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HUNGARIAN STUDIES

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A STUDY IN HUNGARIAN LITERARY HISTORY: BABITS ON ADY

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By the turn of the century western Europe, now largely urbanized and undergoing changes as rapid and drastic as ever in its history, had all but abandoned its Victorian-era doctrine of progress. Positivism was giving ground to the vitalist philosophies of Nietzsche and Bergson; Descartes' soul or ego – pure reason which was also one and the same as the self – was, as scrutinized by Freud, beginning to look like a mere speck in the seething ocean of the unconscious. The scientific world-view was straying ever further from the rational Newtonian model, making such paradoxical discoveries as would lead to Einstein's theory of relativity and quantum mechanics.

In the heart of the Habsburg monarchy, however, these new paradigms of thought were, if apprehended at all, embraced with a great deal less urgency. After all, it was only in 1896 that Hungary had celebrated her millennium, certainly a proud moment but in a way also the grandest expression of those provincial and chauvinistic attitudes which would ultimately prove Hungary's undoing.

Yet even amidst all the patriotic sentiment, among the purveyors of which were the uninspired poets Lajos Pósa and Mihály Szabolcska, there began to emerge the signs of a literary renaissance. There were Vajda's magnificent last volumes, which in their peculiar use of symbols anticipated Ady; Komjány's idiosyncratic poetry expressive of a cosmos not accounted for in the folk-national world-view; and Reviczky, whose nearly militant cosmopolitanism foreshadowed Babits.

Ady and Babits were both members of that generation of Hungarians who, by their formidable accomplishments in the arts and sciences, are without peers in Hungarian history. In music there were Bartók and Kodály, in the visual arts Lajos Gulácsy and Ferenc Medgyessy; there were Freud's disciple Sándor Ferenczi, the linguist Zoltán Gombocz, the aesthetician Lukács, the poet and film theorist Béla Balázs. In literature the path towards Hungary's modern age was, in part, prepared by the proliferation of such forward-looking journals and periodicals as *Jövendők*, *Új Idők* and, most important of all, *A Hét*.

The literary periodical, in the modern sense of the world, had arrived. Perhaps the two greatest contributors of *A Hét*, Ignó and Ernő Osvát, joined forces with Miksa Fenyő and financier Lajos Hatvany in 1908 to found what may be the most important Hungarian literary journal ever: the *Nyugat*. Ady contributed to the journal from the

beginning, while Babits, whose death in 1941 essentially meant the end of the *Nyugat*, only joined its ranks towards the end of the year.

At first it was very much Ady around whom literary opinion, praise and opprobrium alike, was centered. His star shone much too bright than that the lesser suns in his vicinity could emerge with their own distinctive contours. But in time it became apparent that in Mihály Babits Hungarian literature had a talent who in many ways rivalled Ady, certainly one whose technical wizardry and stunning erudition owed little to the example of Ady.

Ady looked towards the West, it is true, but ultimately less for literary models than for models of the modern society. He was a newspaper writer first, many of whose poems would take up the same themes already treated in his articles. The revolution he wrought in Hungarian literature was, for all its purposefulness, almost instinctual and but a part—if in retrospect clearly the most significant part—of his career in public life whose main aim was nothing short of the social and political transformation of the country.

Babits, meanwhile, though accepting with reservations Taine's literary determinants of race, milieu and moment, was far from embracing anything so deterministic as the later Marxist-Leninist notion that literature, as a constituent of the super-structure, depended in its development on the socio-economic sphere in which it may be said to operate. So, whereas Babits often likened the development of literature to evolution, he also saw it by and large as a self-contained process, conforming to laws peculiar to itself.

Thus for Babits knowledge and absorption of literary traditions was a vital concern. It was the relative lack of this, he argued, to which Hungarian literature owed its precipitous decline towards the end of the nineteenth century.

Therefore, if Ady seemed to tap into an ancient, almost pre-historical impulse to create his vitally new poetry in the service of social change, Babits immersed himself in literary traditions spanning some three millenia, ultimately to arrive at a philosophy of literature best summed up in the expression *l'art pour l'art*.

The subject of Babits's Ady-criticism enjoys a burgeoning literature. Until the mid 60's or so, the views of Lajos Hatvany and Gyula Földessy held sway. According to them, Babits, who coveted Ady's preeminent position in Hungarian letters, played the part of objective critic only to insinuate a comparison between himself and Ady which was decidedly in his own favor.¹ Since then, thanks mainly to the work of Pál Kardos, Lóránt Basch, István Gál and György Rába, this biased but by no means unfounded view has been giving way to the other extreme. Namely, that Babits was not only fair and objective in his Ady-commentary, but indeed was Ady's most understanding and insightful critic.²

The truth of the matter is somewhere in between. It would be uncharitable, however, to suppose that such anti-Ady overtones as do exist in Babits are entirely, even primarily, to be attributed to Babits's alleged envy of Ady. We should not forget that Babits did recognize Ady's unique talent and his inestimable contribution to Hungarian literature. Ultimately, however, his appreciation of Ady was limited by

several factors, the most important being his own very well-defined literary-aesthetic views which were very much at odds with Ady's. These in turn were shaped and determined by Babits's Transdanubian-Catholic heritage, again at variance with the Partium and Calvinist milieu into which Ady was born.

When therefore Babits is accused, not only in connection with his Ady-writings but with his literary criticism in general, of being too subjective, it would be well to bear in mind the words of T. S. Eliot, who said: "I believe that the critical writings of poets ... owe a great deal of their interest to the fact that the poet, at the back of his mind, if not as his ostensible purpose, is always trying to defend the kind of poetry he is writing, or to formulate the kind that he wants to write."³

(After these introductory remarks, we may now take up the subject of Babits's earliest thoughts and ruminations on Ady—his "private", unpublished Ady criticism.)

By early 1905 faint but ever louder rumblings began making themselves heard. Just as Babits and his friend Kosztolányi were peering into their crystal ball and seeing there a Hungarian literary renaissance which only awaited them to usher it in, in came bolting Ady from out of the blue. In practically a flash, the modern age of Hungarian literature had begun, without either Babits or Kosztolányi.

A journalist who had put in apprentice years in Debrecen and Nagyvárad before settling in Budapest, Ady burst upon the literary scene, in 1905–1906, like a meteor crashing upon a sleepy planet. Although he already had two volumes of poems to his credit, *Versek* (Poems, 1899) and *Még egyszer* (Once Again, 1903), their Biedermeier conventionalities hardly portended the arrival of a great poet. True, the poems that had begun to appear in the dailies *Budapesti Napló*—the paper for which Ady worked—and *Jövendő* might have alerted the especially perceptive to a great poet in the making. Nevertheless, until Ady had returned from his year-long sojourn in Paris, in early 1905, and had unfurled the new poetry which had been conceived or written there, a newspaper writer he essentially remained.

Of course, as Erzsébet Vezér has pointed out, there was always an intimate relationship between his poetry and his journalism, the former being in a way an extension of the latter. Themes, motifs, and issues of the day which had already won a forum in his prose, were taken up again in his poetry.⁴ This in itself would have been enough to raise not a few eyebrows. But Ady's clarion's or crusader's voice, unorthodox metrics, elaborate symbolism, eccentric diction, and peculiarly *Magyar* themes all combined to create a radically new kind of poetry.

Seen in a larger context, Ady was swept in with the second wave of symbolists and had affinities with the likes of Rilke, Verhaeren, Blok and Machado.⁵ An early biographer, József Révai, listed as his main influences the Parnassians, Nietzsche and Tolstoy.⁶ Babits himself argued that Ady could not be understood without appreciating the impact made on him by the iambic verse of Reviczky, the Heine-school, and the French symbolists.⁷ Ady meanwhile regarded János Vajda and Csokonai "as his true predecessors and spiritual relatives".⁸

Although hailed by some as a genius and as the future of Hungarian poetry, Ady

and his poetry exercised a much different effect on the majority of people. As Lajos Fülep remembered:

The sensation was the scandal that such poems were being published at all, such incomprehensible, meaningless, crazy, insane poems, and not just once or twice in some humor periodical, as a joke, but from week to week, with unerring consistency, in a serious political journal."⁹

It was impossible, moreover, to dismiss Ady out of hand, because his provocative style aroused among those genuinely critical of his poetry not apathetic yawns, but outrage and indignation. And Ady, donning the cloak of a prophet, announced in shrill and pompous tones his self-appointed mission.

Verecke híres útján jöttem én,
Fülembé még ósmagyar dal rivall,
Szabad-e Dévénynél betörnöm
Új időknek új dalaival?¹⁰

Babits, in 1905, was in the last of his four years at the University of Budapest, busy cultivating himself and his craft. Although he would remark years later that he had intended to pursue a career in philosophy,¹¹ his major subjects were all the same Latin and Hungarian. Originally he was to have written his thesis on János Arany, but, perhaps daunted by the difficulties in doing an exhaustive study on the poet he admired above all others, he changed his topic to, interestingly enough, a linguistic one: the objective conjugation in Hungarian.¹² Since 1904 he had been attending the writing seminar of László Négyesy, where he made the acquaintance of Gyula Juhász and Dezső Kosztolányi. These three young literary aspirants were all wellread and cultivated, and all shared the same dream: to make a great impact upon the world of *belles lettres*.

The three of them formed at this time a fairly close-knit society. As proof of this can be cited their steady letter correspondence which had its beginnings during, but continued well after their association at the university. The bond between them was in part formed by the worship of common idols: Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, the English Romantics, the Parnassians, Ibsen and Tolstoy. Their tastes were by no means identical, however. Kosztolányi's high praise of Byron was countered by Babits's summarial dismissal of same.¹³ Babits's enthusiasm for the decadent in literature, meanwhile, was greeted by Kosztolányi with a mixture of scorn and surprise.¹⁴ And, as we shall see, Juhász's good opinion of Ady would not be shared by either Babits or Kosztolányi.

Now, these young men, but particularly Babits and Kosztolányi, envisaged themselves as the leaders of a great literary renaissance which they saw on the horizon. They groomed themselves for the task purposefully, and in accordance with a common assumption: that the new Hungarian literature would be only so strong as its practitioners were cultured. Knowledge of languages, and of literary traditions, and

the scrupulous attention to craftsmanship—these were the building blocks of great literature.

Babits himself learned German and French while still a youth, and would come to know, with varying levels of proficiency, Latin, Greek, English and Italian. His love of reading and books, fostered at home by his cultivated father, developed at the university into an irrepressible passion. He became on familiar terms with the literature of antiquity, and also grew to like medieval literature, thus combining classical tastes with romantic. But he followed more modern trends as well, and, apart from the idols he shared with Juhász and Kosztolányi, his favorites included Baudelaire, Poe, Whitman, Pushkin, Browning and Swinburne. In philosophy, too, to which he increasingly turned his attention during his university years, Babits displayed an omnivorous reading appetite. Besides Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, who were on practically every cultivated person's reading list at the turn of the century, Babits read, or would in due time come to read, Augustine, Spinoza, Kant, and the English Empiricists Locke, Berkeley and Hume. He was also an ardent admirer of the American pragmatist William James, the social Darwinist Herber Spencer, and the vitalist Bergson.

It was all the same Hungarian that constituted one half of Babits's formal fields of study. His letters to Juhász and Kosztolányi, therefore, saturated though they are with references to foreign literatures, also betray their author's keen interest in his—their—national literature. In early 1905, for example, Babits wrote to Kosztolányi, "...I want to acquire for myself a Hungarian education, if there is such a thing. I am trying to read old Hungarian classics."¹⁵ Though not mentioned by name, one of "the classics" Babits no doubt had in mind here was Vörösmarty, about whom he would write two seminal essays. The figure he loved and admired most, however—the one most often mentioned in his letters to Kosztolányi and Juhász—was János Arany, on whom he had till about the time of the letter been engaged in research.¹⁶ It is interesting to note the way Kosztolányi would respond to this news. Writing from Vienna where he was then studying, he exclaimed:

I burst with pride when I read that you too have been transformed into a Hungarian, and that you are engrossing yourself in our literature. I had myself intended, just as soon as I can leave this drab people, to immerse myself in our classics. What a divine joy it must be for you to luxuriate in Arany!¹⁷

In addition, Babits was much taken with the novelist and short-story writer Zsigmond Kemény, who more than any other anticipated a realist style in Hungarian prose. He was, moreover, very fond of Jenő Péterfy whose hybrid world-view, made up in practically equal measure of both positivistic and humanistic traits, was not far from his own.

Nevertheless, it was foreign writers and poets who most captured the imagination of Babits and friends. This was due, in part, to their tacit conviction that the upgrading and modernization of Hungarian literature would be commensurate with how well it could rejoin the European mainstream. Either practically unknown in Hungary or

still lacking any impact were the Parnassians, the Symbolists, the Pre-Raphaelites, and even a great deal of naturalist prose. Certainly one reason for the backwardness of *fin de siècle* Hungarian literature was the fact that, with the exception of a noble few, it was being dominated by a fashion popular out of all proportion to its merits. This trend, which in one form or another persisted for two generations, is most commonly referred to as the "folk-national" style. Though this hybrid of folk culture and nationalist spirit was hardly unique to Hungary, its particularly strong but fossilized presence there only underscored the kinship between Hungarian literature and the other literatures of central and eastern Europe, a fact which can hardly have delighted the modernist Babits.¹⁸

It is ironic that the folk-national movement in Hungary, which on the whole left very little of worth, was inspired by the examples of Petőfi and Arany, two of the greatest poets Hungary has ever known. Babits was, as we know, an ardent admirer of Arany, but felt little empathy for Petőfi. He took pains, however, to deny or denigrate the folk element in Arany, even to the point of calling him essentially a decadent poet.¹⁹ Petőfi's folk character, on the other hand, Babits accentuated to that poet's distinct disadvantage. It is likely, in fact, that Babits's unfavourable opinion of Petőfi was, at least in part, formed in reaction to that romantic and sentimental picture of him painted by the folk-national poets and critics who saw him as a model of virtue. Not surprisingly, Ady and Babits were separated on this issue as well. Ady, for the most part, failed to see in Arany the great poet he was commonly held to be; Petőfi he loved and admired with a boundless zeal. Of course, at the heart of this difference, too, were two disparate life-experiences and world-views.

While Babits, Juhász and Kosztolányi, then, were acquiring in their sequestered academic setting the background in world literature they saw as requisite to the grand literary undertaking of their dreams, Ady was already making a name for himself in the world at large. And just as his name became an ever more common one in the press, so it began to be bandied about in the halls and classrooms of the university. By the spring of 1905, news of Ady had most decidedly penetrated the insular world of the Négyesy seminar.

The Négyesy student most attuned to the pulse of life outside academia was Jenő Mohácsi, and it was he who first championed the cause of Ady within the group. He was an ardent advocate of a radical and activist literature, and in debates within the group where Babits naturally sided with the aesthetics, Mohácsi was invariably the spokesman for the politically committed.²⁰ Kosztolányi, despite sharing the *l'art pour l'art* convictions of Babits, was at first favorably impressed by Mohácsi. In the spring of 1905 Kosztolányi wrote Juhász: "Immediately upon my arrival I received two letters from Jenő Mohácsi, the editor of *Tűz*. I am very sorry indeed that I was unable during my stay to become acquainted with this worthy man. Based on the poems he sent, a great, great deal can be expected of him."²¹ Kosztolányi, however, would soon be revising his high opinion of Mohácsi. In early August of that year he wrote Juhász that Mohácsi had, as it were, "subtly spat on him". The issue from which this insult sprang, says Ferenc Kiss, probably revolved around Ady.²²

What follows is a brief history of Kosztolányi's early views on Ady. This short detour seems unavoidable, since no records survive that might document Babits's earliest reactions to Ady. Moreover, it would be at the urging and behest of Kosztolányi, with whose unfavorable opinion of Ady he was by then well acquainted, that Babits first committed to paper his own opinion of Ady.

Kosztolányi became, judging from the evidence, quite obsessed with Ady. His letters, which before had for the most part been cheerful and playful, increasingly reflect their author's glum moodiness. It was to Juhász that he would first turn to vent his anti-Ady spleen. His hopes, however, of finding in Juhász a fellow Ady-hater would be quite disappointed. In July of 1905 Juhász would inform his friend, "I like Endre Ady. He is nearly as sick as I am, but unquestionably brighter."²³ A short time later, Juhász again responded to his badgering friend's anti-Ady exhortations. "Don't fear for me", he wrote, "because of the noble and dreamy Endre Ady, the Hungarian Verlaine. Unfortunately, I won't get so far as to necessitate that. There are many more philistinian elements in me and much less poesy".²⁴

As Kosztolányi saw that he could not count on Juhász as an ally, he began sending out probes to Babits. No doubt he was thinking of Ady's "Hungarian-fallow" poems when he wrote Babits that "I have become a Hungarian, a bitter, incorrigible, stupidly naïve Hungarian—notwithstanding all the Jenő Mohácsis and Endre Adys."²⁵ This patriotic exclamation, inconsonant though it may seem with Kosztolányi's literary cosmopolitanism, nevertheless calls to mind the letter in which Kosztolányi wrote, together with an ethnic slur aimed at the Austrians, that he had "burst with pride" over the news that Babits had "been transformed into a Hungarian". On November 2, 1905 Kosztolányi wrote Babits another plaintive letter. Referring again to Mohácsi and Juhász and others of "today's youth", he dismisses them and their modernist literature. "Very much the newspaper writers. Very ignorant..."²⁶ Although he is not mentioned by name, Ady the journalist cannot be far from Kosztolányi's thoughts.

Stir up controversy though he had, it was not until the publication of *Új versek* (New Poems) in 1906 that Ady became a national phenomenon. No volume of Hungarian poems, either before or since, has been so lauded and maligned. Kosztolányi wasted no time in communicating his thoughts on the volume. Already in mid February he wrote Babits a letter which, though intended as a "review" of *Új versek*, was in reality a more comprehensive criticism of its author. Employing a wide range of arguments, literary and extra-literary alike, Kosztolányi criticized as much the poet as the poems. Many of these arguments would later be echoed by Babits himself.

The letter reached Babits in Baja where he was now engaged as a teacher at a Cistercian *gymnasium*. A copy of Ady's book had already been sent in a separate package. "Do you still remember", reminisces Kosztolányi, "the days when we dreamt of the re-creation of our literature, when we demanded of every new poet a modern and fresh spirit, genuine inspiration and scholarly training?" He continues: "Today times have changed, and it seems as though our plans and, with them, our

success must wait a good long while."²⁷ This rhetorical opening can hardly have missed striking a responsive chord in Babits.

After this well-oiled preface Kosztolányi gets to the heart of his grievance. "An insufferable and empty *poseur* has been placed on the throne of modern literature: Endre Ady." He has been placed there, moreover, "by those youths whose modern spirit is no better than they must publish in the *B. N.*'s literature column their bad, mannered and affectedly chaotic poems".²⁸ To this group of modernist youths no doubt belong Juhász and Mohácsi, whom Kosztolányi has already sarcastically mentioned. His feelings toward Juhász would continue to cool. Nevertheless, in his correspondence at least, he scrupulously reserved his criticisms of his friend for Babits, revealing to Juhász himself relatively few hints of his changing attitude. Mohácsi, meanwhile, who had in fact little in common with Juhász, was routinely spoken of by Kosztolányi in the same breath as Ady. What made Juhász and Mohácsi birds of a feather, in Kosztolányi's eyes, and what eventually made even their art and their very intelligence suspect, was simply their high estimation of Ady.

All the evidence suggests that Kosztolányi's ill feelings toward Ady were closely tied to his poisoned relations with Mohácsi. But as to which can be called cause, and which effect—this is a matter impossible to resolve. In any event, Kosztolányi soon formed the habit of discrediting Ady by associating him with the group of "modernist youths" to which belonged Mohácsi, and of discrediting these modernist youths by virtue of their association with and high opinion of Ady. It was a perfectly circular argument, one which Kosztolányi used with impunity. It was also a tactic that Babits himself would utilize to good advantage. In Babits's hands, however, the tactic turned from the transparent to the opaque, becoming an argument with a veneer of respectability. After all, his version would be published and thus be scrutinized by more than just friends. The most important difference between the two uses of basically the same tactic lay in Babits's apparent efforts at distinguishing between Ady and, as he put it, the "Ady-hyenas". How sincere his efforts were here, however, is a matter of some debate.

Affectation is a word Kosztolányi often used in describing Ady's and his followers' poetry.

These unschooled and feeble little lads [Ady and Mohácsi] look for something extraordinary and special, they themselves don't know what. They affect a love for the world, and they affect eccentricity. This is something many cannot befriend even when it is natural. For there is such a thing as natural affectation—the affectation of Baudelaire is natural, for example. They never feel so good as when they manage to write a poem that even they themselves cannot understand.²⁹

Clearly Kosztolányi is thinking here of the obscurity – even incomprehensibility – commonly attributed to Ady's poetry. What Kosztolányi means by Ady's affected "love for the world", however, is rather hard to say. He may be alluding to Ady's penchant for political engagement, a trait which would not endear him to Babits any better.

Gyula Földessy would claim, decades later, that both Babits and Kosztolányi made the habit of suggesting that Ady lacked the high level of culture which it was their own privilege to possess.³⁰ It is interesting to note that Földessy made this claim on the basis of published criticism only; he was as yet unaware of the existence of this letter or of Babits's reply. Yet this is what "These unschooled and feeble lads..." obviously implies. In a follow-up letter, Kosztolányi, speaking mainly of Ady's Schopenhauer-quoting disciples but, by extension, quite clearly also of Ady himself, took into aim both the group's ignorance and their pretensions. "And then they stroll up and down the boulevard, feeling very proud to be poets, and nobody knows that their Schopenhauer has not even been cut open."³¹

But it was Ady's apparent condescension toward nation and country that seemed most to rankle Kosztolányi. "By all means", he implores Babits, "let me hear what you have to say about Ady's scolding of the Hungarians and such expressions as 'Sad Hungarian fallow'..." This begins a curious patriotic outburst.

The same blood is astir in me as that which poured from my grandfather's veins on the Isaszeg plain. Because I am, however much it may hurt, a Hungarian, an unrestrained Hungarian at that, and so I will remain despite all my sociological studies.³²

This sentiment of Kosztolányi would of course exercise a predictable effect on Babits, who also had a grandfather who fought in the war of 1848-1849 against the Habsburgs.

Babits's reply to Kosztolányi's letter contains exceedingly harsh criticisms of Ady. Of course, the extreme severity of the attack may in large part be attributed to the special circumstances in which it was written. There is no doubt that Kosztolányi was in effect pleading with his friend to deliver as harsh a judgment as possible. But what he got from Babits must have exceeded his every expectation. For there is hardly another writing on Ady that so viciously and summarily dismisses the great poet as precisely this letter. And though the judgments therein are rendered much harsher by the hyperbole which Babits clearly intended for the private amusement of his friend, they must all the same be regarded as sincere judgments.

Babits indicates at the outset that his assessment of Ady agrees with Kosztolányi's. "You are right. Endre Ady is a nauseating poet, that is the best word for it..." He elaborates: "When I reads his first couple of - truly beautiful - poems in *Jövendő*, I noted then that there was in the man an inner rhythmic rocking. This rocking has since become what one is accustomed to catch sea-sickness from."³³ Behind this barb may be Babits's disapproving attitude toward Ady's metrical liberties. But it is not mere pedantry that leads Babits to censure Ady. "That [Ady] is not a great talent his mannered style and imbecilic, impotent self-repetition proves. But it proves something else also: that he is idle and lazy. His formal sloppiness is all the more unforgivable because it is not sincere and is not based on a struggle with content. It lacks all *Knappheit*, connectedness, solidity, economy."³⁴

Thus Babits fails to see in Ady the requisite matching up of form and content, which to him is a form of insincerity. One trait of Ady singled out by Babits is his

penchant for self-repetition. Obviously he is not against repetition *per se*; his high opinion of the incantatory Poe is enough to put that notion to rest. But apparently he sees in the self-repetition of Ady a mere signature, an empty device, which is more often than not imposed on material that would seem to resist such treatment. This trait of Ady is so pronounced, in fact, that it might be said to court and invite parody. Take, for example, Frigyes Karinthy's "A Törpe-fejűek" (first and last stanzas).

Nem dolgozni jöttem ide,
Nem dolgozni jöttem ide,
Törpe-fejű, mit akarsz tőlem?

Hát maga megbolondult,
Hát maga megbolondult,
Hogy mindent kétszer mond, kétszer mond.³⁵

But self-repetition is, to Babits, only one of many symptoms of Ady's deficiency as a poet. The "common fault of the juvenile, 'modern' Hungarian literature", of which Ady is the acknowledged leader, "is this dilutedness, this slipshodness, looseness. They continually clamor for *studies* and for *content*, whereas in fact they are too lazy to be serious or to undertake any studies—that is the right word for it: lazy!"³⁶ Babits seems therefore to agree with Kosztolányi that Ady lacks the seriousness and cultivation which the truly good poet requires. Also similarly to Kosztolányi, Babits deems to see in Ady not an isolated example but in fact one of many—albeit the most celebrated one—of the gaping chasm in "modern" literature between serious intentions, on the one hand, and sloppy execution on the other.

Babits also takes exception to what he regards as Ady's lack of taste.

Ady has another unpleasant side—his tastelessness and antipathetical nature. I cannot imagine anything more tasteless than the book's dedication, "To the mistress Léda". ("The mistress Léda" itself as name and title is tasteless and mannered, as are the psalms of "the mistress Léda".) "In the growing fevers of my waning life, in deep storms, in fires of Hell"—what a half-baked intellect it is who could like something like this! And what immodesty! Such a thing may be said in verse, even in a prose poem, but to say the like in a foreword or in a dedication is against modesty. Look at the great poets' dedications and forewords. How modest even the least restrained of them are before getting into the saddle. Look at Baudelaire's pleasant dedications, or those of Byron.³⁷

What Babits here chooses to call immodest Kosztolányi dubbed affectatious. Nevertheless, there can be little doubt that they are at bottom referring to very much the same thing.

Babits next proceeds to address the patriotic-tinged issue broached by Kosztolányi. "But of the many instances of poor taste the greatest is doubtless the cursing of the Hungarian fallow."³⁸ Here upon Babits launches into a bitter and suprisingly chauvinistic invective.

Does Ady, I wonder, come from an ancient Hungarian family. I'm Hungarian, I come from a Hungarian family of nobility (I'm very proud of this fact), on my father's side as well as my mother's. And in both branches, since time immemorial, my grandfathers, their fathers have been county office-holders. (Is there a more Hungarian occupation?) My father was the first to step into the service of the state, but even he was a prime example of the Hungarian lawyer and gentleman. And I—who with my career and to a great extent also my learning (though my father was... also cultured in the modern European sense) have broken with the family tradition, the centuries-old spirit—even I sense better with each passing day how natural and logical a continuation I am of my honorable forebears. My grandfather, who fought in the War of Independence, liked poetry, and collected a library.³⁹

There are in this outburst contradictory impulses. On the one hand, Babits would like to distinguish himself, by virtue of his vocation and education, from his noble forebears whose learnedness he seems to regard as questionable. Since, however, his main aim here is to deny Ady a place in the noble ranks, he has little choice but to stress his own place there. In the end, he resolves this paradox, not by attributing to himself a county clerk's mentality, but by ascribing to his forebears – to his father and grandfather at any rate – a cultivated mind not unlike his own. One effect of this convoluted argument is to impute to Ady, depicted after all as being outside the circle of nobility, the same lack of intellectual means and erudition already referred to by Kosztolányi.

Clearly Babits is, among other things, implying that the criticism of Hungarians is best regarded as the privilege of Hungarians of noble extraction only. Even so, casting aspersions on Ady's pedigree is hardly his main purpose here. Babits, referring to the "Hungarian fallow", concedes that "there is something of this theme in the air". But "for Ady", of noble extraction or not, "it is just an occasion for decadence".⁴⁰ Babits here obviously uses "decadence" in a pejorative sense of the word. As a rule, for example in the case of János Arany, decadence for Babits is a positive attribute. Just why he regards Ady's treatment of the theme as decadent is of course hard to determine, unless it is because "one is permitted to touch on this subject only with love and respect".⁴¹ Ultimately, Babits's objections may rest on a vague apprehension of the same problem as later formulated by Gyula Szekfű. "Guilt and the burden of the nation's sins weigh down upon Ady—but his moral grasp is inadequate to show him a way out of the sinful decline."⁴² Others, however, would find more than enough to praise in Ady's basic insight. Marcell Benedek, for example, observed: "I find strange a great many things in the verse of the new poet to have emerged of late, Endre Ady. But the painful truth of his remarks about the Hungarian fallow cannot be disputed."⁴³

The backwardness of Hungary as an emerging literary theme, argues István Király, was by the turn of the century increasingly evident. One found it, for example, in the poetry of Juhász, the prose of Zsigmond Móricz, Gyula Török's novel *Porban*, and for that matter in the poetry of the young Babits.⁴⁴ Babits, however, was only following unconscious impulses and had none of Ady's revolutionary propensities. For the only "revolution" that Babits believed in was the one in literature which he

was plotting together with Kosztolányi. Babits believed, in 1906, that a literary revival in Hungary depended most of all on whether a living bond could be reestablished between Hungarian literature and the literature of the West. Even some thirty years later he would see growth and change in literature as essentially a self-contained process.⁴⁵ Whether Babits saw no need for the transformation of Hungarian society in general, or simply did not think a literary resurgence, which was then still his primary concern, was dependent on one, his basic outlook was apolitical. He was not inclined, therefore, to find appealing a reformist literature like Ady's. Ferenc Kiss has put it more bluntly: "Babits and Kosztolányi were quite lacking the will, hence the sense of mission, to reform in its entirety national life. This is why, to them Ady's prophetic stance and pompous poetic speech were antipathetic..."⁴⁶

Babits finishes his letter to Kosztolányi with a remarkable flourish.

Let us remove this unpleasant figure who stands in the background of our thoughts. Endre Ady has the right to practice Hungarian poetry (even if the mastery of the language for which he is famous is not borne out by either resonance of meaning or stylistic invention), because *he has created a few nice rhythms and atmospheric words, and because he has written a few nice poems.* [Italics mine.] And so when he asks us (quite naïvely), "May I cry beneath the Carpathians?", let us tell him plainly (just before we turn our backs on him): "Go right ahead. Don't let us disturb you. Cry. Even whine". But he doesn't whine—he just mews. And his voice very much resembles that of a cat in love . . .⁴⁷

Thus comes to a close this remarkable letter which, for all its interesting observations, is saturated with the venom of sour grapes. For the time being, Babits and Kosztolányi indulge themselves in the thought that, though to Ady may go the laurels, the moral victory is theirs.

Oddly enough, in this, the most sarcastic passage of the letter Babits puts in a good word for individual poems of Ady—unfortunately unspecified—and, moreover, for certain general characteristics and features. These words of muted praise would, in fact, prove to be the seeds of a more mature and objective Ady-criticism. Indeed, much of what was here grist for the debunking mill would in time be recycled to serve other ends, including even the unambiguous praise of Ady. Therefore, however much it seemed to seal their alliance, this letter in fact marked a parting of the ways for Babits and Kosztolányi, at least as far as their opinions of Ady were concerned. Kosztolányi, though for more than two decades constrained to offer Ady occasional token praise, only became confirmed in his opinion of Ady as a much overrated poet. Babits, meanwhile, would amend his opinion of Ady, and amend it again, creating along the way a body of criticism that, marred by internal contradictions though it may be, would offer important and profound insights into the most discussed Hungarian poet of the century.

Notes

1. See, e.g., Lajos Hatvany, "Vázlatok Babits Mihályról" (1921–1922) and "Petőfi és Arany" (1922–1923), *Irodalmi tanulmányok*, Vol. 1, (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1960); also Gyula Földessy, *Ady értékelése – Az "Új versek"-megjelenésétől máig – Kosztolányi és Babits szerepe az Ady-problémában* (Budapest: A Kelet Népe, 1939). Hereafter cited by Földessy and page.
2. Pál Kardos, "Ady és Babits kapcsolatban 1919-ig" (1961) and "Babits viszonya Adyhoz 1919 után", *Irodalmi problémák*, Budapest: Gondolat, 1979; Lóránt Basch, "Adalékok az Ady-Babits kérdéshez". *Studia Litteraria* (1964), pp. 79–89; István Gál, *Babits Adyról* (Budapest: Magvető, 1975); György Rába, *Babits Mihály* (Budapest: Gondolat, 1963), in particular the chapter "Esszéi mint a gondolkodás és frás dialektikájának problémaelemzései", pp. 154–169.
3. T. S. Eliot, *On Poetry and Poets* (New York: Noonday Press, 1974), p. 17.
4. Erzsébet Vezér, *Ady Endre* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1968), pp. 81–82.
5. *A magyar irodalom története*, ed. Tibor Klaniczay, (Budapest: Kossuth 1982), pp. 277–278.
6. József Révai, *Ady* (Budapest: Szikra, 1952), pp. 24–31. Hereafter cited by Révai and page.
7. Mihály Babits, "Tanulmány Adyról" (1920), *Esszék, tanulmányok* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1978), p. 672.
8. Révai, p. 99.
9. Lajos Fülep, *Művészet és világnézet* (Budapest: Magvető, 1976), p. 45.
10. Second stanza from the famous prologue of Ady's *Új versek*. In English: "I came on the famous Verecke path, / An ancient Hungarian song was still blaring in my ears, / May I invade at Dévény / with new songs of new times?" All translations – which in the case of poems aim at literal and not poetic fidelity – are my own except where otherwise indicated. (Note: "Verecke" denotes the pass in the Carpathian mountains over which the Hungarians came, late in the ninth century, into their present-day homeland in the Carpathian basin; "Dévény" is the name of a small town on the western border of historic Hungary.)
11. In 1928 Babits had this to say on the subject: "I had to renounce my ambitions in philosophy when I wound up in the provinces, where it is impossible to stay in touch with the latest developments of a science." Cited in György Rába, *Babits Mihály költészete* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1981), p. 11. Originally in László Bende, "A jubiláns Babits Mihály elmondja hogyan lett költővé ő, aki valamikor undorodott a versírástól", *Esti Kurír* (June 2, 1928), p. 13.
12. Babits's unfinished thesis, "Arany mint arisztokrata", anticipates in many ways the author's celebrated essay "Petőfi és Arany" (1910).
13. After many artful attempts on his part to dodge the issue, Babits, on February 17, 1905, finally wrote Kosztolányi these few words on Byron: "Lately I have even been reading Byron (for Arany's sake) – boring it's not, but it, too, is stupid." Kosztolányi replied, "Byron, by the way, is not stupid, as you write. I have found in him everything I have been looking for..." *Babits, Juhász. Kosztolányi levelezése*, eds. Dezső Tóth and Kálmán Vargha (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1959), pp. 79, 82. Hereafter cited by *BJK* and page.
14. Kosztolányi, e.g., wrote that "The decadents... are among those people I hate from the depths of my soul." Babits, meanwhile, while echoing Kosztolányi's unfavorable opinion of the French *symbolistes*, including Verlaine, nevertheless wrote: "It is my secretly held conviction that every true poetic language is a decadent language." *BJK*, pp. 25, 41.
15. *BJK*, p. 79.
16. In fact, it was in this very letter that Babits, despite having "amassed an enormous collection of data for the János Arany biography", informed Kosztolányi that he would be abandoning his project. *BJK*, p. 79.
17. *BJK*, pp. 81–82.
18. In his *Az európai irodalom története* Babits may take up the great and immortal figures of Hungarian literature, but other Central or East European literatures (except, of course, for Russian) he almost entirely neglects.

19. In an early letter to Kosztolányi (September 15, 1904), e.g., Babits challenged: "And if it was precisely Arany that you mentioned in opposition to the decadents, I say it would be easy for me to prove that János Arany and mainly his language (and if the language is, then so must be the man) are decadent..." *BJK*, p. 41.
20. See Ferenc Kiss, *A beérkezés küszöbén* (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1962), p. 125. Hereafter cited by Kiss and page.
21. *BJK*, p. 84.
22. Kiss, pp. 125-126.
23. *BJK*, p. 87.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 98.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 90.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 105.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 109.
28. *Ibid.*, pp. 109-110. (Note: *P. N* = *Budapesti Napló*)
29. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
30. Földessy once wrote, for example: "Babits insisted on his superior erudition *vis à vis* Ady, and made a case of Ady's deficient erudition not once in his writings." See Földessy, p. 34.
31. *BJK*, p. 121.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 110.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
34. *Idem.*
35. "I did not come here to work" / "I did not come here to work" / Dwarf-head, what do you want of me?" / ... / Have you gone quite mad, / That you say everything twice, everything twice?" First and last strophes of the Ady-parody "A Törpe-fejűek", Frigyes Karinthy, *Így írtok ti* (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1986, p. 18.
36. *BJK*, p. 112.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 113. The quoted passage in the original Hungarian reads: "... fogyó életem növd lázában, mély viharzásokon és poklok tükreben." Translation by Anton N. Nyerges, *Poems of Endre Ady* (Buffalo, N. Y., Hungarian Cultural Foundation, 1969), p. 57.
38. *Idem.*
39. *Ibid.*, p. 113-114.
40. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
41. *Idem.*
42. Gyula Szekfő, *A három nemzedék* (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1938), p. 370.
43. Cited in István Király, *Endre Ady*, Vol. 1. (Budapest: Magvető, 1972), p. 147.
44. *Ibid.*, p. 226.
45. See *Az európai irodalom története*, pp. 113.
46. Kiss, p. 132.
47. *BJK*, p. 114.

A HUNGARIAN BERGSONIAN PSYCHOLOGIST: VALÉRIA DIENES

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The person

Even among the many psychologists characterized by longevity, it is rather rare for someone to miss a century long life but with one single year. Yet the person I want to call your attention to managed this impressive achievement, by covering a century between 1879 and 1978. Furthermore, she had lead a really rich and varied life with several turning points and shifts of interest. On the contemporary Hungarian intellectual scene, psychology belongs to the lesser known of her activities which is understandable since her most important psychological works mainly belong to the pre-first world war period when she was an advocate of the new, functionalist psychologies.

She had started her career as a characteristic Hungarian intellectual at the turn of century. She was among the first to graduate as a woman at the university of Budapest, in a rather peculiar combination of mathematics, aesthetics and philosophy. She was part of those intellectual circles that were characterized with a combination of social responsibility, progressive social science and political reformism. She had lectures in the Galilei Circle, a Hungarian freethinker society, widely published in the review *Huszadik Század* (Twentieth Century) and the *Galilei Füzetek* (Galilei Monographs) the two leading organs of the new generation of social scientists.

The combination of political, social and scientific progress, a sensitivity towards everything new in science and a passionate protest against all signs of oppression characterized this circle. The beginnings of Hungarian psychology organically fit into this progressive movement. From the radical freethinker Gyula (Julius) Pikler who besides being a progressive legal philosopher also produced an interesting outline of psychology in the German tradition to Jenő Posch whose radical Spencerian motor theory of mind had become a case of political debate in parliament due to its alleged "atheistic materialistic empiricism" (see Kende, 1974; Bárkán, 1985). The work of the young Dienes as a psychologist fits into this framework. She was a philosophically trained theoretical psychologist. In contrast to Paul Ranschburg or Géza Révész she never did laboratory work. Another characteristic that differentiates her early work from that of the older generation of philosophically oriented psychologists is her French orientation. In order to get a framework for this, one has to take into account the fact that at that time one of the general features of Hungarian progressive intellectuals was an attempt to look beyond the German speaking world for new ideas, hence the Spencerian inspiration of Posch. Dienes came under the influence

of French philosophy and psychology. After graduation she has had the opportunity to visit France and she became a personal student of Bergson. The French functionalist thought and especially the philosophical ideas of Bergson became the leading motives in her attempts to overcome the limitations of academic positivism. The functionalist side of this inspiration was the organic use of pathology and child development in her psychological thought. In the period between the two wars she became personally involved in the New School movement in Hungarian education that attempted to introduce new child centered ideas into education.

Bergson had an important ideological influence on the thought of Dienes. She herself talks about this in her posthumous spiritual autobiography:

It was Bergson who created the decisive turn of my life. When I had come back from Bergson and I have met Ervin Szabó and Oszkár Jászi (two leaders of the Hungarian progressive intellectuals) again I have them: Well, fellows, I am no more going to write in your review *Husadik Század* since you are materialists and I can't subscribe to this any more because I have become entirely converted to the spiritualistic world view.

(Dienes, 1983, p. 26.)

The Liberally minded progressivists of course encouraged her to continue publishing in their reviews, which she did. Bergson caused similar intellectual troubles for her again after the First World War when (probably) due to deep personal and social disillusion she turned to engaged spiritual catholicism. She did not know how to reconcile her interest in Bergson with her religious conversion until bishop Ottokár Prohászka personally encouraged her to go on with her Bergsonism.

Space limits us to detail her varied further activities. In the between war period modern dancing became central to her life as a follower and personal student of Isadora and Raymond Duncan. She made her living practically as the instructor of a modern dancing system she called *orchestrics*. The system in its theoretical foundations had some Bergsonian overtones and an acknowledged inspiration from Pierre Janet (Dienes was also a student of his) in that it emphasizes the internal parallel between movements and mental content. As late as the early eighties (Dienes, 1981) she even given a modern semiotic foundation for this theory.

At the same time she continued translating. To name one single example besides her favorite Bergson she published in 1964 the first complete Hungarian translation of Locke's *Essay...* (Locke, 1964). Quite an achievement in itself. from some one over 80! She also became a respected writer on catholicism (e. g. Dienes, 1983).

Dienes on the state of the art of psychology at the turn of the century

Besides journal articles Dienes published two major works in psychology. The first of these (Dienes, 1914) is a short but very well organized overview of the state of the art of psychology at the beginning of our century. It was written for the main

progressivist monograph series and was based on lectures at an intellectual "free school". The monograph starts with a characterization of psychology as a non-unitary discipline divided by methodological divergences as well as controversies concerning the proper topic of psychology. The work characterizes the contemporary German experimental psychology (including the Würzburg school and the debates concerning introspection), the beginnings of comparative psychology, child psychology and psychopathology. Is there a possibility for a unifying principle behind this diversity, raised Dienes the seemingly rhetorical question. Her answer was the following:

The developmental view of the formation of mental life, its constantly created and unfolding events ... would provide for a new science of psychology, the facts of which would be true while its unity would still be natural since unity would not follow from more or less arbitrary principles or leading experiences but ... from a respect towards the genesis of the realities providing its substance."

The genetic slogan is not entirely original at this time. The two examples selected by her to represent the genetic point of view, however, are rather extravagant especially in their combination. Dienes describes the early Russian reflexology of Bechterev and Pavlov on the one hand, and the intuitionism of Bergson as the two most clear examples of the new genetic psychology. What are the parallels between the materialistic reflex conception and the metaphysical intuitionism of Bergson? Both schools deny classical psychophysical parallelisms: the Russians starting from the brain (brain events may be unconscious), while Bergson by showing that the same neural events may have several conscious counterparts. Another parallel is the Bergsonian conception of perception and memory where perception is selective, not a mere copy of reality and remembering is an active reconstructive process. Both ideas, claimed Dienes, preceded Russian reflexology and are consonant with its results. (Note that the unprejudiced early admirer of reflexology sees in it a rather dynamic conception of behaviour rather than a mechanistic one! The only similar contemporary conception was that of Kostyleff, 1911, who tried to propose a combination of reflexology and refined introspectionism.)

Bergson as the exponent of a schema driven approach to cognition

This reading of Bergson that promotes him as a philosophically based solution to the problems of traditional introspectionism and elementarism is further elaborated in her preface to the Hungarian translation of Bergson's (1923) first major work. This monograph length essay is the most detailed exposition of the prophetic vision of Dienes on the importance of Bergson for psychology and in a way the most detailed exposition of the psychological presuppositions and implications of Bergson at large.

Bergsons ideas are set in antagonism (inversion) to the leading ideas of traditional psychology.

Perception, rather than being registration, is selective. Movement is its basic selective principle. Movement fragments initiated by sensory events activate memories connected to similar movements thereby enriching recent perceptions. Full perceptual experience is not a mere agglomerative combination of elements but rather an enrichment by schematic tendencies. This view is further elaborated into an anti-associative conception of mental life. The machinery of mind is like a stream of consciousness *à la James* rather than a mere arithmetic of fixed, stable mental elements.

Concerning the famous dual memory system of Bergson, Dienes gives a characterization of the habit (bodily memory) – real souvenir distinction in terms that are partially similar to the contemporary distinctions between skills and rote memory on the one hand (lack of temporal and personal reference) and autobiographic memory on the other. This distinction, however, is generalized by her into an overall dual mental system. "Our conscious activity moves between two extremes: between the dated personal past preserved with all its details and momentary action" (Dienes, 1923, p. 26). The "uncontrolled" extreme is the dream. Regular, everyday experience is a constant organization of the "raw data" provided by the personal memory system according to the momentarily valid action schemata.

Thinking is not a combination of thoughts but an active effort based on a general schema. "Mental effort goes from schemata towards images, from abstraction towards the concrete" (*ibid.*, p. 35). In this respect the interpretation Dienes gives of Bergson is rather similar to the early schema conception of thought proposed by Selz (1922).

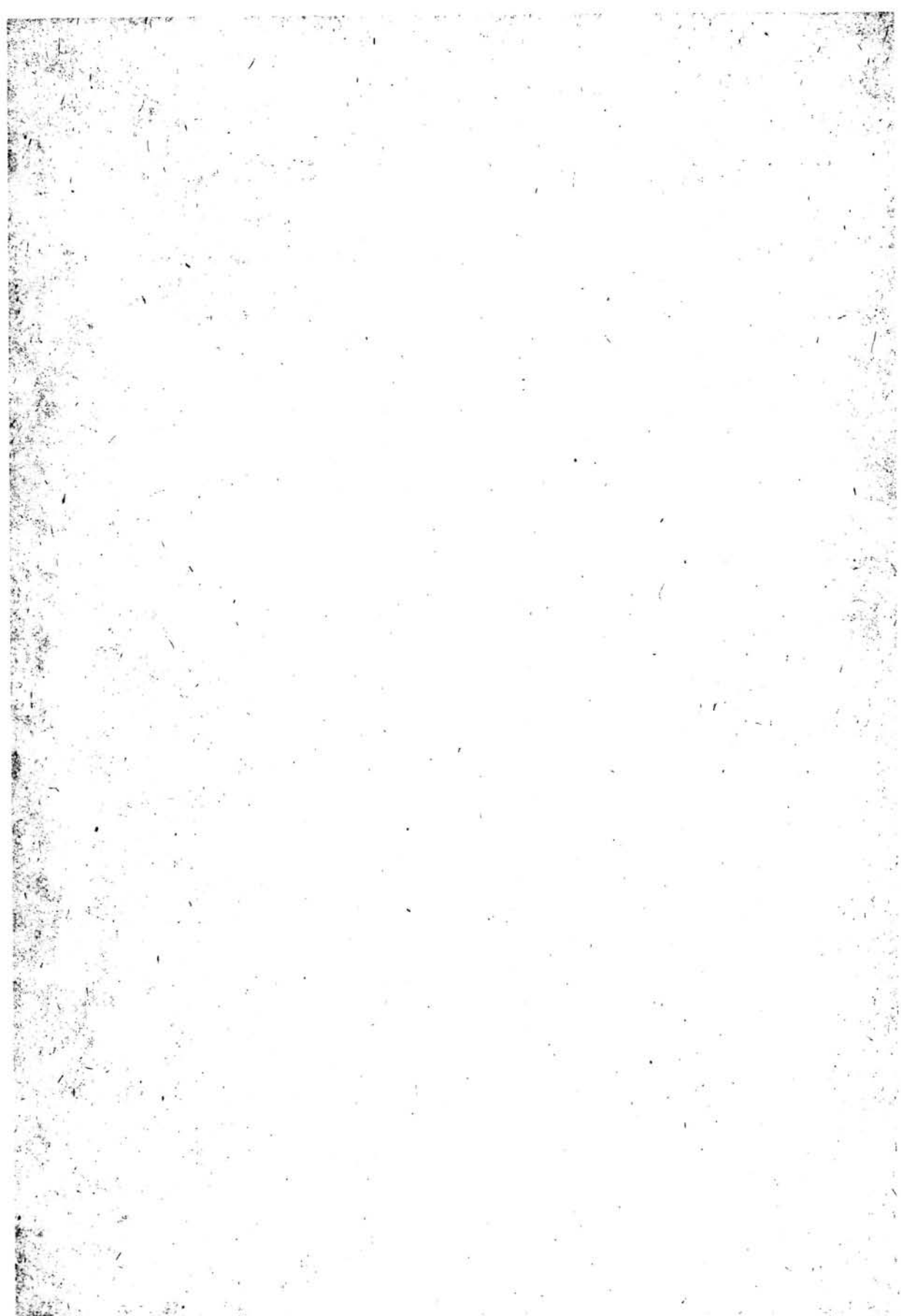
In this dual system consciousness, the cornerstone of traditional psychology, becomes but a transitory phenomenon in the ocean of unconscious automatized movements and personal memories. It is but a momentary phasic event, a sequence of "controlled" rather than "automatized" information processing steps.

Fortunately space limits us to actualize these ideas. Let us be satisfied with the concluding remark that Dienes is a counterexample to the well known but rather critical receptions of the Bergsonian theory of memory within mainstream psychology (Bartlett, 1932; Piaget, 1968): in her presentation the antiassociative and schema oriented aspects of Bergson constitute his message for psychology rather than his metaphysical dualism.

Notes

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THE HUNGARIAN RECEPTION OF 'SCOTUS VIATOR'

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From the 1830s "England" as the symbol of political freedom, constitutionalism, and material progress, and English as a culture has been looked upon with great respect and admiration by most educated Hungarians. From 1848 up to World War I and the Trianon Peace Treaty the Hungarians and many of their neighbours assumed that the British reciprocated these feelings toward the liberal nation of Kossuth, who survived the debacle of 1849 and wrested the recognition of their internal independence in the Settlement of 1867. Indeed there were many utterances in the English press expressing a very favourable view of Hungary and her hegemonic Hungarian nationality, especially around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. "That country is the bulwark of religious toleration in the Monarchy and the mainstay of the existing constitutional system",¹ and "Led by a group of exceptionally able statesmen, all of them of the moderate liberal type, Hungary has developed into a model constitutional State".² "The most stable element where all is instability is Hungary."³ In 1903 the "solid qualities" of Hungary were summed up as her liberalism, pertinacious adherence to the Constitution, lack of territorial ambition, steady Anti-Clericalism without becoming Anti-Christian, and the prevalence of the civil characteristics over the spirit of militarism.⁴ Even when in 1905, the demand of the majority of the newly elected Parliament, for the introduction of the Hungarian language of command, into the Hungarian part of the common "kaiserliche und königliche" Austro-Hungarian Army, led to a long political conflict with the Emperor King Francis Joseph. The *Times* was using warm words in advising compromise. "There is no people on the Continent of Europe which has more constantly commanded the sympathy and the respect of Englishmen than the people of Hungary. (...) We hope that before long those practical instincts which mark off the peoples born with traditional aptitudes for self-government from the nations who have no such heritage will assert themselves and lead the Hungarians to make a working compromise with their King which will at once leave their liberties intact and secure for them the solid advantages inseparable from their position as an integral element in one of the oldest and greatest of European States."⁵

The Times, or more exactly its Vienna correspondent, Henry Wickham Steed, soon turned away from the Hungarians, and from an ardent champion of their hegemony over the non-Hungarian half of the population, he became a supporter of the federal transformation of the Monarchy. His conversion was due mainly to foreign political considerations: the unreasonable behaviour of the politicians of the Hungarian

Coalition of "1848-er" Independentists, Clericals, and "dissident 1867-ers" was, according to Steed, undermining the international position of the Monarchy, and demonstrated the incapacity or the unwillingness of the Hungarian ruling elite to perform their task of acting as force at promoted stability and liberalism in Austria-Hungary. Steed thought that only an internally strong Habsburg Monarchy was capable of curbing the aggressive instincts of her German ally.

The Hungarian Coalition did not really aim at complete independence, but their efforts to increase the strength and influence of Hungary over Austria, their strong and narrow-minded nationalism, indeed contributed to the weakening of the Dual Monarchy. After accepting office in April 1906 (on the King's terms) they tried to win British political and economic support for their aims. They invited and courted British politicians and businessmen, launched an intensive publicity campaign, and hoped that the illustrious name and Anglophile liberal reputation of the younger Kossuth, the younger Andrásy, and Apponyi, all members of the coalition government, will capture the new Liberal government of Britain.⁶

It is against this background that one must see the appearance in 1906 of "a travelling Scotsman, bent on the study of history and politics",⁷ who came to play a decisive influence on the British image of Hungary.

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True to the Liberal tradition, the young Scotsman, R. W. Seton-Watson, came to Austria-Hungary in 1905 "imbued with conventional admiration" for the Hungarians and their Liberal heritage. His first experiences in Hungary, already undermined his "enthusiasm for the Independent cause".⁸ The resulting, mildly critical articles were not noticed in Hungary, but his optimistic analysis of *The Future of Austria-Hungary and the Attitude of the Great Powers* was welcomed.^{8a} By the summer of 1907, however, Seton-Watson lost all his illusions about the Hungarians, and started to write strongly critical letters about their policies to the *Spectator*, signing them as Scotus Viator. These called forth angry answers and attacks on "the anonymous slanderers" from Budapest, especially when many other English papers joined in the campaign, following the tragic incident at Csernova.⁹ Foremost in the Hungarian efforts at refutation was Count Móricz Esterházy (a future Prime Minister), supported by Kálmán Széll, a former Prime Minister, remembered for his pro-British stand in the Boer War, (primarily his talks with politicians and public figures who supported the nationalist platform of the new Coalition Government). The "unfavourable psychological disposition" of the British public was attributed to the erroneous view that Hungary was aiming at separation from Austria. "An invisible troublemaking hand", the influence of the many anti-Hungarian circles in Vienna was thought to be at work.¹⁰

Most Hungarians could better choice "in fact" not understand how Britain, a great power not unaccustomed to the policy of the strong hand, who established a huge empire comprising many alien peoples, could find anything wrong with the Hungarian

efforts "to weld her nationalities into one strong, united whole, united by a pious reverence for her glorious past (...) and the hopes of a glorious future".¹¹ Count Tivadar Batthyány, a prominent member of the Party of Independence, expressed the bewilderment of his class and party. "The foreign press is now waging an open war against Hungary", but they should compare the state of Croatia, now in conflict with Hungary, to the situation of Ireland, or to the fate of Finland. The friends of the nationalities of Hungary should first visit Posen, Russia, or Rumania, where at least 100,000 Hungarians are denied their basic rights. "If they will do this, they will see for themselves that in no other land do its subjects of foreign race and tongue enjoy such liberties – the unrestricted use of their own language and literature, and perfect political freedom – as they do in Hungary."¹² This way of reasoning, throwing back the charge and drawing attention to the behaviour of others, was a typical pattern, recurring in the following years, too, and not only in Hungary. The other unfair methods of the Hungarian press were also rightly criticised by Seton-Watson. "While whole columns of their space have sometimes been devoted to reproducing and commenting upon Count Eszterházy's (sic) letters to the *Spectator*, my replies were invariably passed over in silence, and their readers must have supposed that on each occasion I was reduced to silence."¹³ One of the most ridiculous products of the Hungarian counter-campaign was the remarkable story that Scotus Viator was in fact a Hungarian Jew, Joseph Szebenyey, whose only motive was "desperation and the hungry desire for a few florins", and he could sell himself because "foreign papers always gladly pay for articles tending to destroy the prestige of Hungary".¹⁴ Obviously the editor of that paper, L. Holló, was not able to see that it was writings like his that tended "to destroy the prestige of Hungary".

A refreshing exception from the Hungarian reaction to Scotus Viator was the *Népszava*, the Social Democratic daily. According to its London correspondent Scotus Viator "knows Hungarian conditions very well, he characterized the situation of the Slovaks of Hungary and their treatment by the Hungarian ruling classes extremely correctly". In the polemics with Esterházy *Népszava* saw the resounding victory of the Scotsman, who might have added, they said, that "nine tenth of the purely Hungarian population suffers under the same persecution and oppression as the non-Hungarian peoples."¹⁵

As a result of the writings of Seton-Watson and others, the traditional British image of Hungary started to change. For a section of Hungarians the remedy seemed to be at hand: Scotus Viator and the correspondent of *The Times* should be silenced by a good dose of Hungarian propaganda. With the support of the Government a series of articles and books were published (in English), explaining the Hungarian policies *vis-à-vis* Vienna and towards the "nationalities". One of the first was entitled *The Constitutional struggle of the Magyars. An Answer to Scotus Viator & Co.*, This pamphlet was written by an Englishman, Dr. Arthur B. Yolland, Lecturer (soon professor) in English language and literature at the university of Budapest.¹⁶ He did not deal with any of the questions raised by Seton-Watson, only presented the Independentist version of the history of the relations of Austria and Hungary, and

took pains to refute views which were not those of Scotus Viator. He was more ingenious in a letter sent to the *Spectator*. The anti-Hungarian campaign is part of the Pan-German schemes, he argued, because if Hungary were "reduced to a polyglot State, 'divided against itself', nothing could prevent the hegemony of Germany being extended from the German Ocean to the Adriatic, and, in time, to the Black Sea. That is the real reason of all this agitation against the Magyars, which is not the outcome of some chivalrous pity for the lot of oppressed nationalities. Either 'Scotus Viator' is ignorant of his own country".¹⁷ Most of the other propaganda publications of 1908-09 did not refer explicitly to Seton-Watson, they were merely reproducing the views, policies and hopes of the Coalition,¹⁸ and of course failed to make any perceptible impact.

That cannot be said of Seton-Watson, whose exposures caught the ears of an increasing number of people. His letters now appeared also in the *Manchester Guardian* and in the Conservative *Saturday Review*. A collection of the latest developments of the Hungarian nationality problem appeared in mid-1908 in French and German translation as well.¹⁹ He and his charges had to be taken more seriously in Hungary. He came to be called "a historian of no mean calibre", who unfortunately "allowed himself to be led astray by information supplied him by the nationalist agitators and other enemies of Hungary". As a refutation examples were given of the practical bilingualism prevailing in the areas of Hungary inhabited by large numbers of non-Hungarians.²⁰ A direct answer to Scotus Viator was given by Count Joseph Mailáth in several articles appearing in respectable English journals, collected also in the form of a pamphlet. He denied the existence of any forced Magyarization by holding out the example of purely Slovak and German villages in the very neighbourhood of Budapest. He put the blame for the Csernova "massacre" on the "unscrupulous agitators", therefore thought that the press trials for "incitement" were justified.²¹

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It is hardly necessary to discuss here the contents and significance of *Racial Problems in Hungary*.²² For the majority of the British public this work was a "convincing indictment", an irrefutable argument against the policy of the Hungarians, and consequently it was a mortal blow to the traditional British image of Liberal, constitutional Hungary. This was indeed the author's object: "to convince those of my countrymen who seem disposed to commit Britain to sympathy with the Magyar clique and thereby to promote the ruin of the Habsburg Monarchy and an European conflagration - to prove to them that Hungarian freedom is a myth for all save the Magyars, and even for the Magyars, if they espouse the cause of Socialism or Labour, and that the ruling classes stand for everything that is anathema to all enlightened politicians in this country, whether they call themselves Conservative, Liberal, Labour or Nationalist".²³ For most Hungarians it was enough to read this introduction, put aside the book and instead of discussing it on its merits, to condemn

its author in the most aggressive language. According to the leading Budapest daily it was a useless work containing "not mistakes but lies", the product of a Slav Press Bureau in London.²⁴ Another came out with the discovery that it was a compilation from various obscure Slovak and Czech sources, probably not written by its professed author.²⁵ It was rare that a Budapest paper reproduced one of Seton-Watson's answers, too, from the British press.²⁶

In such an atmosphere it was a very courageous and honest act from Oszkár Jászi, the leading spirit of the Hungarian radical reformist group and the editor of their monthly *Huszadik Század*, who stood up for Seton-Watson, because he had been "insulted in his honour" by some Hungarian writings and depicted as a paid agent, or at best as an extremely naive author of unfair and ignorant pamphlets.²⁷ In a detailed review article Jászi showed that *Racial Problems...* was "a profound, thorough and full analysis" of the most important issue of Hungary, written not by a "Pan-Slav agitator", but by a well-meaning and honest Western *Kultur Mensch*, who was shocked by the corrupt and unlawful practices of the ruling class he had observed in Hungary. His proposals for internal reform were conceived in the Liberal spirit of Deák and Eötvös, and were diametrically opposed to the visions of Magyarophobe Austrian writers. Jászi's comments were not uncritical, though. He found some of Seton-Watson's facts or interpretations unsubstantiated or exaggerated, and regretted the author's inability to make a distinction between assimilation as a natural, even beneficial process and as an enforced policy. Jászi thought the distinction between 'Hungarian' and 'Magyar' was impracticable and a little naive when trying to solve real differences with the help of a neologism. He also pointed out that it was a mistaken assumption that the electoral system favoured the Hungarian nationality, in fact the long-lasting parliamentary majority of the defunct Liberal Party had rested upon the bought vote of the non-Hungarian electors, who were in a majority in many peripheral constituencies. In conclusion the reviewer welcomed the newly born interest shown by foreign public opinion in Hungarian affairs, as it might facilitate the acceptance of radical electoral reform in Hungary, which in turn would transform the Hungarian public. In that hope he quoted the example of Britain, where, after the great reforms of the electoral system, Gladstone "was able to re-mould a century-old, narrow-minded, raging and sanguine public" on the Irish question.²⁸

No matter how critical *Racial problems...* was about the Hungarian policy towards the minorities, it expressly stood on the basis of the territorial integrity of Hungary, with Hungarian as its official language, it rejected all Pan-Slav and Daco-Rumanian hopes, and proposed territorial autonomy only for the Croats: Seton-Watson wanted only the satisfaction of the "moderate" wishes, the rightful claims of the non-Hungarians, in the spirit of the 1868 Law of Nationalities. Prior to 1914 he did not completely abandon this platform, but – most probably influenced by his friends and by the extremist language of his Hungarian critics – came to accept quite a few historical fables and political distortions held and propagated by writers from the national minorities.²⁹ These were in fact on a par with the Chauvinist effusions of

their Hungarian adversaries. The emergence of Seton-Watson's bias is also shown by his repeated admonitions addressed to his Rumanian, Croatian and Slovak friends to lay aside their internecine political differences and unite against the common enemy, the Hungarians.³⁰

Seton-Watson's gradual drifting into a general anti-Hungarian stance was suspected by Jászi, but he apparently hoped that it was possible to counter this tendency by pointing out the difference between the Hungarian ruling classes on the one hand, and the Hungarian peasants, workers and progressive middle class on the other.³¹ This was an illusion: such a distinction is rarely observed, and Seton-Watson's anger with the Hungarian political elite had to be paid for by all Hungarians. What Jászi saw was only that the immediate enemies of the Hungarian Radicals and of Scotus Viator's *protégés* were identical, the political leadership of Hungary. Jászi therefore felt free to send the special issue of his periodical (devoted to electoral reform) to Seton-Watson, and this act started their long though intermittent correspondence.

The next showdown between Scotus Viator and the Hungarian establishment was the election of 1910. Most probably Seton-Watson agreed with his friends that they would record all the abuses and irregularities they might witness, and he himself went over from Vienna to the predominantly Slovak town of Szokolca (Škalice), to gain some personal impressions. He found ample material to shock the British public, his accounts were published in a number of papers, from the radical *Nation* to the conservative *Standard* and *Morning Post*.³² The outcry and furor of the Chauvinist section of the Hungarian press was boundless. Most of the papers said that by his behavior and writings Seton-Watson was inciting the non-Hungarians, and the authorities should not tolerate that. His facts were usually disposed of as mostly pure fabrications and lies. The traveller was advised to direct his investigations to Ireland, India, South Africa, Prussian and Russian Poland, and perhaps Siberia.³³ The Commercial Commissioner for Hungary in London, W. (Vilmos) de Ruttkay explained in the *Morning Post* that the reason for the "anti-Magyar and pro-Slav journalistic campaign indulged in by 'Scotus Viator'" might be "the reconciliatory policy of the present (i.e. the post-Coalition) Government towards the non-Magyar nationalities in Hungary." If that succeeded, Scotus "would be deprived of a pet subject to write about."³⁴

It is unquestionable that Jászi, the other Radicals and the Socialists of Hungary were right in their criticism of Hungarian conditions and in their demands for reform. It is also sure that they were right, both factually and morally, in defending Seton-Watson. Whether this was expedient politically, it is another matter. The political opponents of Jászi (practically the whole political establishment) found an easy target: they could (and did) denounce Jászi as the ally, and even the instigator of the enemies of Hungary. Seton-Watson was aware of these charges and expressed his admiration for Jászi's moral courage.³⁵ Jászi was not afraid to review Seton-Watson's condemnatory accounts of the 1910 election favourably in his *Huszadik Század*. He said that the Hungarians were indebted to Scotus Viator "for morally discrediting

the greatest ignominy of Hungarian public life. On the other hand Jászi found it necessary to remind the foreign critic that "the is greatly mistaken in thinking that this enormous corruption was directed almost exclusively against the Nationalities": the supporters of the Justh-wing of the Party of Independence suffered similarly, and the general backwardness and the rotten borough system worked equally against all the opposition candidates.³⁶

That was too much for the opponents of reform to swallow. Ferenc Herczeg, the popular "writer laureate" of Hungary and editor of the conservative-liberal review, *Magyar Figyelő*, came to the conclusion that Scotus Viator "has chosen the blackening of the Hungarian State in the eyes of international public opinion as the definite object of his life". Herczeg expressed his suspicion that "Scotus Viator was indeed the hireling of the coalition made up of Austrian imperialists and the nationalities of Hungary, whose members are serving Great-Austrian aims on the one hand, alien state ideals competing with Habsburg power on the other, but are in temporary agreement in seeing the greatest obstacle in the way of the realization of their opposing aspirations in the Hungarian national State". Seton-Watson's behavior reminded Herczeg of that "unctuous missionary hypocrisy, which takes no notice of the heaps of corpses rotting in the wake of British colonial policy". He admitted that "real facts may have strayed into" these English accounts, but "the tendentious arrangement of the data, and the spitefulness shown in drawing conclusions makes his veracity worthless..." Herczeg expressed the opinion that the association of the Radicals with Scotus Viator will reveal where the path of Hungarian Radicalism leads to.³⁷

One of the most obvious, for many Hungarians the only conceivable explanation for Seton-Watson's selfless and untiring work was that he must have been paid for it, probably by some circles in Vienna. It took some time until it dawned on his opponents how baseless and inconceivable the charge was. But by 1911 the ultra-nationalist *Budapesti Hírlap* came to admit that "Mr. Watson is a financially independent, highly cultured gentleman",³⁸ and Dr. Yolland was also compelled to explain away his most offending statements.³⁹ Jászi thought that "the psychological comment for" Seton-Watson "to come before the Hungarian public and speak to it in an article in the *Huszadik Század*" had arrived. "You would have now what you never had before: a fair chance to be listened (sic!) by all the Hungarian public as a man of good faith."⁴⁰ Even if Seton-Watson had written this article it is unlikely that it would have convinced the larger Hungarian public of the need for mending their ways, or that Scotus Viator was not in foreign pay.

The "travelling Scotsman" continued to travel in and around the Habsburg domains. Not abandoning his first love, the Slovaks, he shifted his attention to the southern confines of Austria-Hungary, where the growth of nationalist feeling, the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina and its wide repercussions, like the Zagreb trials, created a very tense situation. The summary of his findings was *The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy*,⁴¹ primarily a political work, which proposed the replacement of Austro-Hungarian Dualism with "Trialism", the establishment

of a new Southern Slav political unit based on Serbo-Croatian friendship, and under a central government in Vienna. Reviewing the book Jászi did not dwell on this highly controversial aspect (which was set forth in detail only in the German version), and praised the description of the historical development of the Croatia question, because it was devoid of the customary legal sophistry. But he could not leave the remark about the dominance in Hungary of the Jews (that Hungary will sooner be a Zionist than a Hungarian national state) unnoticed: "our distinguished English colleague allowed himself to be influenced by the worst kind of Christian Socialist petty bourgeois ideology. We, who have always given prominence to the scourge represented by usurious Jewery in Hungarian politics, we are perhaps entitled to say that. A slip like that does harm to the beautiful seriousness of his work".⁴² Seton-Watson's double "slip", his espousal of Trialism and his erroneous exposition of the "Jewish question", gave the *Magyar Figyelő* a chance to score a few points against the unwelcome critics. It could point out that the non-Hungarian nationalities were constantly rebuking the Hungarian political leadership on account of its enlightened ("philo-Semite") attitude,⁴³ and that after the advocacy of Trialism no Hungarian could regard Seton-Watson as impartial: he was clearly working for an Austria dominated by the Slavs, whose foreign policy would be pro-Russian and pro-Entente.⁴⁴ Reviewing the enlarged German edition of the *Southern Slav Question* Jászi did not think that Seton-Watson's Trialist-centralist scheme was likely to materialize, in his opinion the real alternative was between a democratic Hungary, or continued class rule, oppression of the minorities, and then inevitably the formation of a separate Southern Slav state, which would mean the loss of Croatia together with Fiume. Jászi was increasingly unhappy about Seton-Watson's now obvious bias: "he ascribes all the blunders committed in foreign policy, all the baseness of the Croatian political system to the Hungarian oligarchy", forgetting about the responsibility of Vienna, its policy pursued in Dalmatia.⁴⁵

By the time Seton-Watson's Hungarian campaign really got under way Britain and Hungary were already unequivocally in opposing power groupings, and the British public was increasingly critical of the foreign policy of both Germany and her Austro-Hungarian ally. Following the annexation of Bosnia a press polemic developed between Great Britain and the Monarchy. But Seton-Watson did not agree with the growing anti-German feeling, and up to 1914 he remained confident that a reformed and modernized Habsburg Monarchy was not only feasible, but also essential for the maintenance of peace. He thought that if the non-German and non-Hungarian majority of the Empire had its due influence over her foreign policy, then a larger Teuton-Slav conflict could be avoided. On the other hand, the supremacy of the Hungarians in Hungary, and their predominance over Austria would alienate the Slavs, thus increasing the danger of a European conflict arising out of some Slav issue. This conception was set out in several of Seton-Watson's writings, but it was too subtle and too unsympathetic for the Hungarian public to understand, let alone accept it. It was far easier to think that Scotus Viator's criticism was part of the

schemes of the British Foreign Office and "perfidious Albion" to "encircle" Germany, to weaken and undermine Germany's ally. This plausible, although erroneous explanation was hit upon relatively lately, because Seton-Watson's pro-Habsburg proclivities made him appear as the agent of Vienna rather than that of London. But his advocacy of the South Slav cause and his writings on current foreign political affairs opened the way to a new line of attack on him. In September 1912 the *Magyar Figyelő* wrote that Scotus Viator "is convinced that in the present international situation he can best serve his country in its difficulties by stirring up the Slavs and weakening the Hungarians".⁴⁶

This argumentation appeared in full armour in March 1914 in a debate of the Hungarian Parliament. Pál Farkas, a member of Tisza's governing Party of National Work, and a noted writer on historical and sociological questions, expressed his opinion that Scotus Viator was leading "a very consistent, very systematic press and political agitation" in England "to draw the attention of 'Europe' to the Hungarian nationality problem". England was successfully spreading the legend that "the oppressed nationalities of the Continent can find a natural friend, a noble advocate, a guardian, a protector in England, who raises her voice whenever there is a national struggle in the states of the Continent, and speaks out in favour of the weak and against the powerful in the name of universal justice, humanism, respect for the law, and philanthropy". In reality, however, this was only egotism, Farkas thought, like in the 19th century, when England was threatened mainly by Russia, she welcomed the Hungarian and Italian exiles fighting against Russia's Austrian ally. But now Germany is her main rival, "consequently English policy makes another turn, and that is why we have the honour to meet Scotus Viator, that is why there are English articles, meetings in London, which expose what is going on in Hungary against the national minorities. (...) In a word Austro-Hungarian Dualism must be weakened to the advantage of the Russian alliance".⁴⁷

The official representative of Britain in Hungary, the Consul-General Esmé Howard, was also admitting that his country was now "on the side of the Slav, and therefore, opposed to the Magyar".⁴⁸ All the Hungarian factions regretted that course,⁴⁹ but none turned really against Britain, they behaved rather like wounded lovers. The foreign political setting nevertheless created a favourable atmosphere in Britain for the sympathetic reception of Seton-Watson's charges, it gave motivation for the changed approach to all problems related to Hungary, and speeded up the change in the British image of Hungary. But it would be too simple to believe that it was the sole explanation.⁵⁰ The changes that took place in British (and West European) society and politics in the early 20th century, the growth of democracy, were not followed in Central and Eastern Europe, and that made Hungary appear more backward and more conservative than she really was. And undoubtedly without the personal devotion of Seton-Watson no changes in British foreign policy or society would have resulted in such a rapid deterioration in the evaluation of Hungary.

The world war and its outcome put the events before 1914, the change in the prestige of Hungary, in a different perspective. The explanations about its causes became modified, the role of the various factors shifted, foreign policy occupying the central place. The activities of Seton-Watson, Wickham Steed, and others performed *during* the war appeared to justify the view that English criticism of pre-war Hungary was really the result of the foreign political conflict. From August 1914 Seton-Watson, with a few friends, was working with the utmost exertion, not sparing his health and his wealth, for the destruction of Austria-Hungary and for the creation of a New Europe. He did that in the belief that it would bring about the defeat of Germany, and would ensure a better future for all the peoples of East-Central Europe. The news of this activity reaching Budapest during the war were more than enough to look upon the pre-war campaign of these "dangerous *agents provocateurs*"⁵¹ not only as a manoeuvre of the new course of British foreign policy, but to range it among the war preparations of the Entente,⁵² to call it destructive, revolutionary agitation.⁵³ A series of articles concluded that Hungary had dangerously underrated the effectiveness and harmfulness of the propaganda of her potential enemies, and neglected to counter it by promoting her own interests abroad.⁵⁴ Soon a special Hungarian version of the German legend of the "Dolfstoss" (the belief that defeat in the first world war was due to the collapse of the "home front", where the victorious army was stabbed in the back) emerged: "the Hungarians lost the world war not on the battlefield but in West-European public opinion. They were unable to counter the image projected to the world by their enemies by a picture that could have defended their rights with convincing force".^{54a} However, this was far from the truth. It was a comfortable explanation for the loss of prestige and for its consequences, first of all for the dismemberment of Hungary at the end of the war. In such a way the ruling classes of Hungary could acquit themselves from all responsibility, shifting it to outside events and circumstances, to the lies and distortions of enemy propaganda, and also to its – perhaps unsuspecting – accomplices: Jászi, the other Radicals, and the Social Democrats.⁵⁵ The foreign political explanation for Seton-Watson's appearance and success was accepted – with slight variations in wording – by most Hungarian and many foreign historians: Henrik Marczali, Benedek Jancsó, I. Mikó, also by the Czech Kofalka and the Soviet Islamov.⁵⁶ Some, like Jenő Horváth and Miklós Asztalos in the 1950s, went further and gave voice to the quite unsubstantiated notion that Seton-Watson and his countrymen were working on the destruction and breaking up of historic Hungary already before the outbreak of the war.⁵⁷ No wonder then that the latter view has become widely accepted by the Hungarian public. But the majority of the historians writing on the last decades of Austria-Hungary, including such authorities as C. A. Macartney, A. May, R. Kann, F. R. Bridge, and of course the sons of Scotus Viator do not give prominence to the foreign' political factor in the growing criticism of Hungary in Britain.

Seton-Watson (with W. Steed) undoubtedly played a role in the territorial arrangement of the Trianon Peace Treaty by his work as propagandist, government

adviser, journalist and scholar, but not as a negotiator or a draftsman.⁵⁸ That role, the crowning of his earlier activities, finally determined the attitude of the former Habsburg peoples to his person, both the generally inimical Hungarian reception, and the gratitude and enthusiasm of the others. Many Hungarian writers just heaped abuse on him: "an unscrupulous press-adventurer of the most dangerous type", who "made a living by his lies and slanders",⁵⁹ "the notorious hater of the Hungarians", whose calumnies were dictated by his wish to dismember Hungary,⁶⁰ the passing of time did not reduce the intensity of feelings. Scotus Viator was "one of the grave-diggers of the Monarchy",⁶¹ "he devoted the best years of life, much endurance, enthusiasm, one might say idealism to defending the Slavs of the Monarchy. What Scotus Viator was fighting for throughout two decades, could be translated into deeds by Seton-Watson, the director of propaganda of the great powers during the war. In Crewe House he laid the foundations of the treaties of Saint Germain and especially of Trianon. The Slav successor states owe their existence, their state configuration, the present-day Little Entente its power position, to no small extent to him".⁶² By the 1930's Seton-Watson became such an authority on Hungary that people found it almost hopeless to question any of his conclusions. "From the pages of the English books the resolute, clever, and terribly successful anti-Hungarian propaganda, resting on decades of work, was protruding to the Hungarian reader. The Hungarian shelves of all the big American libraries were filled with the works of Scotus Viator. The writers of the university textbooks were drawing from them, and the big encyclopaedias were misdirecting their readers in all questions relating to Hungary. If ten years ago somebody in America tried to give voice to the justice of Hungary, he had to feel, suffocating, that the public did not and could not believe him, because what he was saying was contrary to the teachings of all the authorities. All the wells had been poisoned."⁶³

When Seton-Watson had to see that the countries of the new Europe were zealously persecuting their national minorities, whom they had received by the generously drawn frontiers, and they were turning from democracies into dictatorships, he tried to warn their leaders (sometimes his old friends) and gave voice to his disapproval. This was immediately noticed and welcomed in Hungary. Ferenc Herczeg, now President of the Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League, admitted that Scotus Viator "hoped to fight indeed for the rule of law and liberty, and it must have been a painful humiliation for him to realise that without his knowledge and against his will he was a soldier of force and racial selfishness". Watson would never admit how mistaken he was about the behaviour of Hungary's successor states and their politicians, and what a failure the new Central European state system was. Doing that would be tantamount to renouncing his life's work.⁶⁴ Herczeg proved right, in 1934, when an increasing part of the British public appeared to admit the gross injustices of the Trianon Peace,^{64a} Seton-Watson wrote a new pamphlet explaining why the revision of the frontiers of Hungary was impracticable.⁶⁵ Instead of making the most of Seton-Watson's argument that the true solution lay in "reducing so far as possible the importance of frontiers, whether political or economic, and by perfecting the

machinery for safeguarding the rights of minorities" the Hungarian public noticed only the opposition to frontier changes, and the British author was again found to be "a learned, trickish and self-seeking hater", who, "conceals the truth by the arbitrary grouping of the facts".⁶⁶ One of the Hungarian newspapers retorted to the pamphlet by arranging a competition among the young readers: "An answer to the anti-revisionist book of Scotus Viator."⁶⁷ Naturally there were more serious answers, too, which challenged many of Seton-Watson's arguments.⁶⁸

In view of such recalcitrance it was really difficult for a Hungarian to approach Seton-Watson with anything but hostility, since – rightly or wrongly – he and his associates were held to be primarily responsible for the unjust frontiers and thus indirectly even for the mistreatment of millions of Hungarians in the successor states. One should not be surprised that the name Scotus Viator became a stock phrase in Hungary, the synonym of anti-Hungarian national prejudice. The debate was joined by writers calling themselves Hungarus Viator, Transylvanus Viator, Secundus Scotus Viator. There was even an effort to discredit the leader of the Hungarian National Socialists, Ferenc Szálasi, by showing that the elements of his "Hungarist solution" for the question of minorities were derived from Seton-Watson.⁶⁹

* * *

It had to be faced, however, that Scotus Viator the one-time political writer, in whom once "the historian was merged in the publicist and the politician",⁷⁰ became a widely respected professor of history. It is customary to draw a distinction between the polemical writer and the historian, but the difference is perhaps not so great. His early works were based on extensive reading, personal interviews, and all the relevant official documents were used. The later historical analyses made use of all the pre-war findings and experiences. We have seen that Jászi always praised Seton-Watson's painstaking researches into the historical background of the various national questions. On the other hand, many of his Hungarian readers questioned his ability (or willingness) to be pragmatic, to treat the sources with criticism, to draw independent conclusions.⁷¹

This charge had to be dropped in connection with his later scholarly works. Among them naturally his *History of the Romanians* ... attracted the greatest attention, testified by four long reviews.⁷² The authors ranged from a Conservative journalist to a Radical social scientist to professional historians. They all agreed that the book had considerable merits, but also saw many factual mistakes in it, not to mention the disagreements over interpretations. They found the treatment of the Middle Ages, and the question of the origin of the Rumanians in particular, inadequate. All valued the author's striving for impartiality, although they were not satisfied with the result. They found most to criticise in the chapters dealing with the last hundred years, where they discerned an obvious bias. L. Makkai's very balanced review deplored the little sympathy shown to the various efforts made throughout the centuries for the cause of Hungarian-Rumanian reconciliation. Perhaps the best

scholarly work of Seton-Watson, the diplomatic history of the 19th century, was also favourably reviewed, with mostly valid critical remarks.^{72a}

By the late 30's a balanced and more sober view of Seton-Watson was emerging. Scholars and serious students were already capable of swallowing their misgivings and opened these much abused books to consider them on their merits. They conceded that there was some truth in them.⁷³ If one was able to forget about the passionate words and the pain-inflicting phrases Seton-Watson's *bona fides* could be accepted. István Gál, the editor of *Apollo*, a periodical courageously advocating the cooperation of the peoples of Danubian basin (later he became one of the best authorities on British-Hungarian connections) pointed out that "The great classics of Hungarian self-examination have spoken on the vital issues of Hungarian life and history in the same spirit as the radical intellects of English political journalism (...) Comfortable thinking still remembers only the pseudonym Scotus Viator and the charge that he was a tool of the Czechs, while his views about the Hungarian ruling classes, the nationality policy of old Hungary, Danubian co-operation – which are largely identical with those of Jászi – are professed by the younger Hungarian generation as results of their own, often not only in principle but in details as well."⁷⁴

Difficult situations often have a sombering effect on people. One can hardly think of a more impossible situation than what faced Hungary in 1940, when Germany was rapidly becoming master of almost the whole of Europe, and Hungary's immediate choice was only collaboration at the price of losing most of her independence and suicidal resistance, without even a slight hope of regaining some territory. In the spring of that year Gyula Szekfű, the most influential Hungarian historian of the 20th century, wrote a short, politically motivated appraisal of Seton-Watson for the unequivocally anti-Nazi daily paper *Magyar Nemzet*. It reflected both the "lessons" of the previous half century of nationalism and the historic moment. The article advocated what was clearly impossible in 1940 but which, in the long run, was the only sensible course for the Hungarians, and also for their neighbours: reconciliation between the peoples of the Danube Basin, attachment to the political and social principles of the West, and internal democratization. After pointing out the significance and wide influence of *Racial Problems*, Szekfű laid down two basic theses. First that Seton-Watson was unquestionably honest, a man of principles and political steadfastness, who made thorough studies of his subject. Secondly that he was undoubtedly partisan, "in the debate between the Hungarians and their neighbours he took the side of the latter without further considerations", he associated the Hungarians with feudalism and the other nationalities with democracy, and thought that the latter would *a priori* respect the national minorities. Szekfű's preference was for "the other Scotus Viator", for "the stern impartiality" of C. A. Macartney.⁷⁵

The end of the second World War restored the territorial *status quo* which was to a considerable degree created by Seton-Watson, but political conditions in Central and Eastern Europe soon took a turning that distressed this maker of the New Europe. In Hungary the name Scotus Viator, once so strongly criticized, was not even

mentioned for thirty years. Orthodox Marxists, who sternly condemned Hungarian nationalism, did not know what to do with a Western bourgeois opponent of that phenomenon, who was himself a nationalist endorsing the platform of rival nationalisms. For some time not only Hungarian, but anti-Hungarian nationalism, too, was banned and appeared to be weakening or totally disappearing. In the 1970's, partly responding to the need to come to terms also with the distortions and taboos of the past, Hungarian historians started to face the troubled relationship of the peoples of East-Central Europe. Seton-Watson clearly played some role in it, and he was also prominent in the formation of the Western image of Hungary, a subject of vast importance for a small Central European nation having a delicate geographical, economic and political position.

It turned out that the long silence did not eradicate the memory of Seton-Watson from the consciousness of the Hungarian public. When the biography written by his sons appeared, the quality daily *Magyar Nemzet* lamented his partisan attitude and its unfortunate repercussions on the history of Hungary. Some readers saw the dangerous recurrence of Hungarian Chauvinism in these remarks, and when the present writer attempted to sum up his own view of R. W. Seton-Watson and his impact on the history of the Hungarians,⁷⁶ that called forth a surprisingly vivid reaction in the form of published and privately communicated letters. A short gloss in the popular literary-political weekly *Élet és Irodalom* categorically condemned my efforts: "No whitewashing!" of Scotus Viator, "one of the spiritual preparers of [...] the cruel mutilation of our country", it declared, adding that all that agitation was serving the interests of "the British world empire [which] did not come into being on the principle of the self-determination of peoples". Other remarks emphasized that the policies of the pre-war Hungarian governments toward the non-Hungarian minorities was incomparably more tolerant than the record of the successor states. On the other hand another published letter held that any anger expressed about Seton-Watson, "who unequivocally denounced the feudal-style Hungarian oppression of the non-Hungarian nationalities", was "neo-irredentist hysteria", and "even during the Horthy-era the more sane press appreciated that Scotus Viator was committed not to an *anti-Hungarian* course but to *justice*, whether it was perceived correctly or incorrectly".⁷⁷

A still brief but scholarly effort of mine attempted to balance both the merits and the mistakes of Seton-Watson,⁷⁸ but it was apparently not convincing enough, because soon an essay appeared which reiterated many of the old insinuations about the original prejudices and doubtful motivations. In addition to many factual mistakes made by the young author the essay also grossly misunderstood the role and aims of Seton-Watson in the peace settlement of 1919-1920.⁷⁹ Hopefully my recent book and another article dealing specifically with the "anti-Hungarian prejudices" of Seton-Watson⁸⁰ give an acceptable answer to the questions still worrying many Hungarians.

I think it is unnecessary to argue that Seton-Watson was not a blind hater of the Hungarians, he was only a passionate champion of what he thought was truth and justice. Circumstances and the behaviour of many Hungarians made him an opponent of practically all the governments and the political systems Hungary was having in his lifetime, and the victories of the causes Seton-Watson advocated left a tragic mark on the lives of generations of Hungarians, especially in the case of the Hungarian minorities in the countries now bordering upon Hungary. Although his intentions were undoubtedly honest and well-meaning he will be never liked in Hungary, and this will not be changed by pointing out that he felt genuinely sorry about the harsh treatment the Hungarian minorities received in the countries he did help to create; indeed he tried to mitigate the sufferings of those Hungarians.

The present paper tried to show how various Hungarian groups and individuals saw and treated Seton-Watson, what the name *Scotus Viator* meant for succeeding generations of Hungarians. I had no wish to attempt here a critical evaluation of Seton-Watson's writings and activities. If I wanted to criticize anyone it was those Hungarians who failed to understand young British visitor's intentions, and by unfair and impolitic treatment alienated a keen, not unsympathetic observer. This treatment was typical from a still youngish, immature public, which was incapable of overcoming hurt pride and to treat criticism from outside as a challenge. But I feel I cannot conclude this survey without pointing out that Seton-Watson was the advocate of the narrow national solution, his New Europe consisted of small, isolated units, claiming themselves to be national states, but in fact burdened with large, discontented and mistreated ethnic minorities. Inevitably they became tools and an easy prey of the great powers. After 1914 Seton-Watson seems to have lost interest (or hope) in a common, supra-national solution to the problems of the Danubian lands, in the policy of mutual concessions. In that he may have become a political realist, the opposite of Oszkár Jászi, the steady dreamer, but as the latter said, "there are dreams which are stronger and more real than the petty games and scrambles of day-to-day politics".⁸¹ One may be entitled to believe that Jászi's Utopian concept of a United States of the Danube⁸² was a theoretically better solution. Whether this Utopia will ever remain also a Uchronia, a Neverland, that cannot be answered.

Jászi was not a lonely dreamer. A close witness of *Scotus Viator*'s Hungarian campaign, perhaps the most perceptive British diplomat in those years in Austria-Hungary, Esmé Howard noticed what neither Seton-Watson nor the latter's Hungarian adversaries understood: "this ideal pursued by the Magyars is still that of so many nations all the world over, namely the establishment of national security on the firmest possible basis, and the pursuit of national aggrandisement. [...] One cannot but hope that in a new age new national ideals may spring up, according to which it will be a more magnificent achievement to respect the desire of liberty in others than to found an empire by force of arms, and to do as one would be done by will be more worthy of renown than to carry one's country to the highest pinnacle of greatness at the cost of others. When that time comes the problem of Hungary will solve itself".⁸³

Notes

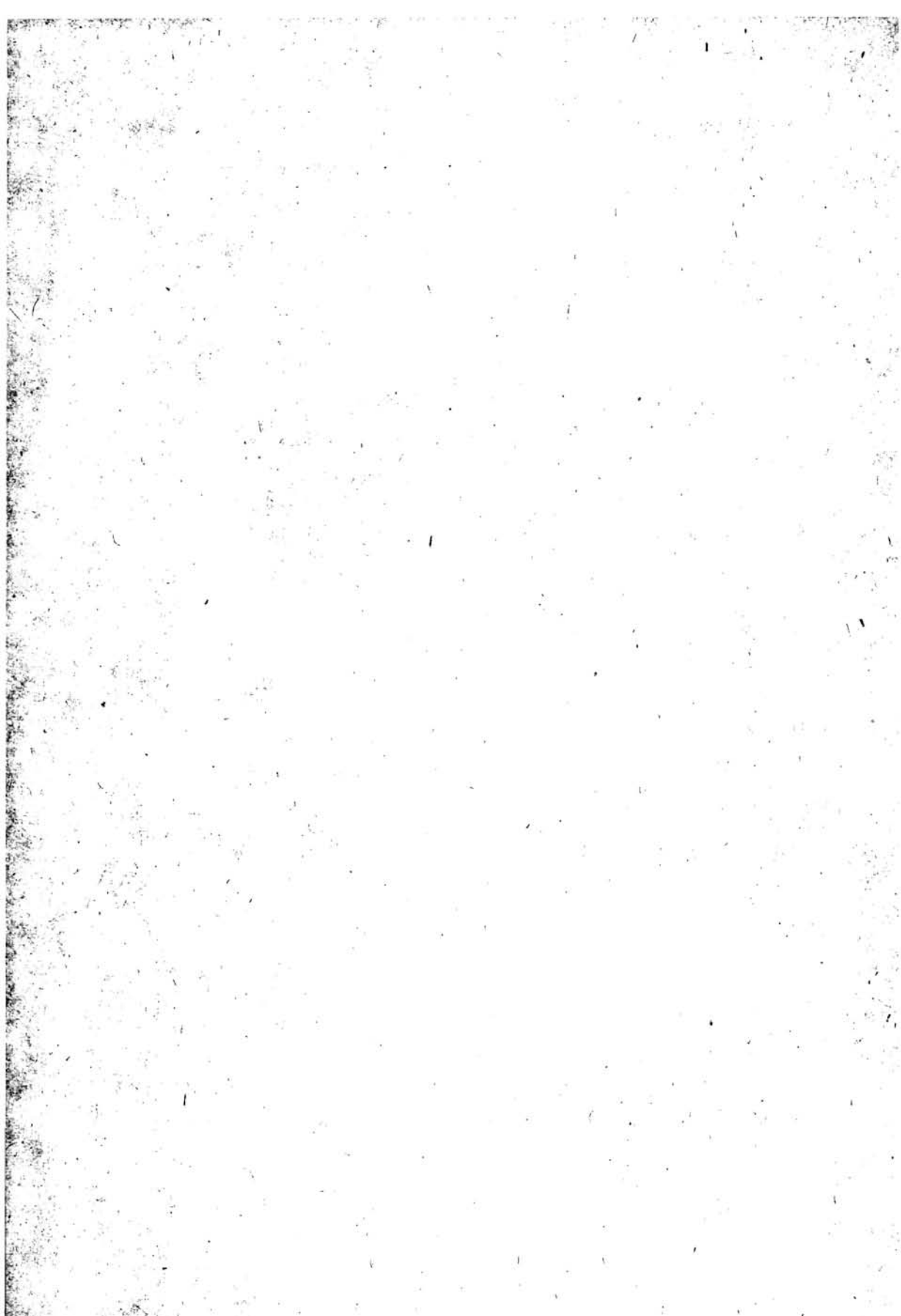
* The first version of this paper was read at the conference "History and Historians in Central and South-Eastern Europe" held in July 1983, at the University of London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, in honour of Professor Hugh Seton-Watson. Many questions referred to are tackled in my recent book, *Az elveszett presztízs. Magyarország megtérlésének megváltozása Nagy-Britanniában (1894–1918)* [Prestige Lost. The Changing Image of Hungary in Great Britain, 1894–1918] (Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1986). Perhaps one day it will find an English publisher. Some of the issues treated in the book are available in separate articles in English: "The Times and its image of Hungary before the First World War", *The New Hungarian Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII No. 87. (1982), 129–137; "Hungary and The Times during the political crisis of 1904–1906", *Acta Historica Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 21. (1975), 377–410; "The correspondence of Oszkár Jászi and R. W. Seton-Watson before World War I", *Acta Historica Scientiarum Hungaricae*, Vol. 26. (1980), 437–454.

1. *The Times*, 9 Nov. 1895.
2. *Ibid.*, 2 Dec. 1897, 5.
3. *The Edinburgh Review*, vol. 188. no. 385. (July 1898), 31.
4. *The Spectator*, 7 Nov. 1903, 756.
5. *The Times*, 17 April 1905, 9.
6. For details see my *A koalíció és Anglia. Angol orientációs kísérletek a századeleji magyar politikában* (The Coalition of 1904–1909 and Great Britain. Attempts at a British orientation in early 20th century Hungarian politics) *Századok*, 1981. 958–994.
7. *Scotus Viator*, Racial Problems in Hungary (London 1908), vii. Cf. Hugh and Christopher Seton-Watson. *The Making of a New Europe*, R. W. Seton-Watson and the Last Years of Austria-Hungary (London, 1981), on which most biographical details are based.
8. *Scotus Viator*, Racial Problems... XI–XII.
- 8a. At least by the liberal daily *Az Újság*, and the *Alkotmány* of 23 May, 1907.
9. At Csernova fifteen peasants were killed by the gendarmerie in a disturbance. Connected with the Church authorities' refusal to allow Father Mlinka, the Slovak nationalist priest-politician, to consecrate the new church.
10. *Budapesti Hírlap*, 11 Dec. and 15. Dec. 1907, *Magyar Hírlap*. 12 Dec. 1907. The polemics of Esterházy with *Scotus Viator* took up considerable space in the *Spectator* in July–August and December 1907.
11. The British Press and Hungary, *Hungary*, 15 Aug. 1907. This English-language "bimonthly society paper" was published in Hungary between 1903 and 1917. Cf. my "A 'Hungary', az első angol nyelvű magyar újság" (Hungary, the first English-language paper in Hungary), *Az Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár Évkönyve*, 1976–1977. Budapest, 1979.
12. *Ibid.*, 15 Dec. 1907, 11–12.
13. *Scotus Viator*, *Racial Problems*... xiv.
14. *Magyarország*, 21 Dec. 1907.
15. *Népszava*, 18 Dec. 1907.
16. On Yolland see Peter Sherwood, An Englishman's sixty years in Hungary, *Angol Filológiai Tanulmányok*, 1977.
17. *Spectator*, 9 May 1908.
18. The more important ones were the following: J. Ajtay, *The Hungarian Question . . .* (London 1908), *Education in Hungary* (London 1908), J. Vargha (ed.), *Hungary. A Sketch*... (Budapest, 1908), J. Andrássy, *The Development of Constitutional Liberty* (London, 1908), C. M. Knatchbull Hugessen (Lord Brabourne), *The Political Evolution of the Hungarian Nation* (London, 1908), A. Apponyi, *A Brief Sketch of the Hungarian Constitution* (Budapest, 1908), P. Alden (ed.), *Hungary of To-Day* (London, 1909).
19. *Scotus Viator*, *Political Persecution in Hungary. An Appeal to British Public Opinion* (London, 1908).
20. *Hungary*, 15 July 1908. 217–220.
21. Count Joseph Mailáth, *A Vindication of Hungary. A Reply to Scotus Viator and Other Writers* (London,

- 1908). It included contributions in the *Westminster Review* (July and Dec. 1908) and in the *Contemporary Review* (Aug. and Sep. 1908).
22. It appeared towards the end of 1908, still under the pseudonym, but its preface was signed R. W. Seton-Watson.
 23. *Racial Problems...*, xix-xx.
 24. *Budapesti Hírlap*, 9 Jan. 1909, 3.
 25. *Magyar Hírlap*, 22 Jan. 1909, 7.
 26. *Ibid.*, 12 May 1909. 1-3. Seton-Watson's two letters appeared in the *Westminster Gazette*, 10 March and 11 April 1909.
 27. *Huszadik Század*, 1909, vol. 1. 317., vol. 2. 60-72.
 28. *Ibid.*, 72.
 29. E.g. the supposed but mistaken Slovak origin of Kossuth and Petöfi, the completely irrelevant ethnic background of medieval *Hungarus* authors, scholars and even Kings. In this version the Hungarian lordly invaders of the 9th century pushed the autochthonous non-Hungarian population to the edges of the country into serfdom, and preventing the growth of a united Slav empire.
 30. "Nur vereint vorgehen. Ganz einerlei ob Popovici ein Reaktionär ist, ob dieser oder jener Klerikale oder Demokrat ist: wenn er nur ein guter Rumane ist, soll das vorläufig genügen." Quoted by Hugh Seton-Watson, R. W. Seton-Watson and the Roumanians, *Revue Roumaine d'Historie*, vol. X. (1971) 34.
 31. "These attacks are unquestionably made in good faith and are mostly well informed, but nevertheless represent a grave injustice against Hungary: they present as the offense of the whole Hungarian nation, the whole people, what is in fact the lawlessness of a small, decaying, selfish and exploiting caste." *Huszadik Század*, 1910, vol. 1. 217-218.
 32. Seton-Watson could fill a whole book with his findings: *Corruption and Reform in Hungary. A Study of Electoral Practice* (London 1911).
 33. *Pesti Napló*, 10 and 11 June 1910, *Független Magyarország*, 12 June 1910, *Magyarország*, 23 June 1910, *Budapesti Hírlap*, 25 August 1910, *Hungary*, 15 July 1910.
 34. *Morning Post*, 31 Aug. 1910. Seton-Watson's letter appeared on 19 Aug. and a rejoinder in September.
 35. Seton-Watson to Jászi, 6 Feb. 1911. OSZKK (National Széchényi Library, Department of Manuscripts) Found 114/43.
 36. *Huszadik Század*, 1911, vol. 2. 382-384.
 37. Hg. F., Scotus Viator és a budapesti radikálisok (Scotus Viator and the Budapest Radicals) *Magyar Figyelő*, 15 Dec. 1911, 523-527.
 38. *Budapesti Hírlap*, 22 Dec. 1911. Cf. Pál Szende, Scotus Viator gentleman lett (Scotus Viator has become a gentleman), *Huszadik Század*, 1912. vol. 1. 79-83.
 39. Arthur Yolland, Magyarország angol ellenségei (The English enemies of Hungary), *Magyar Figyelő*, 1 Apr. 1911. 17-24.
 40. Jászi to Seton-Watson, 14 Feb. 1912. *R. W. Seton-Watson Papers*, University of London, School of Slavonic and East European Studies.
 41. R. W. Seton-Watson, The Southern Slav Question and the Habsburg Monarchy (London 1911), in *German Die südslavische Frage im Habsburger Reiche* (Berlin, 1913).
 42. *Huszadik Század*. 1912, vol. 2. 187-193. The quotation is from p. 192.
 43. Scotus Viator eltévelyedése (The lapse of Scotus Viator), *Magyar Figyelő*, 1 Sep. 1912. 396-398.
 44. Lajos Steier, A trializmus könyve (The book of Trialism), *Magyar Figyelő*, 16 Aug. 1913. 304-308., and Magyar trialisták (Hungarian Trialists), *Ibid.*, 1 Oct. 1913. 67-68.
 45. *Huszadik Század*, 1913. vol. 2. 307-309.
 46. *Magyar Figyelő*, 1 Sep. 1912. 398.
 47. Képviseleti Napló (Proceedings of the House of Representatives...) Vol. XXII. 6 March 1914. (Budapest 1914), 429.
 48. *Annual Report*, FO 371/1046/855. 33.

49. Blaskovich Sándor, *Monarchiánk és Anglia* (Our Monarchy and England), *Nyugat*, 1913. vol. 1. 443–471.
50. F. B. Bridge sees no direct correlation between the echo of the nationality problem and the political relationship: *Great Britain and Austria–Hungary 1906–1914* (London, 1972), 35–40.
51. Ruttkai Vilmos, *A világháború célja: Anglia kiválása Európából.* (The object of the war: the separation of England from Europe.) (Budapest, 1915), 183.
52. *Magyar Figyelő*, 1915, vol. 1. 390–391, Bing Ede, *A háborús Anglia* (England at War) (Budapest, 1915), 19–20.
53. Árpád Zsigány in the popular contemporary history of the war: Tolnai, *A világháború történe* Vol. 2. (Budapest, 1915), 5–7.
54. Gesztesi Gyula, *A magyarság a világsajtóban* (Hungary in the world press) (Budapest, 1918) 41., 52–57., Révai Mór, *A magyarság ügye a külföldön* (The cause of the Hungarians in foreign propaganda) (Budapest, 1917). Cf. his lecture at the Hungarian Foreign Policy Association in 1925: the unjust Trianon Peace Treaty “was not the result of the fact that because of the given political constellations we were fighting for the interests of the Triple Alliance, but due to the fact that prior to the war we had been slandered”.
55. Burján Károly, Jászi Oszkár és Scotus Viator (Oszkár Jászi and Scotus Viator), *Magyar Kultúra*, 5 Oct. 1914, 168–170: *A középeurópaiak* (The friends of “Mitteleuropa”), *Új Nemzedék*, 1916, No. 3. 11–12; A. Apponyi’s foreword to Gesztesi, *on. cit.*; *Az entente és Magyarország* (The Entente and Hungary), *Budapesti Szemle*, 1918. vol. 176. 149–152., Sándor Pethő, *Világostól Trianonig* (From Világos to Trianon), (Budapest, 1926), 130.; Herczeg Ferenc, *Emlékezései. 2. A gótikus ház* (Memoirs) (Budapest, 1959), 312. A notable exception: Dezső Keresztúry, *A magyar önismeret útja* (The road of Hungarian self-awareness) in Gyula Szekfő (ed.), *Ki a magyar?* (What makes a Hungarian?), (Budapest, 1959), 163.
56. Marczali Henrik, *Az angol–magyar érdekközösségről a múltban* (The community of interests between England and Hungary in the past), *Századok*, 1919, 122–123. Benedek Jancsó, *A román irredentista mozgalmak története* (The history of the Romanian Irredente movements) (Budapest, 1920, 328–29; Mikó Imre, *Az erdélyi kérdés az európai közvélemény előtt* (The transylvania question before European public opinion) (Lugos, 1936), 7.; Jiri Koralka, *The Czech question in international relations at the beginning of the 20th century*, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1970; T. M. Ismailov, *Politecseskaya borba v Vengrii, 1906–1914.* (Political struggles in Hungary), (Moszkva, 1972).
57. Jenő Horváth, *Az angol–magyar érintkezések utolsó évszázada* (The last century of Anglo–Hungarian connections), *Történeti Szemle*, 1929, 155–156.; Miklós Asztalos, *A Monarchiától az utódállamokig* (From the Monarchy to the successor states) (Budapest, 1934), 82.
58. A contemporary Hungarian view from Romania: “His writings provided a kind of legal source for the treaties and procedures which have determined our fate.” *Magyar Kisebbség*, (Lugoj, Romania), 1923, 112.
59. Elemér Halmay in *Kelet Népe*, 18 Apr. 1923, 28, 33.
60. István Czákó, *A világsajtó* (The World Press) (Budapest, 1923), 10–11., 30–31., Sándor Krisztics, *A békeszerződések revíziója* (The revision of the peace treaties) (Budapest, 1927), 257.
61. Endre Moravec in the *Magyar Szemle*, June 1930, 147.
62. József Balogh, *Scotus Viator pálfordulása* (The conversion of Scotus Viator), *Magyar Szemle*, Aug. 1930. 222–226.
63. I. B. in the *Társadalomtudomány*, Mar. 1934, 229–230.
64. Ferenc Herczeg, *Scotus Viator erkölcsi halála* (The moral death of Scotus Viator; written in July 1932) in *Napkelte előtt. Gondolatok Nagy-magyarországról.* (Before dawn. Reflections on Greater Hungary) (Budapest, 1957), 57–60.
- 64a. A motion was brought forward in the British House of Commons by Sir Robert Gower and Llewellyn Jones to bring the revision of the Hungarian frontiers “before the Assembly of the League of Nations at the earliest opportunity”, and this was backed by 168 M. P.-s. – Cf. Robert Donald, *The Tragedy*

- of Trianon. *Hungary's Appeal to Humanity* (London, 1928) and Robert Gower, *Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers* (Norwich, 1936).
65. F. W. Seton-Watson, *Treaty Revision and the Hungarian Frontiers* (London, 1934).
66. Ferenc Herczeg, *Watson és a gyerekek* (Watson and the children), op. cit. 61.
67. *Ibid.*
68. For example: György Lukács, *Scotus Viator megint jelentkezik* (Scotus Viator makes a new appearance), *Budapesti Szemle*, 1934, vol. 234, 101–111.
69. Jenő Pivány, *Ki a 'hungarizmus' atyja?* (Who is the father of 'Hungarism?') *Magyar Nemzet* 15 Sep. 1938.
70. E. B. Betts, *Obituary on R. W. Seton-Watson*, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 1951, 252–255.
71. Lajos Steier, *A tót nemzeti mozgalom fejlődésének története* (The history of the development of the Slovak national movement) (Liptószentmiklós 1912), 314–315.
72. Zsombor Szász in *Magyar Szemle*, 1935, vol. 23. 96–99.; Jenő Horváth in *Budapesti Szemle*, 1934, vol. 235, 379–383; Róbert Braun in *Századunk*, 1935. 235–239; László Makkai in *Századok*, 1938. 510–519.
- 72a. R. W. Seton-Watson, *Britain in Europe 1789–1914* (Cambridge, 1937), reviewed by Jenő Horváth in *Budapesti Szemle*, 1938, No. 724, 379–381.
73. Ferenc Glatz, *Gondolatok az Eötvös Kollégiumi történészképzésről*, *Századok*, 1970. No. 3. 805.
74. István Gál, *The political adjustment of Carpathian Europe. British Concepts*, *Danubian Review* (Budapest), Dec. 1939, 4–11., also in *Magyar Nemzet* (in Hungarian), 26 Nov., 1939, reprinted in *Magyarország, Anglia és Amerika* [Hungary, England and the America] (Budapest, 1945), 132–133, 265.
75. Gyula Szekfű, *A két Scotus Viator vagy a demokrácia* (The two Scotus Viators or democracy), *Magyar Nemzet* 10 March, 1940.
76. *Magyar Nemzet*, 17 June, 1982.
77. *Élet és Irodalom*, 9 July, 1982.
78. Géza Jeszenszky, *A 'Vándorló Skót' és Magyarország* (Scotus Viator and Hungary), *História*, Vol. IV. (1982) No. 4–5.
79. Judit Kádár, *Seton-Watsonék családi tradíciója* (The family tradition of the Seton-Watson), *Mozgó Világ*, October, 1983, 28–34.
80. Géza Jeszenszky, *Az elveszett presztízs . . . and idem. Seton-Watson és a 'magyarellenesség'* (Seton-Watson and 'anti-Hungarian' bias), *História*. Vol. IX. (1987) No. 1. 20–21.
81. Oszkár Jászi, *Miért nem sikerült a dunavölgyi federációt megalkotni?* (Why the Danubian Federation could not be established?) *Látóhatár*, 1953. 13.
82. This proposal was made in a short book published in October. 1918: Oszkár Jászi, *A Monarchia jövője. A dualizmus bukása és a Dunai Egyesült Államok* (The future of the Monarchy: the fall of Dualism and the United States of the Danube) (Budapest, 1918) It was also published in German: *Der Zusammenbruch des Dualismus und die Zukunft der Donaustaaten* (Wien, 1918).
83. Sir Fairfax Cartwright and Esmé Howard, *Annual Report for 1910*. Public Record Office, FO 371/1046/855. 53–54.



ANASEMIOTIC MULTILINGUAL POETRY: FACT OR FICTION?

(A Linguistic Self-Portrait with Illustrations)

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More than once I have asked myself the question: Am I bound to go schizophrenic? Can I keep the four different persons jumping under my skin in the container of one identical surface-personality? Or is there, perhaps, a distant chance for a higher and better kind of mental health latently present in my state? The answer varies according to the Moon's position in the heavens as much as it varies according to whether I am in the midst of a linguistics lecture at the University of Illinois at Chicago where I teach, sitting at home at my desk, or riding the Northwestern Railroad to Chicago from Lake Bluff, where I live. The merciless devil of poetry comes and rapes my conscious mind in the unlikeliest places and at the unlikeliest times, and to make matters worse, frequently it happens in two languages at once, or intermittantly, in one after the other. Here is a typical scene of my life: I sat at the breakfast table with my American wife and she is telling me something about school or about one of our daughters. I try very hard to listen and even manage to nod or hum "aha" in the appropriate pauses allowed by her sentence syntax, but it's no use: I drift hopelessly, and she knows it. "What did I say"—she asks, and if I am lucky I manage to recapitulate 30% of her last sentence. Then she rephrases what she said. First it used to irritate her tremendously, but now she can tell, by just looking at me, that I am having one of my "phonetic attacks", the family term we coined for the periodic symptoms of my chronic disease. It no doubt makes me difficult to live with and the rewards must seem appallingly meager if they are, to add insult to injury, in the relatively distant and useless Hungarian language.

I don't think I will ever manage to shake loose of Hungarian completely. There was a period when I tried, but now I realize that it is useless. I carry the language with me, like a turtle carries its shell, and the more I try to give it up, the more savage the "phonetic attacks" a few days later. Perhaps on the train, perhaps while I am reading an English language linguistics publication. So I decided there is no use fighting it: I just have to accept it when it comes, forgetting about who will read it, when, where, and how, if ever, the resultant poem will be published. And then a strange thing happens: having thus allowed the Hungarian poem to rape my mind and eventually surface, it begins to translate itself into English. Again, the process is largely unconscious. I have no real intention of translating myself into English, nor do I work at it very hard. I am completely honest and I do not exaggerate: It happens automatically. Soon after a given Hungarian poem is finished, I catch myself

(sometimes in the bathroom, sometimes in the shower, unfortunately also while driving, which is really dangerous!) rewriting the poem in English. Yes, I mean *re-writing*, or *re-casting*, seldom, if ever *actually translating*. Translating to me is an arduous, conscious, and deliberate philological undertaking during which inspiration may or may not join in the process. It is very hard for me to say whether my inspired translations are actually better than the workmanly, sober ones, and it certainly matters a great deal whether the translation was into English from Hungarian, or vice versa. I have done a fair number of pieces in Hungarian verse translation from Old Provençal, French, English, Vietnamese, and Thai (all published in various anthologies and journals) and do translate Hungarian classics and 20th century poets into English fairly routinely, as one of the editors of *The Poetry of Hungary: An Anthology from the 12th to the 20th Century* (forthcoming). But this is *not* what I do to my own poems. Invariably the poems "translated by myself"—and this holds true whether it is from Hungarian to English, or the other way round—turn out to be independent, new poems that had, so to speak, a parent poem, or an inspirational model. To put it in other words: a philologist trying to compare my English and Hungarian poems could no possibly fail to recognize that there exists some kind of relationship between English poem A and Hungarian poem A₁; in fact, if the two poems were written by two different individuals, he would have to draw the conclusion that somebody had been plagiarizing. There is an inter-language osmosis of ideas, imagery and general mood between these cross-language cousins that is quite unmistakable. Yet, if a careful editor in charge of keeping verse translations very close to the original were to sit in judgement over my products, he would have every right to return the material to me and insist that I indeed *translate* rather than *re-cast* or *re-write*. Yet I am fully aware of how a good, yet close and faithful verse-translation is done: I have done it many times and, according to most of my critics, quite successfully. This, however, applies chiefly to foreign material rendered in Hungarian. Quite frequently a shift in form is the result of an English self-re-encoding. Consider the following English "version" (if you can call it that) of a completely formal and traditional Hungarian sonnet. The Hungarian version:

Tanulj *hogyan* olvasni

Mert jól tudom, hogy nemsokára majd
 ez úton végig vissza kell rohannom,
 idejében, míg bírja bicska-hangom
 jelekkel ékezet fákat, talajt
 s gödrökbe rejtem szaggatott ruháim.
 Magamnak véstem mind a torz jelet:
 Hisz visszamenni oly nehéz lehet
 ferdült emlékek rámrótt éjszakáin.
 Tanulja-e, ki egyhelyhez kötött,
 a messzi földek leírásait?
 Bilincset old-e néha le a hit?

Mihaszna kérdés: fuss, megütözött,
s tanulj *hogyan* olvasni, *mit* helyett,
meglelve tennem újjelzésedet.¹

An accurate prose paraphrase of this sonnet amounts to the following in English:²

Since I know well that soon in the future
I will have to run back along this road,
I will mark the trees and the ground with signs
while there is still time, while my voice's pen-knife
/is still able to do so
and hide my torn cloths into holes (in the ground).
All these distorted signs I made for myself
since it must be hard to go back
during nights lived through as penalty of memories
/gone astray.
Should one, tied to one place, learn
about the description of distant lands?
Can faith ever remove one's shackles?
A useless question: run, you shocked one,
and learn *how* instead of *what* to read
by finding your own road-marks.

Now the English poem corresponding to this, goes like this:

For I know well enough a time will come
when we will have to crawl back along the roads
we ever hastened over, I take this knife of words
(the sharpest blade of all) and make a mark
in every tree that sheds its tears around me,
and hide my shoes and rags in holes in the mud:
and all these marks I make for just one purpose:
to find my way back through the labyrinth
of memory's inherited punishments.

Should I read books of distant lands
I cannot reach alive?
The question is useless.
Run, run, stubborn fool,
learn *how* instead of *what* to read:
the signs are elusive
and all frontier-guards are kept
strictly and unbribably
incommunicado.

The reader will, obviously, opt for the second English version, since the prose-paraphrase shows nothing of the elaborate rhyming of the Hungarian original

and additionally produces, because of its literalness, a few awkward phrases, such as *my voice's pen-knife* whereas the corresponding Hungarian *bicska-hangom* (morphologically rendered *pen-knife-voice-mine*) is a permissible rhetoric device in Hungarian. This poem, at least, has some elements of true translation in it, such as the line *learn how instead of what to read*, which happens to be literally identical to the Hungarian version. Nevertheless, you cannot call it a "translation", both on formal and on semantic grounds. To show an even more striking example of self-re-encoding, consider the following short piece. The English poem:

The Mule Within

I keep a mule within me, chained,
on a labor farm.
He thinks he's on probation,
and dreams; "If I could race ... like a horse..."
His haunting visions eat sores in his neck
like a narrow collar.
His thoughts can fly,
He trudged like a turtle.
He is a useful and reliable creature
who never did a fellow any harm.
His pay is low, but regular.
He is a language teacher.
The Mule Within has a Hungarian proto-poem behind it:

It reads in the original:

Nyelvtanár

Süketen rójaja körét a fél-szamar,
- versenyló volt az anyja: -
Valami emlék látogatja.
Beszéd- e?
Iramlás?
Földszagú határ?
Foglalkozása: nyelvtanár.

Only 7 lines compared to the 12 lines in English, this poem bears the title *Language Teacher*, the "punch-line" of the English version. It can be paraphrased as follows:

Deaf, the half-ass walks his circle,
-his mother was a racing mare!-
Some memory keeps haunting him.
Is it speech?
Is it dashing?
The earth-smelling country?
His occupation: language teacher.

In this second instance, then, we see the Hungarian poem as a more remote ancestor of the English version than in the case of *Learn how to Read*, though once again, the author of the English version, were he a different person, could not claim absolute originality, if confronted with the Hungarian poem.

The next step in this curious relationship between my Hungarian and my English poems is the point where any textural, tangible identity ceases to be manifest. When I lived in Honolulu, Hawaii, between 1958 and 1960 as high school teacher of European languages, I very rarely wrote English poems and the ones I did write were ungrammatical monstrosities with only an occasional clever line here and there, incurred mostly by accident. Yet, years after being away from Hawaii, in 1969 and 1970 I wrote a number of poems on Hawaii and, for all practical purposes, these are original English poems without an underlying Hungarian prototype. Or are they? Here again I am lost in doubt and can explain myself only by saying that despite the ten-year distance separating my Hungarian *Hawaii Elegies* and the poems written about the islands ten years later in Chicago, the basic emotional experiences and the persona in whose consciousness these experiences were deposited have remained the same, which means that on an even higher, very abstract level, these poems, too, are, in some mysterious way, metamorphoses of one another. In point of fact, most of the emotional attitudes and viewpoints represented in *Aloha Reconsidered* (see in this selection) are recoverable from 5 sonnets and a highly formal sixth poem in *Szomj és ecet* (pp. 85-90) though not one word of direct translation exists between them.

At the beginning of this discussion I used the term *phonetic attack* in order to indicate impressionistically how the process of bilingual or intermittant composition manifests itself in my ordinary daily behavior. Now, after briefly presenting these various, graduated possibilities of the interrelationships that exist between my Hungarian and English poems, I should like to try to present a little more formalized account of the bi-lingual poetic process, addressing my remarks to literary and linguistic readers alike.⁴ I have not forgotten any of my Hungarian, but have rather grown in my use of it, and as far as English is concerned, I am gradually approaching full bilingualism except for occasional mispronunciations. The following remarks, then, are just an additional step in the general direction in which linguistics is moving today: Instead of analyzing my prose sentence constructions, I am attempting to formalize here, based on careful introspection, how the poem(s) come(s) about (1) in Hungarian, (2) in English, (1a) as a translation from English, (2a) as a translation from Hungarian, (3) or as an English poem with an immediate or distant Hungarian prototype, and lastly, (4) as an entirely independent English poem.

cognition
culture-psychology-philosophy

SEMIOLOGY: The meanings of dictionary entries and abstract sentence structures.

LEXOLOGY: Dictionary entries, meaningful forms, sentences.

MORPHOLOGY: Formally patterned potentially meaningful elements: words.

PHONOLOGY: Distinctive sounds, characterized by features, syllables, nonsense words.

acoustic or articulatory phonetics

Fig. 1

The funnel on the bottom bends "inward", whereas the one on top bends "outward". What this indicates is that the number of noises we humans produce in order to encode our messages is disproportionately smaller than the number of concepts we carry in our consciousness. Phonological analyses of English vary rather widely as to school of thought, sophistication and vintage; but almost all scholars of linguistics, and especially when it comes to some written representation of the phonological material, use approximately 40 or 42 symbols, known in some traditions as "phonemes". Now 42 is—certainly a much smaller number than 10,000 or 15,000—a very conservative estimate of the number of vocabulary items used by an average native speaker of American English. Note also that vocabulary items can be highly complex and be merely the surface realizations of a great many more semantic components, most of which the speaker is aware of. Let me just show one typical example: We say rather easily UNESCO, or LM (pronounced *lem*). As phonological units they are (yunéskow) and (lém), respectively. Most people using the word UNESCO would probably realize that it stands for "United Nations Educational Social and Cultural Organization" and that *lem* stands for "Lunar Module". Now just to explain what *united* means, what *nation* means, then what *United Nations* means, takes a long time and the number of concepts touched upon is very large. If you meditate on the complexities of explaining these two common terms, you will begin to see what I mean by saying that our phonological apparatus is a great deal simpler than our conceptual universe. Nor need words be abbreviations of sophisticated instruments or institutions in order to be semantically complex: Just try really to explain the concepts *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Earth* and you will see what I mean.

The funnel on the top, then is widening out in relation to the box, as it houses the concepts (and their components) we humans carry in our heads. It is a rubber-bag-like,

flexible component, capable of growth (learning) and of shrinking (forgetting) and is populated by a large number of universal human concepts (*hot, cold, night, day, Sun, Moon, male, female, dog, horse, etc.*) along with the more technical subcomponents of such concepts, and some culture-specific ones (*hominy grits, bubble and squeak, sauerkraut, beef goulash, stars and stripes, social security, de-Stalinization, luau pig, to jerrymander, etc.*). Just as it is true that tomorrow's poetry has not yet been written, it is also true that I can inform any intelligent English speaking person of some unfamiliar fact or institution existing in some other country, as long as I imbed the new information in a matrix which is basically familiar to him, the listener. Thus I can describe the Southern dish *hominy grits* to a Hungarian who never tasted it or heard of it, and the British dish *bubble and squeak* to an American similarly unaware of its existence, and so on. The acquisition of such new information, if done systematically and repeated over the course of four years in a structured environment, is known as a college education. The college student will acquire, no doubt, some new vocabulary as he goes along (i.e., new lexemes, such as *to jerrymander, de-Stalinization, etc.*) but in many cases, especially if the person comes from an outstanding high school, the number of new vocabulary items will be negligible compared to the total amount of new information acquired during his stay in college.

The new information (such as the ability to recount the history of the United States with major dates and corresponding events) is a matter of the person's having acquired new interconnections (perhaps in bundles or in elaborate networks) of cognitive-semological material, all of which may express itself in the vocabulary he brought with himself from Boston Latin and High, Bronx Science, Exeter, or Groton. Similarly, entirely new poems may be read and appreciated without the reader's having to look up a single new word in the dictionary. This aspect of "new information" being encoded in "familiar containers" is a particularly satisfying experience for foreign-born when re-discovering, say Shakespeare in the original. Being brought up in Hungary where there exists a two-hundred year old Shakespeare cult, I knew dozens of lines from Hamlet in Hungarian before I ever saw or read the play in English. I was always afraid that the English version would be too hard to understand. After years in the United States, and already a practicing high school teacher with an American B. A. diploma, I saw my first English Hamlet performance in Honolulu, Hawaii, staged by the University of Hawaii Players. It was a splendid performance, but the most memorable fact about it, to me, was the fact that lines such as *not a mouse stirring: and I am the Ghost of thy father*—along with the rest of the play—sounded completely comprehensible, yet electrifyingly new. By the time I heard the line *something is rotten in the State of Denmark* which has become a political proverb in Hungarian (*valami bűzlik Dániában*) having acquired the idiomatic meaning "the rulers are up to no good again", I was beyond myself with delight. Hamlet had, all of a sudden, acquired a new meaning for me: the old meaning of the play which I had studied and practically known by heart in Hungarian was now added to the strikingly different emotional overtones it evoked from me, listening to it

twelve thousand miles away in 80° Fahrenheit, the day after Christmas, and in English. Apparently what happened was that I had acquired a sufficient amount of English sentence syntax (Division No. 2, Figure 1) to understand easily the performance of *Hamlet* in English, which was aided by my former familiarity with the play, in my memory (top funnel, Figure 1). It was experiences similar to my re-discovery of the original English *Hamlet* that convinced me before I ever had any formal training in linguistics that institutions, ideas, concepts, even actual poems, plays and novels must have some sort of an abstract existence independent of the actual language in which they happen to be realized at a given time. To go back to the *Hamlet* example for a moment: It was no use telling myself that the English version was the "real" one: for all its beauty and for all the joy of being able to understand it almost as the English spoken around me, it seemed more distant than the Hungarian version I knew so well. But this was in 1960. Today, twenty-eight years later, *Hamlet* for me is a bilingual reality and I am equally comfortable both with the original and with the classical Hungarian translation by János Arany, Hungary's greatest literary genius of the 19th century. My job as teacher of German, Russian, French, Latin, and Russian at Iolani School in Honolulu, using the medium of English, while I spoke Hungarian to my relatives, read and corresponded in it regularly, with the students speaking pidgin English among themselves to say nothing of Japanese, Chinese, Tagalog and Hawaiian which they spoke to their parents and grandparents, made me a natural candidate for graduate training in linguistics, and so it happened that after having acquired a B.A. from Harvard and having taught two years in Honolulu, I now found myself at Yale University as a graduate student taking courses in structural linguistics from the late Bernard Bloch. The structuralist training in linguistics concentrates heavily on form and shies away from analyzing the semantic side of language. In so doing, it gives one a very thorough workout in rigor and implants a powerful dosage of self-criticism and doubt concerning everything that is not visibly manifest in a language but is merely guessed at, whether by positing systems behind visible facts or by psychological hindsight. Inevitably, therefore, a four-year period of severe repression of the poetic instinct in my life followed which was not to be lifted until I received my doctorate in the fall of 1965. I nevertheless managed to write a Ph.D. dissertation on a hitherto esoteric topic: English idioms.⁵

Today the field of linguistics is torn between competing schools of thought. The structuralist-behaviorist school, which was dominant between 1930 and 1960 is still with us, though it has been pushed somewhat into the background. Currently dominant is the transformational-generative school of linguistics started by Noam Chomsky at MIT in 1956; but it has begun to show signs of disintegration, as it is torn between those who tie meaning to the sentence (the so-called "interpretivists") and those who start the generative process of speech in the realm of meaning (the so-called "generativists"). There is, at any rate, a clear tendency to move away from observable data and delve into previously unexplored areas of meaning. This turning away from data has caused much trouble for transformationalists, so that, recently, there is a trend to return to field-work. The school of tagmemics, inaugurated by Kenneth L.

Pike has brought some truly impressive results in the area of describing previously unwritten languages; furthermore, Pike's theory of language has ample room for pieces of literature which are considered behavioral manifestations of a highly organized and special kind. Transformational grammar is so deeply involved with quasi-algebraic rules of "wellformedness" versus "illformedness", that it can-in clear conscience-be accused of being downright anti-literary. The school of thought in whose spirit my self-portrait is being drawn is that of the so-called "stratificational-cognitive" model, invented by Sydney M. Lamb at Berkeley, California, later transported to Yale, now cultivated at Rice University in Houston, Texas. During the writing of my doctoral thesis I came into contact with Lamb and his philosophy and found that this model, if properly expanded and modified, has, as far as I can see, the best chance to give a formal account of how discourse of all types is produced and understood. What follows below, then, is a stratificationally oriented account of the poetic process, but as such it is strictly my own and nobody else is to be held responsible for it. I will now redraw Figure 1 so as to accommodate two languages,-in my case Hungarian and English.

The diagram is a great deal easier to read than it looks at first glance. To start from top to bottom, we have, in the same person's mind, GENERAL COGNITION. This means that independently of what language one speaks, one knows one's name, whether one is hungry or not, cold or warm, whether one is a Christian or an atheist, and so forth. People also realize whether they are in English, or in Hungarian speaking company, hence they will use their LANGUAGE ADJUSTOR. The social situation may be entirely identical-take that of making the acquaintance of a new person. If the person is an American, I will say *how do you do?* and if he is Hungarian, I will state my name, saying *Makkai Ádám vagyok* ("Adam Makkai am I"). In French, on the other hand, I would say *enchanté*. In my daily life it happens all the time that I meet new people in mixed American-Hungarian company. Invariably I will instantaneously switch from Hungarian to English, and vice versa, depending on whether I recognized the language the other person spoke. This kind of situation, with the bilingual person doing most of the talking, is indicated by the arrows going down, that is, from cognition towards the required phonology.

However, something different happens if I have to interpret a Hungarian request in English (or conversely), to say nothing of the difficulty that it entails to render a Hungarian joke in English. This, of course, happens very frequently in immigrant circles. Let us imagine the following situation: A Hungarian immigrant who speaks broken English, tells his American host about his grandiose business plans. The host manages to understand him despite his broken English, but fails to realize that the person actually understands less than what he seems to be able to say. It is common knowledge among multilinguals that it is easier to talk in a foreign language than to understand unexpected speech thrown at you. When you talk: you are in control, you choose your own words you know best; but when you're spoken to, you cannot signal to the speaker what vocabulary items, idioms, or phrases are strange to you. You work by assembling the meaning from the

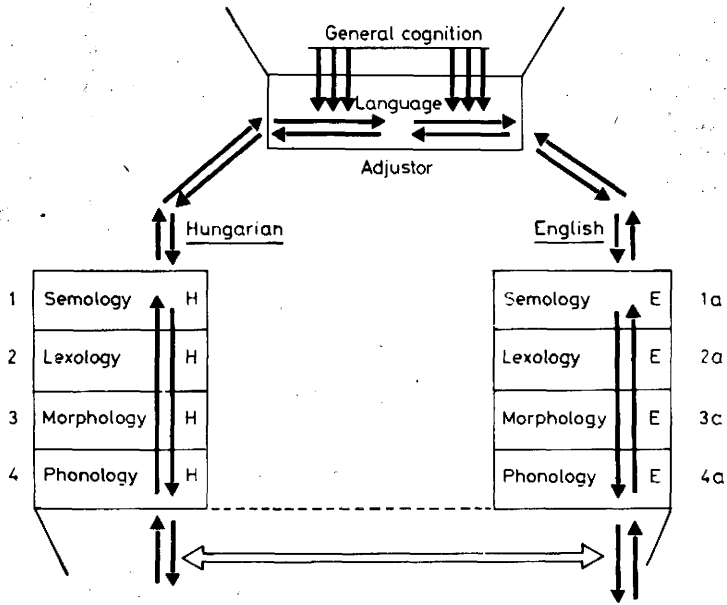


Fig. 2

context, and perhaps you succeed, or you act (in politeness) as if you understood them; eventually you can remember the phrase and find out what you missed. So the host, in all friendliness, intones to his Hungarian guest: *don't count your chickens before they're hatched*: gives a chuckle and terminates the conversation. (This kind of situation has happened more than once to me personally.) The immigrant turns to the Americans and inquires what the phrase meant. The interpreter (I, in this instance), faces the problem of having to translate the sense of the utterance, not just the words. The sentence (taken literally), in Hungarian *don't count your chickens before they're hatched*, sounds like an instruction to a farmer from a book. To convey the meaning "refrain from celebrating success prematurely" I have to say something like "don't drink a toast to the bear's hide in advance" (that is, before you've brought him in after hunting). The Hungarian phrase goes *ne igyál előre a medve bőrére*. In French we find *ne vendez pas la peau de l'ours avant de l'avoir tué* "Don't sell the bear's hide before killing him". But how do I arrive at the appropriate Hungarian translation? To contrast this situation with the more common type of translating one does in bilingual existence, let us compare this example with an ordinary question such as *where is the glass?* (We imagine that the glass talked about is one commonly known to everybody present.) I, the interpreter, hear the English phonological string *where is the glass?* with the typical American question intonation of the voice falling at the end, or in a statement. The phonemes of English involved, (wer+iz+glæs), are analyzed into the five morphemes *where is the* and *glass* and by the time my brain

has a chance to grasp the syntactic structure of *interrogative, BE, third person singular present, definite article, noun, inanimate, count*, the sememic stratum has signalled the meanings of the participant lexemes, whereupon my cognition takes over and (without saying a word just yet) I may see "in my mind's eye" the glass in question on the kitchen table where my friend has left it. I now have several choices open to me. I can just go and get the glass. I can answer (in any of the languages I know and which are appropriate at the moment) and say where the glass is, or I can translate the question. Let us imagine that the appropriate thing to do in this situation is to translate the question. I know that I must ask a question in Hungarian. I also know that the lexeme to be used in Hungarian must refer culturally to the same object (glass = pohár); I also know that the glass has been seen before by everyone present and that it is one (definite piece) that we are talking about and not just any glass, or a glass in general. This semantic situation predetermines my Hungarian sentence-structure, as it will decidedly disallow me to make a declarative sentence. Thus I choose the appropriate lexemes, construct them in ordinary interrogative form, imbed this syntactic structure in the relevant Hungarian morphemes, and then proceed to pronounce the question in Hungarian: *Hol van a pohár?* (This process can be traced on Figure 2 quite easily: I have travelled from right to left as the black arrow indicates, starting with English phonology up through the LANGUAGE ADJUSTOR aided by general cognition, down from Hungarian semology to Hungarian phonology.) If I had originated the question myself, I would not have started with English phonology: The question would have started in my general cognition, then, through the language adjustor it would have gone straight into the Hungarian semology and from there downwards.

Now, in order to begin to get closer to our topic at hand, namely bilingual poetics, let us first see how the translation of formal poetry can be illustrated. I will, instead of giving a very complicated example, stick to a simple Hungarian nursery rhyme and its English verse translation.⁶

The Hungarian nursery rhyme (actually a didacticism used to teach three-year olds how to draw) goes like this:

Pont, pont, vesszőcske,
Készen van a fejecske.
Kurta nyaka, nagy a hasa,
Készen van a Török Pasa.

It consist of two sentences: (1) period, period, comma, diminutive suffix, ready adverbial suffix, is, the, head, diminutive suffix, and (2) short, neck, possessive suffix, large, the, belly, possessive suffix, ready, adverbial suffix, is, the, Turkish, Pasha. After rearranging the morphemes, we arrive at the following English prose translation:

Period, period, little comma,
 The little head is ready.
 His neck is short, his belly is big,
 The Turkish Pasha is ready.

This is a completely accurate "literal translation" of the original, yet the English speaking reader is at a loss as to what to make of this text. At this point it becomes necessary to explain that this is a rhyming didacticism spoken in 28 syllables, to the accompaniment of drawing motion with a pencil on paper, or a stick of chalk on the blackboard. We have now, let us imagine, succeeded in decoding the meaning of this text in Hungarian; we know what it means and understand what it is used for in the culture. But what about rendering it in English? This problem was a very real one to me personally, as my daughter, Sylvia, requested of us when she was two and a half years old that we show her the Pasha in "Mommy language", that is, English. First of all we decided that the Turkish Pasha had to go (a cognitive-cultural decision) as it plays no role in the cultural universe of an American youngster. Contrariwise, in Hungary, which was under Turkish occupation for 150 years, the Turks have become, by dint of time, laughable-amiable symbols of a once very real and ferocious political oppression. First we thought of using a savage Indian instead, but later decided that the connotations associated with Indians in the USA are quite different than are Hungarian attitudes toward the Turks. Eventually, after several versions, we came up with the following solution:

Dot, dot, tiny thread,
 Ready is the tiny head.
 Short his neck and huge his tummy,
 Ready is the big, fat dummy.

Needless to say, this is no great poetry, but then neither was the original. However, the translation works; it allows you to draw a "big fat dummy" completed in 28 syllables both in English and in Hungarian:

1 Pont, pont, vesszőcske,
 2 Készen van a fejecske.
 3 Kurta nyaka, nagy a hasa,
 4 Készen van a Török Pasa.

1 Dot, dot, tiny thread,
 2 Ready is the tiny head.
 3 Short his neck and huge his tummy,
 4 Ready is the big, fat dummy.

(The first line in both languages draw the two eyes and the nose; the second line draws the circumference of the head; line three draws the neck and the circumference of the belly, and the last line the two stick arms and the two stick legs.)

The process of translation in this instance moved from Hungarian to English (or from left to right on Figure 2) producing a four-line stanza of 28 syllables in two sentences such that they describe the outlines of an abstract, simplistic human figure. Clearly we have "cheated" during the process of the translation: *tiny comma* became *tiny thread*, *belly* became *tummy*, and the "Pasha" has been done away with altogether in favor of *dummy*, which rhymes so reassuringly with *tummy*. As a matter of fact we probably thought of substituting *dummy* for *Pasha* because the word *tummy*, a good synonym for *belly*, presented itself. This, then, would be a clear instance of the phonology interacting with, or influencing the syntax and the semantics. But this is nothing strange. I have spoken with numerous painters and sculptors and they have always insisted that "the picture paints itself" or "the statue shapes itself" as much as he, the artist, was deliberately able to do. We humans are remarkably adaptable in our ways: we have an original idea about something and set out to accomplish it, but when the matter in which we must realize the original idea shows recalcitrance, we are capable of picking up new, additional ideas offered by nature of the resisting matter itself and thus arrive at other solutions which we perhaps did not even think of originally. In this simple instance I clearly remember that *dummy* was suggested by the word *tummy*. Yet the sentences had to make sense; that is, *tummy* and *dummy* not only had to be at the ends of lines where they had a chance to rhyme, they also had to be in the right position syntactically, in addition to being allowed by our semantic self-editing as words that made sense here. (To test the difficulty of even so simple a translation, substitute the words *honey* and *money* for *tummy* and *dummy*; then choose yet another pair, say, *bladder* and *ladder*, and so on. You will find that there is a scale of tolerable versus intolerable nonsense variations.)

It is, of course, much easier to settle for anything plausible if there is no original poem to translate. Consider that you have undertaken the challenge to fill out the following matrix:

```

          be
    Larrabee
      ight
        ants
        ants
        ight
  
```

I have tried this nonsense-structure on a class of undergraduate freshmen in a course called "Introduction to Poetry" at Chicago Circle several times, and here are some of the versions they came up with:

To be, to be, or not to be
 Cried Master David Larrabee
 With anguish-filled delight:
 He lost his handsome under-pants,
 His ass is bitten by the ants—
 Tremendous is his plight.

(18-year old male student)

“But Gaston dear, how can you be
 So clumsy?”—Cried Miss Larrabee,
 “You make a sorry sight:
 Some day (you hope) you’ll learn to dance
 But all you do is rip your pants
 Over your bulgy side.”

(17-year old female student)

How can the small industrial bee
 Pollute Lieutenant Larrabee
 Who, like a soaring kite,
 On Earth, below here, took no stance.
 But orbits us? Alas, no chance,
 The bee must self-ignite.

(19-year old female student)

The particular restriction in this assignment was that the name *Larrabee*—in whatever sense—had to be kept intact and could not be substituted for by a shorter form ending in the syllable *-be*. Some thirty-two students participated in the experiment and all the thirty-two versions were grammatical, and made some sort of sense. Some of them were actually quite funny. What we have here is a familiar type of stanza built on four iambic tetrameters with an iambic trimeter in the middle (line 3) and one at the end (line 6) with the rhyming scheme AAbCCb; anapaests, trochees and occasional dactylic feet being permissible substitutions for the straight iambic beat. I came to the conclusion that this fairly rigid, formal grid must have functioned as a soliciting matrix that mobilized the forces of the unconscious in the freshman class: One person came up with somebody’s derriere getting bitten by the ants; another visualized a lady danceteacher bawling out a pupil called Gaston for his clumsiness when he rips his pants by being too fat; the third one makes a take-off on the known line by Sir Isaac Watts (“How does the busy little bee / Improve each shining day...?”) then goes into ecology-talk, space-imagery and ends the stanza on the self-destruct note of the television series “Mission Impossible”. Quite a spectrum of ideas, you must admit, imbedded in the identical metric and rhyming scheme, and I have presented only 3 of the 32 versions that were produced as one home-work assignment.

Now the genuine poetic process is neither like translation, nor like filling out a matrix invented by somebody else; yet, as long as the poet uses a traditional form, it incorporates elements of both. The translation-like aspect of writing one's own poetry is the traditional dilemma of how to say in words what may have been originally a nonverbal experience; it is traditionally known as the dilemma of self-expression. The familiar exclamations of people "if I only had a way with words as Oliver does!" or "if I could only put right what I feel inside so strongly!" are, and I don't think I am stretching the point unreasonably, translation-problems in this specific sense. The grid-filling activity manifests itself most definitely during the composition of a sophisticated structure like a sonnet, or a poem in the Alcaic, or Sapphic meters. Demanding as meter and rhyme are on the poet, they also work as crutches and can become extremely dangerous forces blocking the genuine unfoldment of the poet's inner growing-process. Most of what we think of as "bad poetry" is reasonably well rhymed material done with a definite amount of versifying skill. The completely spontaneous outcry of a 5-year old child quite unaware of what he does in pain or anger, if overheard and later written down, can amount to much "better poetry" than the learned efforts of a middle-aged poetaster diligently grinding away at his metrics and rhymes. So the more demanding the poet on himself, the more he will experiment with free verse, by which I do not mean to say that people who never mastered formal metrics in the first place always succeed in writing good free verse. Think of Picasso: His impossible figures float in the freedom of figures that escaped the regular mold and are hence twice as lively as the ones that never even entered a formal mold, or are still caught up in it. There is a great difference in the quality of the free verse of a master who could write a formal sonnet if he wanted to, and the poet who never learned how to write a sonnet.

So where do the poets writing free verse get their fix, their first firm hold on the poem? There is no metrical and rhyming scheme to conjure up images in the unconscious, and they are not trying to convey somebody else's ideas in another medium or language. This is a hard question to answer and it probably differs from one poet to the next. I think I have an answer for me. It may not work for you or the next person who writes poems—but then the unavailability of general rules for poets seems par for the course. Poems get started with me as germinal forces approaching the level of consciousness through "phonetic attacks". The center of the attack, like the eye of a hurricane, is a phrase which is usually no longer than three or four words. But it can also be a single word, or a word-blend not used by anybody else except myself, as I make it up on the spur of the moment. Sometimes the exterior stimulus is an ugly or an unexpectedly beautiful sight; sometimes an aggressive television advertisement I am trying to fight off; a quaint phrase accidentally produced by a youngster; an extraordinarily difficult rhyme combination which reaches my consciousness as I sit on the train and stare at the wintry landscape: The possibilities are almost endless. It is this central phrase, the "eye of the hurricane" which acts as the father principle and impregnates the rest of my mind. The central phrase has a meaning (semology), some sort of syntax (lexology); this is precipitated in words

(morphology) and it has a definite sound pattern (phonology). With all the four strata being represented in the germinal phrase of the "phonetic attack", the rest of the way for the poem also moves in all four stratal systems, and mostly at once, as if simultaneously. To me the meaning of a line of verse is no more important than the sound of it; yet the sound is as expendable and changeable as the sense dictates under the pressure of a given line. When eventually the poem is ready, I usually put it aside for a week or two and then re-write it with a cool and sober head. This process, as outlined above, is typically true for my poems written in Hungarian, and has begun the ones that do not seem to have a philologically retrievable ancestor among my Hungarian poems.

The English poems with an immediate or less immediate, but nevertheless documentable Hungarian ancestor, come to me in staggered sequences of secondary and tertiary phonetic attacks which, when the going is smooth, can suddenly turn primary and direct. These are the junctures in the course of a perfectly honest job of translation when I suddenly take off and forget about the original poem: I now have a better idea for the English version so I might as well rewrite it completely. This way of translating, if applied to the writings of others, is traditionally known as "transformationism" in poetry translations, and has been practiced by extremely reputable poets both in England and in the States; Robert Lowell's "transformationist" translations of German poetry are particularly well known. But I do not commit philological imprecisions with regard to anybody else's oeuvre: I am disposing, as it were, of my own property.

* * *

But how many POTENTIAL poems is one poem, really?

Putting it another way: Is any given poem ever "ready"? Here we could enter into an interminable discussion of the meaning of the word "ready". Is it a spacial concept? Does it depend on the limits of human memory? Every one knows that the Homeric epics were recited verbally for centuries before they were written down. Undoubtedly, some "editing", conscious or unconscious, must have taken place as the various scribes put their respective versions together. But "ready" can mean aesthetic considerations. Poet A, B, and C are having a friendly contest of writing a sonnet each, using the identical rhymes given them by a fourth poet D, who gives them the actual rhymes of one of his sonnets along with the title, but not the text itself. This is a common game played among Hungarian poets; Attila József and Gyula Illyés have played it; so have lesser known poets as well. The result, invariably, is totally different poems, yet poems that are somehow tied to one another through the sonnet form and the identical rhymes. In my teens, back in Hungary, I was introduced to this fascinating game by a class-mate, Tibor Wlassics who, also living in the United States, became one of the world's leading authorities on Dante. Wlassics is currently teaching at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. He undertook

a new translation of the *Divina Comoedia in terza rima*, and while so doing he gives all of the extant English translations both from Britain and the United States. I hope to be able to devote a future article for HUNGARIAN STUDIES on the quality and awesome dimensions of Wlassics's work. Suffice it to say that I became aware of the POSSIBILITY of anasemiosis at the age of 17, but we had no terminus technicus for what we were doing. It was just fun. Almost 34 years later I now belatedly realize that what the French call "anasémie", is a live and active force not only in formally rhyming poetry, but in every-day speech as well.

That "active voice" sentences more or less mean the same as "passive voice" sentences is very well known both to linguists and literary scholars. In fact it is all too frequently presumed that the meanings between active and passive are "identical". This view, however, is an exaggeration and an oversimplification. Consider the following English sentences: *Brutus killed Caesar*, versus *Caesar was killed by Brutus*. If someone had witnessed the assassination on the Ides of March in 44 B.C., so strikingly rendered live in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, such a witness would NOT be guilty of perjury if he or she made the statement in front of a tribunal in the active, or in the passive voice. The DENOTATIVE LEGAL MEANING would remain the same; Brutus would be the "doer" or the "aggressor", (grammatically the SUBJECT in the active voice sentence) and Caesar the OBJECT grammatically, cognitively the "goal", the "target", or the "affected". (The term "undergoer" and "experiencer" have also been used in recent linguistic literature on the subject.)

The "doer" and the "done-to" are elegantly differentiated in Latin, where the NOMINATIVE case signals the grammatical SUBJECT in sentences and the ACCUSATIVE CASE fulfills the primary function of indicating the GRAMMATICAL OBJECT, or DIRECT OBJECT. Thus *Brutus occidit Caesarem* and *Caesarem occidit Brutus* mean "the same" since the suffixes -em, -um, -us and O for "accusative" and "normative", respectively, retain the cognitive functions of "agent" and "goal" despite the "freedom of the word order".

Although Hungarian is not related to Latin (it is a Finno-Ugric language related to Finnish, Estonian, Vogul, Zyrian and Ostyak), it, too, has an object marker, the morpheme (t), which enables speakers of Hungarian to shift the position of the object around without losing the cognitive object. The price one has to pay for such "freedom of the word order" is the voluntary or involuntary gathering of cognitive synsemantica or "connotative, stylistic meaning" as the text or speech act proceeds.

One of the major weaknesses of Transformational-Generative Grammar in the 'sixties and the 'seventies was this inability to see that each "transformation" always brought in extra meaning. The "preservation of meaning" despite various transformations almost became a doctrinal matter for Chomsky's less sophisticated followers. I would like to show on a simple stress-movement "transformation" using the identical words in the identical order, how stress can change the meaning of a simple declarative sentence. Consider:

I am walking HOME now.
 I am walking home nÓw.
 I am walking home now.
 I ám walking home now.
 Í am walking home now.

Native speakers of English generally agree that (1) is the "unmarked" or "neutral" version of the 5 sentences; in (1) the speaker wishes to communicate no special meaning, he has "no axe to grind", as it were. The word HOME is in capital letters in order to show that the stress here is normal. In (2), with the stress a NOW, the speaker indicates that it is exactly NOW and at no other time that (s)he is leaving on foot homewards. In (3) the manner of locomotion is highlighted; the speaker doesn't take a cab or the bus, WALKING is stressed as against other possibilities. In (4) stressing the AM, the speaker indicates that the statement had been made earlier but some one doubted it; it is thus a reiteration or an insistence. In (5), with the I receiving the emphasis, it is indicated that some one else may have wanted to leave, but the speaker insists that nobody else is to leave. In other words here we have a simple case of STRESS directly interfering with the meaning. That all 5 sentences deal with a human, his/her locomotion toward a specified place at a given time is not being disputed; after all, the words (i.e., the LEXEMES) have not been changed.

English is notorious for its levels of diction. Consider:

The old teacher walked around the building, versus
 The ancient educator circumambulated the edifice.

Most English speakers would avoid (2) in all normal situations, although the words may be recognized. The argument is frequently heard that (1) is a part of spoken English, with (2) belonging in written, or learned discourse. Hungarian, despite its "outsider status" in the Indo-European world, has kept a large Latin vocabulary. It is thus possible to say *Ez egy implauzibilis szituáció*, versus *Ez egy hihetetlen helyzet*. Both mean 'this is an implausible/incredible situation' but the Latinate version indicates the speech of an older person who had an old-fashioned education.

This is, I think, the minimal linguistic "Hinterland" anyone wishing to deal with anasemiotic poetry must kindly tolerate. In sum: I am of the conviction that minimal differences in expression always correlate with minimal differences in content, no matter how subtle or difficult to verbalize. To test this hypothesis further, I resorted to the "sonnet game" played with Tibor Wlassics when we were 18, with the exception that I gave myself the task of rewriting the sonnets always with the identical rhymes. I also thought that in order to be entirely objective about the matter, I ought to try my hand in a language I know well enough to write a sonnet in, but a language one degree removed from my native Hungarian and my quasi-native English. I opted for German. (The resultant sonnets were shown to a native speaker colleague in the German Department who kindly suggested exchanging 2 words in version 1, changed

a couple of word orders in 2 and 3, and then asked: "How long have you lived in Germany?" When I said "never, except for 2 short one-week visits" I got a very sceptical look. But let me present the texts without further ado commenting on the English paraphrases and the Hungarian poems that they resulted in.

BRIEFE AN ARIADNE

- (1) Ich muß schon weg. Warum?
 Ich muß schon weg. Warum? Wohin?
 Damit ich mein Schicksal vollende?
 Der Teufel, froh, klatscht in die Hände.
 Gott quält uns nicht. Wir quälen Ihn.
 Im Wüstensand, was würd' ich gießen
 durch Knoch' und Blut wenn ich dort säß?
 Ein unvolkommenes Gefäß
 ist jeder Mensch—die Wörter fließen...
 Wasser und Sand mit Blut gemischt
 zeichnen ein ewiges Gesicht—
 die Flügel tragen rechts und links—
 war ich die Flasche? Du, der Wein?
 Lache und wasche, mach' mich rein,
 sprich, sprich, wie damals sprach die Sphinx.
- (2) Gott quält uns nicht...
 Gott quält uns nicht. Wir quälen Ihn.
 (Kein Gott belächelt seine Hände...)
 Ich muß schon weg. Warum? Wohin?
 Damit ich mein Schicksal vollende?
 Ein unvolkommenes Gefäß
 ist jeder Traum; die Märchen fließen
 durch Haut und Fleisch. Doch wenn ich säß?
 im Wüstensand, was würd' ich gießen?
 Bin ich die Flasche? Dum, der Wein?
 Die Luft die Du brennst backt mich rein—
 Du schlägst die Flügel rechts und links—
 Wasser und Sand mit Blut gemischt
 zeichnen dein ewiges Gesicht,
 Du siechsts, wie damals sah die Sphinx.
- (3) Tod wählt uns nicht...
 Tod wählt uns nicht. Wir wählten Ihn;
 mein Leben nähert sich dem Ende.
 Der Herrgott weint und ringt die Hände;
 wir müssen weg: Warum? Wohin?
 Am Himmelsrand, was würd' ich gießen
 durch Glas und Topf, wenn ich dort säß?
 Ein unvolkommenes Gefäß
 ist unser Gott: die Seelen fließen—
 Blut wird gemischt mit Sand und Wasser:
 Steinflügel tragen der Verfasser.

Die Welt kehrt rechts, die Welt kehrt links;
 die Flasche brennt; erkühlt den Wein;
 wir strömen 'raus und wieder 'rein,
 und atmen durch die Haut der Sphinx.

I ought to give English prose paraphrases at this point, deliberately avoiding the rhyming sonnet form, in order to show how the meanings of the three versions differ:

- (1) I have to be leaving already. Why? And where to?
 So that I may fulfill my fate/calling?
 The Devil, glad, claps/(laughs into his hands).
 God doesn't torture us, we torture Him.
 If I sat in the sand(s) of the desert
 what would I be pouring through bones and blood?
 Every human being is an imperfect vessel,
 the words are flowing...
 Water and sand, mixed with blood,
 draw an eternal face—
 the wings carry to the right and to the left—
 was I the bottle and you, the wine?
 Laugh, and wash me clean,
 speak, speak as the Sphinx spoke once upon a time.
- (2) God does not torture us., We torture Him.
 (No God chuckles into his /own/ hands...)
 I must be leaving. But why? And where to?
 So that I may fulfill my fate/calling?
 Every dream is an imperfect vessel:
 the fairy-tales keep flowing
 through skin and flesh. Yet if I sat
 in the sand(s) of the desert, what would I be pouring?
 Am I the bottle? (And) you, the wine?
 The air you are burning bakes me clean—
 you strike to the right and to the left with your wings
 water and sand mixed with blood
 draw your eternal face:
 and you (can) see, as the Sphinx saw once upon a time.
- (3) Death doesn't choose us. We choose (him/it) Death.
 My life is drawing near the end.
 The Almighty is crying and rings His hands;
 we must be leaving: (but) why? And where to?
 At the edge of the Heavens, what would I be pouring
 through glass(es) and pot(s), if I sat there?
 Our God is an imperfect vessel
 the souls are flowing—
 Blood is (has been) mixed with sand and water,
 stone wings propel the Creator.

The bottle burns and cools the wine:
 we're streaming out, then, soon back in
 while breathing through the Sphynx's skin.

The reader will have noticed that some new rhymes did creep into sonnet 3 despite the rigorous adherence to nothing but the rhymes of sonnet 1 in sonnet 2. The new words are *ende* and *Hände*, replacing *vollende*; in the third quatrain *Wasser* and *Verfasser* replace the earlier *gemischt* and *Gesicht*, as the text—and I find that this is always true—exerts a certain will of its own which the poet has to follow. But perhaps a word or two about the status of these poems would be in order here.

They belong to a series of poems which are intended to show that every poem one writes is, in fact, potentially many more. The reason for intending to demonstrate is that the well known Greek hero, Theseus, in a novel I am currently working on, meets Ariadne again in the 20th century. After various episodes back on the island of Crete in Knossos, where the original Labyrinth was, they leap ahead into the 23rd century, then back into the present again, and farther back again into the remote past of 4,000 B.C. Theseus always gets lost in Labyrinths of one sort or another and Ariadne, his eternal extricator, eventually rebels and “cuts her string”, hence the title of the book *ARIADNE CUTS HER STRING*, in Hungarian *Ariadne elmetszi fonalát*, in German, *Ariadne schneidet ihre Schnur ab*. It is now the job of an abandoned Theseus to extricate himself from the various mazes he has got himself entangled in. In the process he writes a series of letters to Ariadne, his beloved “guru”, who has left him to his own devices. This, then, is the external context, or the bare skeleton plot of the book in which these poems, anasemiotically varied, as if they were transformations on a theme in music, add up to Theseus' letters to Ariadne.

After some hesitation, I tried to express the same three sonnets in Hungarian. I found it quite impossible to keep to the same rhymes throughout all three of the sonnets. Incidentally, it CAN be done, but the result sounds dreary to Hungarians. I will present the three Hungarian sonnets below and give accurate English prose paraphrases. The reader will see at once that the poems “are related”, and that yet they have an independent life of their own, as if someone had plagiarized on someone else's poetry. “Plagiarism”, of course, doesn't quite fit the situation in this instance since I simply kept on writing new sonnets inspired by the first. Once again, all I can think of it is music, especially variations on certain themes in the Mozartian sense, as in his “Twelve variations an Ah, vous dirais-je Maman”. Here are the three Hungarian sonnets:

LEVELEK ARIADNÉHOZ

(1) Indulni kell...

Indulni kell. De miért és hova?

Sorsát tölti be az, aki lelép?

Az ördög recseg, mint törött cserép-

Isten kínjának hogy lennék oka?

Ha ott ülnék, burnuszos beduin,

a sivatagban véren s csonton át

locsolnám a lélek-szimfóniát

a szertefolyó lelkek betűin?

Víz és homok, vérrel sorssá keverve

rajzolja ki a titokzatos arcot:

jobb szárny bal szárnyal vív Chiméra-harcot:

Zúdulj le rám, mosdass, magadból ömlő!

Te voltál hát a bor, s én csak a tömlő?

S beszélt a Szfinx. De kőből volt a nyelve.

(2) Dehogyis kínoz minket...

Dehogyis kínoz minket Ó, az Isten,

mi szomorítjuk Őt. Ördög röhécsel

minden bokornál; buktató, sötét csel

a "sors" csupán – szó, jelentése sincsen.

Lukas tömlő az álom, átszivárog

csonton és bőrön, mint a rossz esőlé;

de így válik nagy mozgató erővé:

átfolynak rajta titkos másvilágok.

Tömlő volnék, s Te benne ritka bor?

De ha így van, miért vagy kőszobor,

mely vak szárnyával jobbra-balra ver?

Vér és homok kősziklává-meredt

arculata néz kis embereket

s ki értem jönne, nincs Angyal-haver.

(3) Dehogyis választ minket...

Dehogyis választ minket a halálunk,

gyakorlatilag mi választjuk Őt.

Szánjuk magunk, sok kis kéz-tördelőt,

s minden népmesét vakon bezabálunk.

Csakhogy: indulni kell.. A másvilágra?

Hogy szűrhetném le csontpoháron át

a fejbeverő pokol-látomást:

Repedt fazék vagy, Isten! Száz imára,

ezerre sem felelsz. Szent kőszobor

maradsz a legtöbb filozófiában;

csapkodó szárnyad zúz, porba sodor

multat s jövőndőt; jobb s bal összeolvad;

Bika-Kos-Hal-Vízöntve jössz Te, hol vad

szfinx-sor gunnyaszt, jobb mítoszok híjjában.

The main title is the same as in the German originals; the subtitles are always the first line. Here are the English paraphrases:

- (1) It's time to leave. But why and where to?
 He who escapes (beates it), does he fulfill his calling?
 The Devil rattles like a broken clay-pot-
 (and, besides) how could I be the cause of God's misery/suffering?
 If I were to sit, (like a) Beduin in a bournous in
 the desert, would I be pouring (watering with) the soul-symphony
 (by way of) with the letters of souls flowing apart?
 Water and sand, mixed with blood into Fate
 draws the mysterious face:
 the left and the right wing fight a Chimera's fight with one another,
 Cascade down upon me, rinse me, Thou who art pouring out of thyself!
 Were you, then, the wine and I only the flask?
 And (so) the Sphinx spoke, but her/hers/its tongue was made out of stone.
- (2) What an ideal By no means does He, God, torture us
 it is we who make Him sad. Devils chuckle
 by every bush; "fate" is but a dirty trick, a ruse
 that trips you (one) up; a (mere) word; it has no meaning either.
 Dreams are leaky water-bags, the seep through
 bones and skin like bad (dirty) rain water,
 but this is how they become great and moving forces:
 secret (spiritual) "Other Worlds" pour through them.
 Could (would) I be the flask, and you a rare wine in it?
 But if this could be so, why are you a stone statue
 that strikes out left and right with its blind wings?
 A sand -and- blood-face frozen into a solid rock
 is looking at small human beings
 and I've got no pal among the Angels who might come to fetch me (to take me home).
- (3) What an idea! By no means does our Death choose us
 in a practical sense we choose it (Death).
 We feel sorry for ourselves, while wringing our hands
 and blindly we swallow every folk-tale.
 (But) It's just that we have to be leaving... To Other World?
 How could I distill (syphon off) through a boneglass
 the infernal vision bombarding my head
 that Thou, God art a leaky pot! You fail to
 answer a hundred prayers, you ignore a thousand just as lightly,
 a holy stone statue Thou remainest in most
 philosophies; thy spastic wing smashes and sweeps into the dust
 both the past and the future; left and right melt
 into one; Thou comest as Taurus-Aries-Pisce-pouring
 Aquarian waters, while untamable rows of Sphinxes
 squat (poised to attack) lacking better myths.

I will, eventually, try to write these up in English. I am reasonably certain that the Hungarian versions (in sonnet form) are by far the most involved ones. This is

understandable; despite having lived 31–32 years in the United States, I have maintained active contact with Hungarian literature and published two volumes of Hungarian poetry, *Szomj és ecet* (1966) and $K^2 = 13$ (1971). (The first book's title says Thirst and Vinegar in English.)

This linguistic self-portrait must end in open-ended questions. Am I developing two personalities, one thinking in Hungarian and the other one in English? Is there additional stratification to be found inside the no doubt extremely complex cognitive system of one's mind such that bilingual poets will automatically process the identical experience toward both the system of language A and that of language B depending on the intensity and frequency of the phonetic attacks reaching their consciousness at the time of the peak of the experience? I hope that some day I will be closer to the outlines of an answer. In the meantime there is nothing wrong with my believing that my whole life is one long poem written by me, for me, through me, but also hopelessly out of my own control. So everything I can do, in whatever language, whatever length, form, style, and quality, is merely yet another minor subvariety of the same basic poem. Will it ever show up as a novel? Perhaps it will.

Notes

1. In *Szomj és ecet (Thirst and Vinegar)* 1966. Los Angeles, p. 56.
2. It would be pointless here to attempt an accurate sonnet-translation of the poem precisely because I intend to show that its English ghost-twin has resisted (at least for me) becoming an English sonnet. Needless to say, anybody skilled in English sonnets can translate it as such.
3. In *Szomj és ecet*, p. 76.
4. The outline which follows is deliberately kept as simple as possible either on bilingualism or the poetic process, but as a condensed presentation of what I think I do. In classical "structural linguistics" the analyst usually got himself a "native informant" whose utterances he then proceeded to classify on an analytical-taxonomical basis. More recently, it has become permissible, even fashionable, to serve as one's own informant, and especially so if the linguist (of whatever school of thought) was working on his own mother-tongue. After thirty-one years in the United States I view a natural language as a quadripartite structure (representable as a brick-shaped box with four stories in it) with a funnel on the top, and a funnel on the bottom.
5. Appeared as *Idiom Structure in English*, by Mouton & Co., The Hague, 1972, *Janua Linguarum*, Series maior 48, 372 pp.
6. A more formal account of this translation was given at the Pacific Conference on Contrastive Linguistics and Language Universals in Honolulu, Hawaii in January 1971; the paper appeared under the title "The Transformation of a Turkish Pasha into a Big Fat Dummy" In *Working Papers in Linguistics: The PCCLLU Papers*, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, August 1971, pp. 267–273. It is now also anthologized in *Readings in Stratificational Linguistics* (pp. 305–315) University of Alabama Press, 1972, Adam Makkai and David G. Lockwood (Eds.).

FROM SOCIAL COMMITMENT TO ART FOR ART'S SAKE

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There is no need to reiterate here that both social commitment and art for art's sake are characteristic features of the *avant-garde*. Either can emerge from the inner dialectic of the path an artist is following. At one stage of development, he or she might feel an urge to take a stand on immediate political issues; at another, social reality might be completely ignored.

A case in point is the Hungarian-American painter *Imre (Emory) Ladányi*. His early works represent an Expressionism with a social message; his late collages suggest a total rejection of any didactic purpose. Undoubtedly, these two creative phases, marked by such diametrically opposite attitudes, are separated by decades in which his activity seems to show fewer individual features, and the discrepancy between his early and late conceptions of art may be explained at least partly in terms of the difference between the social realities which surrounded him in the two periods; yet it cannot be denied that the two artistic creeds are also interrelated.

Born in Kecskemét, on November 8, 1902, he was the third and last child of the cabinet maker Mihály Ladányi and Márta Nagy. At the age of four, he lost his father. The family became destitute; his widowed mother left her children in the care of a grandmother, and went to Budapest to learn dressmaking. The young boy's destiny was apparently to become a self-made man who would harshly condemn social injustice. Ladányi felt he was compelled by difficult circumstances to fight a desperate struggle for his existence.

A few years later the family moved to Eger. While studying in its ancient "Lyceum", at the age of 12 Ladányi was enrolled in a private class taught by his school's art teacher Gyula Tóth. Drawing became his favourite occupation, yet he resisted the temptation of choosing it for his profession. The art teachers and professional painters he met made him skeptical about art as a breadwinning activity, so in 1920 he decided to study at the Medical University of Budapest. After graduating, in 1927 he went to Berlin to do post-graduate work in dermatology. There he met Herwarth Walden, the editor of the Expressionist magazine *Der Sturm*, who exhibited three of Ladányi's pictures in his well-known gallery. A retrospective show of the works of *Munch* made a great impression on him and was to exert a decisive influence on his work.

From the German capital he moved to Vienna, where he continued his postgraduate work, studied the paintings of *Klimt*, *Schiele*, and *Kokoschka*, and attended sketching

classes in the evenings. Having returned to Budapest, he became a friend of Attila József, and joined the "Miklós Bartha Society". *Aranysziget* ("Golden Island"), a small volume of poems by Andor Simon, another member of that association, was published with lino-cuts by Ladányi in 1928.



1. Breadline

Surrounded by militant socialists, he regarded art as a means for expressing social discontent. At first he seemed to be satisfied with the double identity of the respectable dermatologist and the subversive artist, but soon he felt oppressed by the political and aesthetic conservatism which dominated Hungary in the 1920's; thus in 1929 he decided to leave his native country for the United States. Having passed the necessary examination to become a physician in the land of opportunity, he opened an office in New York.

For some years no stylistic change was observable in his creative work: he continued to paint and draw distorted figures, visionary scenes expressive of the misery he left behind. In the years following the Great Depression these works seemed to appeal to the American public. Turning his living room into a studio, each day he devoted several hours to his artistic pursuits. Beginning in 1932 he contributed canvases and pastels to shows. Group exhibits, then one-man shows followed. In January 1933 his works were presented at an exhibition of Hungarians living in North

America, held at the Painters' and Sculptors' Gallery in Manhattan. That same year he won a prize for the woodcuts exhibited at a show which also included works by such well-established Hungarian painters as *Iványi-Grünwald*, *Csók*, and *Szőnyi*. In 1935 his first one-man show at the Contemporary Arts Gallery, in New York, became a great success. It was seen by the Hungarian painter *Vilmos Aba-Novák*, who then had just won a second prize at the Carnegie International Biennale, by the British novelist and critic *Ford Madox Ford*, and by *Giorgio de Chirico*. On December 11, 1936, de Chirico gave a talk in the same gallery, analysing four paintings, a still life by *Ladányi* among them.

Success and the conservative taste of the American public made him change his orientation. Abandoning his earlier Expressionism, he turned more naturalistic. The stylistic change went together with a shift in genre: he started painting landscapes. Praised by critics, he seemed to be on the verge of becoming relatively well-known. In 1939 the Chicago Art Institute selected his *Chess Players* (1937) for its International Watercolor Exhibition, and one of his landscapes was chosen for the exhibition in the U.S. pavilion of the New York World's Fair.

Soon, however, the continuity of his life was broken by the war. In 1942, following Pearl Harbor, he decided to volunteer for service in the U.S. Army. The destination of his unit was North Africa and Italy. While he worked for the Army Medical Corps, he had the opportunity to do watercolours of military camps in Africa, and later he painted landscapes in Italy.

Meanwhile *Emily Frances*, the director of the Contemporary Arts Gallery, arranged for him a second one-man show in 1943. This exhibition must have presented him as a far more traditional artist than the previous show. His art seemed to go into a decline. The press went on praising him, but for the wrong reason: the journalists who found his watercolours "gentle", "charming", "ingratiating", and "easily likeable" could not help admiring the "hard-working" physician who was ready to serve as a captain in the U.S. army, although his native Hungary was fighting on the other side.

After the armistice *Ladányi* was ordered on a two-week tour of duty with the Allied Control Commission in Hungary. He visited his mother in *Kecskemét*, took her to *Budapest*, and left her in an apartment, well provided for. Back in the U.S., he had to rebuild his professional life. Within a few years he became a dermatologist of high repute, and so he could find spare time to resume his activity as an artist. Having bought a piece of land in *Connecticut*, he built a house where he could follow his artistic inclination during vacation periods.

Seclusion made it possible for him to develop a new style. Early Expressionist influences reasserted themselves, especially after 1959, when he visited Europe for the first time since the war. He distanced himself from the demands of the general public, turned to collage, experimented with junk sculpture, and even made occasional excursions into multilingual poetry. Recognition came somewhat late for the fresh start he made in his old age, but from the mid-70's he seemed to be accepted by connoisseurs who cared for artistic innovation. In 1977 a book was written about his

art by Walter L. Strauss, published by Abaris Books, New York. In 1979 and again in 1981 Syracuse University invited him to arrange one-man shows at their Lubin House Gallery. The next year the Tibor de Nagy Gallery organized an exhibition entitled "Hungarian Avant-Garde (1919-1939)", presenting four watercolours from Ladányi's pre-American days. After this, he showed regularly at the Matignon Gallery in New York City, as well as at other locations in the U.S. and Europe. In 1986 a representative collection of his woodcuts was published by Paul Kövesdy, director of the Matignon Gallery. That same year, fifty-four of his oil-paintings, collages and woodcuts were exhibited at the Hungarian National Gallery between July 24 and August 24; thirty other works in his native Kecskemét between July 30 and September 21. Although neither of these two shows seemed to do full justice to the best of his *œuvre*, they called attention to the work of an artist who had been almost entirely forgotten in Hungary.

In 1987 some of Ladányi's works were shown in Eger, the city where he took his first drawing lessons, but he died before this exhibition was held. Most of his paintings are stored in an apartment in New York. No Hungarian art historian has studied them, so it remains to be seen what aesthetic or historical significance they may have.

Still, it would be somewhat disappointing to end this brief sketch on such a negative note. It seems probable that the late collages mark the apex of Ladányi's work. If one compares them with the landscapes and figural paintings of the years between the late 30's and the late 50's, the best one can say about the middle phase is that it constituted a *reculer pour mieux sauter*.

The interpretation of his late style is a task for art historians. Here I cannot do more than suggest two starting-points for further investigation. The *ars poetica* underlying the works which Ladányi composed in the last twenty-five years of his life shows the influence of the American aesthetic thinker *Susanne K. Langer*. In *Collages*, probably the most important book on his art, published by Matignon Gallery in 1984, the painter himself quotes the author of *A Philosophy in a New Key and Feeling in Form* as follows: "A work of art is a system of presentational symbols and can not be translated into discursive language."

In Ladányi's view collage is the genre which makes it possible for the artist to move as far as possible from didacticism. At the same time, this is the genre which marks the continuity of late-20th-century art with the *avant-garde* of the years 1905-1925. As is well-known, *papier collé* (glued paper) was a characteristic device used by the Cubists. It led to two important consequences: a) the use of mixed media involved a questioning of the traditional materials of painting; and b) the assemblage of found objects was bound up with a new definition of the work of art, the deconstruction of the traditional opposition between art and life. Obliterating the demarcation line between the finished work of art and the process of composition, a collage emphasizes what is discontinuous, random, or chaotic in experience. The work of Kurt Schwitters - one of Ladányi's favourite artists, who moved from Expressionism to Dadaism - clearly suggests that collage-making can be considered a technique which reveals a continuity between the *avant-garde* of the early 20th

and the Postmodernism of the late 20th century. During World War II Ladányi became acquainted with Edgar Varèse, Anaïs Nin, and Henry Miller, whose art illuminates other aspects of that continuity. Drawing inspiration from their works, Ladányi turned collage into a universal technique and thus may have been one of the artists to question the legitimacy of a distinction between the intentional and the accidental. It seems possible that the goal he had in mind was to undermine the validity of aesthetic judgement. If this is so, his late works point to the ambiguity inherent in art for art's sake: the rejection of didacticism leads to the deconstruction of the concept of art. This contradiction may be one of the principles underlying changes in human activity which we associate with the aesthetic sphere.

2. Thew (1960, Dyptich. Oil collage, 120 x 160 cm) ►

3. Inversion (1970. Oil collage, 40x30 cm) ►



“ROMAN DE PRODUCTION” DE PÉTER ESTERHÁZY¹

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L'étude² que nous présentons ici est une analyse sémiotique élaborée selon la méthode greimasienne, mais en raison de l'ampleur du texte nous étions obligée de faire un choix dans l'outillage méthodologique. Notre intention est de démontrer que ce texte, faisant l'impression d'être fortement incohérent au niveau narratif, se caractérise par l'organisation très stricte du sens dans les structures profondes.

Le titre

Le titre du livre, “Roman de production” n'est pas seulement une plaisanterie de l'auteur, mais une indication essentielle et adéquate – bien qu'ironique – du genre littéraire qu'il a créé. Nous considérons cette figure lexématique comme un terme définissant la totalité du texte. En partant du noyau stable on peut dire que le terme “roman de production” réfère à un genre littéraire fortement recommandé par les autorités dans les années cinquante. Ayant pour but de créer la littérature du réalisme socialiste, dont la supériorité sur le réalisme tout court a été démontrée entre autres par György Lukács, les autorités estimaient souhaitable de placer les écrivains dans des usines ou des coopératives agricoles pour leur faire observer le processus de travail et les stimuler ainsi à décrire la nouvelle réalité – celle d'un pays socialiste – d'une façon adéquate. L'observation sur place serait donc la garantie de l'authenticité de la description.

Le 1er Congrès des Écrivains Hongrois qui a eu lieu en avril 1951 a formulé les devoirs de la littérature, a évoqué son caractère éducatif et a suggéré les moyens dont on devrait se servir pour atteindre le but désiré.

Apparemment Esterházy construit un roman conforme aux principes du réalisme soviétique posés par le 1er Congrès des Écrivains. Il a même recours aux moyens formels, p.ex. il place à la fin du roman une lettre adressée aux lecteurs – pratique habituelle dans les années cinquante – pour leur demander leur opinion sur son œuvre. L'action du roman se déroule en effet dans une entreprise, tandis que le chroniqueur note la remarque suivante du “maître”:

“Tudja, barátom, [...] arra nagy súlyt vetettem, hogy a műben a KISZ-titkár rokonszenves legyen. És azt hiszem, ez a legény (Békési András) rokonszenves.” (Esterházy 1979: 194)
[Vous savez, mon ami [...] vous savez, j'ai attaché beaucoup d'importance à ce que, dans

l'ouvrage, le secrétaire de la KISZ soit sympathique. Et je crois que ce gars (András Békési) est sympathique.”]

Le résultat final pourtant est—nous sommes d'accord sur ce point avec Mihály Szegedy-Maszák (1979: 120)—qu'on peut lire “Roman de production” comme “le contraire de ce genre littéraire d'autrefois.” (Ibid.)

Le terme “roman de production” paraissait être un lexème disparu, dont l'aspect virtuel semblait n'être plus susceptible de changements, d'autant plus, qu'il s'agissait d'un lexème “compromis”, rejeté avec tant d'autres qui faisaient partie de la nomenclature littéraire et surtout politique à l'époque stalinienne. P. Esterházy a évoqué ce lexème anachronique en lui donnant un aspect réalisé beaucoup plus vaste. Au fond il s'agit d'une figure lexématique, composée de deux lexèmes. Son caractère double a donné à P. Esterházy la possibilité d'en faire sortir—lors de la textualisation—deux aspects qui sont en même temps liés et opposés l'un à l'autre.

Le lexème “production” est actualisé dans le texte par le déterminant spatial qui est une entreprise, mais ce lexème renvoie aussi à la “production littéraire”, par le fait que le roman est composé de plusieurs couches de la tradition littéraire hongroise et universelle, qu'il est un conglomérat de discours et sociolectes opposés, mais coexistant dans la réalité culturelle, sociale et politique de la Hongrie, à la fin des années soixante-dix.

En plus les annotations du chroniqueur contiennent aussi les remarques théoriques sur la littérature (la temporalité, la réception, l'analyse littéraire), ainsi que les explications sur l'origine de certaines formulations et certaines images dans le roman.

Dans un sens la création artistique est présentée ici comme un procès de production et c'est le chroniqueur qui l'enregistre, en notant soigneusement toutes les remarques du maître portant sur le roman, entre autres la phrase célèbre qui a servi de titre à M. Szegedy-Maszák pour son étude sur ce roman:

“A regény, amint írja önmagát”. (Esterházy 1979: 429)
[Le roman, comme il s'écrit lui-même.]

La place que l'autoréflexion occupe dans le “Roman” a amené un autre critique, Ernő Kulcsár Szabó (1987: 285) à appeler l'œuvre d'Esterházy “métaroman”.

Pourtant, remarquons d'avance que la réflexion théorique est basée sur les oppositions des classèmes, tels que:

/concret/	vs	/figuré/
/élevé/	vs	/dégradé/
/sérieux/	vs	/plaisant/.

Au cours de l'analyse nous essayerons de décrire à l'aide de la méthode sémiotique les procédures spécifiques dont se sert le texte d'Esterházy en empruntant des lexèmes (et des locutions) innombrables. La figure lexématique “roman de production” n'en

est qu'un exemple particulier, mais elle fait partie de la récurrence essentielle du texte que nous voudrions signaler déjà au commencement: l'emprunt des lexèmes anachroniques. Il est important de souligner d'ores et déjà que nous considérons comme lexèmes anachroniques chaque lexème qui dépasse le cadre temporel du roman.

La structure de l'œuvre

En partant des indications graphiques sur la page de garde nous considérons le roman d'Esterházy comme une composition triple, dans laquelle le titre principal, "Roman de production", forme une structure englobante par rapport à deux autres unités textuelles: "le petit-petit roman" et "le roman". L'interprétation des signes graphiques, celles de parenthèses et le redoublement du -s- dans le mot "kis" (petit) nous amène à considérer le texte du chroniqueur, Peter Eckermann, comme "le petit-petit roman", étant donné que ce qu'on met entre parenthèses est d'habitude d'un caractère explicatif, secondaire et peut en tant que tel correspondre aux annotations qui forment le cadre formel du texte du chroniqueur. Le redoublement du -s- mentionné plus haut est un jeu de mots intraduisible, nous l'interprétons comme la prolongation du texte même qui prétend le contraire de ce qu'il est: il est deux fois plus long que le texte auquel il correspond et auquel il sert de commentaire.³

Finalement nous considérons comme le roman stricto sensu "le roman", c'est à dire le texte dont le sujet opérateur est Imre Tomcsányi; ajoutons que le terme "le roman" est mis en relief sur la page de garde par des tirets, ce que nous interprétons comme indication d'une grande unité autonome intercalée, malgré le fait que certaines séquences, lexèmes et acteurs se trouvent aussi bien dans le roman que dans le texte du chroniqueur. Cette autonomie réside surtout dans le fait que le roman dispose d'un sujet opérateur qui lui est propre: Imre Tomcsányi. Remarquons que la composition triple, mise en évidence à l'aide d'autres procédés textuels et formels que nous avons fait observer ici, a été traitée par Szegedy-Maszák, dans son étude mentionnée plus haut. Les résultats de son analyse, quoiqu'ils soient obtenus par une méthode différente de la nôtre, confirment notre hypothèse. Nous ajouterons seulement, en utilisant les termes greimasien, que la forme triple est une récurrence du texte entier.

Chacune de ces trois unités discernées dispose d'un autre actant observateur:

- (1) Roman de production – en tant que structure englobante, connaît seulement l'énonciateur, Péter Esterházy, l'écrivain;
- (2) le petit-petit roman – actant observateur: le chroniqueur;
- (3) le roman – actant observateur d'après le chroniqueur: le maître, Péter Esterházy.

Dans la suite nous allons employer les termes (1) – dans la forme raccourcie "Roman" – et (3) pour indiquer l'unité dont nous parlons; le terme (2) sera remplacé par l'indication: le texte du chroniqueur.

L'élément unifiant les trois parties est l'objet valeur, concrétisé dans chaque unité par un objet valeur spécifique, mais qui peut être ramené à un lexème dont le noyau stable est: un texte écrit.

Nous proposons d'envisager le rapport entre l'objet valeur et l'unité à laquelle il correspond comme une corrélation qui repète dans toutes les trois unités discernées auparavant, ce que nous présenterons à l'aide d'un schéma:

(le signe \approx signifie: correspond à)

l'univers littéraire	\approx	le texte du chroniqueur	\approx	l'armoire avec les papiers
roman de production		le roman		le traité de Tomcsányi

Un trait commun spécifique de chaque objet valeur est qu'il est une partie de l'unité à laquelle il se réfère.

Le caractère méta-discursif de "Roman de production"

La critique littéraire a employé plusieurs termes traditionnels pour décrire les moyens spécifiques dont s'est servi le roman de production, tels que: citation, autocitation, emprunt, imitation, influence, pastiche, compilation etc. On a parlé de la revue carnavalesque des genres et du style multiforme (Balassa 1980: 162). Nous essayerons de les "traduire" par les termes propres à la sémiotique, en espérant que les termes qu'elle a développés nous permettra de saisir d'une façon plus précise les procédures d'Esterházy.

Nous faisons aussi usage de la notion de sociolecte, qui est une notion d'origine greimasienne, telle qu'elle a été développée par P. Zima, au niveau théorique, mais aussi dans ses analyses de l'œuvre de Kafka, Musil, Camus et Robbe-Grillet.

Comme hypothèse nous proposons d'envisager "Roman de production" comme écriture dont l'opposition principale serait celle de deux classèmes:

/extéroceptivité/ vs /intéroceptivité/.

D'après A. J. Greimas cette opposition permet de distinguer les discours qui portent respectivement sur "le monde" et sur "l'esprit" (Greimas 1979: 75).

Nous la considérons comme l'isotopie sémantique de "Roman".

L'ouverture de "Roman de production"

Après avoir expliqué la page de garde nous poursuivrons notre analyse en examinant de façon détaillée le titre du premier chapitre du roman, sa première phrase et la première annotation qui lui correspond. Le choix de ces fragments n'a pas été dicté par des raisons pratiques, mais par la conviction que le commencement de ces deux unités contient la plupart des traits caractéristiques du texte au niveau narratif, discursif, ainsi que les indications pour discerner les récurrences qui permettront plus tard de relever les isotopies. Nous sommes d'avis que l'ouverture du roman et du texte du chroniqueur est un échantillon représentatif.

Nous présenterons d'abord des parties choisies et leur traduction, en essayant de conserver les dispositifs graphiques:

"I. (vagy Rövid) Fejezet,
melyben

a vezérigazgató elvtárs toppan a színre, amint épp meghasonlik önmagával, amire bő tér kínálkozik, lévén ő egy hármasker, mely tény csak felületes pillantásra mulatságos, ám az elkerülhetetlen ingek, nyakkendők, nyakkendőjük, pantallók, pecsétgyűrűk és az elbeszélő mód számára már jelzi is a tömör szomorúságot, mely az Olvasóra háramol

Nem találunk szavakat. ^{1*} (Esterházy 1979: 7)

"E. * följegyzései

[...]

1 Egy tavaszi "mosolygós kedd reggelen" Esterházy Péter hosszasan kereste a tornanadrágját, majd kissé ingerült hangon azt mondta: "Nem találom." Mind Esterházy, mind Esterházy felesége számára világos volt, ezt úgy érti: "Hová a túróba tetted már megint?" "Vak vagy?" – válaszolt egy kérdéssel a kérdésre az asszony sallangmentesen. – Másnap Esterházy így replikázott: "Szavakat vezet világtalan". – Ebből az életszeletből párolta le a mester e nevezetes nyitómondatot, melyet representatív voltáért még egyszer rögzíték: Nem találunk szavakat.

[...]" (Ibid. 133)

[Premier (ou Court) Chapitre,
dans lequel

le camarade PDG entre en scène sans crier gare, juste au moment où il se divise, ce à quoi s'offre un vaste champ, puisqu'il se trouve être un triplé, lequel fait n'est amusant qu'au superficiel abord, certes les inévitables chemises, cravates, épingles de cravate, pantalons, chevalières et les divers modes de récit préfigurent déjà l'accablement massif qui en résulte pour le Lecteur.]

Nous ne trouvons pas de mots. 1 [...]

1 Par un "souriant mardi matin" de printemps, Péter Esterházy, chercha longuement son pantalon de gym, puis, d'une voix quelque peu irrité il dit: "Je ne le trouve pas". Tant pour Esterházy que pour Mme Esterházy, il était clair, qu'il entendait par là: "Purée, où l'as-tu encore fourrée?" La dame répondit à sa question par une question, sans fioriture: "Tu es aveugle?" Le lendemain, Esterházy fit cette réplique: "Au royaume des aveugles, les mots sont rois". – C'est cette tranche de vie, que le maître a distillée en cette illustre phrase d'ouverture, que je fixe encore une fois pour sa manière représentative: Nous ne trouvons pas de mots.]

A première vue le titre du chapitre donne l'impression d'être d'une incohérence stupéfiante. Cela provient du fait que les lexèmes concernant les vêtements semblent n'avoir rien de commun avec la figure lexématique "modes de récit", ce qui est vrai quand on envisage le niveau de surface. Nous essayerons de les rapprocher par l'examen des opérations logiques qui devra dévoiler leurs contenus axiologiques. Nous avons recours à l'analyse morphologique.

Le mot commun pour les vêtements en hongrois est (aussi) "öltözet" (habit), c'est une dérivation composée dont la racine verbale est "ölt" (habiller). La première signification de ce verbe est "habiller", mais dans un sens figuré ce mot peut signifier, entre autres:

- prendre la forme de (alakot ölt)
- changer de couleur (színt ölt)
- faire la grimace (arcot, képet ölt)
- se moquer de quelqu'un (nyelvet, nyelvét ölti)

Remarquons d'ailleurs qu'en français le verbe "habiller" fait aussi partie des expressions qui sont intéressantes de notre point de vue; dans la langue technique on peut dire: "habiller quelque chose" ce qui veut dire "l'apprêter pour l'usage", ainsi qu'"habiller un texte" ce qui veut dire "le présenter d'une telle façon qu'on en fausse le sens, la portée" (Petit Robert).

Par l'énumération de ces locutions nous voulons prouver qu'il existe des connotations en hongrois (et en français) qui rapprochent les lexèmes apparemment incohérents. P. Esterházy se sert d'ailleurs très souvent de connotations plus ou moins "cachées", p.ex. le texte de "Függő" [Le pendant] contient des listes de synonymes suivis de lexèmes liés par des connotations lointaines et/ou inattendues. Les mécanismes associatifs jouent chez lui un rôle important, ce qui témoigne d'une fascination pour la langue et a pour résultat une créativité spécifique, parfois consciemment incorrecte, comme l'a fait observé la critique littéraire à plusieurs reprises. (Balassa 1980, 1985; Szegedy-Maszák 1979).

Notre analyse morphologique et sémantique ne fournit pourtant qu'un seul argument dans notre recherche, l'autre argument, de caractère sémiotique, concerne le rapport entre les lexèmes.

Avant de le proposer sous la forme d'un schéma, qu'il nous soit permis de faire une remarque générale: la littérature hongroise des dernières années se sert très souvent des effets de sens inattendus, obtenus par la mise en rapport de lexèmes ou de programmes narratifs incohérents à première vue. Au cours de la lecture on a pourtant l'impression qu'il ne s'agit pas d'une accumulation de non-sens, mais qu'à la base de ces procédés apparemment bizarres, on peut découvrir des oppositions binaires (classèmes) dont le rôle est de donner à ces procédés une cohérence qu'on peut trouver dans les structures profondes.

Le rapport que nous proposons d'envisager est donc:

$$\frac{\text{le triplé}}{\text{les vêtements}} \approx \frac{\text{le lecteur}}{\text{les modes de récit}} \approx \frac{\text{nous}}{\text{les mots}}$$

L'annotation enregistre le même rapport, en introduisant les lexèmes nouveaux:

$$\frac{\text{le maître}}{\text{le pantalon de gym}} \approx \frac{\text{l'aveugle}}{\text{les mots}}$$

Ajoutons encore que le titre du chapitre mentionne non seulement les vêtements, mais aussi les éléments décoratifs: les épingles de cravate et les chevalières; tandis que l'annotation fait une remarque sur "le style ("sans fioriture") qui est un lexème qu'on peut facilement rapprocher des "modes de récit".

$$\frac{\text{le triplé}}{\text{les épingles, les chevalières}} \approx \frac{\text{Mme Esterházy}}{\text{sans fioriture}}$$

Il nous semble plausible de proposer de mettre les "vêtements" et les "modes de récit" sur le même axe par l'emplacement de ces lexèmes dans l'opposition des classèmes:

$$\text{/concret/} \quad \text{vs} \quad \text{/figuré/}$$

correspondant au rapport:

$$\frac{\text{l'homme}}{\text{l'habit}} \approx \frac{\text{la réalité}}{\text{les modes de récit}}$$

Les premières phrases du texte nous fournissent donc des lexèmes récurrents confirmant ainsi notre hypothèse, que "Roman de production" porte sur l'écriture. Ce roman est une recherche du discours dans l'univers littéraire, une discussion permanente avec les structures littéraires, la tradition littéraire et le langage – littéraire et ordinaire – tels qu'ils existent dans la mémoire culturelle. Ce roman est surtout la recherche d'un discours artistique nouveau, adéquat et original. Cette recherche nous semble un trait caractéristique de toute l'œuvre de P. Esterházy.

Dans le texte que nous examinons elle semble dès le commencement mener à l'échec, ce que suggèrent les lexèmes dont le caractère est fortement dysphorique:

le roman:

les lexèmes absents:

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{"l'accablement massif"} \\ \text{"inévitable"} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{vs} \\ \text{vs} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{(le soulagement)} \\ \text{(prévu)} \end{array}$$

“amusement superficiel” vs (un vrai amusement)
 “ne pas trouver” vs (trouver)

l'annotation:

“chercher” vs (trouver)
 “ne pas trouver” vs (trouver)
 “aveugle” vs (voyant)

Remarquons surtout la répétition du lexème “ne pas trouver”, ainsi que son synonyme “chercher” (on cherche puisqu'on ne trouve pas). L'importance de ce lexème réside dans le fait que le roman entier est une recherche dont se charge le sujet opérateur, Tomcsányi, lequel a pour but de trouver un traité. Il le trouve dans l'armoire pleine de papiers qui s'en déversent et l'enterrent. Le sujet observateur anticipe sur cet événement en créant des rapports qui prendront au cours du récit la forme définitive. Les corrélations ci-dessous mettent en évidence le caractère prémonitoire du titre du premier chapitre.

les modes de récit	≈	l'armoire avec les papiers
le lecteur		Tomcsányi
les modes de récit	≈	les papiers
l'accablement massif		l'enterrement

Le caractère dysphorique signalé déjà au commencement du roman annonce dans un sens la fin dysphorique du roman: la mort de Tomcsányi. Cet événement dysphorique est pourtant précédé par un événement euphorique: la découverte du traité. Le roman enregistre (sur le plan narratif) le changement d'état basé sur l'opposition des classèmes:

/dysphorique/ vs /euphorique/

Ce changement prend la forme d'un mouvement cadencé:

(dysphorique) la recherche du traité -- -->(euphorique) la découverte
 --->(dysphorique) la mort, l'enterrement--->(euphorique) la fête.

Le passage d'un état à l'autre est assuré par l'opposition de lexèmes contradictoires. Etant donné que “chercher” et “ne pas trouver” étaient d'abord conçus comme dysphoriques on pourrait conclure que “trouver” mène à un état euphorique. Pourtant, ce n'est pas tout à fait le cas. “Trouver” a pour conséquence “mourir”.

On doit remarquer que le texte ne se sert d'oppositions habituelles que pour les supprimer. Il s'agit donc d'une sorte d'abolition du sens, d'une présentation de la

"réalité" contrairement "au sens commun". Comme nous le savons, Tomcsányi sera enterré, mais cet événement habituellement triste dégénère en une fête extravagante.

La suppression des oppositions traditionnelles nous semble être un trait caractéristique du genre appelé grotesque et en particulier d'un courant littéraire dans la littérature hongroise postmoderne.

Il nous faut pourtant nous arrêter un instant sur un fait que nous avons omis de traiter dans l'annotation du chroniqueur. Il s'agit de quelques lexèmes de caractère euphorique qu'on y trouve également. Ce sont des lexèmes cités (mis entre guillemets) "souriant mardi matin", accompagnés du lexème "de printemps". La phrase qui ouvre le texte du chroniqueur réfère à la manière dont on commence un texte romanesque d'après la tradition littéraire d'autrefois, non seulement par le fait qu'elle est citée mais aussi par les indications temporelles, ainsi que la présentation du sujet opérateur. Elle contient, à première vue, une ouverture caractéristique d'un roman réaliste.

La nouveauté du texte dont nous nous occupons ici réside dans le fait que la phrase initiale est – justement par son caractère euphorique – en contradiction avec les phrases qui suivent. Le texte du chroniqueur retient donc la même opposition que celle que nous avons signalée auparavant:

/euphorique/

vs

/disphorique/

une opposition qui sera pourtant abolie comme nous l'avons déjà remarqué.

Qu'il nous soit permis de faire remarquer que l'incohérence narrative de l'ouverture du roman ne sert qu'à introduire les sèmes organisant la totalité, ils deviennent récurrents au cours de la narration.

Le roman

Pour rendre compte des éléments constitutifs du roman nous établissons un inventaire provisoire des acteurs en les groupant d'après les styles particuliers aux différents genres littéraires. N'oublions pas que le cadre spatio-temporel est une entreprise socialiste des années soixante-dix en Hongrie.

Le roman dans le style socio-réaliste et réaliste

Imre Tomcsányi, spécialiste en informatique

Gábor Kacsóh, András Békesi, les secrétaires de l'Association de la Jeunesse Communiste

plusieurs camarades

tante Sári, la femme de ménage

Tánya, celle qui actionne le monte-change

Janka Dorogi, l'administratrice

d'autres employés

La littérature triviale

Marilyn Monroe, l'économiste
Gregory Peck, le directeur

La fable

Giacomo et Beverly (les hamsters), les conseillers économiques
Gregory Peck, le gnome

Le roman historique d'après la tradition de Mikszáth et Gárdonyi

le comte Albert Apponyi (1846–1933)
Kálmán Tisza, le secrétaire du parti Libéral et le premier ministre du gouvernement hongrois dans les années 1875–1890; les membres du parlement du parti au pouvoir et de l'opposition vers la fin du XIXe siècle

Le roman fleuve

l'écrivain, Péter Esterházy
sa femme, Gitta, sa fille
membres de famille Esterházy
les footballeurs

L'incohérence des éléments et des groupes d'éléments que nous avons énumérés ci-dessus est à démontrer au niveau narratif. Les traits pertinents dans la présentation sont: incohérence, contradiction et anachronisme, ce que nous voudrions illustrer avec quelques exemples.

Certains acteurs sont des figures littéraires dont la présence dans le texte est doublement insolite. Premièrement par leur caractère anachronique à l'égard du cadre spatio-temporel du roman, deuxièmement par leur présence simultanée, p.ex. le comte Apponyi (1846–1933) représente une couche anachronique plus éloignée dans le passé que Tánya, une fille au nom russe, portant une combinaison typiquement russe (foufaïka) et chargée d'actionner le monte-charge. Tánya est, comme figure, un symbole tiré autant de la réalité que de la littérature de l'Europe de l'Est des années cinquante. Elle représente l'exemple soviétique d'une femme émancipée, participant activement au processus de production.

Il y a des acteurs qui, considérés comme figures lexématiques ont un aspect réalisé opposé à leur aspect virtuel. Nous prenons comme exemples les figures connues dans le monde entier:

Gregory Peck et Marilyn Monroe.

la figure	les qualités provenant du noyau stable	la réalisation
Gregory Peck	séducteur	directeur, gnome
Marilyn Monroe	blonde, attirante	l'administratrice, "célèbre par son café" (Esterházy 1979: 26)

Les programmes narratifs de Tomcsányi sont contradictoires aussi. Le programme de base de Tomcsányi peut être résumé comme: chercher le traité. En même temps une de ses tâches dont il est chargé par son directeur est "d'attraper les mouches" (Ibid., 43-44). Remarquons que cette locution équivaut à la locution française "regarder voler les mouches" et signifie autant en hongrois qu'en français "passer son temps à ne rien faire". Ce procédé stylistique est une récurrence dans le texte d'Esterházy, elle est basée sur l'opposition de classèmes /concret/ vs /figuré/, /sérieux/ vs /plaisant/, nous en donnerons d'autres exemples plus tard.

Le programme narratif de base de Tomcsányi nous fournit l'exemple d'une contradiction de plus dans "la sanction".

Manipulation	Compétence	Performance	Sanction
l'ordre du directeur	vouloir faire	trouver le traité	succès et échec: trouver le traité et la mort

Dans ce programme narratif le sujet opérateur est: Imre Tomcsányi, l'objet valeur concret: le traité, l'objet valeur de la manipulation: le désir de sauver l'entreprise.

Les parcours figuratifs sont liés tantôt au roman réaliste (la vie sociale de l'entreprise), tantôt à la littérature triviale (p.ex. les scènes érotiques entre Gregory Peck et Marilyn Monroe), tantôt au roman historique (le combat, la chasse). Par conséquent le roman se sert de toutes sortes de discours, il est une compilation de discours médiatisés par toutes sortes d'écrits, tels qu'ils se sont inscrits dans la mémoire culturelle. Le caractère contradictoire, incohérent et anachronique du langage d'actant observateur saute surtout aux yeux. Nous reviendrons sur ce problème en parlant des sociolectes.

Le texte du chroniqueur

Cette grande unité de "Roman" est un débrayage énonciatif: c'est l'énonciateur qui a délégué un sujet cognitif doté de compétence énonciative et il l'a présenté comme, soi-disant, Johann Peter Eckermann, le chroniqueur. C'est lui qui est l'actant

observateur de ce texte. En tant que personnage emprunté (d'un caractère déceptif) il sera examiné dans le chapitre consacré aux relations intertextuelles.

Comme nous l'avons mentionné déjà, le sujet opérateur du texte du chroniqueur est l'écrivain, Péter Esterházy. Choisir "un écrivain" comme sujet opérateur implique le choix d'un programme narratif spécifique puisque le lexème "écrivain" signifie aussi (peut signifier, en tout cas) un rôle thématique. En comparaison avec le texte du roman, où le sujet opérateur lexicalisé par son métier n'était que porteur d'un rôle thématique (spécialiste en informatique), l'écrivain, nommé aussi "maître" en remplit plusieurs, ce qu'on peut présenter ainsi:

Les parcours figuratifs
liés au "maître"
la vie familiale

Rôles thématiques

enfant, époux, père, descendant
d'une célèbre famille aristocratique,

la vie sociale

écrivain, footballeur, citoyen hongrois

Outre le maître il y a encore d'autres acteurs remplissant le rôle thématique de l'écrivain, comme: actant observateur, Peter Eckermann, ainsi que Kálmán Mikszáth (1847-1910). Ce fait n'est pas sans importance pour la place que le discours métalittéraire prend dans le roman.

Les sociolectes

Les concepts de sociolecte⁴ et de discours proposés par Pierre Zima (1985) dans son "Manuel de sociocritique" nous semblent particulièrement importants dans l'analyse du roman de P. Esterházy, étant donné que ce roman est un mélange singulier de pastiche et de parodie de plusieurs discours. La définition de sociolecte et les analyses concrètes de P. Zima sont basées sur un point de vue – que nous partageons – concernant le rapport entre la société et les langages dont elle se sert. Étant persuadée que l'approche de P. Zima peut être très utile dans la recherche socio-littéraire il nous semble nécessaire de citer in extenso son hypothèse:

"Plus haut, j'ai évoqué la possibilité de considérer la société comme un ensemble de collectivités plus au moins antagonistes, dont les langages (les sociolectes) peuvent entrer en conflit. Adopter une telle perspective à la fois sociologique et sémiotique ne signifie pas pourtant qu'on accepte la réduction des faits sociaux et des sujets collectifs (des groupes) à des phénomènes textuels. Il s'agit, bien au contraire, d'établir des rapports étroits entre le texte et la société en représentant des intérêts et des problèmes collectifs au niveau linguistique. Ce n'est qu'une telle représentation qui permet, en fin de compte, de mettre en corrélation le littéraire avec le social, sans avoir recours à des notions pré-sémiotiques comme "contenu social" ou "vision du monde". (Zima 1985: 130-131)⁵

P. Zima propose de décrire le sociolecte selon trois plans complémentaires: lexical, sémantique et syntaxique ou narratif. Un sociolecte serait en même temps "un langage" idéologique qui articule, sur le plan lexical, sémantique et syntaxique, des intérêts collectifs particuliers. Sur le plan lexical il est reconnaissable par l'emploi des mots symptomatiques, sur le plan sémantique il se laisse saisir par les isotopies et les taxinomies. (Ibid.)

La première question qui se pose est d'énumérer les sociolectes dont se sert le texte que nous analysons ici, mais malgré les indications détaillées de P. Zima ce n'est pas une tâche facile. P. Zima donne des exemples de quelques sociolectes, en se servant toujours des oppositions binaires sur lesquelles elles sont basées, p.ex.:

"[...] l'opposition cosmopolitisme/internationalisme et la distinction réalisme critique/réalisme socialiste caractérisent le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste, tandis que l'opposition réalisme/surréalisme acquiert une fonction structurante dans le langage surréaliste." (Ibid., 132)

Pourtant il est évident que "le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste" et "le langage surréaliste" sont des termes d'ordres différents. Le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste est un langage idéologique stricto sensu, un langage englobant et pénétrant dans toutes sortes de "jargons" que nous proposons d'appeler les sociolectes spécifiques. En nous servant de l'exemple de P. Zima, cité plus haut, on pourrait proposer de considérer la première opposition comme caractéristique du sociolecte politique, tandis que la deuxième ne serait valable que pour un sociolecte culturel, et que toutes les deux relèvent du sociolecte marxiste-léniniste. Un autre problème posé par P. Zima, celui de l'hétérogénéité des groupes et, par conséquent, du langage dont ils se servent est d'une grande importance pour le texte que nous analysons. Comme on verra plus tard, les acteurs dans le texte de "Roman de production" emploient pêle-mêle les deux sociolectes opposés. Pour illustrer un phénomène pareil. P. Zima donne comme exemple l'œuvre de Proust; il appelle le langage des acteurs, qu'il définit comme "la classe de loisir", "la conversation mondaine" (Ibid., 130). Il attire aussi l'attention sur le fait que:

"[...] un individu peut appartenir à des groupes différents, [...]" (Ibid., 132)

ce qui peut avoir pour résultat l'incohérence du discours individuel.

"L'incohérence d'un discours individuel s'explique souvent par le fait que l'individu se sert de vocabulaires (donc de sociolectes) incompatibles." (Ibid)

Remarquons que la formulation entre parenthèses n'est pas tout à fait exacte, étant donné que le sociolecte est plus qu'un vocabulaire. Dans le "Manuel de sociocritique" P. Zima met en garde contre la confusion qu'on pourrait faire entre le sociolecte et "le jargon professionnel", remarque essentielle pour l'analyse du texte d'Esterházy qui – sur le plan lexical au moins – joue avec plusieurs sortes de jargons pseudo-scientifiques et surtout le jargon sportif concernant le football.

Pourtant, dans une publication parue un an plus tard (v. Zima 1986) P. Zima semble admettre l'existence de sociolectes professionnels, en donnant une autre définition de cette notion:

"Toute collectivité sociale, qu'elle soit politique, religieuse ou professionnelle, se sert d'un vocabulaire particulier qui la distingue des autres groupements linguistiques. En même temps, elle organise son répertoire lexical par rapport à un code (à un système de classifications) particulier qui exclut la pertinence et la taxinomie adoptées par un autre groupe." (Zima 1986: 27)

Et plus loin:

"Il faudrait donc tenir compte de l'interaction entre les sociolectes professionnels, politiques, religieux, etc." (Ibid.)

Nous prenons comme point de départ une des définitions de P. Zima:

"Provisoirement, un *sociolecte* peut être défini comme un *répertoire lexical codifié*, c'est-à-dire structuré selon les lois d'une *pertinence collective particulière*." (Zima 1985: 134)

et nous proposons les hypothèses suivantes:

- le sociolecte dominant dans le texte d'Esterházy est *le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste*, représenté dans son évolution à partir de la période stalinienne (période de Rákosi en Hongrie) jusqu'à nos jours. Il pénètre dans toutes sortes de discours dont les acteurs se servent: littéraire, familial, scientifique, quotidien et artistique. Le développement qu'il a subi à partir des années cinquante à nos jours l'avait fortement dérégulé, en lui ôtant plusieurs de ses pertinences. Cela peut être démontré par l'analyse du vocabulaire, mais surtout des rôles actantiels.
- *le sociolecte libéral conservateur* est présent dans le texte également, en guise d'ornement, il apparaît comme un exemple de l'éloquence judiciaire et politique prenant la forme d'un "art oratoire". (v. Chabrol/Landowski 1982: 152)

A la base de ces deux sociolectes on peut découvrir une structure discursive qui est propre à chaque "discours du pouvoir", bien que la concrétisation des actants soit différente, p.ex. le rôle actantiel d'opposant dans le discours libéral est rempli par "opposition" réellement présente dans le programme narratif, tandis que dans le discours marxiste-léniniste il s'agit d'ennemis "cachés", qu'on cherche aussi bien au sein du parti, qu'à l'étranger.

Nous essayerons de récupérer le cadre de référence pour les deux sociolectes, en établissant un corpus plus ou moins représentatif, basé sur les textes dont on peut supposer qu'ils ont formé la conscience culturelle et politique hongroise. Une question d'ordre théorique se pose néanmoins: avons-nous le droit d'imposer à l'auteur un corpus présupposé? Ne serait-il pas plus juste de lui demander ses sources, surtout en sachant qu'il les garde soigneusement rangées dans ses archives. Nous faisons ici

allusion à une note plaisante de J. Jankovics⁶ qui s'est donné la peine de dévoiler les provenances littéraires d'un autre roman de P. Esterházy, "Függő" [Le pendant]; après l'apparition de son article Esterházy a publié le roman mentionné avec les annotations en marge sur la provenance de certains passages. (v. Esterházy 1986: 154-247)

Pourtant, ce n'est pas l'orgueil qui nous retient de poser des questions directement à l'écrivain. Tant que sa documentation reste inédite, on peut faire des suppositions.

Pour le moment nous sommes convaincue qu'un roman donne le droit à son interprète de l'analyser à sa façon, par ses propres moyens et sa compétence. Nous y reviendrons en traitant la question des relations intertextuelles.

Le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste

Pour démontrer le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste et ses changements nous avons pris comme corpus (point de référence) les textes suivants:

(A) "Fokozzuk az éberséget" [Augmentons la vigilance], un article publié dans le journal "Szabad Nép" [Le peuple libre] le 30 mai 1951;

(B) "A budapesti kitelepítésekéről" [Sur les expropriations de la population à Budapest], un article publiée dans le journal "Le peuple libre" le 17 juin 1951;

(C) "A magyar írók első kongresszusának határozata" [La résolution du 1er Congrès des Ecrivains Hongrois];

(D) "Nem babra megy a játék" [Il faut prendre les choses au sérieux], un article de Péter Rényi, rédacteur en chef du journal "Népszabadság" [Liberté du peuple]; l'article a été publié dans ce journal le 11 décembre 1982;

(E) "A szocializmus a nép felemelkedését szolgálja" [Le socialisme sert l'édification du peuple], le discours d'István Horváth, publié dans le journal "Liberté du peuple", le 4 avril 1986, p. 1.

Le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste, étant basé sur l'opposition principale:

/socialisme/

vs

/capitalisme/

a créé plusieurs mots, notions et locutions qui ont été ensuite rejetées (à partir de 1956). Pourtant, certaines expressions ont survécu, ce qui est à démontrer surtout dans les écrits polémiques (v. Rényi), mais aussi, en partie, dans les articles dont le caractère est fort idéologique.

En envisageant le discours marxiste-léniniste comme une structure discursive nous prenons comme point de départ le schéma greimasien, proposé par lui concernant l'idéologie marxiste au niveau du militant:

Sujet	Homme
Objet	Société sans classes
Destinateur	Histoire
Destinataire	Humanité
Opposant	Classe bourgeoise
Adjuvant	Classe ouvrière

(Greimas 1966: 181)

Le discours marxiste-léniniste dans cette phase (marxisme militant) se sert d'un programme narratif qui peut être décrit comme: démasquer l'ennemi, combattre pour la paix, combattre contre l'ennemi etc. Le caractère combattant de l'idéologie dans ce temps-là réside dans le fait qu'on voit "opposant" littéralement comme "ennemi".

Nous présentons ici un compte rendu des lexèmes relatés aux catégories discernées par A. J. Greimas et appartenant aux termes de base des programmes narratifs. L'adaptation de ce schéma permet en même temps d'indiquer la signification supplémentaire des lexèmes, tirés d'habitude du langage naturel, sans qu'on doive décrire chaque fois leurs valeurs spécifiques. Leur caractère positif ou péjoratif, tel qu'il a été codifié par le sociolecte en question, révèle les rôles actantiels qu'ils prennent. Il est clair que les lexèmes "l'art pour l'art" ou "la littérature apolitique" ont un caractère péjoratif en tant que fournisseurs du rôle actantiel d'opposant.

Il nous semble important de souligner qu'une telle analyse est apte à montrer une évolution dans l'emploi du vocabulaire (p.ex. la disparition de certains lexèmes et le maintien d'autres). Le texte "E" diffère visiblement par le choix dans les catégories d'adjuvant, d'objet valeur et d'objet modal.

Ensuite nous donnerons quelques exemples tirés du texte d'Esterházy pour démontrer comment il fait usage du sociolecte dont nous nous occupons maintenant.

Opposant⁸

(A) antiparti, antipopulaire, le grand capital international, élément socialement étranger, commerçant en gros, (une société religieuse) réactionnaire, appartenant au régime de Horthy, aile droite réactionnaire du Parti des Petits Propriétaires, propriétaires fonciers, koulaks, anciens officiers, gendarmes, les éléments politiquement versatiles et suspects:

(B) les éléments indésirables, anciens princes (Eszterházy sic!), anciens comtes, barons, groupes des comploteurs, conjurés et alarmistes, les impérialistes;

(C) le passé littéraire d'un caractère capitaliste, fasciste et bourgeois, l'art pour

l'art, cosmopolite, formaliste, antipopulaire, la littérature épousant les intérêts de la classe bourgeoise, psychologisme bourgeois vide, la littérature "apolitique";

(D) l'opposition à l'intérieur du socialisme, la propagande anticommuniste, les excitateurs anticomunistes, les centres impérialistes, le système politique bourgeois, le nationalisme bourgeois, le système capitaliste, politique impérialiste agressive;

(E) les classes dirigeantes d'autrefois, les capitalistes, les propriétaires fonciers, les milieux capitalistes;

Adjuvant⁹

(A) le Parti (notre Parti), le camarade Stalin;

(B) stakhanovistes, les ouvriers des familles nombreuses;

(C) les travailleurs, l'Union Soviétique, Stalin, l'Armée Soviétique;

(D) ---

(E) le peuple, les gens, nos alliés, le monde socialiste, l'Union Soviétique, nos voisins;

Objet valeur¹⁰

(A) la démocratie du peuple, l'édification du socialisme, amélioration de l'édification des cadres, la critique constructive;

(B) les points de vue humanitaires;

(C) la littérature socialiste-réaliste, la littérature engagée servant les intérêts du parti, l'internationalisme combattant;

(D) ---

(E) le socialisme, l'élévation du peuple, le travail, le progrès, le développement économique, le niveau de vie;

Objet modal¹¹

(A) vigilance (de classe), les activités révolutionnaires;

(B) ---

(C) vigilance, l'esprit militant (militarisme);

(D) points de vue objectifs et critiques, le progrès;

(E) l'acceptation du socialisme par le peuple: "Notre plus grand succès est que les gens considèrent le socialisme et son développement comme leur propre but, leur affaire à eux."

Nous citons ici quelques échantillons du texte d'Esterházy pour démontrer les procédés suivants:

a) l'emploi du sociolecte conforme aux normes, apparemment acceptées par le sujet d'énonciation (1, 2, 3, 4);

b) anachronismes dans le cadre du même sociolecte (5);

c) l'hétérogénéité du discours (6)
(C'est nous qui soulignons.)

(1) "[...] *osztályharcosak* vagyunk, öntudatosak vagyunk, a nap minden percében gondolunk a fogyasztók igényeire, a *népgazdaság* igényeire, a devizamérlegre és a KGST-re, a *nemzetközi szocializmus* problémáira és eredményeire, [...]" (Esterházy 1979: 8)

[nous sommes un combattant de classe, nous sommes conscient de notre rôle, à chaque minute de la journée nous pensons aux exigences des consommateurs, aux exigences de l'économie nationale, à la balance des devises et au Comecon, aux problèmes et aux résultats du socialisme international,]

(2) "[...] a Carter is csak azt csinálja, amit a *nagyitőke* neki diktál." (Ibid., 20)
[Carter lui-même ne fait que ce que le grand capital lui dicte.]

(3) "Nálunk a tavalyi szárazság következtében rossz volt a takarmánytermelés, ami egész élelmészünkre kihatott. Az *osztályellenesség*, a *kulák*, a *spekuláns* azonnal támadásra indult ezen a téren [...]" (Ibid., 81-82)

[à la suite de la sécheresse de l'année dernière, la récolte de fourrage a été mauyaise, ce qui s'est répercuté sur tout notre ravitaillement. L'ennemi de classe, le koulak, le spéculateur montent aussitôt à l'assaut dans ce domaine]

(4) "A mester atyját korán keményre edzette a *munkásosztály*: [...]" (Ibid., 210)
[Le géniteur du maître fut très tôt entraîné par la classe ouvrière à s'endurcir:]

(5) "[...] aki velünk lenne, nem lenne ellenünk, aki nem lenne velünk, az ellenünk lenne, [...]" (Ibid., 54)

[qui serait avec nous ne serait pas contre nous, et qui ne serait pas avec nous serait contre nous,]

Le citation plus haut est une allusion à la maxime célèbre de János Kádár, lancée au début des années soixante (celui qui n'est pas contre nous, est avec nous). Malgré son apparence tautologique elle visait vraiment à renoncer à la pratique politique de la période précédente, pratique qui consistait à exiger l'obéissance et l'uniformité de pensée totale, afin de ne pas être considéré comme ennemi.

(6) "Az üzemi demokrácia nem a párttitkár műve, az Isten áldjon meg benneteket!" (Ibid., 58)

[La démocratie à l'usine n'est pas l'œuvre du secrétaire du Parti, Dieu merci!]

Le problème de l'actualité du sociolecte marxiste-léniniste, tel qu'il a été utilisé dans sa phase initiale, est posé dans le texte. Comme illustration nous voudrions résumer un épisode, raconté par le chroniqueur, portant sur une interview de l'écrivain à la radio (Ibid., 218-221).

C'est en même temps un bel exemple de l'actualité du schéma greimasien. Comme nous l'avons déjà mentionné, l'un des rôles thématiques d'Esterházy (comme sujet opérateur du texte du chroniqueur) est "le descendant d'une célèbre famille

aristocratique"; il s'agit en même temps du rôle actantiel d'opposant. Ce rôle est illustré dans le texte par un parcours figuratif, dans lequel la famille Esterházy, en tant que représentante de l'ancienne aristocratie subit des changements historiques caractéristiques pour tout le pays où on a installé la démocratie populaire, ayant comme but d'anéantir cette classe sociale en la privant des sources de son pouvoir par la nationalisation, l'expropriation, le déplacement et le travail obligatoire p.ex. à la campagne. Tous les événements sont racontés par le chroniqueur; l'effet dérisoire de son récit réside dans le fait qu'il produit un discours incohérent, basé sur les sociolectes opposés (marxiste-léniniste et libéral). Il parle avec admiration du "vieux comte", placé chez "un koulak" par "la police secrète AVO" et il ajoute un commentaire marxiste sur le rôle de l'aristocratie pour justifier les réformes socialistes. Remarquons que la plupart des lexèmes dont il se sert, bien qu'ils soient actuels dans les années cinquante, sont anachroniques dans les années soixante-dix. Pourtant, l'interview à la radio nous montre que certaines notions peuvent "ressusciter". Quand l'écrivain mentionne le mot "expropriation" le présentateur du programme lui coupe la parole, en interprétant son discours comme politique, et en tant que tel non souhaitable. L'écrivain insiste en vain sur droit de mentionner les faits autobiographiques.

Un autre exemple est tiré de la réalité hongroise dans les années quarte-vingt. Un article publié dans "Élet és Irodalom" [La vie et la littérature]¹² résumait une attaque contre P. Esterházy en qualité d'écrivain contemporain et de "descendant de l'ancienne aristocratie". L'adversaire d'Esterházy lui reprochait l'usage de la langue hongroise et en même temps son origine aristocratique, qui expliquerait, selon lui, la liberté extravagante et impardonnable avec laquelle il se sert d'un bien commun qui est la langue.¹³ Sans avoir recours à la sémiotique, Péter Nádas qui a pris la parole pour défendre P. Esterházy a démontré l'absurdité des arguments de l'adversaire basés sur des notions inexistantes (telles que le comte, l'aristocratie etc.) dans la République Populaire Hongroise.

Le sociolecte libéral conservateur

En adaptant le schéma greimasien à ce sociolecte, dont la variante pastichée dans le roman date des années quatre-vingt du XIXe siècle on aboutit aux résultats suivants:

Sujet	Politicien
Objet	La Patrie
Destinateur	Dieu
Destinataire	La nation
Opposant	L'adversaire politique
Adjuvant	La Double Monarchie

On verra pourtant que ce schéma n'est qu'une apparence, à laquelle tiennent les acteurs sans le prendre au sérieux. Il est tout de même la base de leur position; pourtant ils ne font que jouer les rôles actantiels, ils se comportent comme si le rôle du destinataire et celui du destinataire, lexicalisés respectivement par "Dieu" et "la nation", faisaient partie de leur système de valeurs, mais au fond ils les ont remplacés par "l'intérêt privé" et "le peuple dominé".

Tandis que le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste est pour le lecteur hongrois d'aujourd'hui tout actuel, et de ce fait facilement reconnaissable, le sociolecte libéral conservateur, pour être reconnu, doit faire appel aux écrits connus par toute la société. Le texte du roman contient plusieurs indications sur ce sujet; certains acteurs (p.ex. Mikszáth et Jókai) sont des écrivains, dont les œuvres sont obligatoirement étudiées à l'école. Un autre acteur, le comte Apponyi, tout en étant politicien, avait aussi publié ses mémoires. Ses discours et ses mémoires sont souvent cités dans des ouvrages historiques (v. Kovács 1979: 1195, 1327, 1638). Pour le lecteur hongrois il est possible de reconnaître ce sociolecte même à l'aide d'un manuel d'histoire et certains écrits de Mikszáth, mais il est certain qu'Esterházy a lu des mémoires de politiciens de ce temps-là ou les comptes-rendus des débats parlementaires, Balassa par exemple mentionne les "citations d'Apponyi" (Balassa 1980: 165).

L'insertion du sociolecte libéral dans le texte, que nous considérons comme archaïsation, est une récurrence importante, établissant l'opposition des classèmes /actuel/ vs /archaïque/.

Pour la reconstruction de ce sociolecte P. Esterházy a fait appel surtout à des écrits littéraires ce qui n'étant pas le cas pour la reconstruction du sociolecte marxiste-léniniste. Ceci se produit de façon récurrente dans le texte, et forme l'opposition /extéroceptivité/ vs /intéroceptivité/.

En indiquant le cadre de référence du sociolecte libéral nous adaptons consciemment la perspective du lecteur et sa connaissance présupposée, ce qui touche le problème de la compétence réceptive du lecteur (v. Greimas 1976: 239).

Le texte fait appel aux connaissances suivantes:

- le fonctionnement du parlement, les partis et la presse à la fin du XIXe siècle;
- les fragments des nouvelles de Mikszáth dans lesquelles il décrit les débats parlementaires;
- les formes lexicales et grammaticales hors d'usage, ainsi que l'ancienne orthographe.

Une liste des acteurs qu'on pourrait établir surtout à la base de pp. 65-88 nous apprend qu'il s'agit de personnages historiques et littéraires (les dernières provenant des œuvres de Mikszáth), des membres du parlement dans le temps du cabinet de Kálmán Tisza, appartenant ou bien au parti gouvernemental (le Parti libéral), ou bien à l'opposition, divisée en plusieurs groupements (p.ex. "L'Opposition unifiée", qui à partir de 1881 deviendra "l'Opposition modérée", "Le Parti de l'Indépendance et 1848", les "Conservateurs" etc). Nous nous bornons à énumérer quelques acteurs, en mesurant leur importance selon le texte d'Esterházy (nous prenons comme critère la présentation des acteurs à plusieurs reprises), ce qui nous amène à mentionner les

acteurs suivants: l'écrivain Kálmán Mikszáth, le premier ministre, chef du cabinet. Kálmán Tisza et le comte Albert Apponyi.

Le premier acteur est un écrivain (1847–1910), connu comme "l'artiste de l'anecdote provinciale et comme le grand maître hongrois de l'ironie européenne de la fin du siècle" (Klaniczay 1980: 294) et c'est ainsi qu'il est introduit dans le texte d'Esterházy:

"Mikszáth úrból csorgott a színes mese, wie gewöhnlich". (Esterházy 1979: 290)
[De sieur Mikszáth coula un conte coloré, wie gewöhnlich.]

En même temps Mikszáth était un critique sévère du système parlementaire de son temps, ce qui ne l'a pas empêché d'être membre du parlement hongrois à côté du parti gouvernemental et l'ami du premier ministre, Tisza. Les travaux historiques, qu'ils soient scientifiques ou de vulgarisation mettent en valeur le caractère documentaire des romans de Mikszáth (Unger/Szabolcs 1976: 218), mais surtout sa correspondance, des anecdotes politiques ("Politikai karcolatok, 1881–1908") et un ouvrage autobiographique "Az én kortársaim" [Mes contemporains]. On apprécie fort sa capacité de comprendre et de juger son époque (v. Kovács 1979: 1211, 1221), on cite ses opinions (Ibid., 1217, 1225, 1228, 1230), c'est à peine si on lui reproche de s'être tenu à côté de Tisza (Ibid., 1452).

Il ne faut pourtant pas oublier le caractère littéraire et surtout ironique des écrits de Mikszáth, auquel justement le texte d'Esterházy fait allusion. L'effet dérisoire des textes de deux auteurs provient du même principe: la présentation des acteurs est basée sur l'opposition /élevé/ vs /dégradé/.

De ce fait l'organisation actantielle manque d'investissement moralisant, basé d'habitude sur une opposition /bon/ vs /mauvais/ et permettant de discerner adjuvant et opposant. "La Double Monarchie" (adjuvant) est représentée dans le texte par les politiciens du parti gouvernemental (Tisza) et "L'adversaire politique" (opposant) par, entre autres, Apponyi, membre de l'opposition. Pourtant les acteurs se ressemblent fortement par le fait que leur figurativisation se sert tantôt des lexèmes contenant le sème /élevé/, tantôt /dégradé/, nous en donnerons quelques exemples. Ensuite, à l'aide de deux citations, l'une provenant de Mikszáth, l'autre d'Esterházy nous allons illustrer ce procédé caractéristique des écrits grotesques et démontrer en même temps l'un des aspects d'intertextualité, telle qu'elle se produit dans le texte d'Esterházy.

Chez Mikszáth

/élevé/
le comte Albert Apponyi,
grand orateur à la Cicéron
son discours bouleverse et
fait tressaillir.
les parlementaires
(Mikszáth 1969: 406–407)

vs /dégradé/
comparé au cheval
ses mots s'évaporent hors du
Parlement

Prince Gyula Odescalchi

son dernier acte au Parlement est la
consommation d'un biscuit

(Ibid., 60)

Mme Blaha, une actrice
célèbre, rend à son tour
visite au *Parlement*

les débats parlementaires
sont aussi un *spectacle*
théâtral

Kálmán Tisza, *chef du*
cabinet
(Ibid., 15-17)

comparé au *souffleur*

Chez Esterházy

/élevé/
le discours de Tisza

vs /dégradé/
comparé à "casser les œufs"
(Esterházy 1979: 78)

Tisza règle *les affaires d'Etat*
au foyer

p.ex. il demande "aux galants"
les nouvelles sur le bal de l'Opéra
(Ibid., 77)

Nous citons quelques fragments du texte d'Esterházy, contenant les descriptions empruntées littéralement de Mikszáth (texte souligné, v. Mikszáth 1969: 406-407), entre autres la comparaison du comte Apponyi au cheval (mentionnée plus-haut):

"Ekkor odalép Tomcsányi Imréhez gróf Apponyi Albert,¹⁴ és megkérdezi, hány óra van. [...] *A templomi csöndben, mint a harang kondul szép, öblös hangja. Feje, mely egy neves angol lóéhoz hasonlatos, méltóságteljesen, nyugodtan nyúlik fel hosszú nyakán.*" (Esterházy 1979: 58)

[Sur ces entrefaites, le comte Albert Apponyi s'approche d'Imre Tomcsányi, et lui demande quelle heure il est. Dans le silence de tabernacle, sa belle voix de basse résonne comme une cloche. Sa tête, qui ressemble à celle d'un cheval anglais renommé, couronne, paisible et majestueuse, son long cou.]

"[...] Apponyi beszélni fog (komolyan, méltóságteljesen, erős léptekkel, simán hatol előre az ő 'angol sétányán', virág is van az útban, de módjával, tüske is van, de csak a dekoráció végett), [...]." (Ibid., 78)

[Apponyi va parler (sérieux, majestueux, de ses enjambées puissantes et régulières, il parcourt sa "promenade des Anglais", il trouve sur sa route des fleurs, mais en quantité modique, aussi bien que des épines, mais seulement pour la décoration).]

Pour la citation suivante, qui est intégralement empruntée à Mikszáth, v. Mikszáth *Összes művei*. 71. k. Budapest 1971: Akadémiai Kiadó. 158-159.

"– Még a kiváló szónokok közt is nagyon szigorú az osztályzat: garasos cigarettát el lehet dobni Horánszkyért is, Istóczy megér egy kabanost, Grünwald egy kubát, Szilágyiért akárhányszor láttam félig szítt brittanikákat eldobva, Apponyiért, Tiszáért, Jókaiért elhajítanak pompásan szelelő regalitásokat, de egy *bock erejéig terjedő orátort* nem szült a mostoha kor." (Esterházy 1979: 65)

[Les brillants orateurs eux-mêmes sont très sévèrement notés: on peut jeter des cigarettes à deux sous pour un Horánszky, Istóczy vaut un Cabanos, Grünwald un Cuba, pour Szilágyi j'ai vu jeter maintes fois des Britannica à demi consumés, pour Apponyi, pour Tisza, pour le grandiose romancier Jókai, on jette des Regalitas au superbe tirage, mais l'époque marâtre n'a pas enfaté d'orateur de la force d'un Bock.]

Les relations intertextuelles dans le "Roman de production"

Le rôle que l'intertextualité joue dans le "Roman de production" a été abordé déjà dans les sous-chapitres précédents. L'importance de la relation entre le texte de "Roman" et l'univers littéraire nous a amenée à considérer les classèmes /intéroceptivité/ vs /extéroceptivité/, comme l'isotope sémantique du "Roman".

Nous essayerons maintenant d'établir une liste brève, mais représentative, des relations intertextuelles, afin de mettre en évidence la complexité et l'édification de "Roman". Le modèle de Gérard Genette (1982) nous a servi de canevas, mais en suivant les suggestions de M. Glowinski (1986) nous l'avons réduit à trois points:

- l'intertextualité,
- la métatextualité,
- l'architextualité.

Qu'il nous soit permis de remarquer que tout l'œuvre d'Esterházy, et le "Roman" en particulier, mériterait une édition annotée. Nous nous bornerons à donner quelques explications, comme exemples. Contrairement à la recherche strictement philologique d'autrefois dont le but était de noter les influences et les sources (Chevalier 1984; v. aussi les remarques critiques à ce sujet: Jenny 1976: 262, Zima 1985: 139), le cadre de cette étude, ainsi que l'exigence de la recherche intertextuelle nous impose de ne nous occuper que des hypotextes essentiels, ce qui veut dire importants du point de vue de la structure (Jenny 1976: 261).

Cela nous permet en même temps de camoufler les lacunes de notre érudition, incomparable avec celle du Maître.

La compétence du lecteur, la reconnaissance des relations intertextuelles posent toujours des questions précaires, touchant le problème de la lecture (Jenny 1976: 266, 273), le décodeur (Ibid., 257, 273), la perception et la réception. Ces problèmes ont été indiqués dans la sémiotique comme la différence entre le faire émissif, qui est le domaine du destinataire, et le faire réceptif (le domaine du destinataire, v. Greimas/Courtés 1986: 121–122). Le rôle de la communauté culturelle dans laquelle fonctionne le texte a été également reconnu par les sémioticiens (v. Ibid.).

Si on met de côté la notion d'un récepteur idéal, on peut se poser des questions, auxquelles on ne recevra peut-être jamais de réponse:

"... les relations intertextuelles, sont-elles toujours reconnaissables? Est-ce que leur reconnaissance est une condition nécessaire pour comprendre les textes dans lesquels elles se trouvent? Qu'est-ce qui se passe si elles restent inaperçues, si le lecteur les traite comme s'il n'y avait pas de différence entre elles et d'autres segments du texte? (Glowiński 1986: 92-93)

En essayant tout de trouver une solution à ce problème, J. Glowiński a proposé d'envisager la traduction comme l'épreuve de la compréhensibilité d'un texte:

"Il y a une chose qui est sûre: l'intertextualité vue dans la perspective de la réception est un élément variable de l'œuvre littéraire; une question restera toujours ouverte, est-ce que la perte d'un élément de l'œuvre exclut sa compréhension, et – en conséquence – de quel élément s'agirait-il?"

Il serait peut-être possible de répondre à ces questions à l'aide de l'analyse des traductions, faite de ce point de vue, ce que j'appellerais l'épreuve de la traduction". (Glowiński 1986: 96)

La deuxième épreuve consisterait à démontrer le rôle du contexte historique et littéraire, étant donné que chaque époque semble faire un choix en établissant un corpus des hypotextes préférés, et en rejetant les autres.¹⁵

Dans un sens l'étude présente est une telle épreuve.

(1) Procédés ressortissant à l'intertextualité

A. Citations

Les unités qui y ressortissent sont d'importance différente, c'est pourquoi nous y discernons deux sous-classes.

1. *Plaisanteries*

Ce groupe contient des unités n'ayant pas une grande importance; P. Esterházy ne traite pas de la même façon les œuvres et les écrivains cités, il y a une hiérarchie en ce qui concerne l'importance des auteurs.

Les unités, dont nous donnerons ici quelques exemples et dont la provenance donne lieu à des interprétations multiples, sont visibles au niveau de la surface grâce à la typographie (italique) ou les guillemets; il arrive parfois qu'elles ne soient pas marquées du tout. Dans tous les cas elles sont reconnaissables dans un fragment comme étant étrangères et le débrayage effectué d'une telle façon est la source d'incohérence du texte au niveau de surface, nous en avons parlé lors de l'analyse du titre du premier chapitre. Dans la plupart des cas l'embranchement se rend visible seulement au niveau discursif, en tant qu'élément constituant une (ou plusieurs) isotopie(s), dont la plus importante serait l'isotopie sémantique: /extéroceptivité/ vs /intéroceptivité/.

Dans ce sens les contacts intertextuels sont une permanence dans le "Roman". Les unités plaisantes (plaisanteries) peuvent se manifester dans le texte comme:

– un mot, une phrase, un fragment

"Baitrok Péter lassan, ahogy a guano, feláll". (Esterházy 1979: 16)
[Péter Baitrok ainsi que le *guano*, prend lentement position.]

Il est possible que le lexème "guano" soit emprunté à un poème très connu d'Attila József "A város peremén" [Dans le pourtour de la ville]. Dans ce poème sombre József se sert d'une métaphore pour décrire son époque dont les événements s'accumulent, "se déposent" et s'endurcissent comme le "guano". P. Esterházy emploie ce lexème dans un sens opposé; tout d'abord, au niveau narratif, il y a une opposition:

"se déposer" vs "prendre position",

mais puisque "guano" ne peut exercer une action si active et propre à un être humain que "prendre position" – il s'agit de l'emploi d'un lexème contraire à son noyau stable – toute la phrase prend un caractère plaisant, tandis que la comparaison des deux contextes, celui du poème de József, et celui du texte d'Esterházy met en évidence la réalisation d'oppositions récurrentes dans la limite d'une petite phrase:

/élevé/ vs /dégradé/
/dysphorique/ vs /euphorique/.

"Vajon mikor leszünk mi ilyen szép kutyák?" (Ibid., 201)
["Quand serons-nous d'aussi beaux chiens?"]

La question travestie par P. Esterházy est une allusion à un poème de Péter Bornemisza (1535–1585), dont chaque strophe se termine par une question rhétorique, devenue proverbiale, exprimant le désir impossible dans les conditions historiques données (il faut savoir que Buda a été prise par les Turcs en 1541 et occupée pendant près de 150 ans):

"Vajon s mikor leszön jó Budában lakásom?" (Hét évszázad magyar versei 1966: 260)
[Quand est-ce que j'aurai ma maison dans mon Buda bien-aimé?]

La phrase citée est prononcée par le poète Sándor (Sándor Weöres) et répétée par le maître, lors d'une "confrontation" de deux hommes avec les jeunes chiens, dont l'apparence et le comportement étaient le contraire de deux écrivains, faibles et mélancoliques.

L'annotation 34 (Esterházy 1979: 334) contient un fragment d'un poème patriotique de Mihály Vörösmarty (1800–1855) "Szózat" [Exhortation]. L'effet

dérivoire provient de l'embrayage même: le fragment est inséré dans un texte écrit dans le style journalistique, une sorte de "lettre à la rédaction d'un journal", proclamant le patriotisme bon marché, tandis que le poème de Vörösmarty, d'un style romantique élevé, "est devenu le second hymne national des Hongrois" (Klanciczay 1980: 191).

"A kis Magyarország is föltört az évek folyamán! S mennyi a külföldi látogató! Nyáron hemzseg tőlük a Balaton és a Hortobágy. Érdekes, hogy egyes embereknek csak más ország szép. Én azonban úgy vélem, hogy "a nagyvilágon e kívül nincsen számodra hely, áldjon vagy verjen sors keze, itt élned s halnod kell". (Esterházy 1979: 334)

[Même la petite Hongrie a percé au cours des années! L'été, le Balaton et la puszta fourmillent. Il est intéressant que pour certaines personnes, seuls les autres pays soient beaux. Pour moi, je pense que "dans le vaste monde, hors celui-ci, il n'est point de lieu pour toi; que le destin te bénisse ou te frappe, c'est ici que tu dois vivre et mourir".]

un personnage littéraire, sans conséquences pour la totalité de l'œuvre

"Tóbiás úgy néz a lányra, mint Rómeó nézett a Capuletek estélyén az ifjú Juliára". (Ibid., 92)
[Tóbiás regarde la fille comme Roméo regarda Juliette, à la soirée chez les Capulet.]

L'allusion à Shakespeare est cette fois tout à fait ironique puisque les sentences englobantes ne manifestent pas que les relations entre Tóbiás et la jeune fille (Marilyn Monroe) soient comparables à celles de Roméo et Juliette. Tóbiás est, comme plusieurs autres acteurs, amoureux de Marilyn, une fille coquette et séduisante, dont le comportement (les scènes érotiques avec Gregory Peck, p.ex. p. 41) est parfois très léger.

Les oppositions:

/sérieux/	vs	/plaisant/
/élevé/	vs	/dégradé/

sont réalisées au niveau de surface.

2. Les indications

Les deux exemples suivants, tout en gardant leur caractère plaisant, nous semblent être plus importants par le fait qu'ils peuvent ressusciter chez le lecteur les connotations au-delà des figures littéraires mentionnées, conduisant aux traits caractéristiques des œuvres dont elles proviennent.

La citation suivante, bien qu'elle soit ambiguë, nous mène à Thomas Mann:

"Nem tudsz uralkodni magadon?! Hogy csókoljon meg a *mádám Sósav!*" (Ibid., 185)
[Tu ne peux pas te contrôler? Que *madame Achcél* t'embrasse!]

Le lexème "sósav" signifie un acide toxique (HCl), ce qu'enregistre la traduction française, en donnant la transcription de la formule chimique. Mais, puisqu'il s'agit du nom d'une dame on peut penser à madame Chauchat, le personnage provenant du roman "Der Zauberberg". C'est la ressemblance sonore des deux lexèmes qui évoque cette connotation. L'embranchement des deux phrases citées sert à convaincre l'énonciataire qu'il peut avoir des raisons d'interpréter la figure "madame Sósav" comme la transcription hongroise de la figure "madame Chauchat". Les deux phrases sont insérées dans la description d'un dîner familial bien turbulent. C'est Monsieur Marci qui reproche au maître son comportement à table, en particulier le fait que celui-ci souffle la soupe d'une telle façon que les gouttes se répandent partout. D'ailleurs toute la description des plats, des manières de manger, des maladroites de certaines personnes (Monsieur György laisse tomber sa cuillère etc.) évoquent les descriptions détaillées et ironiques des repas à "Berghof". Comme argument définitif on peut mentionner le fait que les lexèmes "sósav" et "madame Chauchat" ont un trait sémiologique commun: /empoisonnement/, étant donné qu'un baiser de madame Chauchat, souffrant de tuberculose, peut être mortel.

La citation suivante peut aussi donner lieu à deux interprétations: la plaisanterie et l'indication sérieuse:

"A MESTER ÉS GITTA – "... (Ibid., 303)
[LE MAÎTRE ET GITTA –]

Cette phrase est une exclamation du chroniqueur, faisant allusion au titre du roman de Mikhaïl Boulgakov "Le Maître et Marguerite". S'agit-il d'une plaisanterie d'un homme lettré, espérant pouvoir compter sur la même érudition chez ses lecteurs?

Remarquons que l'embranchement se produit dans ce cas par la répétition dans la phrase englobante du lexème "maître", ainsi que par la ressemblance sonore du nom Gitta (la femme du maître) et Marguerite (la femme aimée de l'écrivain, nommé aussi maître); Gitta et Marguerite remplissent le même rôle thématique (respectivement épouse et la femme choisie et aimée) et actantiel (l'adjuvant) dans les deux romans. Aussi la structure des deux romans comporte un trait commun, il s'agit d'un roman dans le roman. C'est pourquoi il nous semble que cette fois-ci la plaisanterie cache une indication importante sur la tradition littéraire à laquelle P. Esterházy tient sérieusement: la littérature grotesque aux éléments fantastiques (le chat parlant Behemot) et mythique (Mephisto-Woland), une littérature qui est en même temps une satire impitoyable de la société. Remarquons qu'une telle synthèse était jusqu'ici inconnue dans la littérature hongroise.

– les noms des écrivains

La liste des auteurs mentionnés dans le "Roman" est très longue. Pour donner une impression de son ampleur nous énumérerons ici quelques-uns, dont l'importance

ne nous paraît pas essentielle: Mihály Babits (438), Erzsébet Galgóczi (338), Goethe (133), Mór Jókai (292, 429), Lajos Kassák (460).

Dans notre interprétation ces noms ne servent qu'à évoquer une tradition littéraire mondiale et hongroise, dont l'auteur est conscient, sans vouloir la continuer.

Plus tard nous énumérerons les auteurs qui d'après nous sont considérés par P. Esterházy comme essentiels. Pour le moment remarquons seulement que même les auteurs dont l'influence peut être indiquée comme structurelle, sont introduits d'une façon plaisante, comme nous l'avons observé dans le cas de Thomas Mann et Mikhaïl Boulgakov.

– autocitations

Le chroniqueur fait quelquefois mention du roman précédent d'Esterházy "Fancsikó és Pinta" [Fancsikó et Pinta], paru en 1976. Le chroniqueur présente le maître comme l'auteur de ce roman. C'est une des manières de suggérer l'identification du maître avec l'écrivain Péter Esterházy.

B. Les emprunts, les travestissements, le pastiche et la parodie

Bien que les emprunts de Mikszáth aient été traités déjà dans le chapitre précédent nous y revenons pour donner un exemple qui touche un problème théorique des relations intertextuelles. Comme nous l'avons démontré, la plupart des chercheurs se soucient de la reconnaissance des hypotextes, tandis que le problème peut être posé différemment: est-il possible d'arrêter les associations libres du lecteur dans sa recherche des hypotextes. A l'aide de deux citations nous voulons montrer qu'on peut supposer qu'un fragment de texte d'Esterházy travestit d'une façon très libre un fragment de l'œuvre de Mikszáth. Cette supposition semble être d'autant plus justifiée que l'importance de Mikszáth pour le "Roman" est devenue évidente.

"Tudja, barátom, olyan ez a fejezet itt a szöveg közepén elrejtve, fölfúrva, mint egy mélységes mély, szépséges szép, titokzatos veszélyes kút." Elképzelttem. És vajon vize iható?" (Ibid., 313) ["Vous savez, mon ami, ce chapitre dissimulé ici, au milieu du texte, foré comme un profond d'entre les profonds, beau d'entre les beaux, mystérieux, dangereux puits." Je l'imaginai. Et son eau, est-elle potable?]

"Mikor Jókai beszél, még Blaháné is hallgasson.

Hanem persze csak akkor áll ez, ha nem azt vesszük, hogy Jókai *mit* beszél, hanem azt hogy *miképp* beszél.

Olyan ő (már t.i. Jókai), mint a császlauer, mely a vizet is borszínűre festi. Szép... szép lesz színre nézve – de ihatatlan." (Mikszáth 1969: 15)

[Quand Jókai parle, même Mme Blaha doit se taire.

Cela n'est valable que si on ne s'attache pas à ce que Jókai dit, mais à la façon dont il parle. Lui (cela veut dire Jókai) il est comme quelqu'un qui trafique le vin, il réussit même à donner à l'eau le couleur du vin. La couleur est belle, mais ça n'est pas buvable.]

Contrairement aux emprunts de Mikszáth, constituant un sociolecte, les lexèmes et les phrases empruntés au roman de Géza Gárdonyi (1863–1920) "Egri csillagok" [Les étoiles d'Eger]¹⁶ sont une sorte d'ornement. Mais peut-être l'auteur entend-il souligner d'une manière plaisante le caractère militant des disputes qui ont lieu dans l'entreprise. Ou, serait-il question de ridiculiser le caractère militant du sociolecte marxiste-léniniste?

Les emprunts de Gárdonyi ne sont pas dispersés dans tout "Roman", mais concentrés dans son deuxième chapitre. Le débrayage consiste à modifier les disjonctions spatiales: on construit une forteresse médiévale. Dans ce cadre spatio-temporel les armes médiévales et les autres accessoires, ainsi que le langage dont les acteurs se servent (p.ex. les cris en turc, les prières etc.) ne semblent plus être archaïques, ce sont plutôt des choses concrètes de la deuxième moitié du XXe siècle qui donnent l'impression d'être anachroniques. Le débrayage et l'embranchement se produisent très souvent dans une phrase, puisque les acteurs restent les mêmes.

Nous en donnons un exemple:

"Eltárs, mondja remegő hangon valaki, éppen a percben lőtték el Főlya osztályvezető elvtársat. [...] Baitrok a sisakját viszi utána. Vége?, kérdezi Horváth. Vége, mondja amaz szomorúan. Visszaját tovább, kiáltja a párttitkár. Leveszi az acélsisakját. Odalép az ov.-hez, és szótlánul, búsan néz rá. Isten veled, Főlya Tamás! Állj meg az Úr előtt: mutass rá vérző sebedre, és mutass le a várra is!" (Esterházy 1979: 19)

[Camarade, dit quelqu'un d'une voix tremblante, on vient d'abattre à l'instant le camarade chef de service Főlya. Baitrok le suit en portant son casque. C'est fini? – demande Horváth. C'est fini, dit l'autre tristement. Continuez le combat, crie le secrétaire du Parti. Il ôte son casque d'acier. Il s'approche du chef de service, et sans un mot, affligé, le regarde. Adieu, Tamás Főlya! Arrête-toi devant le Seigneur: montre-lui ta blessure sanglante, et montre lui aussi ce château!"]

Le chapitre est basé presque entièrement sur les isotopies suivantes:

/actuel/	vs	/archaïque/
/concret/	vs	/figuré/
/élevé/	vs	/dégradé/
/sérieux/	vs	/plaisant/.

Le chroniqueur, Johann Peter Eckermann, est un personnage historique emprunté et sa vraie chronique est travestie dans le "Roman" Eckermann est l'actant observateur du texte que nous avons appelé "le texte du chroniqueur" et il est en même temps le sujet opérateur du PN "écrire une chronique sur le maître".

L'acteur Eckermann est introduit par l'énonciateur à l'aide d'une note comme s'il s'agissait du vrai Eckermann qui était le chroniqueur de Goethe. Son rôle actantiel est celui de décepteur, puisque les annotations du prétendu Eckermann ne portent pas sur Goethe, mais l'énonciataire ne peut pas le savoir sans avoir lu le texte du chroniqueur. L'énonciateur établit ainsi l'état de mensonge sur le plau être, mais tout de suite il avertit l'énonciataire qu'il s'agit d'un pseudonyme. Il le fait à l'aide d'un

motto, tiré du roman de Jerome David Salinger "Raise high the roofbeam, carpenters and Seymour" (les relations intertextuelles sont omniprésentes!).¹⁷ Nous citons le texte original:

"(Buddy Glass, of course, is only my pen name. My real name is Major George Fielding Anti-Climax)." (Salinger 1959: 187-188.)

Si nous considérons Eckermann comme figure lexématique nous pouvons dire que tout en n'étant pas le vrai Eckermann il contient certaines qualités provenant du noyau stable:

la figure	les qualités provenant du noyau stable	réalisation
Peter J.	chroniqueur avec les aspirations d'un écrivain	pseudonyme
Eckermann	très dévoué à son maître	parfois très critique envers son maître
	l'auteur d'un texte portant sur la vie et l'œuvre d'un (grand) écrivain	omniscient

Nous voulons souligner le fait que le chroniqueur dans "Roman" adopte la perspective de Johann Peter Eckermann partiellement: ses observations concernant les choses de la vie et les discussions avec le maître sont très détaillées, mais le ton qu'il adopte est plein d'admiration exagérée, ce qui a pour résultat un effet dérisoire. Puisque nous nous efforçons de chercher les relations intertextuelles nous pouvons nous demander si certains détails ne sont pas empruntés, par exemple le fauteuil de Goethe aurait-il servi de modèle pour la description du fauteuil du maître? La présentation de cette figure est basée sur l'opposition: (élevé) vs (dégradé). La plus grande différence réside dans le fait que le chroniqueur dans "Roman" est omniscient, il résume des situations intimes entre le maître et "Frau Gitti", dont il ne pouvait pas être le témoin. L'introduction d'un actant observateur omniscient nous semble être d'une grande importance. Dans une analyse approfondie du postmodernisme A. Kibédi Varga a fait remarquer que:

"Le romancier postmoderne ne s'insurge plus contre l'omniscience du narrateur classique, comme l'a fait naguère Robbe-Grillet: les deux attitudes sont possibles et égales, un même jeu ironique englobe l'illusion du réalisme et l'illusion de la modernité." (Kibédi Varga 1968: 6)

Le pastiche est un genre littéraire par excellence intertextuel, à définitions innombrables. Le mérite de G. Genette consiste à essayer de nous en donner une et nous adapterons son point de vue d'après lequel le pastiche est une imitation non-satirique (Genette 1982: 23-40). Pourtant, puisque la réalité, même littéraire, semble

être trop complexe pour se laisser saisir dans des termes précis, Genette discerne aussi pastiche satirique et parodique!

L'exemple du pastiche dans la forme la plus pure est une anecdote à la Mikszáth, racontée par l'acteur Mikszáth dans les annotations (290-292). La maestria d'Esterházy réside dans le fait qu'il imite en même temps le style de Mikszáth tout en restant fidèle au sens de ses anecdotes, qui ridiculisent les parlementaires, leur façon d'être et d'agir. L'effet dérisoire de ce petit récit est obtenu par l'opposition (/plaisant/ vs /sérieux/) entre une question tout à fait banale "quelle heure est-il?" posée par Mikszáth et les réponses de parlementaires relevant de leurs comportements humains et de leurs convictions politiques. P.ex. le comte Apponyi fait tout un exposé sur la différence de temps aperçue par lui entre la pendule de l'École des hautes études polytechniques et sa montre, la différence qu'il suit depuis deux jours. Il formule l'hypothèse qu'elle est constante, ce qui lui permet de conclure qu'à ce moment-là il n'est pas tout à fait une heure. Il y a des parlementaires qui demandent à Mikszáth de s'adresser aux autres. Jókai lui reproche: "Tu me prends pour ta montre?", Gajári, un homme connu pour son tact et sa politesse lui laisse le choix, en disant: "Quelle heure veux-tu?".

Il est peut-être inutile de dire que personne ne donne de réponse concrète à la question de Mikszáth.

Parodie

Nous considérons comme parodie ces fragments du texte de "Roman" qui dépassent le niveau des pastiches par leur caractère satirique et qui tout en imitant et ridiculisant les styles divers arrivent à créer un discours nouveau et original. Glowński parle d'une parodie constructive, en donnant comme exemple Thomas Mann et Witold Gombrowicz. Hutcheon parle aussi d'une telle sorte de parodie:

"La parodie n'est pas un trope comme l'ironie: elle se définit normalement non pas en tant que phénomène intratextuel mais en tant que modalité du canon de l'intertextualité. Comme les autres formes intertextuelles (telles que l'allusion, le pastiche, la citation, l'imitation et ainsi de suite), la parodie effectue une superposition de textes. Au niveau de sa structure formelle, un texte parodique est l'articulation d'une synthèse, d'une incorporation d'un texte parodié (d'arrière-plan) dans un texte parodiant, d'un enchâssement du vieux dans le neuf." (Hutcheon 1981: 143)

Au fond le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste, tel qu'il se présente dans "Roman", est un exemple d'une parodie constructive. Dans le sous-chapitre consacré aux sociolectes nous avons récupéré son vocabulaire et ses taxinomies, en insistant sur son actualité. Mais les exemples donnés pour l'illustrer dévoilaient déjà son caractère dérisoire, rien que par la condensation des lexèmes tirés de périodes différentes. Ici, en parlant de la parodie, nous pouvons ajouter d'autres exemples: les chants engagés¹⁸ et les documents d'un procès. Les premiers sont disséminés dans le roman, les deuxièmes se trouvent dans les annotations. (L'annotation 25, Esterházy 1979:

294–297). Le procès fait allusion aux procès simulés des années cinquante, les texte est incohérent, l'accusation se laisse à peine formuler, les témoins se contredisent.

Le débrayage est motivé narrativement, c'est tante Jolánka qui envoie les actes. L'ironie d'Esterházy est double: premièrement les procès des années cinquante étaient une parodie de procès, si on nous permet cette expression euphémique, ils sont donc présentés au niveau narratif comme tels. Deuxièmement: l'insertion de documents est un procédé assez fréquent dans la littérature hongroise des dernières années (v. les romans d'Erzsébet Galgóczi, András Sütő etc.). En parodiant ce procédé P. Esterházy produit les soi-disant documents. Mais pour comprendre l'intention de l'écrivain il faut voir sa parodie dans la perspective de Mikszáth. La période de Rákosi en Hongrie n'a pas connu un Mikszáth.

Il nous semble qu'Esterházy comble cette lacune, mais surtout il reprend le rôle de Mikszáth dans la période de Kádár, ce qui était à prévoir, puisque

"l'hypertexte transpose la diégèse de son hypotexte pour le rapprocher et l'actualiser aux yeux de son propre public." (Genette 1982: 351)

La possibilité de le faire est offerte par certains parallèles qui se laissent apercevoir entre les années quatre-vingt du XIXe siècle et les années soixante-dix du XXe siècle, comme p.ex. l'attachement de la Hongrie à un pays tout puissant, dont on désire être un partenaire, la consolidation, une certaine prospérité etc. On pourrait risquer l'hypothèse selon laquelle la manière dont Mikszáth décrit le système parlementaire de son temps a servi pour P. Esterházy de modèle pour faire la même chose avec le discours du pouvoir de son temps. La critique d'Esterházy est surtout dirigée contre le langage, le sociolecte marxiste-léniniste plein de slogans. P. Esterházy, même s'il mentionne un nom célèbre (p.ex. celui d'Engels), ne le fait pas pour lui accorder une certaine autorité, mais pour ridiculiser le fait que l'on s'en est servi trop souvent:

"Az égiek közül Engelst hívjuk segítségül: azt, amit minden egyes akar, mindenki más megakadályozza, ami lett, senki sem akarta." (Esterházy 1979: 10)

[D'entre les bienheureux, nous appelons Engels à l'aide: ce que chacun veut à part soi, tous les autres l'empêchent de l'obtenir, ce qui arrive, personne ne l'a voulu.]

La phrase citée provient de l'énonciateur du roman, mais il y en a d'autres pareilles, prononcées par le maître, ce qui lui vaudra de la part du chroniqueur d'être décrit comme:

"[...] mégiscsak amolyan hercig (nem herceg, ha-ha-ha!) kakukkfióka a szocializmus pihe-puha fészékében." (Ibid., 307)

[il était tout de même une sorte de petit coucou précieux (pas princier, ha-ha-ha!) dans le nid moelleux du socialisme.]

Il est évident qu'il s'agit ici d'une ironie dirigée contre soi-même, due à une certaine ambiguïté de la prise de position par l'énonciateur, le chroniqueur et le maître (v.

aussi le Vème chapitre où l’actant observateur prononce un monologue sur le sujet “si j’étais le chef”). La même ambiguïté caractérisait aussi Mikszáth.

Fasciné par le phénomène Mikszáth, le maître – il nous semble que cette fois-ci on peut dire: P. Esterházy – réfléchit sur la complexité de cet homme, politicien et écrivain, réunissant des traits incompatibles: l’opportunisme et l’engagement critique, cynisme et optimisme.

Néanmoins, nous sommes d’avis que les écrits de Mikszáth, empruntés, pastichés ou parodiés font autorité dans “Roman”. Cette autorité se manifeste d’ailleurs d’une façon explicite: le maître et l’acteur Mikszáth parlent ensemble de la littérature, de la politique et du rôle de l’écrivain (v. Esterházy 1979: 300–311).

Procédés ressortissant à la métatextualité

Les remarques théoriques sur la littérature en général et sur le roman en particulier sont très nombreuses dans “Roman”. Elles sont motivées narrativement, puisque le chroniqueur résume ses discussions avec le maître. Le schéma de Genette nous permet de discerner deux sortes de commentaire métalittéraire: un métatextuel et un architextuel. Le premier se caractérise par allusivité envers certains auteurs (ou œuvres), le deuxième a un niveau plus abstrait et réfère aux genres littéraires, sans indiquer les auteurs.

Il est temps de rappeler une de nos hypothèses, posée au commencement de l’analyse, d’après laquelle “Roman” porterait sur l’écriture, ou, autrement dit, “Roman” réalise un programme narratif qu’on peut décrire selon le schéma greimasien comme suit:

Manipulation	Compétence	Performance	Sanction
composer un roman	être un écrivain	créer une composition triple	succès et échec une (dé)composition en trois parties

Les objets valeurs dans ce programme sont les œuvres des écrivains (remplissant le rôle actantiel d’adjuvant) qui ont consacré une place importante dans leurs écrits aux réflexions portant sur la composition même de leurs textes.

Auparavant nous en avons mentionné trois: Boulgakov, Mann et Salinger, maintenant nous y ajouterons James Joyce, mentionné et parodié dans le texte du chroniqueur (Esterházy 1979: 261–264).

Il est évident que “Roman” continue une tradition littéraire dans laquelle *l’écriture est un objet de réflexion dans le texte même*. Cette tradition est assez vieille et ce n’est pas notre intention d’en donner des exemples, certainement innombrables, tirés de la littérature universelle.¹⁹ Notre but unique est de mentionner certains écrivains que nous avons indiqués comme importants pour l’élaboration de “Roman”. E. Kulcsár Szabó (1987: 296) était d’avis que la relation entre le narrateur et la

narration se réalise dans le roman (surtout dans le texte du chroniqueur) selon le modèle de Joyce, tandis que la composition de "Roman" (qui se divise en un roman et une partie autobiographique) serait empruntée à Salinger (Ibid., 281).

Esterházy réfère aussi à la tradition hongroise; la critique a établi toute une liste des auteurs. Les noms des écrivains hongrois mentionnés le plus souvent sont: Mikszáth, Gárdonyi, Kosztolányi, Ottlik, Mészöly, Mándy, Tándori et Nádas (v. Balassa 1980: 164-165; Szegedy-Maszák 1986: 89; Szörényi 1979: 126). Le problème de la hiérarchie dans les relations intertextuelles a été posé dans l'analyse de László Szörényi qui considère "Roman" comme une épopée subjective et lyrique. Il démontre qu'en tant qu'épopée elle se sert nécessairement d'une mythologie, qui est partiellement nationale (le texte réfère à la mémoire culturelle et historique, v. la bataille de Mohács et de Kápolna), partiellement chrétienne, donc européenne, la citation du *pater in extenso* en est un exemple. Cette mythologie est la source des valeurs authentiques.

L'un des auteurs des plus importants est, à notre avis, Dezső Kosztolányi, surtout son roman "Esti Kornél" [Le double. Les récits funambulesques de Kornél Esti], et, en second lieu, Géza Ottlik avec son roman "Iskola a határon" [Une école à la frontière] (v. Balassa 1987: 231; Szegedy-Maszák 1986: 91-92)

Kosztolányi est considéré par la critique hongroise comme un rénovateur de la prose hongroise. Ce fut le premier écrivain hongrois qui introduisit les passages métatextuels dans son roman mentionné plus haut. Les procédés spécifiques dont il s'est servi, entre autres la composition fragmentaire et l'abandon de la chronologie linéaire ont été l'objet d'une étude approfondie de M. Szegedy-Maszák (1980: 466-498). Kulcsár Szabó était aussi d'avis que la structure de "Roman" (surtout la présence de deux narrateurs) rappelle le modèle de Kosztolányi (Kulcsár Szabó 1987: 283).

Avant de donner des exemples de la métatextualité dans "Roman" il nous faut remarquer que la façon dont P. Esterházy continue cette tradition littéraire est aussi basée sur les oppositions discernées auparavant:

/sérieux/	vs	/plaisant/
/concret/	vs	/figuré/
/élevé/	vs	/dégradé/

Le texte réalise au moins deux oppositions à la fois, comme le montre le fragment que nous allons citer et qui porte sur une "recherche"

1. chercher l'élastique	vs	chercher des relations intertextuelles
2. /concret/ + /dégradé/	vs	/figuré/ + /élevé/

"Lassan szállingóztak már ki a fiúk, csak ő "döföldött" szokása szerint. "Hol a túróba a bokagumi." De itt megint fontos fordulatot provokál a lélek. Megkérdeztem, úgymond, tőle, olvasta-e, mit mondott Joyce úr? Joyce úr azt mondta, hogy 300 évnyi munkát ad a kritikusoknak

...És hát ugye, ami azt illeti, a mester is ad. Mert hát az utalások, ollózások, ezek felderítése, s ez az egész hóbelevanc mint műfaj..." (Esterházy 1979: 167)

[Peu à peu, les garçons étaient sortis, seul le maître "farfouillait" selon son habitude. "Purée, où est la chevillière?" Mais ici, de nouveau, l'âme provoque un important retournement. Je lui, pour ainsi dire, demandai s'il avait lu ce qu'avait dit sieur Joyce? Sieur Joyce a dit qu'il donnait pour 300 ans de travail aux critiques... Eh bien, n'est-ce pas, en ce qui le concerne, le maître aussi en donne. Parce que, n'est-ce pas, les allusions, les démarquages, le dépistage de ces derniers, et tout ce mic-mac comme genre littéraire...]

Parmi les aspects de la composition du roman qui peuvent être objet de réflexion nous mentionnerons la création et la présentation des acteurs.

Les remarques du maître sur Berkesi (Esterházy 1979: 194) sont comparables à ce que l'énonciateur "Der Zauberberg" confie au lecteur (setion A. J. Greimas le narrataire) à propos de Hans Castorp, comme création littéraire, ou bien l'introduction de l'acteur Pieter Peeperkorn, confiée explicitement par l'énonciateur à l'acteur Behrens (v. la partie intitulée "Mynheer Peeperkorn", dans le septième chapitre du roman "Der Zauberberg").

La présence accentuée de l'énonciateur et de l'actant observateur dans le texte prend dans "Roman" une forme singulière: "Roman" est au niveau narratif et discursif construit explicitement comme autobiographique. Nous insistons sur le fait que la connaissance des faits concernant l'écrivain, la réalité hors de l'œuvre littéraire, est accessible à tout le monde, à chaque énonciataire potentiel grâce aux informations autobiographiques publiées dans les manuels de la littérature (v. p. ex. Pomogáts 1982: 546-547).

Le fait que les deux sujets opérateurs (le maître et Tomcsányi) se ressemblent a été remarqué à plusieurs reprises par la critique hongroise.²⁰ On a démontré que Tomcsányi et le maître ont la même profession et que l'entreprise où travaille Tomcsányi a des traits communs avec l'entreprise qui offre l'emploi au maître (v. [Szerkesztőség] 1979: 114-116). En plus en partant des signes graphiques on a remarqué que Peter Eckermann (P. E.) est "l'image inverse" d'Esterházy (E. P., en hongrois le nom de famille précède le prénom). Les traits communs à Tomcsányi et au maître ont amené Endre Bojtár (1981: 419) à constater que "Tomcsányi est identifié d'une façon directe avec le maître ([notes-J. J.] 41, respectivement 225). Une telle formulation nous semble trop poussée, d'ailleurs l'argumentation du critique, basée sur la répétition d'un fragment du texte est peu convaincante; d'après nous il s'agit d'un procédé ressortissant à la métatextualité, ayant pour but de rapprocher les textes apparemment hétérogènes.

Qu'il nous soit permis de résumer les observations précédentes en termes sémiotiques, à l'aide d'un schéma:

l'écrivain:

Péter Esterházy, l'écrivain, l'auteur des romans: "Fancsikó et Pinta" et "Roman de production", mathématicien, descendant d'une célèbre famille aristocratique;

l'actant observateur du **Johann Peter Eckermann**, écrivain
texte du chroniqueur:

le sujet opérateur du texte Péter Esterházy, l'écrivain l'auteur des romans
du chroniqueur: "Fancsikó et Pinta" et "Roman de production",
mathématicien, descendant d'une célèbre famille
aristocratique

l'actant observateur du d'après le chroniqueur: le maître, P. Esterházy
roman:

le sujet opérateur du Imre Tomcsányi, spécialiste en informatique
roman:

Tout ce que nous avons constaté jusqu'ici est un savoir de l'énonciataire, conforme au code littéraire, selon lequel ce savoir est la somme des "savoirs" de l'énonciateur, des actants et des acteurs. La nouveauté du texte d'Esterházy consiste à briser ce code. Dans le texte du chroniqueur il y a un fragment qui témoigne de l'identification de Peter Eckermann avec Péter Esterházy (le maître) et *ce sont des acteurs* (figurativisés comme les dirigeants d'entreprise) *qui disposent de ce savoir. Ils parlent avec le maître comme s'ils connaissaient le texte qui est en train de s'écrire, c'est pourquoi en s'adressant au maître ils emploient le nom d'Eckermann:*

"A másik potentát hangsúlyosan hallgatott, majd midőn a mester kicsiny keze őhozzá ért búcsúzásban, beborította azt a maga súlyos, az ujjakon is szőrös párnásával, és barátságosan így szólt: "Aztán ezt ne írja meg, Eckermannkám". (C'est nous qui soulignons) (Esterházy 1979: 287)

[L'autre potentat se taisait avec insistance, et lorsque la main menue du maître toucha la sienne pour prendre congé, il l'enveloppa de sa lourde paluche, poilue jusqu'aux doigts, et dit amicalement: "Et ça, ne l'écrivez pas, mon petit Eckermann."]

Nous avons mentionné auparavant une structure romanesque spécifique, consistant à construire "le roman dans le roman", comme un élément commun dans les romans de Boulgakov, Ottlik et Esterházy. Cette vieille tradition est continuée différemment par les trois auteurs cités ci-dessus, mais en général de telle sorte qu'on obtient une liaison très étroite entre les deux unités, c'est-à-dire entre le roman englobant et le roman englobé. Pour obtenir ce résultat on se sert de procédés comparables:

- l'emploi des mêmes acteurs;
- la répétition (parfois avec quelques modifications) des fragments du texte;

p.ex. chez Boulgakov: la fin du deuxième et du quinzième chapitre est respectivement

le commencement du troisième et seizième chapitre; chez Esterházy: la scène avec le sachet de lait (p. 27 et 290), v. l'architextualité. Comparez aussi pp. 14 et 150.

- le commentaire de l'actant observateur sur le fragment inséré dans le texte provenant d'un observateur différent:

p.ex. chez Ottlik: la réinterprétation, la "justification" du texte de Gábor Medve par Benedek Both;

chez Esterházy: l'explication de certaines phrases, comme p.ex. celle-ci: "Nous ne trouvons pas de mots", v. analyse de l'ouverture du roman.

Procédés ressortissant à l'architextualité

L'architextualité est le domaine de l'énonciateur; c'est lui qui définit le genre et qui est responsable de la construction de l'ensemble. Surtout dans l'analyse de "Roman" on ne peut pas s'en passer. Tout ce que nous avons dit sur le titre de "Roman" (2.5.1.) ressortit à l'architextualité. L'importance des indications architextuelles pour l'interprétation du texte dans sa totalité nous a amené à les traiter comme point de départ de notre analyse. Le lexème "le roman de production", considéré comme un terme littéraire est une indication du genre littéraire réalisé par "Roman".

C'est dans ce cadre qu'il faut voir d'autres indications sur les autres genres spécifiques, ce que nous avons fait observer, auparavant.

Il nous reste à enregistrer les remarques théoriques stricto sensu qui sont disséminées dans le texte du chroniqueur et qui évoquent un genre métalittéraire: l'histoire de la littérature.

Toutes sortes de problèmes théoriques sont abordés:

la temporalité	138, 139
la réception	195, 403, 417, 422
la construction de l'œuvre	135, 139, 167, 208, 299, 313, 331, 322, 339, 351, 413, 426, 429, 430
la recherche scientifique de la littérature	238, 298, 311, 350, 377
le devoir de la littérature	309-310
la littérature et la réalité	222, 315, 316, 371, 386, 430
le langage	233-234, 309
le style	238, 309, 322, 352-353

etc

Ces remarques formulées à partir de la perspective naïve du chroniqueur (conformément au statut de cet actant) sont basées sur les oppositions:

/sérieux/	vs	/plaisant/
/concret/	vs	/figuré/
/élevé/	vs	/dégradé/

Comme exemple nous donnons un fragment portant sur la temporalité dans les textes romanesques. C'est ainsi qu'elle est expliquée par le maître:

“Tudja barátom – [...], azt szeretném, ha az idő csak úgy becsorogna a regénybe. [...]”

“Mintha – folytatta regényelméleti fejtegetését ő az idő becsorgásáról, – mintha az ügyetlenül kinyitott tejeszacskóból a tej az asztalra folynék.” (Esterházy 1979: 289)

[Vous savez, mon ami, j'aimerais que le temps filtre tout seul dans le roman.

Comme si – le maître poursuivait ses commentaires sur la théorie du roman, – comme si du sachet de lait maladroitement ouvert, le lait s'écoulait sur la table.]

Le chroniqueur, qui “prend la littérature au sérieux”, se donne la peine d'expérimenter avec les sachets de lait (en Hongrie on vend le lait dans des sachets en plastique), il en achète plusieurs, de différents volumes et il les ouvre “maladroitement”. L'expérience ne donne pas les résultats désirés, puisque le lait lui jaillit au visage (Ibid., 290).

Le texte du roman contient une scène pareille (la dimension concrète): c'est Tomcsányi qui n'arrive pas à ouvrir un sachet de lait (Ibid., 27).

Nous espérons pouvoir démontrer que le “Roman” est ouvertement et contractuellement basé sur les relations intertextuelles.

Remarques stylistiques

Jusqu'ici nous nous sommes occupée du langage dans le cadre de deux sociolectes. Pourtant la narration de “Roman” en contient plusieurs; le sociolecte métalittéraire nous semble être éclairci suffisamment dans le chapitre précédent, nous nous bornerons à faire quelques observations sur les procédés stylistiques, en tant que procédés responsables de l'incohérence du texte et de son caractère dérisoire. En général on peut dire que le texte entier se sert de figures stylistiques, telles que: métaphores, comparaisons, personnifications, figures étymologiques etc. d'une façon consciemment inadéquate. Le texte fait usage du langage littéraire tel qu'il est enregistré dans la mémoire culturelle, mais aussi des expressions figurées qui sont propres à chaque langue. Pour garder de cadre sémiotique nous donnons les exemples selon les oppositions discernées auparavant.

/concret/

vs

/figuré/

métaphore:

"Derű költözött a két szemed közé. Jól van."

"Tévedsz – (...), az az orrom".

(Esterházy 1979: 237)

[La sérénité s'est établie entre tes deux yeux. C'est bien,

Tu te trompes, c'est mon nez.]

comparaison:

"És a szemek! Villognak egymásra, mint két drágakő

a kirakatban."

(Ibid., 329)

[Et les yeux! Ils se lancent mutuellement des éclairs, comme pierres précieuses

dans la vitrine.]

/dysphorique/

vs

/euphorique/

l'enterrement de Tomcsányi (Ibid., 121–129)

la fête à l'entreprise

comparaison:

lófogai

"[...], szép elővillantak az örömtől, [...]."
(Ibid., 190)
[ses belles

dents chevalines

jetèrent un éclair,]

mint egy titkosrendőr."
(Ibid., 316)

"[...] csapott a mester nevezett vállára, vidáman,

comme un policier en civil.]

[le maître tapa sur l'épaule du dénommé, gaiement,

/actuel/

vs

/archaïque/

Cette opposition est maintenue dans le discours des camarades parlant de Dieu (nous en avons donné des exemples) et dans les descriptions des escapades du maître, faites tantôt en voiture, tantôt à cheval, dans la plupart des cas la description fait usage des détails appartenant aux deux moyens de transport.

“Megrántotta lova kantárszárát ő, fékezett. [...]

A Madách téren óriási dugóba került. [...] Ráadásul mind az ablaktörlő, mind az index elromlott,

így a lanyh esőben újból és újból előrehajolt, hogy letörölje lovának homlokát, felszárítsa a szeme környékét és a szemellenzőt.” (Ibid., 217)
[Le maître tira sur les rênes du cheval, freina.

Place Madách, il se trouva pris dans un gigantesque embouteillage. De plus, tant l'essuie-glace que le clignotant étaient cassés,

si bien qu'il ne cessait de se pencher dans la pluie fine, pour essuyer le front de son cheval, sécher le tour de ses yeux et les œillères.]

/élévél/

vs

/dégradé/

comparaison:

“[...] arcán ezernyi ránc
[des milliers de rides au visage

(mint a zsák nyaka, ha már megszorította a madzag).”
(Ibid., 159–160)

(tel le col d'un sac serré par une ficelle).]

“Most úgy gondolom.
[...] hogy nekem nincsenek *tájaim*, mint másnak az Alföld

vagy a Teleki tér, hanem *tárgyaim* vannak. [...]

Egy templom például

vagy egy villamossfváltó...”
(Ibid., 221)

[Aujourd'hui je pense,
que je n'ai pas de
paysages, comme
d'autres ont la Grande
Plaine

ou la place Teleki, mais que j'ai des *choses*.

Une église, par exemple,

ou un aiguillage de tramway...]

métaphore:

a próza és vers ezen
ikercsillaga,

"Kiment hát a két ember,

megnézni, hogy milyen olaj folyik a Zsiguliból." (Ibid.,
382)

[Les deux hommes sortirent donc,

astre double du vers et de
la prose,

examiner quel genre d'huile s'écoulait de la Zsiguli.]

/sérieux/

vs

/plaisant/

"Faterkám, majd belőled is motívumot csinállok." (Ibid., 208) [Mon petit pater, de
toi aussi je ferai un motif littéraire.]

"[...] a kéz, amely markol, lehetne Karajáné, [...]." (Ibid., 230) [la main qui empoigne
pourrait être celle de Karajan.]

L'isotopie sémantique se manifeste quelquefois aussi comme l'isotopie sémiotique:

/extéroceptivité/

vs

/intéroceptivité/

"A házőrző komondor –
elpusztult, öregség
miatt."

(Ibid., 350)

[Le komondor de garde –

sok kedves novellájának hős mellékszereplője –

personnage secondaire de force nouvelles chères à son
cœur –

a péri, de vieillesse.]

"A belső szoba titok-
zatos, mély színei, a be-
szűrődő napfény arany-
csíkjai nagyon meg-
nyugtató hatást fejtettek

ki; a barnák, a zöldek, a
tompa sárgák –

hevenyészett felsorolásban.”
(Ibid., 177–178)

[Les teintes mystérieuses
et profondes de la pièce
du fond, les rais d'or du
soleil filtrant dégageaient
un effet très rassérénant;
les bruns, les verts, les
jaunes estompés –

énumération bâclée.]

L'organisation du sens dans “Roman de production”

Nous avons remarqué à plusieurs reprises que “Roman”, au niveau de surface, se caractérise par les traits suivants:

l'incohérence,
l'incompatibilité
et l'anachronisme.

D'autre part nous avons essayé de démontrer qu'au niveau profond la cohérence du texte est assurée par les isotopies sémiologiques, basées sur les oppositions suivantes:

/concret/	vs	/figuré/
/dysphorique/	vs	/euphorique/
/actuel/	vs	/archaïque/
/élevé/	vs	/dégradé/
/sérieux/	vs	/plaisant/

Comme trait essentiel du texte nous considérons la juxtaposition de plusieurs (en tout cas au moins deux) oppositions dans le cadre d'un énoncé ou d'un petit fragment. Nous espérons avoir prouvé que l'isotopie sémantique du texte est:

/extéroceptivité/	vs	/intéroceptivité/.
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Tous les procédés décrits auparavant mettent en évidence le fait que P. Esterházy refuse de raconter une fable, tout au moins de le faire d'une façon traditionnelle. Le “Roman” est une sublimation et une synthèse des formes de la narrativité, telles qu'elles se sont réalisées dans la conscience des créateurs dans la deuxième moitié du XXe siècle. En même temps – et cela est peut être le point le plus faible de la narrativité de P. Esterházy – il s'agit de suivre les procédés en vogue, nous pensons surtout aux relations intertextuelles et la manière dont elles se réalisent dans “Roman”.

"Après, après Joyce, après Borges, et surtout après 1960 (en France), les relations intertextuelles deviennent – du moins dans l'avant-garde littéraire – comme une découverte dont on joue, une nouvelle vérité dont on n'a pas fini d'explorer les effets – effets encore un peu scandaleux pour une large fraction du public." (Chevalier 1984: 78)

Le refus de raconter une fable peut être mis en rapport avec une thèse de Th. Adorno portant sur la non-identité d'un art vrai qui – pour ne pas devenir un objet commercialisé – doit renoncer aux moyens exploités par la littérature de masse.

La thèse d'Adorno, certainement juste en général, ne se laisse pourtant pas adapter à la littérature hongroise sans explications. Dans quel sens peut-on parler de la littérature triviale ou commercialisée en Hongrie socialiste? Il nous semble plausible de formuler l'hypothèse que "Roman de production" est une tentative de rompre avec la littérature "engagée" et réaliste, sans nécessairement être son contraire. Il s'agit avant tout de rompre avec une tradition littéraire où on posait les problèmes d'une façon directe. "Roman" est paradoxal dans ce sens qu'il est profondément lié à la situation hongroise.

Notes

1. Ce roman paraîtra en français sous le titre "Trois anges me surveillent. Les aveux d'un roman", traduction faite par Agnès Járfás et Sophie Képès, aux Editions Gallimard dans la collection "Du monde entier" au mois de mars 1989. Nous voulons remercier Mme Járfás de bien vouloir mettre à notre disposition les fragments de son manuscrit avant la parution du livre, ce qui nous a permis de donner la traduction vraiment littéraire des citations dont nous avions besoin.
2. Cette étude fait partie de ma thèse dont le titre est "Personnages tragiques et grotesques dans la littérature hongroise contemporaine." Amsterdam 1989: Rodopi.
3. Le texte du roman contient une interprétation suggérée par le chroniqueur: "Bátorkodtam még fölvetni, hogy a "kissregény" alak tartalmazza az angol nyelvterületre honos "kiss" szót..." (Eszterházy 1979: 377) [Je me hasardais à suggérer que la forme "kissregény" contient le mot "kiss", provenant du domaine de langue anglaise...]
4. Zima emprunte ce concept de Greimas qui en donne une définition dans le "Dictionnaire" (Greimas/Courtés 1979: 354–355).
5. Nous trouvons prématuré de rejeter le concept goldmannien du "vision du monde".
6. "Recenzens e hatalmas tudást nem saját kútfőből merítette. Köszönet illeti érte P. Eckermann urat, kit Recenzens megkért egy nyárutói de már hűvösödő estén, csenné el titokban a Mester kéziratot házipéldányát, melyben az idézetek – a könyvvel ellentétben – nagy pontossággal megjelöltettek." (Jankovics 1982: 96)
7. Le premier Congrès des Écrivains Hongrois a eu lieu entre le 27 et le 30 avril 1951. Les documents du Congrès ont été publiés la même année (v. A magyar írók első kongresszusa. 1951. április 27–30. Budapest 1951: Művelt Nép Könyvkiadó). La source de trois textes énumérés plus haut (A, B, C.) est pour nous un recueil de documents rédigés par István Balogh (v. Balogh 1986).
8. Les lexèmes dans la langue d'original:

Opposant

- (A) pártellenes, népellenes, nemzetközi tőke, osztályidegen, nagykereskedő, reakciós (egyházi egyesület), horthysta, a Kisgazdapárt reakciós jobbszárnya, volt kapitalisták, földbirtokosok, kulákok, volt katonatisztek, csendőőrök, politikailag megbízhatatlan elemek;
- (B) nemkívánatos elemek, volt hercegek (Eszterházy, sic!), volt grófok, volt bárók, összeesküvő, konspiráló, rémhírtérjesztő társaság, imperialisták;

- (C) kapitalista–fasiszta–burzsoá irodalmi múlt, l'art pour l'art, kozmopolita, formalista, népellenes, burzsoá osztályérdekeket szolgáló irodalom, üres burzsoá pszichologizálás, "apolitikus" irodalom;
 (D) szocializmus belső ellenzéke, antikommunista propaganda, antikommunista uszítók, imperialista központok, burzsoá politikai rendszer, burzsoá nacionalizmus, kapitalista rendszer, agresszív imperialista politika:

(E) régi uralkodó osztályok, tőkések, földbirtokosok, az imperialista körök.

9. Les lexèmes dans la langue d'original:

Adjuvant

- (A) a Párt, (Pártunk), Sztálin elvtárs;
 (B) sztahanovista, nagycsaládosi ipari munkások;
 (C) dolgozó nép, Szovjetunió, Sztálin, Szovjet Hadsereg;
 (D) – –
 (E) nép, az emberek, szövetségeseink, szocialista világ, Szovjetunió, szomszédjaink.

10. Les lexèmes dans la langue d'original:

Objet valeur

- (A) népi demokrácia, szocializmus építése, kádernyitka megjavítása, az építő bíráló;
 (B) humanitárius szempontok;
 (C) szocialista-realista irodalom, pártos irodalom, harcok internacionalizmus;
 (D) – –
 (E) a szocializmus, a nép felemelkedése, a munka, előrehaladás, gazdasági fejlődés, életszínvonal.

11. Les lexèmes dans la langue d'original:

Objet modal

- (A) (osztály)éberség, forradalmi aktivitás;
 (B) – –
 (C) éberség, harcoság;
 (D) objektív, kritikus szemlélet, haladás;
 (E) "[...] legnagyobb vívmányunk, hogy az emberek a szocializmust saját céljuknak, építését saját ügyüknek tekintik."

12. Nádás, Péter 1986: Ki fia teszi? – ÉI 17. X., 5.

13. "[...] ahhoz, hogy az író rosszul érezze magát szülőhazájában, és ezért mindent idézőjelbe tegyen, még törvényes joga is van: egy demokratikus rendszerben, ha a köz épülésére teszi, mért épp egy grófi sarj ne nyavalyoghata kedvére?" (Csontos, János 1986: Az Esterházy-jelenség. – Debrecen 6 IX; d'après l'article cité ci-dessus).

14. Par des raisons pratiques nous avons négligé les notes de l'auteur lui-même dans les passages cités.

15. V. deux numéros de "Littérature" 41 et 55, consacrés à l'intertextualité à l'époque du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance.

16. Il s'agit d'un roman historique, paru en 1901, portant sur le combat de la Hongrie contre les Turcs, au XVIe siècle.

17. V. Esterházy 1979: 133.

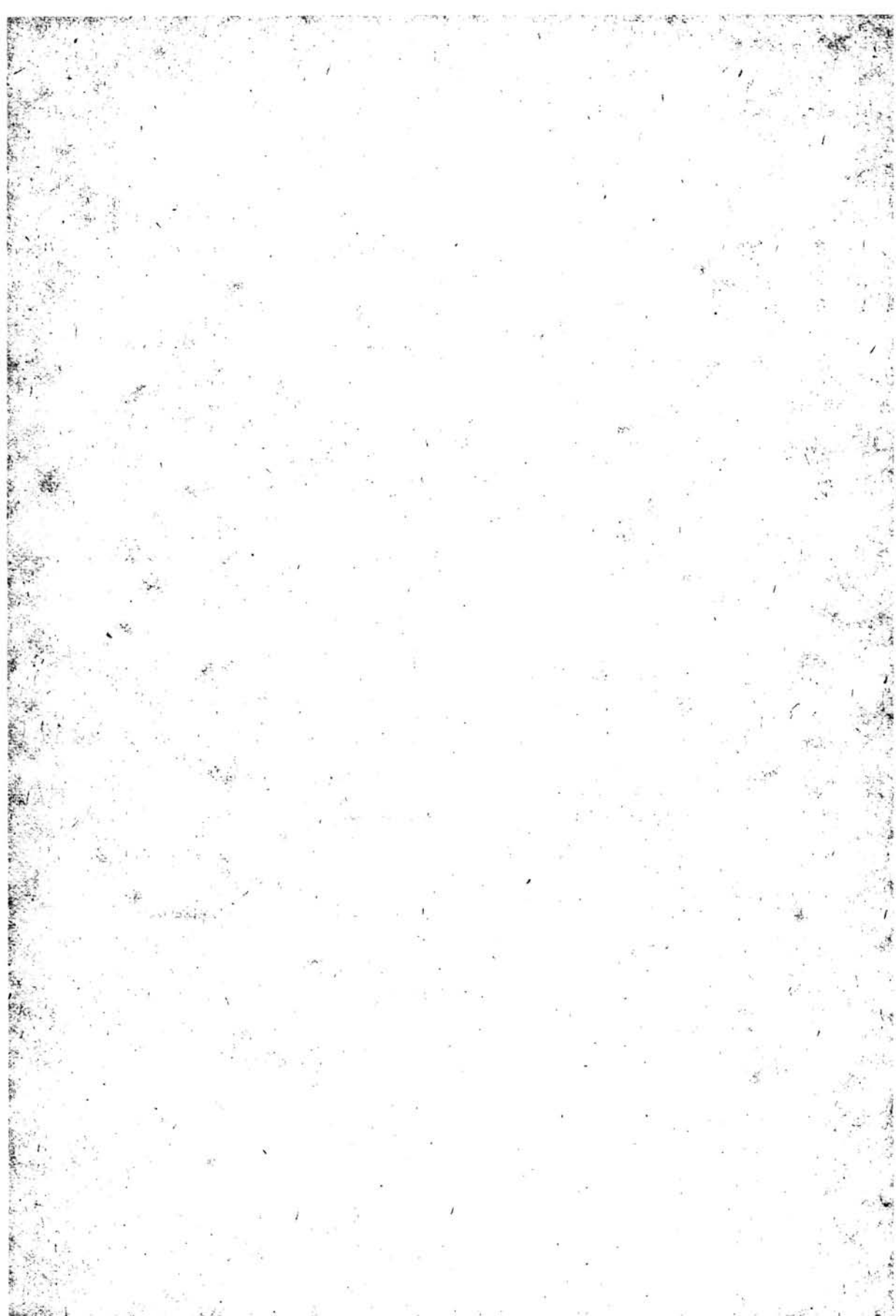
18. Comme exemple supposé d'un chant engagé v. Szörényi 1979: 125.

19. Dans une étude très originale sur Pouchkine et Esterházy Endre Bojtár (1981) a démontré les parallèles entre le "Roman de production" et "Eugène Onéguine" de Pouchkine, concernant le caractère intertextuel et métalittéraire de deux oeuvres.

20. Kulcsár Szabó a observé que: "Tandis que la présence de l'auteur se fait sentir chez Bereményi d'une façon formelle, chez Nádás par la régularisation de la perspective, les notes de "Roman de production" introduisent l'auteur même. [...] ... quatre personnages fictifs font allusion à l'écrivain: 1. Tomcsányi (le héros du petit-roman), 2. le narrateur (personnel) [cette qualification nous reste obscure – J. J.] du petit-roman, 3. Peter Esterházy en tant que personnage de l'auteur dans les notes ("le maître") et 4. l'auteur des notes, le chroniqueur, le fictif J. Peter E(ckermann). La relation entre Tomcsányi et le narrateur est à peu près la même qu'entre Esterházy [leguel: l'écrivain ou le maître? – J. J.] et le chroniqueur." (Kulcsár Szabó 1987: 281–282)

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Verb Form, Definiteness, and the Given-New Distinction in Hungarian*

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The present work attempts to explain certain phenomena in Hungarian involving verbal prefixes or preverbs (Hungarian *igekötő*) in terms of the relationship of those preverbs to a feature of noun phrases, namely definiteness. The material presented here arose out of an effort to account for problems of verb form that could not be satisfactorily explained in terms of verbal aspect. The linguistic data described in this article are therefore, by definition, exceptions to a more general pattern of aspect and aspect-like expression which I will describe in a moment. Although the data are exceptional in this sense, I believe that the pattern they exemplify is consistent with general processes in Hungarian, and that using noun phrase definiteness as a parameter in explaining verbal phenomena is a method that can lead to useful results in the future.

Preverbs and aspect in Hungarian

Preverbs in Hungarian are mostly adverbial particles with spatial meanings. They include *el-* 'away', *ki-* 'out', *le-* 'down', and *meg-*. While *meg-* historically meant 'back to', today it has no clear lexical meaning of its own and is considered to be a purely "perfectivizing" preverb (Bencédy et al. 1976, Tompa 1968). The role of preverbs in the expression of aspect in Hungarian is a complex and controversial topic. Several recent works, such as Kiefer 1982 and 1983, Wacha 1983, de Groot 1984, Hetzron 1982, and Pete 1983, not to mention other works dating back into the last century, discuss this problem. There is one relatively consistent pattern which serves as the starting point for this investigation, shown in (1) and (2). (For clarity, preverbs are shown separated from the base verb by a dash '-,.)

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- (1) a. János el-olvasta a könyvet.
'János read the book.'
- b. János éppen olvasta a könyvet, amikor be-jöttem.
'János was (just then) reading the book when I came in.'
- (2) a. Mari meg-írta a levelet.
'Mari wrote the letter.'
- b. Mari éppen írta a levelet, amikor...
'Mari was (just then) writing the letter when...'

The (a) forms above, in the past tense, indicate a completed action. The (b) forms indicate an incomplete and/or ongoing action in the past tense. The (b) meaning is probably not identical to the English progressive form shown in the translations, but the progressive is a convenient and reasonable means of expressing the temporal value of the (b) Hungarian sentences for an English audience.

There can be a clear aspectual opposition in Hungarian when three conditions are met: 1) the verb phrase describes a process, such as *read the book* or *write the letter* and their Hungarian equivalents shown above; 2) both the verb with a preverb and the form without take an accusative object (marked with *-t*); and 3) that object is definite, for example, marked with the definite article *a/az* 'the'.

Verbs with defective aspect paradigms

In contrast, the verbs to be described below have a form corresponding to (1a) and (2a), but generally lack a form corresponding to (1b) or (2b), if the meaning is intended to be "progressive". For example, two of the verbs, *(meg-)talál* 'find' and *(meg-)kap* 'get' behave like this:

- (3) a. Meg-találtam a kulcsom.
'I found my key.'
- b. *(Éppen) találtam a kulcsom.
'*I was finding my key.'
- (4) a. Meg-kapta a csomagot.
'He got the package.'
- b. *(Éppen) kapta a csomagot.¹
'He was getting the package.'

In other words, these verbs do not create an aspectual opposition, because one pole of the opposition is lacking.² What they do instead is utilize the same morphological

feature—presence or absence of the preverb—to mark differences in the definiteness of their arguments, i.e., the noun phrases that occur with them. I will describe three ways that this happens. In the first case (already suggested by (3) and (4)), a form with a preverb accepts a definite argument but not an indefinite one; for the form without a preverb the reverse is true. In the second case, the form with a preverb may allow an indefinite argument, but will impose a special interpretation on it. In the third case, which may have very few representatives, a kind of definite/indefinite opposition is imposed within the category of definite arguments, depending on the presence or absence of the preverb.

Definiteness marking through preverbs

The remaining discussion owes a great deal to work by Anna Szabolcsi (Szabolcsi 1984) and Balázs Wacha (Wacha 1984), both of the Linguistics Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest.

Opposition between definite and indefinite

Szabolcsi (1984) identified a group of verbs including *van* 'be', *érkezik* 'arrive', *történik* 'happen', and *kap* 'get' which accept indefinite arguments, and reject definite arguments. Some of these are presented below. (Examples adapted from Szabolcsi 1984.)

(5) a. *Van* \emptyset könyv / két könyv / \emptyset tej.
'There is a book/are two books/is (some) milk.'

b. **Van* a könyv/Mari könyve.
'~ *There's the book/Mari's book.'

(6) a. \emptyset Levél *érkezett*! *Érkezett* egy levél.
'There arrived a letter.'

b. **Érkezett* a levél.
'~ *There arrived the letter.'

(7) a. *Könyvet*/két *könyvet*/tejet *kapott*.
'He got a book/two books/(some) milk.'

b. **Kapta* a *könyvet*/Mari *könyvét*.
'He got (was getting?) the book/Mari's book.'

Note that all the (a) examples are acceptable. The noun phrases are indefinite. They may either occur as bare nouns, a distinctive characteristic of Hungarian, or

with the indefinite article *egy* 'a'. The (b) examples, with definite arguments, are unacceptable.

Szabolcs also noted that the verbs *meg-van* 'be (available)', *meg-érkezik* 'arrive', *meg-történik* 'happen', and *meg-kap* 'get' had opposite requirements for definiteness, but she did not consider this to be of major importance. These verbs thus display the opposite behavior of (5)–(7).

(8) *Meg-van a könyv.*

'The book is here/available.'

(9) a. *Meg-érkezett a levél.*

'The letter arrived.'

b. **Meg-érkezett levél/egy levél* [– specific].

(10) a. *Meg-kaptam a könyvet.*

'I got the book.'

b. **Meg-kaptam könyvet/egy könyvet* [– specific].

These forms take definite arguments and don't take indefinite arguments. Notice, though, that the indefinite arguments are listed as being ungrammatical with a "–specific" interpretation. It turns out that these verbs can take indefinite arguments, but only with a special interpretation, which Hungarian linguists call "specific".³ What this means is that an indefinite noun will be interpreted as being part of a larger group of like objects, even though that larger group need never be mentioned explicitly. Let us consider the examples in (11), adapted from Szabolcsi (1984).

(11) a. *Meg-érkezett egy levél.*⁴

'One of the letters arrived.'

b. *Meg-kaptam két csomagot.*

'I got two of the packages.'

These sentences would be used if the speaker had been expecting several letters or packages, and wanted to say that of these, a certain number had arrived. They could not be used to announce the arrival of unexpected mail. The examples in (11) use numerals as indefinite determiners. Now *egy* in (11a) is no longer functioning as an article. In fact, it has taken on a meaning equivalent to an explicitly partitive form, (*az*) *egyik* 'one of them'. The question is why (11a) and (b) do not simply mean 'A letter arrived' and 'I got two packages', respectively.

Indefinite member of a definite group

As we observed, *meg-érkezik*, *meg-kap*, and related verbs "want" to take a definite argument, which for Hungarian means a noun phrase with the definite article, with a demonstrative (*ez* a 'this'; *az* a 'that'), or marked with a possessive suffix, for example. When *egy* as the indefinite article; a numeral; or another indefinite quantifier, such as *néhány* 'a few', is used an incongruous reading results. The listener is faced with a conflict: *meg-érkezik* (for example) is a verb which can only be predicated of some known object. However, the noun phrases *egy levél* 'a letter' or *két levél* 'two letters' are not the most appropriate way to refer to something which speaker and hearer know about, since definite forms are available to fulfill this function. The speaker invites the listener to search for something else that can "lend" definiteness to these overtly indefinite forms. The precise mechanism by which this is achieved is very complex, but in brief, principles of relevance instruct the listener to recall, or, if necessary, create on an ad hoc basis, a larger group of the same kind of object(s) to serve this function. The reference in the utterance itself remains nonspecific, but the objects mentioned can be accepted as known because they are part of a known group (e.g. expected letters).

Very few verbs display this behavior as clearly as the ones Szabolcsi mentioned. Only two others come immediately to mind: (*meg-*)*küld* and (*meg-*)*keres*. Yet I have reason to believe this phenomenon may be more general. Even process verbs which display an aspect opposition, such as (*meg-*)*ír* and (*el-*)*olvas* (see (1) and (2) above), display a pattern similar to that shown in (11). The form with a preverb allows for a reading where one entity (or more) is chosen out of a larger group (12a), while the form without a preverb excludes such a reading (12b).

(12) a. Egy levelet már *meg-írtam*, de a többivel még nem készültem el,
'I wrote/have written one (of the) letter(s), but I still haven't finished the others.'

b. Egy levelet már *írtam*, de a többivel még nem készültem el.
'I wrote/have written a letter, but I still haven't finished the others.'

Unquestionably, there are other explanations for the difference between (12a) and (b). For now I am only suggesting that we consider whether the parallels between the two types of verb may help tell us something about their semantics that we are currently missing.

A priori knowledge of definite objects

As a final instance, I would like to discuss an interesting phenomenon originally described by Wacha (1984). Wacha pointed out that, in certain cases, the presence or absence of a preverb in postverbal position could mark the difference between two readings of a noun phrase object in the sentence. If the preverb is present, the

object is treated as existing independently of the action of the verb, while if the preverb is absent, the object is treated as existing by virtue of the action.

Two things make this behavior especially interesting. First, we now see an opposition between the presence and absence of a preverb for verbs which we said could not show such a distinction. The verbs which will be presented here, *meg-talál* 'find' and *meg-vesz* 'buy', cannot occur in communicatively neutral utterances with a definite object and no preverb:

(13) *Meg-vette/∅-Vette a kabátot a boltban.*
'He bought the coat in the store.'

(14) *Meg-találta/∅-találta a táskáját.*
'She found her purse.'

Such an opposition is possible when an element is in the focus position, immediately before the verb base. The focus position is the position for communicatively new, including emphatic or contrastive, sentence elements (É. Kiss 1981). When something is in focus, the preverb, which normally is immediately before the verb itself, is forced to a position after the verb, as in (15). '[F X]' means that element X is in focus.

(15) [F PÉTER] vette meg a kabátot.
'~It was Péter who bought the coat.'

However, when the preverb has been postposed, it can be omitted from the sentence. This omission is supposedly optional, that is, it supposedly has no semantic effect, as in (16):

(16) [F PÉTER] vette ∅ a kabátot.
'~It was Péter who bought the coat.'

Wacha's claim, though, is that the preverb's presence or absence creates the semantic difference mentioned above, which will be exemplified below.

The second interesting point about this pattern is that the distinction between new and given which we earlier saw to be expressed by the difference between an indefinite and a definite argument is now expressed maintaining a definite subject/object at all times. The presence vs. absence of a preverb marks an additional distinction within the category of definite arguments, namely whether the speaker's license to use a definite form derives solely from the speech context, or from prior knowledge. When the object is known independent of the speech context, I shall refer to it as 'given'. This use of the term is somewhat more restrictive than many definitions of givenness.

For an understanding of this difference in types of definiteness, let us compare the following situations. First, assume that one of a group of roommates walks into his kitchen and finds a case of beer on the table. He may say "Who bought *the* beer?"

without expecting an answer; he may in fact be indirectly expressing his surprise at finding beer unexpectedly, or expressing his approval of the presence of beer. Next, think of this same group of roommates planning to have a party that will include beer. On one hand, the same roommate we imagined before can now walk into the kitchen, see the case of beer, and again ask, "Who bought *the* beer?", this time wanting a real answer. (He may want to know which roommate – Tom, Dick, or Harry – to thank.) On the other hand, he might walk into the kitchen five minutes before the party is to begin. On *not* seeing the beer, and expecting the worst, he may again ask "Who bought *the* beer?", now with the probable interpretation of 'Oh, no! Nobody bought beer, I bet!'⁵

There are three different sources for the use of definiteness in these three occurrences. In the first case, the roommate can use the definite article only because the beer is in his presence. He has no prior knowledge of it. In the second case, he can use the definite form either because it is in his presence or because he knew about it in advance. Finally, in the third case, the definite form is permissible only because it was decided in advance that there should be beer; since there is in fact no beer there, physical presence cannot be an explanation.

In summary, I will make a gross distinction between current physical presence and prior knowledge (either through prior physical presence or prior discussion) as the licensing factors for definiteness. In reality, the factors determining the use of definite forms are much more complicated. The reader is referred to works such as Hawkins 1978 and Shank and Abelson 1977 for further details.

In our cases above, the first is distinguished from the other two as being an example of physical presence only, while the other two share the feature of prior knowledge. This latter feature, as far as I can determine, takes precedence in its relationship to verb form in Hungarian.

As noted above, Wacha (1984) asserts that objects which are already definite, i.e., known prior to a speech event (cases two and three above), will cause a preverb to remain in a sentence more often than objects which are definite just because they are physically present at the time of the speech event (case one above). He gives the following examples (focus notation added):

- (17) Azt a piros selyemblúzt [F egy szemüveges fiatalember] vette meg.
'That red silk blouse was bought by a young man with glasses.'
(Wacha 1984)

- (18) Ezt a piros selyemblúzt [F a férjem] vette [meg ← Ø].
'My husband bought [me] this red silk blouse.'
(Wacha 1984)

Example (17), with the preverb present, would be uttered by someone who had seen "that red silk blouse" before and already knew of its existence, for example, a store clerk speaking to another clerk. For the speaker of (17), the action expressed by *meg-vezs* 'buy' is not the causal factor in his/her knowledge of the blouse. In

essence it is a report of what happened to the blouse, and, in fact, the blouse need not even be present any longer when the utterance is produced. Example (18), on the other hand, with the preverb absent, would be said by someone explaining how she came to have the blouse. Her knowledge of the blouse derives directly from the action described.

This phenomenon appears in questions as well, since question words also occupy the focus position.

(19) [F Ki] *vette meg* (azt) a könyvet?
'Who bought that/the book?'

(20) [F Ki] *vette* Ø (ezt) a könyvet?
'Who bought this/the book?'

A difference in discourse function similar to the "literal" vs. "rhetorical" question distinction in English exists for examples (19) and (20). The former example asks for the agent of the action 'buy', and therefore, the name of a person is the most appropriate response. The latter example may be primarily an indirect comment on the existence of the book now present in the room.

Some Hungarian speakers do not share the feeling that the *absence* of the preverb eliminates the possibility of the prior-knowledge reading. Thus (18) and (20) may also be used for the functions of (17) and (19), respectively.⁶ However, I think I can still safely say that the *presence* of the preverb in (20) implies prior knowledge of the object, and would not be a likely candidate for expressing, for example, surprise at an object's presence.

A telling and, I think, amusing example with (*meg-*)*talál* is this: Assume that a husband walks into his house with a child by the hand. If his wife says (21) below, then she conveys, in the form of her question, that she does not know about the child that has just come in. Thus, her question does not have the status of a strict question, as in the English examples discussed above. She may be conveying an implied message of interest or approval, something along the lines of *Juj de aranyos! Milyen szép ajándék!* ['Oh, it's sweet! What a nice present!'] On the other hand, if the husband walks in and the wife says: *Hol találtad meg?* ((22) below), then the child must be a child they knew about already (probably their own child), who was lost, and the wife really wants to know where the husband finally found him.⁷

(21) [F Hol] *találtad* Ø (pl. ezt a gyereket)?
'Where did you find him (e.g., this child)?'

(22) [F Hol] *találtad meg?*
'Where did you find him?'

Conclusion

The preverb *meg-* is strongly correlated with the definiteness of arguments. This relationship comes out most clearly for verbs with which the primary function of preverbs, expressing aspect, is deficient or suspended. However, the "object out of a known group" reading may exist even for verbs that do express aspect, such as *meg-ír*.

The distinctions presented here apply canonically to definite vs. indefinite arguments. However, when the preverb can be absent with a definite argument present, as in cases of focus, the preverb takes on another level of specification. It then can distinguish between definite arguments referring to given entities and those referring to new entities which are definite just by virtue of physical presence.

In order for these phenomena to be of relevance to the overall system of Hungarian grammar, it will be necessary to show that more verbs can participate in the functions described in this paper, and, in particular, to show that other preverbs also make the contributions attributed to *meg-*.

Notes

1. I have found that not all Hungarian speakers consider a sentence like (4b) to be unacceptable. However, I think it is safe to say that overall, (4b) is less acceptable than (1b) or (2b).
2. Although I initially thought that the lack of a (b) form was the defining characteristic of this group of verbs (see Harlig 1989), I am no longer certain that this is so. However, I continue to believe that the lack of an aspect opposition makes these verbs available to mark other distinctions more saliently, particularly distinctions in noun phrase definiteness.
3. This notion of specificity is different from the notion used in Western linguistics.
4. I give the following examples in the same word order as the preceding examples, to facilitate comparison of the verb forms. András Bocz pointed out to me that the uses in (11) are more natural if the relevant argument precedes the verb, and is treated as a "contrastive topic" ("CT" in (i) below; cf. Hunyadi 1981, Szabolcsi 1980, É. Kiss 1987). Contrastive topics imply that there are other potentially relevant objects which are not being mentioned, and this function dovetails nicely with the "member of a larger group" interpretation that the preverbed forms of these verbs provide.
(i) [CT Egy levél] meg-érkezett.
'As for one letter, it arrived. (...as for the others...)'
I have followed Bocz's advice in the presentation of (12) below as well.
5. In each of these situations, the roommate may ask, "Who bought \emptyset beer?" with no article. That is a choice the speaker makes. The point is that he *can* use the definite article if he chooses, though the reason he can is different in the three cases. Compare this to a situation in which a speaker could not use the definite form: If one person comes home from the market, puts down the bags in the kitchen, then walks into the living room, the other person may ask "Did you buy \emptyset beer?" out of the blue. She could *not*, however, ask, "Did you buy *the* beer?" if there had been no prior discussion of buying beer between the two of them.
6. For example, Professor Szegedy-Maszák pointed out to me that (20) could easily be used at a birthday party, where the recipient of the book would genuinely want to know who had bought it, so as to know who to thank for it. This is the function that I propose for (19) only.
7. The scenario I have just presented for the use of these utterances is meant only to give an intuitive sense of the distinction between them. It is not essential to my argument that (21) be used to convey

pleasure at the child's presence only, or that (22) be used only in a strictly literal sense. Example (22) may be used to indicate relief that the child is safe in addition to asking for information. The important distinction is that if the former verb form is used, the child's existence was not common knowledge between the husband and wife prior to the child's walking into the kitchen, whereas if the latter form is used, they must have known about him.

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CHRONICLE

HUNGARIAN HERITAGE CENTER: DEDICATION AND OFFICAL OPENING, MAY 21, 1989

The Hungarian Heritage Center, established by the American Hungarian Foundation, is a national center in New Brunswick, New Jersey, to preserve and display the most extensive historical documentation on Hungarian Americans assembled to date. It consists of historical and contemporary documents, including written records, photographs, work of art and artifacts, illustrating the historical and contemporary life of Hungarian Americans. The American Hungarian Foundation preserved and collected this unique historical material since 1954. The completion of the Center assures the permanent preservation, display and proper utilization of these documents. The Center also represents a national institution for advancing education, community life and strengthening the traditions of Hungarian Americans.

Formal dedication and opening of the Hungarian Heritage Center is scheduled for May 21, 1989. Construction of the Center under direction of architect László Papp was completed in July 1988. First Fidelity Bank, N. A., New Jersey, provided the construction loan and mortgage. Also participating in the \$ 1.4 million mortgage are the William Penn Association and the Hungarian Reformed Federation of America.

All interested persons are cordially invited to the Dedication and Opening on Sunday, May 21, 1989 at 3 : 00 p.m., 300 Somerset Street, New Brunswick, New Jersey. A gala dedication dinner will be held at the Hyatt Regency Hotel in New Brunswick.

The Hungarian Heritage Center consists of a museum, library, archives, visitor's center, gift and craft shop, conference and research facilities. The Museum is designed to display both permanent and special temporary exhibits. Displays illustrating the diverse contributions of Hungarians to American society and culture will be shown, including such fields as education, broadcasting, music, engineering, science, fine arts, architecture and the performing arts. Special exhibits, based on original historical documents, will illustrate the history of Hungarian communities, including both outstanding persons and the life of the average citizen. Current collections include the Joseph Domjan collection of woodcuts and paintings, the Ede Streng collection of Hungarian coins from 1000 to the twentieth century, and an outstanding collection of photographs from the world-famous work of Andre Kertesz.

The formal establishment of the Library will expand the opportunities for personal and scholarly research. Enlarged space and cataloging equipment will enable the Foundation to preserve its 30,000 volume collection and serve individual and

institutional requests for research. The Library expects to add 1,750 volumes per year to its holdings. A special resource of the Library is the Vasváry Collection, consisting of 24,000 entries on American Hungarian history dating back to the seventeenth century. The Library is currently an affiliate of the Rutgers University Library and is integrated into the Research Library Information Network (RLIN) data base, available in major research libraries nationwide.

The archival collection includes rare books, manuscripts and other types of historical documents that require special handling and a controlled physical environment. This collection will be a key to historical documentation of the Hungarian community in America. It will represent the first professionally maintained permanent Hungarian archival collection in the United States.

The book and craft shop will promote traditional Hungarian crafts, various types of arts and crafts by Hungarian artists and books by or about Hungarians here and abroad. Some space will be reserved for actual craft demonstrations. Conference areas of the Center will be available for meetings, conferences, workshops on a variety of issues and sponsored by professional or scientific organizations. Such events will reinforce the role of the Center as a meeting place of the Hungarian community in America.

A total of \$ 4.6 million in capital and endowment funds are needed to construct and maintain the facility. Nationwide and local fundraising activities are currently underway under the direction of Zsolt Harsányi, President of Porton International, Inc. of Washington, D. C. Under Phase I of the fundraising campaign, over \$ 1.7 million has been pledged and raised. Major corporate gifts were received from the Johnson & Johnson Corporation and a challenge grant of \$ 100,000 from Nicholas Salgo, former US Ambassador to Hungary. Individuals, corporations and organizations such as the Rockefeller Foundation, the Charles E. Merrill Trust and the New Jersey Committee for the Humanities have provided significant support to the American Hungarian Foundation and its programs.

Phase II of the fundraising campaign plans to raise \$ 2.9 million. Hungarian Americans throughout the United States are requested to make contributions to this effort. Specific rooms and areas of the Hungarian Heritage Center, Museum, Library and Archives may be named and designated by major donors.

For more information on making contributions or attending the Dedication and Opening of the Hungarian Heritage Center, please contact August J. Molnar, president, American Hungarian Foundation, 300 Somerset Street, PO Box 1084, New Brunswick, New Jersey 08903, tel: 201-846-5777.

REVIEWS

Domokos, Kosáry The Press during the Hungarian Revolution of 1848/1849

(War and Society in East Central Europe, Volume XXVII. Columbia University Press 1986)

One of Dr. Kosáry's first historical works was a study of the role of General Görgey in the Hungarian War of Independence in 1849 which he wrote in 1936. His interest in this central event in Hungarian history has never diminished. At a later period in his life he became a co-editor with Béla G. Németh of a two-volume History of the Hungarian Press (*A Magyar sajtó története*) published in Budapest in 1985, to the second volume of which he contributed a survey of the press during the War of Independence. The present book is, with minor changes, an English version of the original Hungarian study which Dr. Kosáry was invited to contribute to the "Atlantic Studies on Society in Change" which publishes the series "War and Society in East Central Europe". It thus becomes accessible to a wider readership unfamiliar with the Hungarian language.

After a short account of the Hungarian press before 1848 by way of introduction, the author's next three chapters describe the events which took place in the last Feudal Diet in Pozsony and in Pest in March 1848, as they affected the press. There follow two chapters on the Press Laws of 1848 and the general political climate in which the press operated. The main part of the book is contained in the next nine chapters which are devoted to the different categories of papers (conservative, liberal, radical, government, literary, professional and provincial), including a chapter on Kossuth's own paper (*Kossuth Hírlapja*) and another on papers in languages other than Hungarian. The book concludes with two chapters on the events of 1849 and a brief epilogue. At the end of each chapter there is a bibliography in which the titles of items in Hungarian are translated into English.

Dr. Kosáry's survey is comprehensive, well-balanced and very readable. He deals fairly with the problems caused to the Hungarian government by the radical papers "*Márctius Tizenötödike*" and "*Munkások Újsága*" (published by Mihály Táncsics), both of which became an embarrassment to the authorities. The latter was banned shortly before Windischgraetz and the Austrian army entered Budapest in January 1849. In fact, the press was very much associated with Budapest and the move of the Hungarian government to Debrecen caused a considerable reduction in the number of titles published in all languages (according to one calculation, from 149 to 74). This reduction was due to a shortage of paper, less printing capacity, problems connected with distribution, especially by post, and a lessening of the number of readers.

In April 1849 the situation improved slightly after the reapture of Pest and the return of the government to the capital. But the government's problems with the press were not to grow less; another version of "*Márctius Tizenötödike*" began publication which was eventually suppressed by the government. Dr. Kosáry argues convincingly in his final chapter (pp. 351/359) that the real reason for its suppression at the beginning of July lay not so much in its attacks on Kossuth and the government, as in its support for Görgey. The government's move to Szeged before the final surrender at Világos on 13th August meant that most of the papers had to cease publication. The group of papers that lasted longest were the military newspapers, of which the paper published in the besieged fortress of Komárom was the last survivor. The final issue of "*Komáromi Lapok*" was published on 1st October 1849 before the garrison surrendered to the Austrians.

The Hungarian government was slow to realize the necessity of publishing its own official newspaper,

the "Közlöny". The author rightly points out that the government also made matters worse by its deliberate policy of not issuing the paper in the other languages used in Hungary. This was a grave handicap in its attempts to make its policies and aims clear to the other nationalities (pp. 201/202).

It is also of interest that the Austrians continued to be fearful of Kossuth's journalistic abilities and paid him the compliment of producing a forged issue of "Kossuth Hírlapja" in December 1848 which was circulated among the Székely inhabitants of Háromszék district in Transylvania. (p. 245)

The defeat of the revolution inevitably meant that the press suffered during the period of new-absolutism before the Compromise of 1867. But towards the end of that period the press had steadily grown in size and in 1867 the number of papers in circulation had reached the total of 119. After 1867, during the era of the Dual Monarchy, Hungary had a modern press, the foundations of which had been laid during the years of the War of Independence.

This English version of Dr. Kosáry's history is well produced, as is usual with the books published in this series. It has a useful map of Hungary, but, unfortunately, lacks an index. It seems a pity that such a basic aid to the enquiring reader seeking information about a particular topic has not been included in a book which, like its Hungarian original, is bound to remain the standard work on the subject for some time to come. If the book is reprinted, it is to be hoped that this omission can be made good in the next edition.

London

I. W. Roberts

John Lukacs
Budapest 1900 (A Historical Portrait of a City and Its Culture)

(New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 255 pp.)

According to John Lukacs's soon to be published book *Budapest 1900*, modernity began in Budapest following the Ausgleich in 1867. A few years later the ten districts of Pest, Buda and Óbuda were united to form the new and official capital of Hungary. In 1892 the Emperor-King Franz Joseph issued an imperial and royal decree that proclaimed Budapest to be equal in rank with Vienna (székesfőváros). By 1900 this city had become, through immigration, assimilation, industrialization and nationalism, a Magyar city in culture and atmosphere. The strong traditional German-Habsburg elements of Buda had been replaced by an element that was nationally Hungarian. But, as Budapest took on the characteristic of modernity the remainder of Hungary still resembled a semi-feudal state of the previous centuries. Budapest led the way in attempting to transform Hungary into a twentieth-century state. Unfortunately, time and the sequence of events that led to the First World War were major road blocks in Hungary's development. While Budapest astounded Western visitors with its beauty and splendor, problems and growing conflicts "...between the urban and the populist, between the commercial and the agrarian, between the cosmopolitan and the nationalist, between the non-Jewish Hungarian and the Jewish-Hungarian culture and civilization of Budapest were already there." Modernity brings destructive forces of change along with all its material, cultural and social advantages. Unfortunately, these problems escaped most of the architects of this modern Budapest.

Lukacs writes that the theme of his book "is not the history of a city but its historical portrait at a certain time, a portrait of its atmosphere, of its peoples, of their achievements and trouble." In this regard he has shown Budapest to be a city reaching its apex as a modern European cultural, political and economic center at the dawn of the twentieth century. It is a city that demands recognition and respect, a city that wants to escape from the shadow of Vienna that had loomed so ominous in the past century. A city that wants to spread its wings and join the European community as one of its own. Lukacs draws the reader's

attention to Budapest's separate identity and its desire for more than a dualist existence with Vienna. By 1900 Budapest could stand on its own and was in some ways superior to Vienna. Budapest had become the showcase for the monarchy and *Magyarodom* to the world.

Lukacs does an admirable job of describing the districts of the city at the turn of the century. The colors, sights, sounds and smells of each distinct section are brought forth through the array of buildings, bridges, coffee houses, landmarks and peoples that span beyond the banks of the Danube. Unmistakably Pest was the center of Magyar culture and language. The traditional German-Habsburg areas of Buda only slowly disappeared in the sea of newly arriving immigrants and under the cloak of nationalism. By 1900 Budapest was a Magyar city. Hungarian had replaced German on street signs, on the streets and in the restaurants and cafes. Gone was the traditional *díszmagyar* dress. It was replaced by the more fashionable dress that one would find in a Western metropolis. In Lukacs's words, "Budapest (had become) the only bourgeois city in Eastern Europe." Its national transformation was nearly complete. The mayor had ceased being German. The only remaining "serious" German newspaper in the city was the *Pester Lloyd*. The Royal Palace was a "representative not of Habsburg baroque but of the then Hungarian nationalist new style, perhaps symptomatic of the nation's place within the Dual Monarchy".

Anyone and everyone came to Budapest if they could. It was the point of departure for the West. It was the West! It offered numerous opportunities for those searching for social mobility, employment, adventure and excitement. It possessed the excitement of no other place within Hungary. By 1900, according to Lukacs, Budapest and Hungarian literature "had become intertwined." It attracted artists, painters, composers, musicians, peasants, Jews, foreign guests, investors and the common proletariat. The gentry, "the truly national and historical class, the flagbearers of Hungarian independence", sought out social mobility, position and respectability in the civil services. Their shortcoming, as Lukacs points out, "...was (their) narrow nationalism... that was as intense as it was shallow". They were part of the class to which Lukacs attributes a "national inclination to political rhetoric", a point that is not clearly explained and is over-emphasized. The gentry attended the universities, frequented the coffee houses, made nationalistic speeches in the parliament while attempting to maintain their position within the state. They were one of the outward symbols, along with the assimilated Jews and the emerging urban proletariat, of modernity in Budapest.

Lukacs pays particular attention to the commercial advancement of the Jews in the city. He cites their assimilation to the Magyar culture and the effects of nationalism upon liberalism as being of primary concern for their future. First, liberalism was regarded "as the remnant proposal of an antiquated system", second, the Magyarization of the Jews - and of the Germans of Buda - produced the desired result of this policy upon a minority. Nationalism brought the dawn of a new, more deadly evil for the Jews of Hungary. As Lukacs points out, the Hungarian handling of the Jewish question and anti-semitism was far more judicious than in any other European state. Lukacs does a good job in covering this topic in detail.

Under the heading of the literary achievements of this period Lukacs is highly subjective. For example, one of the many artists to come to Budapest during this period was *Gyula Krúdy*. Of Krúdy Lukacs writes the following: "...the greatest writer of Magyar prose in the twentieth century, perhaps the greatest prose writer in all Hungarian literature, and surely one of the greatest writers of Europe - even though he is seldom translated and remains largely unknown outside Hungary." In actuality, Krúdy should be known beyond the borders of Hungary, but Lukacs has gone overboard in his adulation. In describing Budapest, Lukacs uses eight lengthy quotes by Krúdy. However, this has a negative effect. These quotes are quite effective in giving the reader a feel for Budapest in 1900. They ignite an interest in the reader to discover the works of Krúdy, but they take away from Lukacs's description of the city. Does Lukacs's book add anything in its description of Budapest that Krúdy has not already described? Also, should *Ady*, whom *Oszkár Jászi* called the soul of reform and *Georg Lukács* the soul of revolution, be given a greater role in this study than Krúdy? Granted (John) Lukacs gives Ady serious consideration. He writes, "he (Ady) was that very Magyar type of great poet who is, by nature, a great pessimistic visionary". But Krúdy has achieved immortality in (John) Lukacs's description. Ady, who had a greater impact on the "Generation" than Krúdy, is just another writer.

Another criticism of this work is its organization. For instance, it is not until page 67 that the thesis of this work surfaces. The beginning of chapter 3, "The People", belongs more to the introduction than as a separate chapter. Sections on the historical evolution of Hungary and the city that are listed in the latter chapters should also be in the introduction. Also, the effects of urbanization and industrialization on the city needs to be given more attention; more statistical data and analysis are needed on this topic. Is there a link between Budapest's industrialization and the rise of nationalism? The problems of urbanization in its nascent structure had to have many negative effects on Budapest in 1900. Also, the importance of the nationality issue on Budapest was largely ignored. It seems that the more nationalistic Budapest became had to be related in some manner with the rise of nationalism amongst the minorities. As Budapest's importance grew, along with its population, would it not attract the national minorities in a "magnetization" as much as the neighboring states beyond the Hungarian borders? Lukacs puts greater emphasis on the minorities attraction to the neighboring states, whose people spoke their languages, than to their attraction to Budapest. However, Lukacs states that Budapest was attracting everyone to its borders. It was not until later on that the minorities looked beyond the borders of Hungary for national justice. In 1900 the roads for all the peoples of Hungary went through Budapest. The increase of minority membership in parliament in 1906 bears this out.

In conclusion, this book does go under the surface and exposes the emergence of a city that was to have played a major role in twentieth century Europe. But, there is a lack of consistency that should have been tightened and clarified through proper editing. It is an interesting portrait of a city approaching one of the most trying times in its history. Budapest in 1900 is an exciting place to be. The color, splendor and appeal of this city was evident to all who ventured to its borders. Lukacs gives us a glimpse of a Budapest that experienced noticeable changes with each day. Unfortunately, many of these changes were as destructive as some were constructive.

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La Romania nella diplomazia Vaticana. 1939-1944.

By Ion Dimitriu-Snagov

(Rome: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1987. Pp. 170. Lire 16,500)

Among the Greek-Orthodox states of southeastern Europe Romania's relations to the Vatican during World War II are especially interesting, since the Romanian government made special efforts to cultivate these relations in order to make a favorable impression not merely on the Holy See but, through it, on the neutral world and, at least indirectly, on some of the Western Allies. The principal factor in these relations was Monsignor Andrea Cassulo, the papal nuncio in Bucharest, whose integrity, diplomacy, and humanity led to certain favorable results, including the alleviation of the fortunes of persecuted Romanian Jews, especially after 1942, when the great general fortunes of the war had turned against Romania's principal ally and protector, Germany. Most of the evidence of these developments are contained in the Vatican's publication of documents relating to World War II. This thin volume by Dimitriu-Snagov adds little to what is already contained in the documentary volumes. His commentary, too, is vitiated by a nationalist account of those years, to the extent that it bears many of the marks of special pleading. That the diplomacy of the regime of Marshal Ion Antonescu was more flexible and more circumspect than it had seemed at the time of the war is well-known of historians of the period. Yet its record is compromised by a very arbitrary selection of documents and by an extremely nationalist and often erroneous interpretation of events the tendency of which hardly differs from that of the pamphleteering histories produced under the aegis of the present (1983) Communist dictatorship in Bucharest.

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