintergrunds, unserer Umwelt, unseres Weltbildes und unserer eigenen Identität" (*Sananjalka* 27 (1985) S. 11). Aus diesem Grunde erwartet die Mehrzahl der Sprachforscher mit Interesse die Fortsetzung des UEW. Zwar ist das Material, das das

erste Heft liefert, in seiner jetzigen Form für andere Forscher als die Spezialisten der Etymologie nur mühsam zu benutzen, die angedeuteten Wörterverzeichnisse aber, die der dritte Band des UEW beinhalten wird, werden dieses Wörterbuch wohl auch für die Vertreter anderer Wissenschaften leicht verwendbar machen.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

*György Lakó*

**Gesta Hungarorum. I. Történelmünk a Honfoglalástól Mohácsig.  
Tanulmányok**

(Die ungarische Geschichte von der Landnahme bis Mohács. Studien.)

Szerk. (Hrsg. von) Saáry, Éva.

Zürich, Svájci Magyar Irodalmi és Képzőművészeti Kör. 1984., 206 S.

Der zehnte Band in der Reihe des SMIKK (Svájci Magyar Irodalmi és Képzőművészeti Kör = Schweizerischer Kreis für ungarische Literatur und bildende Kunst), in dem die Vorträge der Studententage von Lugano im Oktober 1981 erschienen sind, kann für besonders bedeutend gehalten werden. Die Gesellschaft hatte sich das Ziel gesetzt, einen umfassenden Überblick über die ungarische Geschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart zu vermitteln. Dieses Projekt war für drei Jahre geplant, die Ergebnisse des ersten Jahres, ein Überblick bis zum Jahre 1526, werden in diesem ersten Band publiziert.

Die Abhandlungen sind chronologisch geordnet und heben natürlich die Schwerpunkte hervor, die der Meinung der Verfasser nach in der gegebenen Epoche von größerer Bedeutung sind. Der Abhandlung von Gábor Kocsis, die die Veränderung des Geschichtsbewußtseins und die geschichtliche Verantwortung behandelt, folgt die von Gyula László, die die Bestrebungen und neuesten Ergebnisse der Archäologie in Ungarn darlegt. Die Abhandlungen, die sich mit verschiedenen, voneinander deutlich trennbaren Epochen befassen, wie z.B. mit der Zeit der Landnahme und der Streifzüge, oder mit der Árpádenzeit und der Epoche der Anjous, haben gemeinsame Züge: vor allem die Außenpolitik und damit die Geschichte der Politik wird in den Vordergrund gerückt. Der Schwerpunkt liegt in diesem Bereich: die wichtigste Frage ist, wie und unter welchen Umständen die Ungarn ihre Position in Europa festigen und wahren konnten. Es gibt aber auch Abhandlungen über andere Themen, wie z.B. die von Tamás Bogyay über den Ursprung der Heiligen Krone, die die diesbezügliche Fachliteratur und gleichzeitig die wissenschaftlichen Diskussionen über die historische Bedeutung der Krone zusammenfaßt, oder die von Gyula Sánta-Pintér über das Privileg von Ludwig dem Großen in Kaschau vom Jahre 1374, das die Erbfolge der weiblichen Linie bestätigt. Im Anhang werden dann zwei Abhandlungen über bildungsgeschichtliche Themen veröffentlicht: von Jenő Váralljai Csocsán ein Grundriß über die Renaissance am Hofe und zur Zeit von König Matthias Corvinus (die gekürzt publizierte Abhandlung über wichtige wissenschaftliche Ereignisse wird später selbständig herausgegeben), und eine Untersuchung von Károly Schmidt unter dem Titel "Ungartum und die ungarische Volksmusik".

Dieses Projekt und dann eine derartige Publikation der wissenschaftlichen Ergebnisse ist ohne Zweifel ein guter Anlaß, die Bestrebungen und Bearbeitungen der Geschichtsschreibung außerhalb und innerhalb der ungarischen Grenzen zu konfrontieren: die Umwertung und Neubearbeitung der Ereignisse – wie es sich die Einführung zum Ziel gesetzt hat – setzt nämlich auch die Berücksichtigung der bisherigen Ereignisse voraus. Die Abhandlung von Gyula László über die archäologischen Untersuchungen kann in dieser Hinsicht als Durchführung der angestrebten Zielsetzungen aufgefaßt werden. Die übrigen Abhandlungen aber, dazu gehören die bezüglichen Anmerkungen, weisen

nicht eindeutig den Wunsch nach einer entsprechenden Analyse auf. Die neuesten Ereignisse der Fachliteratur nach 1945 fehlen allerdings in den meisten Fällen, und damit ist zu erklären, daß diesmal kein Konsens mit diesen Ergebnissen für wichtig gehalten wird. Allein die Abhandlung von Vilmos Csernóhorszky kann vielleicht in dieser Hinsicht hervorgehoben werden: in dieser Abhandlung, die sich mit der Vorgeschichte der Katastrophe von Mohács beschäftigt, wird ein Streben nach Kenntnissen der modernen Fachliteratur realisiert. Dies kann deshalb für wichtig gehalten werden, weil die Kenntnis der Untersuchungen der ungarischen Wissenschaftler keinen geringen Beitrag zu den Ergebnissen der neueren Quellenforschungen bietet zu dem Zweck, "die häufig diskutierten, im Laufe der Zeit vergessenen oder bewußt zurückgehaltenen Details in neues Licht zu rücken" (Zitat aus der Einführung von Éva Saáry). Es scheint nicht auszureichen, die bekannten Tatsachen einfach neuzugruppieren oder umzuwerten.

József Attila Tudományegyetem,  
Szeged

Katalin Keveházi

### Neogene Mineral Resources in the Carpathian Basin. Historical Studies on their Utilization

Edited by József Hála

Budapest, Hungarian Geological Survey, 1985., 676 pp.

It might be surprising that a journal entitled *Hungarian Studies* gives a review of a book which qualifies as a geological publication. It is the reader of the review that should decide whether the book is in fact about history of culture and history of science in Hungary, or about mineral sources and other petrifications. We greet the publication with great pleasure, because there are very few historical surveys about science in Hungary. Another benefit is that the publication is also in English, making thus the book available abroad. This unusual publication is not common in bookshops in Hungary, and interested persons should consult the sponsoring institution if they require a copy (Magyar Állami Földtani Intézet) Hungarian Geological Survey, (Budapest, XIV., Népstadium út 14, Hungary).

The book is dedicated by Géza Hámor, Director of the Hungarian Geological Survey, to the participants of the 8th Congress of the Regional Committee on Mediterranean Neogene Stratigraphy, as well as to all those interested in this topic. The collection of papers offers a lot: it enriches the manifold data of Hungarian cultural history with new, important and previously unknown facts.

Most of the authors (17 out of 22) are qualified in the natural sciences, while the others represent the fields of either archaeology, museology or anthropology. The mineral resources of the Carpathian Basin are of tangible reality, and they have been known since the Copper Age by the peoples that have been living there, for they have been the consumers and utilizers of these resources.

The book is divided up into three parts. The first part is entitled "*Geological Research, Mapping and Geophysical Exploration*" and it shows that the peculiar Hungarian word *ásvány* (it means: 'something dug out') was first used by J. Molnár, a Jesuit professor, in a book published in 1783. Another piece of rare information is that the first map of Hungary's geological structure was drawn

up by R. Townson, an English traveller, and, interestingly, he used such Hungarian place-names as *Ins. Csepel-Rázköve, Paks, Sárköz, Zsebelátó-hegy*, in a book he entitled *Travels in Hungary*, published in 1797. Yet another fascinating piece of science history is the fact that the inventor of the Eötvös torsion balance used apparatus and other measuring accessories from his laboratory to equip a waggon drawn by two long-homed "Hungarian" grey cattle. He carried out his geophysical measurements in this mobile observatory and this is verified by photographs taken at the end of the last century.

In the book's second and most extensive part, entitled *Exploration, Exploitation and Utilization of Mineral Resources*, the discovery and exploitation of those energy resources determining our economic life are often depicted as already being interrelated with our political life. Besides this other intriguing details are also to be found here. For instance, János György Rieder, a blacksmith in Sopron, was the first to use charcoal – found under the ruins of an inn – for heating in 1753. Then there is a story about an anonymous shepherd who reported even earlier, in 1735, that "on the hill where he made fire, the soil kept burning and smoking for several days." On the basis of archeological finds non-ferrous metals have been continuously mined in Hungary since the Copper Age, though not on an even scale. The author's precise and detailed information is provided not only for the technical reader. Besides the annual production yields, the fact that among the plans of the Transylvanian Prince, Gábor Bethlen, there was a Swedish-Hungarian copper society – with a European monopoly at that time – should also be considered as if it were mentioned in a history book with background material. The paper on the minting of precious metal coins is also a comprehensive and excellent review of the topic, especially useful for those engaged in the humanities. Under this heading one can learn not only the alloying techniques of coins in the different ages but the contemporary denominations and values, as well as the history of the various ornamental motifs. (The inscription *Patrona Hungariae* was officially used from 1467 until as late as 1939.) The mining, transportation and utilization of iron ore, salt, obsidian and limestone, the miners' wages and way of life, and the regulation of duties all represent, in an impressive and detailed way, the wide-scale and determining role of the mineral resources in the culture and civilization of the people living in the Carpathian Basin.

In the third, concluding and ethnographical part there is only one paper entitled "*Chapters from the ethnography of mining*". In this paper the author provides a general picture of the topic and divides it up into material culture and intellectual culture.

It is worth noting that in the references following each paper, besides the large comprehensive books used, there is also reference to the articles published in the various technical journals, such as the *Bányászati és Kohászati Lapok* ('Mining and Metallurgical Journal') totalling some 500. The number of publications referred to in the references is over 1000. An ample number of photographs, drawings, maps and tables facilitate the understanding of the text. The usefulness of the index, which contains some 600 geographical names, deserves special emphasis.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

Emese Kovács

Jeszenszky, Géza

**Az elveszett presztizs. Magyarország megítélésének megváltozása  
Nagy-Britanniában 1894–1918**

Budapest, 1986. Magvető, 368 pp.

It is a welcome change that a so far unexploited field such as the history of English–Hungarian relationships has at last aroused the interest of Hungarian historical research.

In his book—as the title says, on “the lost prestige; the change in the British attitude towards Hungary between 1894 and 1918”—Géza Jeszenszky examines the era preceding the disintegration of the Austro–Hungarian Monarchy and the decay of historical Hungary.

In the period, when the Austrian Empire became a dualistic state following the Compromise of 1867, the serious troubles leading to the disintegration of this newly established Austro-Hungarian Monarchy were already evident. First of all, the problem of nationalism must be mentioned. In the second half of the century, the national aspirations of the minorities were gradually gaining strength and spread through wider and wider layers of society. The fact that only Hungary could take part in the government of the Monarchy further strengthened these movements and though at that time secession was not their aim, the idea became an important issue. Nationalism was also a determining factor in the policy of Hungary itself. The Liberal Party which came into power after the Compromise was striving for the assertion of Hungary’s position within the dual system, and when the occasion occurred, they sought domination over Vienna. But in Hungarian political life, of which liberal nationalism and aspiration to great power status were equally characteristic, conservative nationalism was also gradually gaining ground at the end of the nineteenth century, mainly as a consequence of the traditional fear in Hungary of Tzarist Russia. Thus, side by side with the efforts to extend Hungarian national rights, leading politicians tried to prevent the disintegration of the Monarchy and Hungary by oppressing the national minorities, whose demands indirectly embodied the possibility of secession from Austria-Hungary.

The question of nationalism was the cornerstone of Great Britain’s attitude to Hungary. After the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the survival of the Austrian Empire was imperative for Great Britain so as to maintain European *status quo* by the “balance of power” policy. Thus British politicians were against every effort either on the part of the Hungarian oppositionist Independence Party (*Függetlenségi Párt*), or on the part of the other nationalities, that could have resulted in the break-up of the Monarchy.

Jeszenszky starts his study by discussing the reaction to the news of the Austrian–Hungarian Compromise (*kiegyezés*, 1867) in Great Britain. As a whole it met with a favourable reception, but while the conservatives saw it as the biggest concession that could be made to Hungary, more radical politicians and journalists, who were pro-Hungarian since the Liberty war of 1848/49, saw it as the victory of constitutionalism and the guarantee for the Monarchy’s survival. As the Dual Monarchy had proved viable, popular feeling became auspicious by the 1890s., and this prestige even seemed to increase between 1894 and 1904 – to which no doubt, the ousting of Austrian liberals from political power and the Austrian parliamentary crisis of 1897 also contributed. Renowned newspapers and reviews like *The Times* or *The Edinburgh Review* claimed that the subsistence of the Monarchy – and Hungary as part of it – was indispensable in Europe. At that time Hungary was regarded as an ideal constitutional state, and there were even opinions according to which Hungary would gradually take over the lead in the Monarchy.

On the basis of his research, the author takes the view that the first indications for the change of this image were already apparent in 1898 and 1899. First of all, because the parliamentary obstruction tactics of the Hungarian Independence Party were threatening the system with disintegration. Secondly, because such actions destroyed the illusion of Hungary as being a

constitutional state. In addition, certain measures like the decree passed in 1898 which ordered the Magyarization or Hungarian spelling of non-Hungarian placenames for official use in Hungary, turned journalists' and reporters' attention to the fact that it was not only Austria where the nationality question was unsettled, but also Hungary.

After 1903 the attention given to Hungarian events was continuously growing. Although there were still followers of the view that the domination of the Monarchy by Hungary was feasible and even desirable (so that it should act as a retarding force against Germany which was jeopardizing Britain's interests), in Jeszenszky's opinion, the events taking place from 1904 to 1906 led to a considerable loss of Hungarian political prestige.

In 1904 a political crisis began in Hungary, when after almost forty years in power, István Tisza's Liberal Party (*Szabadelvű Párt*) lost its parliamentary majority over the coalition of the opposing parties. This coalition subjected the new government to the introduction of the Hungarian language in the Austro-Hungarian army. This crisis, which lasted until 1906, and the increasingly separatist public sentiment occasioned general anxiety in the liberal British press. In those years both conservative and liberal newspapers and reviews published articles which denied Hungarian constitutionality, called attention to the existing social problems and to the danger of secession caused by the national movements. The new orientation of British policy also contributed to this distrust. The change began back in 1897, when Great Britain gave up the policy it had exercised since the 1830s. The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was a potential ally of Britain in so far as they wanted to prevent the Russian Empire from seizing Constantinople and the Dardanelles Straits. The consequence of this new orientation was the establishment of the British-French *entente cordiale* in 1904. British solidarity with France was confirmed at the Conference of Algeciras in 1906, where it was only the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that advocated the anti-French Germany. The next stage in the new, pro-French, anti-German British foreign policy was to form the British-Russian alliance in 1907, which put an end to the efforts of those politicians who considered the Monarchy as a possible means of counterbalancing German aspirations to become a great power. In judging the Hungarian political crisis of 1904-1906 the fact that an anti-German group gained ascendancy in the Foreign Office played an important role. However, this view, represented by Francis Bertie, Charles Harding and Eyre Crowe was not the only one. For example, Lord Fitzmaurice, Member of Parliament, a pro-German politician and expert on the Eastern Question, supported the policy of strengthening Hungarian influence. It was he who backed the idea of setting up two consulates, which would have extended British influence in Hungary. But Eyre Crowe, already head of the Western Department of the Foreign Office in 1906, interfered with Lord Fitzmaurice's plans of rapprochement to Germany and to Austria-Hungary.

It was in this period that Henry Wickham Steed, who watched the turn of international events as a correspondent for *The Times* in Vienna from 1902 on, changed his attitude towards the Monarchy and Hungary. The activity of this journalist, who called himself a radical liberal, can be characterized as strongly anti-German from the beginning. Although earlier he thought that Germany's power could be counterbalanced on the Continent by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, after 1905 he even accepted the idea of suppressing Hungary for stopping Pan-Germanism, and in February, 1906, he believed he had found the solution in a federation of Croats, Rumanians, Slovaks, Bohemians, Poles and Hungarians. But after the Conference of Algeciras, finished in April, 1906, he came to the conclusion that the Monarchy had become a tool serving the interests of German policy. Though he was more and more interested in the international situation, when dealing with Hungary, his attitude, in spite of his hostility, was in accordance with the official position of British foreign policy - he did not want the Monarchy to fall apart until the outbreak of the First World War. In the last year of the war the Foreign Office adopted a new policy. In order to quicken the end of the war, it supported every step that weakened the Monarchy. Then it was Steed who, as a member of the Department of Propaganda in Enemy Countries, organized a conference for the nationalities of the Monarchy in Rome. At this

conference the representatives of the minorities made known their decision concerning their secession and the establishment of independent South Slavic and Czech states in April 1918.

It is a matter of regret that Géza Jeszenszky does not detail Steed's activity and publicism during the war, for as it appears from his book, the journalist played an important role in the shaping of public opinion and in the forming of the new national states.

Beside Steed, who was able to influence English readers through *The Times*, the name of Robert William Seton-Watson has to be mentioned. He made a great impact both on popular sentiment and on official policy as an expert of Eastern European politics. When the politician, who became known throughout the Monarchy during the First World War by his pen-name as *Scotus Viator*, arrived in Vienna as an inquiring young man in 1905, his decision to deal with the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was influenced by the sympathy he felt for the heroes of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. However, when later he got to know some Slovakian, Rumanian and Croatian politicians, he changed his mind and published a whole series of articles, pamphlets and books sharply criticizing Hungarian policy towards the national minorities,—e.g. *Racial Problems in Hungary* (1908) and *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy* (1911) *Corruption and Reform in Hungary* (1911) many of which were translated into German, Russian and French.

Unfortunately Hungarian politicians, with the sole exception of Oszkár Jászi, were not able to draw a lesson from his criticism. On the contrary, as the author clearly demonstrates, irrespective of party affiliation, they bitterly attacked Seton-Watson and Steed. This drew the two British journalists' anger upon Hungarian policy, who as a consequence started to bring discredit not only on Hungarian national politics, but on the Hungarian nation, its past and culture as a whole. It must be noted, however, that although their publicism contributed to the fact that Hungarian prestige was lost for a long time, Seton-Watson's point of view, like Steed's, was in accordance with the official British policy till the First World War. That is, he did not strive for the breaking up of the Monarchy, but, again like Steed, he concerned himself with the idea of federalism. However, he changed his opinion almost immediately after the outbreak of the war, and contrary to his former efforts, (according to which he championed the Croats against the Serbian imperialist ambitions) after the murder of crown heir Francis Ferdinand he made every effort to set up a Serbian state which would have included Croatia. It was then that he found himself opposed to the policy of the Foreign Office, as Great Britain wanted to maintain the Monarchy even in January, 1918, and Seton-Watson's applications for the role of official mediator were politely rejected. Yet the political activities of Seton-Watson and Steed, "greatly contributed to the process of disintegration of the Monarchy" as Géza Jeszenszky points out, and the facts and analyses which they collected and published — often without selection and criticism — were the bases on which the Peace Treaty of Trianon after the First World War (a treaty which dispossessed Hungary of many million Hungarians), was drawn up.

Between the two World Wars Seton-Watson, who was then professor of East European history at London University, making good use of his newly acquired knowledge, published several books on the history of the minorities of former Hungary. Considered to be a scholarly expert, his publications were quoted almost without exception to support the facts of new studies written on the history of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

Through the examination of the press, diplomatic relations and other personal connections of the period, Géza Jeszenszky follows the change of the British image of Hungary with careful detail up to 1914. It is much to be regretted that he does not deal with the activities of Seton-Watson following the outbreak of the war, for Seton-Watson's contribution to the disintegration of the Monarchy would justify the extension. Such a study becomes more significant when one considers that it was this period, between 1914–1918, that seems to be the most decisive in the loss of prestige of Hungary in British eyes.

Lahdelma, Tuomo

Vapahtajaa etsimässä

Evankeliumit Endre Adyn lyriikan subtekstinä vuoteen 1908

(In search of the Saviour. The Gospels as Subtexts in  
Endre Ady's Poetry until 1908)

Jyväskylä, Jyväskylän yliopisto 1986. pp. 299  
(Jyväskylä Studies in the Arts 25)

Although one of the most influential of those Hungarian poets who brought international innovation into Hungarian poetry, Endre Ady has not received the attention he deserves from non-Hungarian scholars. Precisely because of its merits, the present book by a young Finnish literary scholar, once more raises the question: why? Lahdelma's dissertation originated in his research trips to Hungary (from 1977, mostly in Debrecen), and his topic was the Biblical elements in Ady's works. In the form of a dissertation (succesfully defended in May 1986 at Jyväskylä University) the author presents the first part of his material: an analysis of the Gospel elements of Ady's poetry until 1908, including, therefore, his second great volume of poetry *Vér és arany*. As we may deduce from some remarks in the book, Lahdelma actually collected the pertinent data from the entire poetry of Ady; the well known phenomenon of university dissertations, i.e. the limited amount of printed pages, made his book only a first volume in a possible series. It is also well known in university dissertations that only the "theoretical introductions" or first parts ever appear, and promised continuations will never be realized. We hope in this case that further publications will appear, because both from practical and theoretical point of view the present volume is very interesting indeed.

Lahdelma gives a very brief biography of Ady, stressing the importance of religion, Calvinism, the Holy Scriptures and especially of the Gospels in his life and work. It is a commonplace that Ady represented a typical case of the *poeta religiosus* (which does not mean he was always a true believer), using Biblical allusions and terminology, posing himself as one of the prophets, swinging from Mary to Veronica, feeling and expressing the sorrow of the resurrection, seeing the first World War in apocalyptic visions. This complex nature of Ady's Biblical world view makes it very difficult to find a good way of describing his poetry according to the Christian traditions. The Calvinist bishop Sándor Makkai (*Magyar fa sorsa. A vádlott Ady költészete*. Budapest, 1927) in an open debate with other Protestant priests who disregarded Ady, has stressed certain forms of ideological and personal affiliation in Ady's lifeworks. Among the books to analyse Ady's poetry, Gyula Földessy (in his various exegetic works), Richárd Szabó (*Ady Endre lírája*. Budapest, 1945), László Vatai (*Az Isten szörnyetege. Ady lírája*. Washington, 1963) or István Király have all paid close attention to religious or similar motifs, but from different points of view. It seems to me justified to single out the Bible, and even more radically the Gospels, among other religious background elements in Ady's work. In his theoretical introduction Lahdelma uses the term "subtext" for 'an already existing text reflected in a new one (p. 20, following K. Taranovsky's definition) and characterizes the Gospels as sub-texts for very many of Ady's poems. He made a distinction between transparent and opaque subtexts. In some cases the terms "influence" or "transfiguration", and "allusion" also appear. The careful introduction gives a theoretical description of these phenomena, followed by a brief account of the Gospel interpretations in 19th century European literature.



A short German orientation (at the beginning of the book, using the English label "Abstract"), and a six-page long Hungarian summary (at the end of the book) also make the book available to non-Finnish readers. An English summary, however, might be of even greater use, since the terminology of "subtextuality" is also in English. One might make various remarks from the point of view of modern literary theory. I think the term "subtext" in some cases is the same as what the Nitra school named as "prototext". Lahdelma is careful about using the term "intertextuality", which is very different in various French, Israeli and American books. For the Hungarian reader the more significant result of the book is its very clear and well founded analysis of Ady's poetry. The work is rich in detail and important in theory and we look forward to its continuation. Also a good Hungarian summary (e.g. a lengthy paper in Hungarian) would be very welcome.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

### If All the World Were a Blackbird. Poems by Sándor Weöres

Translated by Alexander Fenton, Illustrated by Don Aldridge  
Aberdeen, 1985, Aberdeen University Press, 104 pp.

Alexander Fenton took upon himself a near-impossible task when he set out to translate a volume of children's poems by Sándor Weöres. Weöres (pronounce *Voe-roesh*), as Professor G. F. Cushing puts it in his foreword, is Hungary's "most versatile poet", noted for his unparalleled technical excellence. His poetry has been translated into English by Edwin Morgan and others, but so far nobody has attempted to tackle his children's verse. Nobody, that is apart from Alexander Fenton, who confesses in his introduction to the present volume that (given Weöres' linguistic virtuosity) translating these poems seems "almost like an effort bordering on the ridiculous".

This self-effacing confession makes one ask why then did Fenton try his hand at these poems? In his own words he enjoyed them so much that he tried "to convey the delight his [Weöres's] poems have given one". From this I surmise that Mr. Fenton reads Hungarian. Yet he stands open to the charge of over-ambitiousness by his insistence to translate the *entire* book *Ha a világ rigó lenne*, instead of choosing the best (or most translatable) pieces. Some of Weöres' children's poems are indeed nursery rhymes – "atmospheric" phonetic and rhythmic games. These cannot be reproduced in English, or at least cannot be fully reproduced; but why does Alexander Fenton settle in most cases for much less, for a paraphrase of the "meaning" and a timid imitation of sound-patterns?

Some of these delightful children's poems have been enjoyed by generations of Hungarian schoolchildren and have become part of modern Hungarian folk-lore. It is disheartening to see therefore weak English versions. The translation of "Tekereg a szél", for example, fails to reproduce the freshness and rhythmic vigour of the original. "Runs the wind, all alone, / Wide world seeking / Taking to its heels, / You'll never find its trail" goes the last stanza of Fenton's rendering ("Széles világba / fut a szél magába, / Nyakába a lába / – Sosem érsz nyomába"). In other cases an attempt is made to reproduce at least some of the sound effects of the Hungarian text, so "Haragosi" becomes the "Harwich man", while "Harap utca" from the jaunty "A Kutya-tár" (Doggy Store) is transformed into – "Downing Street" (p. 48). Whether "Luppylugs, the scoundrel" is the right equivalent of "Kutyafülű Aladár" is hard to tell; perhaps in Scotland it is. On the other hand, in the poem "Dancing with Joy" (Ugrótáncot jókedvemből. . .) not only the rhythm of the original is lost in the translation, but – because of the elimination of Hungarian and Transylvanian place-names – the poem loses its natural context and falls somewhat flat. It is not the same after all whether "The town-cannon

roars" or "*Vásárhelynél ágyú bömböl*". This is one instance where Fenton's method of translation looks unsatisfactory.

There are, however, poems in this collection where the Hungarian context is not particularly important and the English version sounds more convincing. Renderings of "*Vásár*" (Come to the Fair), "*Kezdődik az iskola*" (School Begins) and "*Sehallselát Dömötör*" (Hear Nought See Nought Simple John) convey the lightness and humour of the original and indicate the quality that could have been the result of a smaller, more judicious selection. While Don Aldridge cannot compete with Gyula Hincz's original illustrations, his illustrations (with references to Hungarian folk-lore) are pleasing and blend well with the rest of the book.

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George Gömöri

István, Erzsébet

**Volkstümliche Keramik aus Ungarn. Eine Ausstellung  
des Ethnographischen Museums Budapest.**

Hetjens-Museum, Deutsches Keramikmuseum Düsseldorf 20. Januar bis 7. April 1985. —  
Westfälisches Freilichtmuseum Detmold 5. Mai bis 29. September 1985. — Bayerisches  
Nationalmuseum München 24. Oktober 1985 bis 12. Január 1986  
München, 1985, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, 165 S.

The frontispiece informs us that a travelling exhibition of Hungarian folk pottery spent about a year visiting German museums. The catalogue, probably the largest and best summary on Hungarian folk pottery in the German language, was issued in Munich. In fact both the exhibition and the book are "Hungarian" products, for Mrs. István is curator of ceramics at the Ethnographic Museum (*Néprajzi Múzeum*) Budapest.

As is usual with such catalogues, the book begins with an introduction and greetings from the three German museum directors, and then from Tamás Hoffmann, General Director of the Budapest ethnographic museum. Following this is a general introduction in four mini-chapters. It gives details about the Budapest museum's collection, and also on the history of folk pottery in Hungary. The acutal catalogue begins on p.21, and describes 258 items, according to form, function and geographical distribution. Three-fifth of the material was arranged according to the pottery-making centres in historal Hungary — thus Transylvania and Romania are included. There are about 200 photographs (many in colour) in the book, and roughly two-third of the catalogue items are depicted. The other photographs show pottery-making and usage of the items. A good map, a carefully made list of place-names mentioned in the book (in four languages: Hungarian, German, Slovakian and Romanian), a very good form list of items (introduced by Mária Kresz, the long-serving curator of the collection and the grand old lady of Hungarian pottery research), and a bibliography (of 38 entries) are placed at the end of the book. Of course there are faults in the book: both the exhibition and the catalogue were made for the German public, yet this direction is not expressed in the selection and presentation of the material, nor in the bibliography. E. G. Mária Kresz's major works published in Hungarian are absent from the bibliography; on *Haban* (anabaptist) pottery are more important works omitted; etc.; and it would have been useful to refer also to the handbooks on Slovakian or Romanian folk pottery, even if they do not say more on Hungarian ceramics, in Romania, Czeshoslovakia etc., rather than the quoted Hungarian books. It is relevant to point out that in general handbooks (also available in German, English etc.) on Hungarian folk art usually include a chapter on ceramics, with good illustrations. However, in this context it must be said that while there are many German language publications on Hungarian folk pottery, their English, French and Russian parallels are simply lacking.

The book is of exceptional beauty and has been produced with care. Hungarian ethnographic museums frequently send smaller or greater exhibitions abroad, and German, Austrian, Polish, Czechoslovakian, Bulgarian, and Soviet museums (to mention a few) often visit Hungary. Ethnography is one of the most frequent domains of such exchange of exhibitions, and the Ethnographic Museum in Budapest has welcomed in recent years many pottery exhibitions from abroad, including East and West Germany. Still the Hungarian venture was the largest of such exhibitions, and the catalogue the best one among those produced so far.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

Kincses Verebélyi

Vujkov, Balint

Jabuka s dukatima. Narodne pripovijetke. Sakupio i obradio — —.

(Golden Apples. Folktales. Collected and published by Balint Vujkov)  
Subotica, 1986, Osvit, 243 pp.

Vujkov was born 1912 in Szabadka (Subotica). He began to publish folk tales from the end of the 1930s. In more than 14 books (and some other publications) he has presented South Slavic (Yugoslavian) folk tales from Croatia and Serbia. His speciality is the folk narratives of *bunjevci* — that is the Serbians living in North Vojvodina and South Hungary. Several hundreds of their folk tales have been collected, adapted and published by him. In a greater circle of his interest he published Croatian folk tales from Czechoslovakia, Austria, Romania, Hungary, and of course from Yugoslavia. The majority of his books appeared in Subotica, some others in Novi Sad (Újvidék) and in Zagreb. His books and anthologies are usually returns to older publications, and as a consequence practically all of the known *bunjevci* folktales are available in his works.

Vujkov publishes the tales with a slightly literary polish, and he gives credit to his individual sources. The present book contains 70 tales and at the end of the book we find a list of individuals who provided material, a small dictionary of local words, and a full bibliography of Vujkov's publications. Both the introduction and the epilogue characterize his pioneering activity. In this publication we do not find Aarne-Thompson tale type numbers, or other scholarly references. Folktales in all of Vujkov's publications are of outmost importance for Hungarian studies. *Bunjevci* folktales by their themes and motifs, and stylistic features are closely related to South Hungarian folktales. Among the 45 storytellers in the present publication only one or two were not born in a region, what was, at that time, Hungary. Because the present book is based upon earlier fieldwork, many of the story-tellers were born at the turn of the 20th century, or earlier. Thus the whole book contains comparative material for Hungarian folk narrative studies. It would be an interesting thing to know, how many of the contributing individuals related their tales in Hungarian.

In a popular edition of South Slavic folk tales in Hungarian (*Az aranyhajú királylány*, translated by Zoltán Csuka, Budapest, 1961., Európa Könyvkiadó) and in a published series "Folktales of the Peoples" (*Népek meséi*) one can find some translations of Vujkov's tales. Still it would be a good idea to publish in Hungary a special *bunjevci*-folktale collection. I think the laymen-readers who are probably not familiar with the regional variations of family names, will not recognize that they are reading a non-Hungarian folktale collection.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

### Remarks on a Graffiti Exhibition in Budapest

Graffiti (in American spelling, according to Oxford Dictionary: *graffitti*) marches in galleries in Budapest, too. For four months (April–July 1986) we were able not only to look at them in subways, on walls and fences of constructions, we were not only annoyed by them but we could also buy tickets to see them. In the spring of 1986 two exhibitions *Budapesti falsírkák* (named "Graffiti in Budapest") were opened in Fényes Adolf Gallery. In the first exhibition, the photographs of drawings in the public domain, taken by Mihály Kiss, could be seen; then came the photographs, by Zoltán Bakos, of graffiti these being accompanied by explanatory texts.

The Budapest graffiti exhibition is part of a series lasting over six years. The tireless inspirator and organizer of the series, Ákos Kovács, set up a whole team to research today's Hungarian folklore, the phenomena of everyday life in Hungary. First, ethnographers joined the team, then sociologists, art historians and even a poet.

Their first exhibition was held in Hatvan in 1980. Here the 19th and 20th century splash-guards (in Hungarian: *falvédő*, a piece of relatively small embroidered textile with texts especially concerned with marriage, and used to protect the kitchen wall in places where it is likely to be splashed) were exhibited. (*Magyarországi szöveges falvédők a 19. és a 20. században*. – Hatvany Lajos Múzeum Füzetek No. 7. – Hatvan, 1981, pp. 89, with short German and Russian summaries.) The exhibition was organized in Eger and Hatvan (August–October 1980), then in Budapest (May 1981), Ákos Kovács later published, alas, without summaries in foreign languages, two other booklets about the same topic. *Magyarországi felvédőfóliák*. Budapest, 1985, pp. 40. – *Magyar Csoportnyelvi Dolgozatok* No. 24., – is a corpus dealing only with the texts of the splash-guards. Later a collection of essays (some of them were already published in the 1981 exhibition catalogue, others are new) on the same topic: *Feliratok falvédők*. Szerkesztette Kovács, Ákos. Budapest, 1987. Corvina, pp. 99 + 1.

This successful start was followed by a very rich museum exhibition of Hungarian scarecrows (in Hungarian: *madárjlesztő*). The exhibition was organized in Hatvan in 1981. Its catalogue: *1981 Magyarországi madárjlesztők*. – Hatvany Lajos Múzeum Füzetek No. 10. – Hatvan (1981), pp. 123, ill. (without summary in a foreign language). In 1985 – this time in Budapest – the team mounted an exhibition of World War I memorial monuments. (Its catalogue: *Monumentumok az első háborúból*. Budapest, 1985. pp. 123. with a short English summary on p. 121.) Then came the Budapest graffiti project. Then they have studied and exhibited Hungarian tattoo patterns. (See: "Tetoválók és tetováltak", *Forrás* vol. XIX (1987. március) pp. 144, 32 plates. Topical issue of a literary journal, with short summaries (on pp. 143–144) in Russian, English and German, and with rich bibliography.) The graffiti exhibition was organized in 1987 in Budapest and later in Kecskemét. Now the team workers collected and study posters used in Hungarian houses then traffic accident memorial crosses or other monuments from the roadsides.

All their exhibitions rest on thorough and strictly consistent research work. The organizers of the exhibitions carried on extensive research work in different matters: they collected the entire data on matters till then not found worthy of attention by other sociologists, art historians, ethnographers etc. There are vast collections of data, entries, and photos making up the background detail for the exhibitions. The organizers took great care when preserving and filing these details in museums. By the time the exhibitions were opened, catalogues, or in some cases volumes of studies had been published.

Mihály Kiss and Zoltán Bakos have taken photographs of graffiti in Budapest for a decade. Mihály Kiss, in the first instance, took photos of carved or scratched drawings (by stones, bricks, nails, compasses, branches), painted or dribbled drawings, and additions to, and the intentional tearing of posters. He observed sensitively the artistic impulse and lyricism in graffiti. Zoltán Bakos has taken photos of texts written by pencil, whitewash brush, brush, pen and spray. He has roved the different urban quarters systematically and searched the "message walls" of the town at certain places. Within the graffiti produced with an accompanying text he paid particular attention to the ones with a public character and recorded them.

To come back to the book under review, a compelling book is the catalogue to both parts of the

exhibition. After a short introduction by Ákos Kovács, artists, writers, and sociologists give their opinions on the graffiti. Both Mihály Kiss and Zoltán Bakos describe their "fieldwork" methods, each with 36 illustrations. For the Hungarian reader translations from international graffiti literature (including, among others, Norman Mailer and Delphine Renard) provides the book with a broader interest, while for foreigners the Hungarian essays may be of an innovative and informative character.

The very first official exhibition in a socialist country, along with its widely published catalogue, (initiated by two central institutions in Budapest, the main art gallery or *Műcsarnok* in Budapest and the Hungarian mass culture centre or *Országos Közművelődési Központ* created a lively interest in the Hungarian press and mass media. The publication is more than a mere catalogue, being a solid scholarly presentation of that thrilling material. Thus it deserves further studies from the point of view of modern art and from that of modern sociology.

The graffiti in Budapest (quite like the unequalled ones that came to light singularly in Pompeii) reflect the everyday life of a certain period. According to the definition of Miklós Hernádi, Hungarian graffiti is a reversed mass medium. If we cannot get information through the mass media, we should hope to gather more information by graffiti. Graffiti is the organic part of city folklore. It is worthy of collection, analysis and exhibition.

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

Géza Balázs

### Nemzetiségek Magyarországon I–II

(Les minorités nationales en Hongrie, vol. I–II.)

En 1974 l'Académie des Sciences Hongroise a commencé une recherche en vue d'assembler des documents sur les minorités nationales de Hongrie afin de les publier. Plus tard le projet fut donné à la direction d'un comité de la Bibliothèque Gorki (*Állami Gorkij Könyvtár*, Budapest). La bibliographie des œuvres sud-slaves, allemandes, roumaines et slovaques publiées en Hongrie pendant la période courant de 1945 à 1974 était assurée par la Bibliothèque jusqu'à ce moment. Les deux premières séries publiées compteront encore d'autres volumes ultérieurement. Le comité de rédaction de la série est composé de sept membres (Gyula Balla, Rudolf Joó, István Käfer, Gyula Kertész, Béla Kovács, László Kóvágó et György Verseghi). Dans l'introduction du premier volume de la bibliographie allemande nous trouvons sous le titre *Lectori salutem* un bref résumé du projet. Dans ce résumé nous lisons qu'à part de cette série bibliographique, considérée comme une série A, ils ont d'autres projets de recherche et de publication. Le titre de la recherche et de la série de publication figure en cinq langues: *Nemzetiségek Magyarországon – Nationalitäten in Ungarn – Nationalitățile în Ungaria – Narodnosti u Madjarskoj – Národnosti v Maďarsku 1945–1975*, et le titre du projet général de la recherche est aussi formulé en cinq langues: *Nemzetiségi Dokumentáció – Dokumentation der Nationalitäten – Documentația naționalităților – Dokumentacija narodnosti – Dokumentácia národností*. Les premiers volumes sont déjà disponibles à la Bibliothèque Gorki de Budapest.

Vol. I. *Németek Magyarországon – Deutsche in Ungarn 1945–1975* (Allemands en Hongrie). *Bibliográfia – Bibliographie*. Szerkesztette – redigiert von (édité par) István Käfer (Budapest, 1983), Állami Gorkij Könyvtár – Nemzetiségi Dokumentáció, pp. 794. (en deux livres).

Cette excellente édition compte 6620 titres bibliographiques, plus la table des matières (*Inhalt*), une liste des 70 périodiques dépouillés et un remarquable index des auteurs, lieux et donnés bibliographiques et un notice précisant la manière d'utiliser ce matériel. Pour plus de précision, l'index des auteurs a été rédigé en allemand et en hongrois. Toutefois en dépit de la grande qualité de ce travail il demeure quelques erreurs; par exemple *Heideboden* est le nom allemand de *Hanság* et non celui de *Alföld* (cf. titre 5325). Parmi les compliments qu'il convient d'adresser à cette publication, nous

soulignerons qu'elle recense les dénominations allemandes et hongroises d'au moins 150 villes et villages de Hongrie.

Vol. II. *Románok Magyarországon – Románi în Ungaria 1945–1975* (Roumaines en Hongrie). Szerkesztette – redactor (édité par) István Käfer. (Budapest, 1983) Állami Gorkij Könyvtár – Nemzetiségi Dokumentáció, pp. 703 (en deux livres).

La bibliographie présente la même structure et contient 5241 titres. La table des matières est erronée et, quelques pages non numérotées et non reliées sont mises dans le premier cahier avec les errata comme de la Table des matières correctionnée ("*Javított tartalomjegyzék*" – "*Cuprins corectat*").

Naturellement même ces riches bibliographies ne sont pas complètes ni sans erreurs. Ce sont surtout les publications en langues étrangères qui manquent. On pourra les ajouter plus tard. Si la publication est écrite en deux langues, pourquoi le titre de la page de garde ne le serait-il pas aussi?

Malgré ces légères réserves nous pensons que ces deux livres (quatre cahiers) sont indispensables pour toute recherche portant sur les minorités nationales et les relations interethniques. La date de la publication n'est pas marquée, mais comme la reproduction typographique a été commencée en 1983, les volumes sont donc disponibles depuis 1984.

#### Annexe

Vol. III. Hoóz, István–Kepecs, József–Klinger, András: *A Baranya megyében élő nemzetiségek demográfiai helyzete 1980-ban* (La situation démographique des nationalités du comitat Baranya en 1980). Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Regionális Kutatások Központja (Pécs) – Baranya Megyei Tanács VB. Művelődési Osztálya – Állami Gorkij Könyvtár, Budapest, 1985. pp. 433. présente un volume important mais de caractère différent.

Vol. IV. Käfer, István: *Szlovákok Magyarországon – Slováci v Maďarsku 1945–1975* (Slovaques en Hongrie). Felelős szerkesztő – zodpovedný redaktor (rédacteur responsable): György Verseggy. Budapest, 1986, Állami Gorkij Könyvtár – Nemzetiségi Dokumentáció, pp. xxii, 1017 (en deux livres).

La plus complète et volumineuse bibliographie de la série contient 8918 titres, avec une annotation extrêmement précise et complète. Pour les historiens les données concernant l'échange de la population slovaque en Hongrie avec les Hongrois en Slovaquie après la deuxième guerre mondiale (1945–1948), dans le fond une tentative de déportation de la majorité des Hongrois de la Slovaquie, avec une émigration libre volontaire des Slovaques de la Hongrie, sont les plus importants. C'est un dossier riche avec un-mille-et-cinq-cents (!) titres (no. 6647-8150 plus *passim*, sur pp. 398-846 et *passim*).

Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem,  
Budapest

Vilmos Voigt

## SHORT NOTICES ON PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

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### Eminent Hungarian Scholars of the Past

#### "A múlt magyar tudósai"

(1970–1983)

All books of this unfinished series, which began in 1970, have been published by the Akadémiai Kiadó in Budapest. Until 1980, the editor-in-chief was Gyula Ortutay, then – following his death – Gábor Tolnai. The average size of the booklets is 3x5 inches, 4–5 volumes being issued in a single card box unit. More recently, the books have been available in separate editions. For easy reference, the scholars are listed in alphabetical order with short annotations, and to help cross-references an alphabetical index of the authors is provided for the period 1970–1983.

- Ácsády, Ignác* (1845–1906) historian, economist. Written by *Gunst, Péter* 1973. 236 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 235–237 pp.
- Arany, János* (1817–1882) poet, aesthetician. By *Keresztury, Dezső*, Budapest 1971. 227 pp. 1 ill. No Bibliography.
- Ábel, Jenő* (1858–1889) classical philologist. By *Borzák, István*. 1981. 198 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 192–198 pp.
- Balásházy, János* (1797–1857) lawyer, agricultural scientist. By *Tilkovszky, Loránt*. 1970. 207 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 206–207 pp.
- Bartalus, István* (1821–1899) historian of music. By *Sz. Farkas, Márta*. 1976. 171 pp. 1 ill. List of his writings: 165–171 pp. Bibliography: 171–172 pp.
- Bartók, Béla* (1881–1945) composer, musicologist. By *Lampert, Vera*. 1976. 229 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 221–229 pp.
- Bánki, Donát* (1859–1927) engineer. By *Varga, József*. 1980. 227 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 191–227 pp.
- Bátky, Zsigmond* (1874–1939) ethnographer. By *Gunda, Béla*. 1978. 175 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 171–175 pp.
- Beöthy, Leó* (1839–1886) statistician, economist and social anthropologist. By *Zsigmond, Gábor*. 1974. 155 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 155 p.
- Bolyai, János* (1802–1860) mathematician. By *Szénássy, Barna*. 1978. 196 p. 1 ill. Bibliography: 193–196 pp.
- Budenz, József* (1836–1892) comparative linguist. First professor of Finno-Ugric studies in Budapest. By *Lakó, György*. 1980. 229 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 213–229 pp.
- Entz, Ferenc* (1805–1877) physician, horticulturist, pomologist. By *Geday, Gusztáv*. 1980. 233 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 231–233 pp.
- Erdélyi, János* (1814–1868) writer, literary historian, aesthetician, collector and publisher of oral poetry. By *Erdélyi T., Ilona*. 1981. 213 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 212–213 pp.
- Eötvös, Loránd* (1847–1919) geophysicist, natural scientist. By *Zempléni (Mátrainé) M., Jolán-Egyed, László*. 1970. 209 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 203–205 pp. Bibliography: 205–209 pp.
- Fehér, Dániel* (1890–1955) agrobiologist, botanist. By *Kecskés, Mihály*. 1983. 215 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 192–210 pp. Bibliography: 211–215 pp.

- Fényes, Elek* (1807–1876) statistician, economist, politician, ethnographer. By *Paládi-Kovács, Attila*. 1976. 211 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 209–210 pp. Bibliography: 210–211 pp.
- Geleji, Sándor* (1898–1967) metallurgical engineer. By *Kiss, Ervin*. 1971. 175 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 157–176 pp.
- Gombocz, Zoltán* (1877–1935) linguist, Turcologist. By *Németh, Gyula*. 1972. 258 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 254–255 pp. Bibliography: 255–258 pp.
- Gyarmathi, Sámuel* (1751–1830) By profession a physician, comparative Finno-Ugric linguist. By *Gulya, János*. 1978. 202 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 193–202 pp.
- Györfly, István* (1884–1939) ethnographer. By *Selmeczi Kovács, Attila*. 1981. 199 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 195–197 pp. Bibliography: 197–198 pp.
- Herman, Ottó* (1835–1914) natural scientist, ornitologist, ethnographer, journalist, politician. *Kósa, László–Keve, András–Farkas, Gyula*. 1971. 179 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 173–179 pp.
- Honti, János* (1910–1945) Comparative folklorist, philologist. By *(Dobrovitsné) Dömötör, Tekla*. 1975. 187 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 183–188 pp.
- Hunfalvy, János* (1820–1888) Geographer and ethnographer. By *Szabó, József*. 1980. 195 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 189–195 pp.
- Hutyra, Ferenc* (1860–1934) surgeon, veterinarian. By *Karasszon, Dénes*. 1975. 160 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 155–160 pp.
- Huzella, Tivadar* (1886–1951) physician, biologist. By *Törő, Imre*. 1973. 171 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 163–172 pp.
- Illyés, Géza* (1870–1951) surgeon, nephrologist. By *Babics, Antal*. 1972. 191 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 183–191 pp.
- Ilosvay, Lajos* (1851–1936) chemist. By *Szőkefalvy-Nagy, Zoltán*. 1978. 201 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 183–201 pp.
- Ipolyi, Arnold* (1823–1886) mythographer, art historian, bishop. By *Hoppál, Mihály*. 1980. 220 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 207–220 pp.
- Jankó, János* (1868–1902) ethnographer, museologist. By *Balassa, Iván*. 1975. 181 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 178–181 pp.
- Jedlik, Ányos* (1800–1895) physicist. By *Horváth, Árpád*. 1974. 194 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 187–191 pp. Bibliography: 192–194 pp.
- Kodály, Zoltán* (1882–1967) composer, musicologist, folklorist, pedagogue. By *Eősse, László*. 1971. 187 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 185–187 pp.
- Korányi, Sándor* (1866–1944) internist. By *Magyar, Imre*. 1970. 239 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 235–239 pp.
- Kőnig, Gyula* (1849–1913) mathematician. By *Szénássy, Barna*. 1983. 176 pp. 1 ill. His works: 168–175 pp. Bibliography: 176 p.
- Kőrösi Csoma, Sándor* (1784–1842) in English publications Alexander *Csoma de Kőrös*. Comparative linguist, explorer, Tibetologist. By *Kara, György*. 1970. 210 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 207–210 pp.
- Lengyel, Béla* (1844–1913) chemist, pedagogue. By *Szőkefalvy-Nagy, Zoltán*. 1983. 179 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 171–178 pp. Bibliography: 179 p.
- Lóczy, Lajos* (1849–1920) geographer, geologist. By *Tasnádi Kubacska, András*. 1974. 149 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 147–149 pp.
- Magyar, László* (1818–1864) explorer, Africanist, geographer. By *Krizsán, László*. 1983. 227 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 213–219 pp. Bibliography: 220–227 pp.
- Marczali, Henrik* (1856–1940) historian. By *Gunst, Péter*. 1983. 202 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 193–200 pp. Bibliography: 201–202 pp.
- Molnár, Erik* (1894–1966) Marxist historian, philosopher, politician. By *Ránki, György*. 1971. 226 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 221–226 pp.
- Munkácsi, Bernát* (1860–1937) comparative Finno-Ugric linguist. By *Kálmán, Béla*. 1981. 179 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 175–179 pp.



- Pattantyús-Ábrahám*, Géza (1885–1956) mechanical engineer. By *Terplán*, Zénó. 1985. 243 pp. 1 ill. His works: 209–237 pp. Bibliography: 238–243 pp.
- Pikler*, Gyula (1864–1937) jurist, philosopher, sociologist. By *Szabó*, Imre. 1973. 183 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 181–182 pp. Bibliography: 182–183 pp.
- Révai*, Miklós (1750–1807) linguist, first university professor of Hungarian. By *Éder*, Zoltán. 1972. 295 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 285–295 pp.
- Rodiczky*, Jenő (1844–1915) economist, historian of agriculture. By *Gaál*, László. 1974. 188 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 187–188 pp.
- Rónay*, Jácint (1814–1889) psychologist, natural scientist. By *Pál*, Lajos. 1976. 191 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 190–191 pp. Bibliography: 191 p.
- Sajnovics*, János (1733–1785) astronomer, forerunner of Finno-Ugric studies in Hungary. By *Lakó*, György. 1973. 247 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 243–247 pp.
- Schaffer*, Károly (1864–1939) neurologist, psychiatrist. By *Miskolczy*, Dezső. 1973. 141 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 137–140 pp. Bibliography: 140–141 pp.
- Sebestyén*, Gyula (1864–1946) folklorist, ethnographer. By *Diószegi*, Vilmos. 1972. 199 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 199–200 pp.
- Simonyi*, Zsigmond (1853–1919) linguist of Hungarian language. By *Tompa*, József. 1975. 227 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 227 p.
- Szabó*, József (1822–1894) geologist, natural scientist. By *Vadász*, Elemér. 1970. 151 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 141–151 pp.
- Than*, Károly (1834–1908) chemist. By *Szabadvány*, Ferenc. 1972. 182 pp. 1 ill. List of his works: 168–179 pp. Bibliography: 180–182 pp.
- Trefort*, Ágoston (1817–1888) politician, essayist, Minister of Religion and Education. By *Mann*, Miklós. 1978. 199 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 199 p.
- Varga*, József (1891–1956) chemist. By *Móra*, László. 1981. 164 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 154–164 pp.
- Vámbery*, Ármin (1832–1913) Turcologist, orientalist, explorer. By *Hazai*, György. 1976. 131 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 130–131 pp.
- Wartha*, Vince (1844–1914) natural scientist, chemist, ceramics researcher. By *Korach*, Mór – *Móra*, László. 1974. 228 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 215–228 pp.
- Winkler*, Lajos (1863–1939) analytical chemist. By *Szabadvány*, Ferenc. 1975. 178 pp. 1 ill. Bibliography: 155–178 pp.

### *Authors' Index (1970–1983)*

- Babics, Antal → see the book about Illyés, Géza
- Balassa, Iván → Jankó, János
- Borzsák, István → Ábel, Jenő
- Diószegi, Vilmos → Sebestyén, Gyula
- Dömötör, Tekla → Honti, János
- Éder, Zoltán → Révai, Miklós
- Eősze, László → Kodály, Zoltán
- Erdélyi T., Ilona → Erdélyi, János
- Farkas Sz., Márta → Bartalus, István
- Gaál, László → Rodiczky, Jenő
- Geday, Gusztáv → Entz, Ferenc
- Gulya, János → Gyarmathi, Sámuel
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Hoppál, Mihály → Ipolyi, Arnold  
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Tomba, József → Simonyi, Zsigmond  
Törő, Imre → Huzella, Tivadar  
Vadász, Elemér → Szabó, József  
Varga, József → Bánki, Donát  
Zempléni M., Jolán – Egyed, László → Eötvös, Loránd  
Zsigmond, Gábor → Beöthy, Leó

**Veröffentlichungen des Finnisch-Ugrischen Seminara an der Universität München**  
**Serie A: Die historischen Ortsnamen von Ungarn Band 18–19–20**

The Finno-Ugric Seminar held at Munich University has, since 1973, produced a book series on the historical place-names of Hungary. General editor of the Finno-Ugric Seminar's publication is a linguist, Professor Gerhard Ganschow. Since 1973 twenty volumes concerning the historical place-names of Hungary – from the Middle Ages until the dissolution of ancient Hungary in 1918 – have appeared. The material has been arranged according to topographic dictionary principles, each volume containing data from a county (*megye*). Georg Heller and Karl Nehring have published the following volumes, all of which originated in Munich.

- Band 1 (= Volume 1) 1973. *Comitatus Sirmiensis* (Szerém county), 228 pages, 1 map.  
 Band 2, 1974. *Comitatus Bachiensis et Bodrogiensis* (Bács-Bodrog county), 96 pages, 1 map.  
 Band 3, 1975. *Comitatus Poseganensis* (Pozsega county), 165 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 4, 1975. *Comitatus Barsiensis* (Bars county), 132 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 5, 1976. *Comitatus Arvensis* (Árva county), 60 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 6, 1976. *Comitatus Veroecensis* (Verőce county), 224 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 7, 1977. *Comitatus Abaujvariensis et Tornensis* (Abaúj-Torna county), 101 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 8, 1977. *Comitatus Varasdiensis* (Varasd county), 202 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 9, 1978. *Comitatus Hontensis* (Hont county), 75 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 10, 1978. *Comitatus Crisiensis* (Körös county), 282 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 11, 1980. *Comitatus Zagradiensis* (Zágráb county), in two books, Teil 1: A–L, 207 pp., and Teil 2: M–Z, 203 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 12, 1981. *Comitatus Gemeriensis* (Gömör county), 100 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 13, 1981. *Comitatus Zempliniensis* (Zemplén county), 238 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 14, 1982. *Comitatus Szathmariensis* (Szatmár county), 20 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 15, 1983. *Comitatus Bereghiensis* (Bereg county), 187 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 16, 1983. *Comitatus Comaromiensis* (Komárom county), 41 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 17, 1984. *Comitatus Unghensis* (Ung county), 151 pp., 1 map.  
 Band 18, 1985. *Comitatus Maramarosiensis et Ugocsiensis* (Máramaros county and Ugocsa county), 236 pp., 2 maps.  
 Band 19, 1985. *Comitatus Jauriensis et Mosoniensis* (Győr county and Moson county), 71 pp., 2 maps.  
 Band 20, 1986. *Comitatus Bihariensis* (Bihar county), 395, 2 maps.

Volumes 1–17 are in fact out of print. The two authors jointly published the first volume, then Nehring edited volumes 2,4,5,7,9,12,16,19, while Heller edited the other volumes. The series is to be continued.

All the volumes follow the same editorial principle. A very short introduction gives the necessary information on the county included. Then all place-name variants and their sources follow, according to the Hungarian alphabetical order. Historical data are published under one heading, i.e. the most common or most recent form. It means historical Hungarian names, e.g. *Borkút* in vol. 18. p. 77, can be found under the actual Soviet name *Kvasy*. The same principle is valid for non-Hungarian names too. E.g. *Deutsch-Mokra* data are found under the recent name of the village: *Komsomol'sk* (vol. 18. p. 69.). Cross-references give all the necessary information. At the end of each volume there is a list of used sources, a list of abbreviations, and a map of the county (usually from *Pallas Lexikon* volumes). Each volume carries a full list of the series and also a list of the Munich *Veröffentlichungen*... series C: *Miscellanea* (hitherto 17 volumes). Each volume has something special in it, due to the regional and source material involved. As Georg Heller repeatedly says (e.g. vol. 20. p. 383) the major aim of the research project in Munich has been to publish place-names from historical counties in Hungary, which from the end of World War

I no longer belonged to Hungary. It is obvious that even in this respect the series is not yet finished, for there are more than 20 counties of the same historical background which have not been covered yet. People who are familiar with Hungarian history can easily understand that even to choose the "right" name for a county is not a simple task. Another problem, if we follow the principle outlined by Heller, is that in many cases the state borders cut the old county territories into two (or more) parts.

The volumes of the series do not give etymological or historical explanations, ethnic affiliations, or statistical data. The German term "*Ortsnamen*" has been used in a very strict sense of the word: village names are included, while smaller settlements (parts of a village, town districts, hamlets etc.) are not included. It would be another project to collect other toponyms, where, as it is well known, e.g. hydronyms are of very great historical importance.

At the end of each volume a half-page summary in English describes the project. It lists, "for further information", a methodical paper by Karl Nehring on the research project, as well as reviews about the early volumes of the series. The vast majority of the 14 review articles were written by Hungarian scholars, but most of these were published in international journals, and outside of Hungary. However, I do not understand why the last review quoted dates back to 1977? Is it true that during the last ten years not one of the dozen new issues of the series has received a more recent review?

Exemplary in its accuracy and regularity in publishing successive volumes, the series has already become a necessary handbook for all scholars who work on the history, onomastics and linguistics of the Karpathian basin. In many cases diplomas, legal or other documents with place-names are the very first data regarding a region or a village. Their collected data bank, as in the twenty volumes so far published, can be used in very many philological or historical studies. We hope for a good and regular continuation of this book series.

### Publications of Finnish–Hungarian folklore and ethnography symposia

Finnish and Hungarian philologists have held fairly regular meetings for about a century and a half. It is no wonder that linguists, folklorists, ethnographers, anthropologists, and more recently musicologists, art historians, literary historians and historians cooperate at international level. Finno–Ugrists' congresses (since 1960 held every five years) offer special sections in all of the above mentioned domains of research. In the proceedings of the congresses there are, in fact, whole volumes dedicated to Finno–Ugric folklore and ethnography. After the fourth international congress of Finno–Ugrists Budapest 1975, a wish arose from both sides: to organize smaller, symposium-like bilateral meetings between the big quinquennial congresses. Linguists started their Finnish–Hungarian meetings soon afterwards. Their interest was mostly concentrated on the comparative phonology of the Finno–Ugric languages. Finnish and Hungarian folklorists did not take long in following the good example.

Between May 23–30, 1977, the first Finnish–Hungarian workshop took place in Budapest. Five Finnish and six Hungarian papers were delivered, and shortly afterwards the proceedings of the meeting were published (these include an introduction and a short paper by the late Gyula Ortutay). *Genre, Structure and Reproduction in Oral Literature*, edited by Lauri Honko and Vilmos Voigt (Budapest, 1980, Akadémiai Kiadó, pp. 188 – volume 5. of the series *Bibliotheca Uralica*. Redigit: P. Hajdú) published the full set of papers (five in German, seven – including the introduction – in English), which deal not only with Finnish, Karelian, Hungarian, Ingrian, Samoyed, but also with comparative problems of folklore research.

In turn the second Finnish–Hungarian workshop took place in Finland (Turku, between November 6–10 1978). Its material was also published promptly. *Adaptation, Change, and Decline in Oral Literature*, edited by Lauri Honko and Vilmos Voigt (Helsinki, 1981, Suomalaisen

Kirjallisuuden Seura, 185 pages, 4 plates – vol. 26 of the series *Studia Fennica* – Review of Finnish Linguistics and Ethnology) is a book which is entirely in English. It contains a preface, seven Hungarian and five Finnish papers. The topics range from Finnish and Hungarian to Ob-Ugric.

The third workshop was again organized in Budapest, 1981. Its main topic was to study symbols in folklore. The material of the meeting will be available soon (again in the series entitled *Bibliotheca Uralica*, published by Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest), edited by Vilmos Voigt. The publication includes some papers which were not delivered at the meeting, (by the late Hungarian scholars Sándor Bálint and Anikó Salamon, and by one Swedish and one Estonian scholar: Åke Hulkrantz and Felix Oinas, respectively). The topics of the publication include Finnish, Estonian, Swedish, Hungarian and comparative folklore.

The fourth symposium was organized in Helsinki between 28–30 November 1983. It appeared as a separate publication, not belonging to any series: *Contemporary Folklore and Culture Change*, edited by Irma-Riitta Järvinen, Helsinki, 1986. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 158 pages. The book is again (with a single exception) in one language, English. After a short and informative preface by the editor, seven Hungarian and five Finnish papers are included. Finnish and Hungarian problems are covered, of course from a comparative aspect.

After a break of two years, between 11–18 November 1985 the fifth symposium was organized in Budapest, under the heading *Uralic World View and Folklore*. Ten papers from this symposium will be edited (all in English), by Mihály Hoppál, and the publication will not be part of a book series. As in the previous volumes, the intended publication will include some papers written by non-Finnish and non-Hungarian scholars.

The sixth Finnish–Hungarian folklorists' symposium was held between 16–19 November 1987 in Tampere. Its central topic was folk music research, and the main organizer was professor Timo Leisiö, a Finnish ethnomusicologist. The material will be published again in Finland.

Six symposia in ten years, followed by good publications, and which have won an international acceptance, comprise the most prolific inter-congress conferences within the framework of the Finnish–Hungarian cultural agreement. It was a good initiative to concentrate on various topics in folklore research. Ritual, mythology, folk music, modern folklore were among the central points of interest. English language became the communication form among the participants. It seems to be a fruitful idea to include not more than ten papers in a volume (and a symposium), all the papers being of an elaborate character. Only in some cases were short working reports published. In the first and second publications a short research history was presented – thus in later volumes the introductory remarks became short and of a practical character. The few non-Finnish and non-Hungarian participants and their papers enrich the symposia, and add even more international value to the series. Since the publications appeared in various central series of volumes, and enjoy good international distribution, the books are well known in comparative folklore research. Hungarian and Finnish folklore research methods and major topics are well represented in the symposia. Perhaps folk art should receive more attention.

Ethnographers followed the same principles in organizing their symposia along similar lines. In 1979 the preparatory work was started, and between 13–18 August 1984, in Turku, the first "Finnish–Hungarian symposium on ethnology" took place. Soon after the ensuing material was published under the title *Cultural Changes*. (Editor: Ildikó Lehtinen, Helsinki, 1985. 291 pages – issue 6, of the series – *Ethnos-toimite*). The book begins with an evaluation of the life and work of Ilmar Talve, emeritus professor of ethnography at Turku University. The two Finnish organizers of the meeting, Markku Aukia and Matti Mattila, then give a brief description of the meeting. Fourteen Hungarian and nine Finnish papers were published. The list of participants at the end of the book shows that 16 Finnish and 15 Hungarian ethnographers attended the meeting. The relatively small booklet gives some short reports, but in the majority of cases full papers are included, with notes, and where necessary, photographs have been included. In this publication the German is the main language of the text.

In the following year the second similar symposium was organized, and this time in Hungary. Its material will be published under the editorship of János Kodolányi. It contains a similar number of papers.

At the symposium Finnish and Hungarian ethnographers concentrated on modern folk life, and in some cases the contributions are more descriptive. It is important, because the papers often give the first short descriptions published of the changing folk life both in Finland and Hungary.

In my opinion the publications and the symposia are not only a token of friendship between Finnish and Hungarian colleagues, but they offer a good possibility for parallel research. Altogether more than one hundred papers (!), and the (unpublished) very vivid discussions about them have given a new form to comparative research in folklore and ethnography. It is not the study of "ancient" Finno-Ugric heritage which has been predominant because modern phenomena are a principal characteristic of the studies. The symposia also provided good opportunities for the participants to get acquainted with research institutions, universities, museums and archives in both countries. To see the different systems and similar efforts in Finland and Hungary is one of the major (but unpublished) achievements of the symposia. Their future will be of great use and importance.

One should add that Finnish colleagues have similar kinds of symposia together with Scandinavian, Karelian and Soviet colleagues. Hungarian folklorists and ethnographers are engaged more in international and regional conferences, such as *Ethnographia Pannonica* and the *Carpatho-Balkan International Committee*, etc. However, it should be said that for Finnish and Hungarian folklorists and ethnographers it would be very useful to have similar symposia with Estonian and other Finno-Ugric colleagues from the Soviet Union. Despite the very many such attempts which have been made, besides the great Finno-Ugric Congresses, there is no possibility for organizing such small symposia. It is a pity. Perhaps within the framework of further Finnish-Hungarian meetings there could be a possibility to invite some colleagues from the Soviet Union as well.

**Popolo, nazione e storia nella cultura italiana  
e ungherese dal 1789 al 1850**

a cura di Vittore Branca e Sante Graciotti  
(Civiltà Veneziana Studi 40)

Firenze, 1985, Leo S. Olschki editore, xii, 421 pp.

In Venice the Cini Foundation on local cultural history (*Fondazione Giorgio Cini - Centro di Cultura e Civiltà - Scuola di San Giorgio per lo studio della civiltà veneziana*) is one of the most famous organizations for international conferences and publications. In close cooperation with the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (*Magyar Tudományos Akadémia*) in Budapest, several smaller or larger conferences have been organized, in most cases with a volume concerning the proceedings appearing afterwards. Between 4-6th November 1982, the Cini Foundation and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences co-sponsored an international colloquium on "People and the nation in history, from the French Revolution to the Spring of the Nations (1789-1850) in Italy and in Hungary" (*Popolo, nazione e storia nella cultura italiana e ungherese tra la Rivoluzione francese e la "Primavera dei popoli": (1789-1850)*). After a short summary providing background information, 26 papers of the symposium have been printed in this volume. 17 authors represent Hungarian literature, history, art history, theatre history and music history - 8 authors having written on the same topics. It is interesting to notice that with a few exceptions all the papers are in Italian (the others being in French), and also that a Polish participant (Jan Ślaski) contributed to the volume, too. The Hungarian contributors wrote on general problems of the time, focusing on Italian and Hungarian cultural contacts. Italian participants frequently dealt with Hungarian topics. Hungarian political emigration to Italy between 1848 and 1866, the importance of Neo-Latin literature in Hungary, József Katona,

neoclassicism, Dániel Berzsenyi, Ferenc Kölcsey, linguists' debates both in Italy and Hungary, Mazzini and Petőfi, the contemporary Hungarian press about pre-revolutionary Italy, Italian influence upon early Hungarian art collecting, national theatre ideas, national opera origins, political satire, Italian epic tradition in Hungarian romanticism, ancient, liberal and revolutionary Italian opinions on Hungary – these are the major topics in the book. "People" and "the nation" are the two key concepts of the work. With a few exceptions (where we find short summaries without documentation), all the papers are rich in references, and have been carefully written. References to Italian and Hungarian works, including works on Hungarian cultural history published in Italy, enrich the volume. It is a very positive sign that the number of printing errors is small (Hungarian, Serbian, French accent marks are sometimes omitted or incomplete). Italian scholars quote not only Hungarian handbooks but also hidden or rare publications, archive material, personal documents etc. with great care.

At the end of the book (on fourteen printed pages) a full list of other Cini Foundation publications can be found, with many further Italico–Hungarica references. To sum up: the volume is one of the most important monuments of current Italian–Hungarian philology and of recent cooperation between its representatives.

The writers mainly comprise Italian scholars who regularly work on Hungarian studies, and Hungarians who have taught Hungarian philology in Italy. It is a well known fact that during the last few years Hungarian studies in Italy have flourished. The volume under review reflects that positive situation, and it is also a remarkable sign of the unceasing interest in Italian affairs from the Hungarian side. We hope similar symposia, followed by their publications, will continue this noble tradition.

### Magyar Könyvészet 1921–1944

A Magyarországon nyomtatott könyvek szakosított jegyzéke – Közreadja az Országos Széchényi Könyvtár III. Társadalomtudományok 2. Jog – Közigazgatás – Népjólét –  
Pedagógia – Néprajz – Bibliographia Hungarica 1921–1944  
Catalogus systematicus librorum in Hungaria editorum – Editit Bibliotheca Nationalis Hungariae a Francisco Széchényi fundata III. Scientiae Sociales 2. Ius–administratio publica–beneficentia–paedagogia–ethnographia  
Budapest, 1985, 715 pp., 360.– Ft

The National Library of Hungary (*Országos Széchényi Könyvtár*) was founded in its first form in 1802. Since the 19th century it has not only been the largest and most important library in Hungary, but also the world's greatest *Hungarica*-collection. It is entrusted with publication of the "Hungarian National Bibliography", a complete bibliography of all the publications which are related to Hungary. To collect or to publish a full *Hungarica* bibliography is not an easy task. In Hungary the number of publications is very high, and some of these appear in smaller institutions, thus being inaccessible in public libraries. The number of *Hungarica* printed abroad is also very high, and it is easy to understand why they are even more difficult to be collected in Budapest.

During the 19th century Hungarian bibliographers tried to publish "complete" *Hungarica*-lists, i.e. bibliographies, which also included the publications from abroad. In the 20th century the aim of the "Hungarian National Bibliography" ("*magyar nemzeti bibliográfia*") became more modest. First of all they tried to publish a complete "current bibliography" of publications printed in Hungary – both of books, smaller publications and press items. Monthly or yearly lists were made, which were intended to be incorporated into bulky volumes, containing many years' material. Because of financial and other problems, the aim was not achieved. The most recent venture is the publication of current "Hungarian National Bibliography", and the first two volumes of the "old" complete bibliography were published as part of this programme. A series entitled *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok – Res litteraria Hungariae vetus operum impressorum*, in its two volumes (Budapest, 1971 and 1983), gave as

complete a list as possible of books printed in Hungary from 1473 to 1635 on, and further volumes are in preparation. As it is clear from the title, the bibliography does not contain *Hungarica* from abroad, but gives a full list of publications in Hungary, i.e. it refers to non-*Hungarica* as well, as long as they happened to be published in Hungary itself.

The same principle also has been followed by the *Magyar könyvészet - Bibliographia* series. The most recent volume covers the years 1921-1944. All the printed books in Hungary have been included, but *Hungarica* from outside of Hungary were excluded. Incidentally, Hungarian history during the aforementioned time made difficulties for the librarians and bibliographers. The "greater" Hungary became "small" after the World War I, thus publications from Romania, Czechoslovakia, etc. are out of the scope of the present bibliography. Hungarian political emigration at that time was considerable, and so, important publications from this source fall outside the scope of the present bibliography. It is a pity that Hungarian immigrant publications, e.g. in the United States, Canada etc. are also *per definitonem* excluded. The National Library of Hungary in Budapest does collect such publications so we hope that eventually, a sister bibliography to the present series will be available too.

Perhaps I should not mention it separately, but the time period 1921-1944 is of some significance. Book publications after World War I, and after the first Communist Republic in Hungary have a very distinct limit, and the same could also be said about the year 1944 during World War II. However, it is a well known fact that during the Second World War for a few years parts of South Slovakia, North and East Transylvania and North Yugoslavia returned to Hungarian rule. Thus publications from there also provide data for the present bibliography.

A bibliography for 1921-1944 published forty years later must be a complete one. Volume III of the series covers social sciences. Subvolume 2 contains the following domains: law, administration, social welfare, education and ethnography. More than 25,000 data are referred to. Some of them are offprints or re-editions, yet the number of individual books is still very high, being above ten thousand. Following the international "decimal" system of book catalogues, the systematization is very precise, with annotations, references etc. The multi-volume bibliography will have a general index. Schoolbooks or other educational publications will be included in a separate volume, regardless of the fact that their subject material might be pertinent to the topical collections.

The present volume has a very short practical introduction, then a list of abbreviations, a four page subject index, and a table of contents in three pages follow. All materials and annotations are in Hungarian. Only the title of the series is bilingual (*Latin-Hungarian*). One might wonder, who could understand that "*beneficentia*" covers social security, Red Cross, family planning, and so on? At least some short details about the "decimal" system would have been very useful. Still I hope, bibliography fanatics are of a curious mind: probably they will find good references. In Hungary, ethnography is a broad-ranging term, which includes "material folk culture" and "folklore" as well. Even "anthropology", or "ethnology" is in Hungary a kind of ethnography (*néprajz*). Unfortunately the present bibliography does not represent this situation correctly.

The individual field of law covers about 25% of the bibliographical items. State administration and alike are a little less, covering about 22%. War and military items comprise about 7%. Social welfare contains somewhat more, about 8%. Education items are very high in number, totalling more than 30%. "Ethnography" is as voluminous as war, making around 7% of the referred items.

A quarter of a century (1921-1944), with very many forgotten publications, in a good bibliography is always a fund for further research. Because political publications in the strict sense of the terms are not represented in the present bibliography, I think there was hardly any printed book between 1921-1944, which was not included into the bibliography. Even books like "Limiting Jewish participation in cultural and economic life" have been included, because it was an "indication of a legal bill", thus it represents an item belonging to the chapter in this case ironically labelled "law". Hitler's book and Hungarian Nazi pamphlets are not included in this volume, because they belong to different chapters concerning social items. Since in Hungary the largest libraries specializing in social sciences do have special "closed collections" of anti-communist, fascist, and racist books (pornography and religion are sometimes included too), for the use of which a special researcher's entry card is



needed, there are books about which this bibliography gives the first information. (I have to add that in the card index of the National Library of Hungary, accessible to everybody, a majority of such books are in fact represented, thus enabling a prior orientation of potential readers.)

Without an author's index the reviewer cannot say, whether the bibliography is full, or not. Only after the completion of the other volumes will we be able to see under which label a book is located, and with good cross-references the method is acceptable. My criticism concerns two features. As I have said already, without any information in a major language the bibliography makes its usage unnecessarily difficult for users outside of Hungary. Sometimes book titles are of dubious character and in such cases some, short information would have been absolutely necessary. Just as an example: Kolosváry, Bálint: *Az arckép és a jog*. Szeged, 1927 – a booklet, labelled at 342.7 as pertaining to "human rights". Its title suggests it is about "Portrait and Law". Yet does it mean artists' portraits, photographs, descriptive narratives, or something else? I know that the author was a prominent lawyer, but two or three words of additional information would have been still of good service. To end on a positive note: in general, printing errors in the book titles have been carefully corrected. On the other hand, in some cases authors' names could have been identified with in greater care, e.g. Schmidt, Lipót should be given as Leopold Schmidt, since his name was known by this form as one of the most famous Austrian folklorists of the 20th century.

As a matter of information we should add that following other volumes complete the "Hungarian National Bibliography". See for the years 1473–1635 the "new" *Régi Magyarországi Nyomtatványok* (mentioned above, on p. 309 in two volumes, further ones in preparations); for 1473(!)–1711: Szabó, Károly: *Régi Magyar Könyvtár*. 3 volumes, published in Budapest, 1879–1898; for 1711–1860: Petrik, Géza: *Magyarország bibliographiája*. 4 volumes, 1882–1892, with later additional volumes; for 1860–1875: Petrik, Géza: *Magyar könyvészet* (1885); for 1876–1885 under the same title compiled by Kizlingstein, Sándor (1890); for 1886–1900 again by Petrik (two volumes, 1908–1913); for 1901–1910 by Petrik, Géza and Barcza, Imre (two volumes, 1917–1928); for 1911–1920 by Kozocsa, Sándor (two volumes, 1939–1942). Even the more recent continuation of the bibliography under review was already published. Vol. I. of *Magyar könyvészet 1945–1960* contains all social sciences. It was published by the *Országos Széchényi Könyvtár* (edited by Sebestyén Géza) in 1965.

Lovag, Zsuzsa

### The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia

Budapest, 1986, The Hungarian National Museum, (24 pp.) 78,— Ft

On the 6th January 1976, Cyrus Vance, American Secretary of State, solemnly gave back the royal insignia of Hungary to the Chairman of the National Assembly in Budapest. Since then, at the central room of the Hungarian National Museum in Budapest, the insignia have been on display in a special exhibition. (Sometimes, because of scholarly studies, not all the items are available for viewing. On such occasions visitors are able to see copies and secondary sources.) The small booklet under review is designed for visitors. It gives a very accurate description of the regalia, with excellent drawings, and good photographs. For technical reasons the crown and other regalia are not in a very light room, and the increasing number of visitors literally pushes away anybody, who wants to spend a longer time viewing the items. Thus it is useful to get a preliminary introduction to the exhibition in advance. This book, which includes a bibliography and lists relevant studies published in English, serves the purpose very well indeed. It refers to scholarly works on the topic, yet does not enter into abstruse discussions. It is no secret that the "Sacred, Angelic and Apostolic Crown of the Hungarian Kingdom" is the most important historical and art historical artefact from the Hungarian Middle Ages. Therefore scholars have written prolifically on the subject and there is disagreement on nearly every detail surrounding the ideology and art history behind the regalia. An accurate description is thus rendered even more necessary. (The book is also available in German and Hungarian.)

Fejérváry, Magda—Ratimorsky, Piroska—Trugly, Sándor  
**A komáromi múzeum száz éve**  
 Bratislava, 1986, Madách Könyv- és Lapkiadó,  
 188 pp., 48 plates, 48,—Ft

A Hungarian language yearbook *Új Mindenés Gyűjtemény* has appeared in Slovakia since 1982. Its aim is to publish material concerning the cultural history and traditions of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. Local history (including natural studies), ethnography, children's games and dances figure among the publications, the major aim of which is to present hitherto unpublished material. The most recent one in the series is volume 5, a special issue on the centenary of the public museum in Komárom/Komarno.

Three workers of the museum edited the book, and it is introduced in a one-page article (*Bevezetőül*) by the museum's director, József Kajtár. A short sketch on the museum's childhood (1870–1913) follows. Fifteen articles grouped into four chapters deal with the particular collections. The museum was directed by an association (which often changed its name, but was known in the town as *Történeti és Régészeti Egylet* – “Historical and Archaeological Association”) from 1886 until the end of World War II, after which it became one of the Czechoslovakian state museums. To be a Hungarian museum, or even to be a local museum for a district which was, in Czechoslovakia, a stronghold of Hungarian culture, has not always been an easy task. Nowadays the museum houses archaeological, historical, various modern historical, ethnographical, natural and art collections, with a lively exhibition and educational *programme*. All these are described in the book in detail. The museum of the Danubian region (*Duna Menti Múzeum*) as its official title says, is one of the best-equipped museums in Czechoslovakia. A director, 4 departmental chiefs, 9 museologists (among the 2 archaeologists, 2 ethnographers, an art historian, a literary historian, a botanist, and an entomologist), a documentarist, a photographer, museum curators and three exhibition guides are among the permanent employees. More than half of the museologists got their university degrees in Hungary, while the others graduated in Czechoslovakia. The number of exhibitions and visitors to those exhibitions started to increase significantly from 1968 on. Annually, more than 40.000 visitors enter the museum.

The book is edited in an excellent way. It includes bibliography, statistics, biographical data and correct information is given by the figures. The authors interviewed all the previous museum staff members (among them exponents of Hungarian cultural activity there between the world wars!), and point out to the reader instances of data being unavailable for specific questions. In one word: this is the best book ever written on a “Hungarian” museum. It might serve as a model for similar books both inside and outside Hungary and Czechoslovakia.

Like the whole series of *Új Mindenés Gyűjtemény* (The title dates back to 1789, the year when József Péczely, initiated in Komárom his semi-scholarly, semi-literary magazine in Hungarian language, *Mindenés Gyűjtemény* or “General Magazine”), this issue is available only in Hungarian. Since there are not so many good and working museums in the Karpathian Basin with a centenary to celebrate, at least a short summary in a more widely used language (and, of course, also in Slovakian) would seem to have been justified. We hope, when in 1989 Komárom celebrates the bicentennial of the old *Mindenés Gyűjtemény*, the editors will also include short summaries in languages other than Hungarian. This monument of cultural history in one region deserves more international acknowledgement and acceptance.

### Žitnoostrovské Múzeum. Csallóközi Múzeum – Dunajská Streda

Spravodaj Múzea – Múzeumi Híradó – VIII. roč. évf. – 1984

(Dunajská Streda), 86 pp.

Csallóköz (in Slovakian Žitny Ostrov, in German Schütt) is the best agricultural region in Czechoslovakia. Consequently it is the most traditional area for a folk culture where the original population is even today about 90% Hungarian. Their excellent ethnographic (and other) museum collections date back to the time of the Czechoslovakian Republic when, at the end of 1927, the local teacher Antal Khín (with the help of the scientific society *Urania* in Bratislava) organized a regional museum in Somorja/Samorín (in German Schütt-Sommerein). After World War II, Khín came to Budapest (where he worked at the Agricultural Museum, writing papers on gold-washing in Csallóköz etc.), and the vast majority of the material collected by him was lost (the rest is now at the Csallóközi Múzeum). In Dunaszerdahely/Dunajská Streda, after many years of preparation, in 1964 the work of the Csallóközi Múzeum could begin. The first building selected for the museum was one of the oldest and most beautiful houses in the town, the White Castle (*Fehér Kastély*). Unfortunately, its miserable condition did not permit any real functional use and that was the reason why in 1970, another old house, the Yellow Castle (*Sárga Kastély*, built in 1770 by Miklós Kondé, Roman Catholic bishop of Nagyvárad) was made available for the museum. After necessary reconstruction works, in July 1972 the first exhibition (on ethnography and folk life) was opened. In 1976 Gyula Mag was appointed director of the Museum, and he has worked there for the last twenty years. The museum now has 8 trained museum curators and some other persons for practical work.

The present booklet gives a good description of the museum's past and present. It is a bilingual publication, with whole articles and summaries printed in Hungarian and in Slovakian. The introduction presents a history of the museum. After this come papers on socialist agriculture of the Dunaszerdahely region, on natural science and on art. The ethnographic collection of the museum is of an extraordinary and important character, and it comprises a major part of the museum's permanent exhibition – thus there is a good paper on folk traditions and holiday customs. Full of data and good photographs this booklet is an excellent guide to the Dunaszerdahely museum. The only trouble is that a mere 400 copies were originally issued and it is now impossible to get it. One should add that on the other hand folders, leaflets and similar smaller printed material on current exhibitions are still available to visitors, both in Hungarian and in Slovakian.

If and when international tourism from Vienna to Budapest will use the way via Pozsony/Bratislava, Dunaszerdahely/Dunajská Streda, Komárom/Komarno more frequently, there will be a need for new and international guides to their museums (more preferably in German). A unique area of its kind, with beautiful early medieval small villages and churches, sturgeon fishing and gold-washing until quite recent times, and a genuine peasant landscape, it is very tempting for both tourists and museologists. We hope, further good information on the museums of the region will be available in the future.

### Örmény magyar bibliográfia magyar nyelven

Összeállították: Korbuly, Domonkos–Simon, J. Zaven  
Budapest, 1986, 91 pp., 100,- Ft.

This private publication is an Armenian–Hungarian bibliography stencilled at the Országos Közművelődési Központ Módszertani Intézet, and it deals with Hungarian–Armenians. Korbuly and Simon, the compilers, give a one-page introduction in three languages (Hungarian, Russian and English). They inform us that their bibliography contains about 400 items of Hungarian language

publications concerning all kinds of Armenians. Chapter I contains books and publications, in which Armenian topics are mentioned. Historical and ethnographic books, literary works (e.g. the Hungarian translation of Franz Werfel's novel *40 days of the Musa Dagh*), and a Hungarian newspaper article on Charles Aznavour are some of the items which can be found there. Chapter II is a bibliography of all important articles published in the Hungarian journal called *Armenia*, (comprising 21 volumes running from 1887–1907). On page 91 a dozen further bibliographic additions can be found.

There are small errors in the bibliography, in the introductions, and in orthography (even of the authors' names). For instance, Chapter II contains newspaper articles other than those belonging to the journal *Armenia*. It would be an easy task to find hundreds of similar newspaper articles on Armenians. Still the bibliography is a very necessary one. All works written about Armenians in Hungary (and in Hungarian) have been considered. For about 300 years Armenians have been living in Hungary, thus their cultural history is an important part of Hungarian cultural history as well. Continuation of the bibliography is absolutely necessary, and in a second, corrected and enlarged edition, it will be an essential handbook for Hungarian studies too.

Kolba, Judit H. and T. Németh, Annamária  
**Treasures of Hungary.**  
**Gold & Silver from the 9th to the 19th Century**  
 Budapest, 1986, Corvina, 72 pp., ill., 310,— Ft.

This book is in fact a catalogue for an exhibition, which was organized in cooperation with the Hungarian National Museum (*Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum*) in Budapest, by the Cooper–Hewitt Museum and the Smithsonian Institution Travelling Exhibition Service. Support also came from the United States Information Agency and the Hungarian Ministry of Culture and Education. Pan American World Airways, Inc. and Atrium Hyatt, Budapest were also instrumental in the production of both the exhibition and its very fine catalogue.

An exemplary work in its foreword, by Ferenc Fülep (the late General Director of the Hungarian National Museum), tells a nutshell history of the museum (from 1802) and of its unique metalwork collection. Today the museum houses 23,000 examples of metalwork, two-third of these being in its Medieval Department. At the travelling exhibition more than 70 of the best ones were exhibited (among them 10 from other museums in Hungary). A brief introductory chapter on Hungarian metalwork from the ninth to the nineteenth century opens the book, then a detailed catalogue follows. All the items are represented by excellent photographs (sometimes in a puzzling arrangement, because coloured ones fall outside of the numerical order – thus colour item nr. 36 follows black-and-white item nr. 54). Yet despite this irregularity the reader is presented with all the relevant photographs. Only people who have tried to make photographs of precious metalwork pieces can appreciate the difficulty in taking pictures of shiny and glittering buckles, chalices, dishes, crosses, cups, tankards, beakers, belts, spurs, jewels etc. Some less typical works are also represented, such as: a Torah crown and a Torah shield, a spice container, a monstrance, a reliquary, a silver-gilt bishop's crook, a prayer book cover, and a font. 41 hallmarks are depicted in enlarged drawings. Under the heading "Master biographies", short biographies of 23 smiths are presented. The bibliography at the end of the book contains thirty references: of the given references ten are in English, others are in German or French, and only half of them are in Hungarian. A map of major place-names mentioned in the catalogue ends the volume. Although, in Hungary, the price is exceptionally expensive for a short book, its scholarly merit, English terminology and printing quality are good.

However, there is a minor point I want to mention. Family names in the book are in their original forms. That means Saxon goldsmith masters from Transylvania are called by their German family name. For example, in the "master biographies" we find only five persons with a surname which is

undoubtedly Hungarian. Place-names cited throughout the book are of current Hungarian spelling, thus Kolozsvár and Nagyszombat occur. Only a Torah shield stems from "Liptószentmiklós/Liptovský Mikuláš" (incidentally, one of the few printing errors occurs here in the Slovakian variant). But in the master biographies to our surprise we find, in three cases, a town's name also in Slovakian (p. 71), e.g. Késmárk/Kežmarok and Eperjes/Prešov — yet, somewhat inconsistently, in the same sentence Kassa remains only in Hungarian. The map at the end of the book gives 7 place-names from Slovakia in their Hungarian form, and under those in parenthesis the current Slovakian ones. The three city names on the map from Transylvania follow the same principle. On the other hand, the only name from Austria is "Wien/Wienna", thus the Hungarian form has disappeared. Corvina Press has a constant fight with historical place-names within the Carpathian Basin. In principle, in a book printed in Hungary, and about historical material (the latest item in the book is from the end of the 19th century), Hungarian place-names, and Hungarian forms of family names, and of first names might be the most common and useful. On maps, for orientation the same (i.e. the Hungarian) forms can occur first, then the current and official names. But in the case of German goldsmith art in Kassa, Kolozsvár or Pozsony, German names (Kaschau, Klausenburg, Pressburg) must be mentioned too. In the case of Saxonian masters it is ridiculous to write only Brassó (and add Brasov too) and Nagyszeben (and add Sibiu). For the masters those cities were definitely Kronstadt and Hermannstadt. In one of the bibliographical references (p. 72) even a non-existing English version "Brashov" occurs. Because the same problem is characteristic for other books from Hungary published in English, we hope a general solution will be found soon.

At the very end of the book there is a short list of pertinent exhibition guides and catalogues. From there we learn that from 1930 on in Hungary, and from 1966 on abroad, Hungarian goldsmith's productions of art were often exhibited. After Paris, London, Beograd, Zagreb, Bruxelles, Rome, Tokyo, Delft and Schallaburg, this time the masterpieces travelled to America. Justice has been done to the beauty of these pieces by this admirable catalogue.

Vikár, László

**Volga—Káma—Bjelaja vidéki finnugor és török népzene gyűjtés  
— Collection of Finno-Ugric and Turcic Folk Music in  
the Volga—Kama—Belaya Region — 1958—1979**

Budapest, 1986, MTA Zenetudományi Intézet  
125 pp., mus. notes, 42,— Ft

Ethnomusicologist of the Musicological Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, László Vikár, and Professor of Finno-Ugric studies at Loránd Eötvös University in Budapest, Gábor Bereczki have undertaken important fieldwork trips among the Mordvinians, Votyaks, Cheremis, Chuvash, Tatars and Bashkirs. Vikár describes the peoples, their work, gives some samples of their music, and presents a useful bibliography. A list of their tapes, kept in archives of the Musicological Institute, also forms part of the work. Their invaluable material has been published in books, and on discs as well. Further publications are under preparation.

As Zoltán Kodály said half a century ago, the key to the proto-history of Hungarian folk music lies with the ethnomusicology of the Volga—Kama—Belaya region.

The Musicological Institute in Budapest (*Zenetudományi Intézet*) has started to publish very important source material in recent years. At the end of this booklet you can find a list of some of these works. This book is in fact bilingual, a good English translation at the end of the book giving the necessary information both for a general reader and for an expert in comparative folk music research.

### High and Low in American Culture

Editor: Charlotte Kretzoi

Budapest, 1986. Department of English, L. Eötvös University,  
204 pp., 80,- Ft.

The Department of English (which also houses American studies) at the Loránd Eötvös University Budapest organized a symposium "High Culture and Popular Culture in America"; this being held between April 14 and 16, 1985. The symposium, the first of its kind, was initiated by the Salgo-Noren Foundation, and was organized by Professor Paul J. Nagy (then Dr. Otto Salgo Visiting Professor of American Studies at Loránd Eötvös University, Department of English). 15 papers are published in the volume, five from American participants, and two-thirds by Hungarian philologists specializing in American (or English) studies. Language, literature, film, and vernacular arts were the most topical themes in the symposium. From one point of view it might be surprising to see how many Hungarians deal with strictly American problems but, from another, it is interesting to note that Hungary is always one of their reference points. Two of the papers included can serve as good examples. Aladár Sarbu (*Concepts of Culture, or our Image of America*) starts with the British image of America, but arrives to a summary by giving typical Hungarian opinions. Bálint Rozsnyai (*High Culture, Popular Culture, and the Teaching of American Studies in Hungary*), in his summarizing essay, mentions that it was the late Professor László Országh, who introduced Hungary to American studies. Országh's name is mentioned also in the very short introductory editorial note. His Hungarian-American study plans are still valid in Hungary (see *Hungarian Studies* vol. 1, number 2, 1985, pp. 291-296). Professor Sarbu is the head of the Department of English in Budapest, and Professor Rozsnyai holds the same position at the Attila József University in Szeged. Thus the validity of the "Hungarological" trend in American studies in Hungary seems to be continuous. Another link with *Hungarian Studies* is the person of the editor. Professor Charlotte Kretzoi was the first executive editor of our journal.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO AUTHORS

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