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as represented on the cover of Calvin's *Institutio Christianae religionis,*
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AUTHORS / SZÁMUNK SZERZŐI

Anita Barta (1971), MA student, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, bartaanita47@gmail.com

Ágnes Beretzky PhD (1974), associate professor, historian of ideas, researcher of British-Hungarian relations, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, beretzky.agnes@kre.hu

Dóra Bernhardt ThM, PhD (1959), senior lecturer, Institute of English Studies, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences; external lecturer, Faculty of Theology, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, bernhardt.dora@kre.hu

Tibor Fabiny (1955), university professor, literary historian, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, fabiny.tibor@kre.hu

Júlia Fodor PhD (1974), senior lecturer, US and Irish History and Culture, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, fodor.julia@kre.hu

Tamás Juhász PhD (1966), researcher of modern British literature and Hungarian modernism, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, juhasz.tamas@kre.hu

Judit Nagy PhD (1970), full-time associate professor, director of the Canada Center and vice-dean for international affairs at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary. Her research focuses on East Asian Canadians and teaching material development. nagy.judit@kre.hu

Gábor Patkós (1992), assistant professor, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, patkos.gabor@kre.hu

Zsuzsanna Péri-Nagy PhD (1972), senior lecturer, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, peri.zsuzsanna@kre.hu

Dóra Pődör PhD (1969), associate professor, linguist, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, podor.dora@kre.hu

Zita Turi PhD, lecturer in Medieval and Renaissance English literature, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary. Her research focuses on late medieval and early modern iconography and (popular) culture, Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, the medieval aspects of early modern literature and culture, and contemporary cinema, especially the films of Peter Greenaway. turi.zita@kre.hu

Mária Varga (1997), MA student, Institute of English Studies, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary, mariacounting@gmail.com

Júlia Fodor

Competing Narratives of Irish Independence

The 1916 Easter Uprising was one of the most dramatic and pivotal times in Irish history. It was the forerunner to the independence of Ireland after 750 years of British rule, as well as a precursor to the disintegration of the British Empire. One of the smallest and much derided British colonies managed to achieve the inconceivable: against overwhelming odds, a small group of nationalists rose up in Ireland to throw off the shackles of the largest and strongest empire of the time, eventually leading up to Irish victory in the Irish War of Independence (aka the Anglo-Irish War) and securing Ireland's freedom in 1922.

Renegotiation of national historical narratives is always subject to much controversy. History is not an exact science. The dilemma of which declarations, wars, uprisings, or landmark events to commemorate, or actually celebrate, from a nation's past (together with their corresponding founding fathers, generals, heroes and heroines) will, without fault, turn out to be an interplay between competing visions in historiography. A famous Irish-American President, John F. Kennedy, once said that "a nation reveals itself by the events and people it chooses to commemorate because commemorations reveal what we believe today."[1] The present paper focuses on some of the most salient aspects involved in the rebranding of Irish national narratives of the 1916 Easter Rising between 1917 and 2016.

It is all too often the case that the 1916 Easter Rising is portrayed in an over-simplified manner as an Irish-British story: the Irish fighting for their national independence from the British Empire. The hasty focus is on Easter Monday with Patrick Pearse as the leader of the few hundred Volunteers reading out the Proclamation of the Irish Republic on the steps of the General Post Office in downtown Dublin, with the Irish tricolour flag being hoisted on top of the building. The typical and simplistic American cliché rendering of the Rising was once that of the good guy against the bad guy. The traditional British interpretation, on the other hand, used to be the polar opposite: 'the Irish stabbed the British in the back' while the British were fighting in the trenches on the continent against the evil Germans in the Great War. For over half a century the British media would refer to the Irish men and women of the Rising as "rats, vermin, and murder gangs,"[2] while

[1] J. F. Kennedy: Remarks at Amherst College (October 26, 1963), jfklibrary.org https://www.jfklibrary.org/archives/other-resources/john-f-kennedy-speeches/amherst-college-19631026 Accessed April 28, 2023.

[2] BBC: IRA Volunteers from the Easter Rising 1916 Interviewed in 1973. https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=_4JvXQqw4NY Accessed April 28, 2023.

the Irish nationalists saw themselves as patriots starting an uprising that would with any luck turn into a war of independence against a foreign occupational army.

The Rising took the overwhelming majority of Dubliners by surprise. Though it had been planned in secret, the anticipation was that many would join the ranks of their fellow countrymen and women and fight against the British. Instead, the people of Dublin took a largely antagonistic line towards the Rising, to the point that, as the Volunteers were rounded up and marched through the centre of the city into custody (following their unconditional surrender to the British), bystanders would hurl insults at them calling them murderers and starvers of people, and on occasion even toss them with rubbish.[3] To be fair, there were sympathizers as well, but they were either much fewer in number or simply decided to keep their sympathy very toned down.

The British arrested some 3,509 persons and court-martialled 187, all in secret, without defence. 90 death sentences were passed and 14 were carried out at Kilmainham Prison the first two weeks of May, before the British government ordered General Maxwell to halt executions. The news of the executions of the leaders was getting out despite all attempts to the contrary, and caused the Irish to grow increasingly sympathetic towards the rising's leaders. As a result, within a year and a half of the Rising, the nation went from backing the middle-ground solution of Home Rule (Irish self-government for home affairs) to widespread support for Irish independence as a republic.

The First 5 years following 1916: Low key commemorations

For 5 years following the 1916 Easter Rising, Ireland continued under British military occupation during which all public assemblies were forbidden under the Defence of the Realm Act. In fact, not until after the Irish War of Independence and the signing of the Anglo-Irish Treaty in December 1921 were the Irish finally free to celebrate the Easter Rising out in the streets. The tricolour flags of the Rising were flying all over the country in an outburst of liberty and a spirit of celebration in April 1922. The ensuing Civil War of 1922–1923, however, permanently divided the ranks of the 1916 veterans, as well as the veterans of the War of Independence into two camps: 1) those who supported the Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 (that provided a self-governing dominion status for the 26-county Free State of Ireland, (also called as the pro-Treatyites/nationalists/Free Staters/moderates) and 2) those who opposed dominion status and the partition of the country, and insisted on Ireland becoming a republic as proclaimed in 1916 and 1919 (the so-called anti-Treatyites/republicans/radicals).

When the pro-Treaty Free State forces, led by Michael Collins, Richard Mulcahy and W.T. Cosgrave, won the Civil War in 1923, it stands to reason that there was

[3] F. McGarry: *The Rising: Ireland Easter 1916*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2011.

no eagerness to celebrate the Easter Rising and with it the proclamation of the republic, the very concepts which had brought on the bloody civil war, turning brother against his own brother. Thus, the Cosgrave government merely held a low-key commemoration at the graveside of the 1916 executed leaders in Arbour Hill, and a mass was said for their souls.[4] In stark contrast, the same government chose to honour with a large military parade the life and legacy of the two men, Michael Collins and Arthur Griffith, who spearheaded the Anglo-Irish Treaty negotiations and brought peace and freedom to Ireland (and who died just 2 weeks apart from each other in August 1922).[5] Consequently, the de Valera anti-Treatyites saw themselves as the only "true republicans," and as such claimed to be the sole inheritors of 1916. They spoke of the Free State of Ireland as still unfree (!), since the country continued under the sovereignty of the British King and remained partitioned. It was during the 1925 Easter Rising commemoration at the Liam Lynch memorial that de Valera introduced the recurring historical theme – "they shall not have given their lives in vain" – into the Easter Rising narrative as a rallying cry to watch over and carry on the legacy of the 1916 dead.

16 years on: A watershed

1932 became a watershed year with regard to the official political stance on 1916. That year the new Fianna Fail Party led by Eamon de Valera, the most recognized 1916 veteran and anti-treaty republican still alive, won the general election and formed government. For the first time in 16 years, the rising was given an official military parade and copies of the Proclamation of 1916 were to be seen posted all over the city of Dublin.[6] A powerfully symbolic statue of the dying Celtic hero Cú Chulainn was commissioned and placed inside the former headquarters of the rising, the GPO. Cosgrave, the former Prime Minister of Ireland (1922–1932) would not grace either of these state celebrations with his presence, further solidifying the existing deep division within Irish politics.

De Valera's premiership ushered in an era in Ireland in which the 1916 Proclamation came to be seen as "the founding document of the independent Irish state, which the state looked to as a source of legitimacy,"[7] rather than the other seminal documents from those turbulent years, such as the Declaration of Independence issued by the revolutionary Irish Parliament (Dail Eireann) at its

4 J. Dorney: "Commemorating the Easter Rising Part I, 1917–1936". theirishstory.com https://www.theirishstory.com/2016/01/29/commemorating-the-easter-rising-part-i-1917-1934/#.YCp8TmhKiCo January 29, 2016. Accessed April 28, 2023.

5 A. Dolan: *Commemorating the Irish Civil War. History and Memory, 1923–2000,* Dublin, University of Dublin, 2003.

6 J. Dorney: *The Civil War in Dublin: The Fight for the Irish Capital, 1922–1924*, Dublin, Merrion Press, 2017.

7 F. McGarry: *op. cit*.

first meeting on January 21, 1919, or the Anglo-Irish Treaty on December 6, 1921 which ended the Irish War of Independence and thus Ireland's membership in the UK. The 1916 Easter Rising came to be "regarded as the foundational event of the Irish Republic"[8] in a day and age when Ireland was still officially called the Irish Free State, a British dominion and *not* a republic. It would take 5 more years and a new constitution in 1937 for Ireland to become a sovereign nation with an elected president as head of state, effectively a republic, but not officially. Ireland formally left the British Commonwealth and was established as a republic on Easter Monday 1949 (on the 33rd anniversary of the beginning of the Easter Rising and the issuing of the Proclamation) under the terms of the Republic of Ireland Act 1948.

Celebrating the 50th anniversary

As the golden jubilee of the Rising approached, two international developments and an explosion took place in Dublin that were all intricately related to the big celebration about to take place. On June 28, 1963, the Free World's most powerful man, a man of Irish descent, US President John F. Kennedy became the first American President to visit Ireland, but also the first foreign head of state to honour the legacy of the executed leaders of the 1916 Easter Rising, laying a wreath at their mass grave at Arbour Hill, Dublin. But Kennedy's visit during the height of the Cold War era was more importantly seen as a defining moment in Ireland's slow trajectory of international recognition when neutral Ireland was seen as an outside spectator in the Free World's fight against the growing threat imposed by the Communist bloc.

The other event was the reinternment of the remains of Sir Roger Casement in Glasnevin Cemetery in 1965 (very close to the 50th anniversary of the death and burial of Jeremiah O'Donovan Rossa). Casement, born into an Ulster protestant family in Dublin, was a diplomat of the British Foreign Office who became disillusioned with imperialism and joined the Irish Republican cause smuggling guns into Ireland. He was put on trial in England, convicted and hanged for high treason in August 1916. The Irish request for his remains had been denied time and time again by the British Government in previous decades. In 1965, however, renewed negotiations took a turn and the British finally conceded on the condition that Casement's last wish of being buried in Northern Ireland be not honoured as that might spark off sectarian conflict in an already tense atmosphere there. The Irish government was pleased to oblige and give Casement a state funeral in the republican plot of Glasnevin Cemetery instead.

Nelson's Pillar had been one of Dublin's most iconic landmarks for 157 years when on the 8 of March 1966, a mere month before the jubilee celebrations were to

[8] D. Ferriter: "Eoin MacNeill: Revolutionary and Scholar". https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nIv3GFatSDw 2013. Accessed April 28, 2023.

take place by its feet in front of the GPO on O'Connell Street, it was blown up. The statue of Nelson had long been resented by many people as far back as the 1880s! But by the time the Irish Free State was created, it had become a symbol reminding the Irish of their past British oppression and the regime change being an unfinished business. 17 years after the official enactment of Ireland as a republic there was still debate over the right course of action. All controversy was cut short when the explosion definitively declared to the world that Nelson had long overstayed his welcome. The jubilee military parade would not take place underneath one of the empire's enduring symbols.

Ireland commemorated the 50th anniversary of the Rising with a great number of programs. Church services and concerts, celebrations and commemorations were held all across the Republic. There was a dramatic re-enactment of the Easter Rising shown on television over eight days, titled *Insurrection*. The highlight was unquestionably Easter Sunday and the grand military parade on O'Connell Street marching down in front of the GPO, the former headquarters of the 1916 Easter Rising and the focal point of the uprising, the very place where the Irish Republic had been declared by Patrick Pearse. Some 600 veterans were still alive and were the guests of honour, many of them seated on the grandstand with the various state dignitaries. An estimated 200,000 family members and spectators were present outside the GPO.[9] The central message of President Eamon de Valera's speech was a call to action: "We cannot adequately honour the men of 1916 if we do not work and strive to bring about the Ireland of their desire." What the president did not realize at the time, but from hindsight became evident, was that Pearse's desired Ireland which was Catholic, Gaelic, rural, and self-sufficient was coming to its end as he was speaking! The young generations in Ireland had become far more keen on finding their new role models in England (the symbol of modernity, a new degree of individual freedom from tradition and expectations of their parents' generation), than in their Irish past with its heroes who fought against England. The Kerryman newspaper put it aptly saying that "Some of them are proud of the Rising, others would disown it if they could, and there are quite a number who are so indifferent that talk about it bores them. Nevertheless, the 1916 Rising is theirs."[10]

That same Easter Sunday in 1966 Eamon de Valera, a former 1916 commander of the Rising, laid a wreath at the courtyard of Kilmainham Gaol (prison) where the leaders of the Rising had been executed by firing squad, and officially opened the prison to the public as a museum and a monument for the struggle for Irish independence. On Easter Monday, the Garden of Remembrance with its cross-shaped water pool, next to Arbour Hill, the site where the 14 executed leaders of

[9] S. Mawe: *The Golden Jubilee in 1966*, https://www.tcd.ie/library/1916/the-golden-jubilee-in-1966/ Accessed April 28, 2023.

[10] C.H. Higgins & C. O'Donnell: "1966 and all that: the 50th anniversary commemorations". *History Ireland,* 2006 March/April https://www.historyireland.com/20th-century-contemporary-history/1966- and-all-that-the-50th-anniversary-commemorations/ Accessed April 28, 2023.

the Rising were secretly buried in an unmarked mass grave by the British, was also opened by President de Valera. It was dedicated to all those who had given their lives for the cause of Irish freedom in six uprisings: from the Irish Rebellion of 1798, all the way to those who were killed during, or, as a consequence of, the Easter Rising and the Irish War of Independence (1919–1921).

Late 1960s: The First wave of revisionism

In the late 1960s with the outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland, on the heels of the black civil rights movement and the sexual revolution in America, a wave of revisionism swept through every field of life in the western countries, including Ireland. Revisionism called into question the basis upon which any and all sources previously seen as legitimate would prescribe individuals and communities specific labels, identities, and values, but also the narratives that would be imposed from above to interpret their own present and past.

When the Provisional IRA (the Provos) was formed in December 1969, they set out to end all forms of British rule in Northern Ireland, claiming their legitimacy from the 1916 Easter Rising. Civil rights for Catholics, suffering blatant and systemic discrimination in Northern Ireland, a part of the UK that had been run exclusively by and for Protestants, was 'unfinished business' that nobody seemed to care much about. South of the border, the successive governments in the Irish Republic did not seem to care about the human rights abuses against their people in the north beyond empty slogans. The English in Westminster certainly did not seem to bother, and nor did the Americans, who were busy challenging their own democratic deficits. The Provos, therefore, decided that - just as back in 1916 - only brute physical force could achieve the full liberation of Ireland from the British. Among Northern Catholics the "nationalist tradition, the heroic nature of the 1916 rising became part of a national self-image that justified the revolutionary means (violence) by which independence had been achieved."[11] As a consequence for many people in the republic, but especially in the eyes of the power elites in the South, the "image of the 1916 freedom-fighter morphed into the hated figure of the IRA terrorist,"[12] who was always ready and more than willing to shed the blood of the enemy Brits in the North in order to achieve the reunification of the two Irelands.

Generations on both sides of the Irish border lived through part or all three decades of the Troubles, the Northern Irish sectarian violence between various

[11] P. O'Brian: "The Rising and Revisionism". *socialistreview.com,* 2006, http://socialistreview.org.uk/304/rising-and-revisionism Accessed April 28, 2023.

[12] *Century Ireland*: (September 23, 2014) Home Rule, Violence & the Irish Question: The Prime Time Debate, [Video file] https://www.youtube.com/watch?app=desktop&v=h8iVuX6Ec2A Accessed April 28, 2023.

republican and loyalist paramilitary groups, as well as the RUC (Royal Irish Constabulary) and at times the British Army. The Troubles had impacted everyone's life in the North, but the ripple effects reached those living in the South and in Britain as well. The cry for peace and reconciliation by the various sides was as old as the sectarian conflict itself.

The 75th Anniversary (1991): Political Censorship of Nationalists

By the time the 75th anniversary of the Easter Rising came around in 1991, with the Troubles still very much raging, there was a very different political and ideological climate in Dublin compared to that of 1966 (the 50th anniversary). In fact, just two and a half months prior to the big anniversary date, on 7 February 1991, the Provisional IRA had attempted to assassinate John Major, the British Prime Minister, together with his cabinet in 10 Downing Street, London. The IRA had brought Ireland into disrepute yet again! The mere idea of people the world over mistakenly identifying the IRA with the Irish was sickening for the Irish establishment in Dublin!

The Dublin elites had long accepted the partition of Ireland into two states as a fait accompli that would never change. Therefore any effort by any group that would question the British presence in Northern Ireland was now seen as standing in the way of peace, as well as an obstacle to the modernisation of the North and the South. Virtually all anti-British sentiment was thus purged from the Irish media, creating "an anti-national bias greatly assisted by Section 31 of the Broadcasting Act, the most draconian piece of political censorship operating in Europe at the time."[13] The southern establishment was openly and unabashedly revising history and the national narrative by labelling as persona non grata all those who were "soft on violence, narrow minded and old-fashioned,"[14] and thus disqualifying anybody from political platforms and the national media who would dare to speak in any shape or form against the British.

In 1988, Professor Roy Foster published his popular revisionist take on Irish history, *Modern Ireland 1600–1972*, which for decades was considered standard history of modern Ireland. Foster's two most defining arguments with regard to the Easter Rising were, one, that the Rising was "an exercise in irrationality […] because constitutional nationalism, as espoused by the Irish Home Rule Party, would have achieved the same outcome without the divisions (and violence) that ensued."[15] His second argument was the so-called "two nation strain" by which Foster elevated the Ulster Protestant community's experience to the same level of legitimacy and claim to nationhood on the island of Ireland as that of the "original," native Celtic nation

[13] R. Ballagh: "1916–2006: Different atmosphere for 75th anniversary," April 20, 2006, *Anpoblacht.com,* https://www.anphoblacht.com/print/15127 Accessed April 28, 2023.

[14] Ballagh: *op. cit.*

[15] O'Brian: *op. cit.*

of Ireland. He mainly achieved this feat by defining the year 1916 as the chief point of reference for national identity and for the formation of the two states in the case of both communities. For the Irish Republicans, the defining moment was the Easter Rising, while for the Ulster Loyalist community, it was the Battle of the Somme also in 1916 (July). This narrative of legitimacy came to dominate the rhetoric of establishment politicians, public officials and commentators who would argue against the nationalist interpretation of the Eastern Rising during the primetime debates on the Easter Rising in the months leading up to the centenary in 2016.

On 6 January 1990, the Irish government launched the Irish Presidency of the Council of Europe. That March Dublin was inaugurated as Europe's City of Culture. It naturally followed that Ireland, as far as its political elite was concerned, was bent on portraying itself as a genuinely modern and trustworthy European partner. Since the 1916 Rising became referred to as the IRA's source of hero worship and their point of reference for violence being the legitimate means to attain reunification, it all rendered a "nationalist celebration" of the 75th anniversary a politically incorrect item ridden with guilt, embarrassment and self-hatred,[16] that had to be toned down, at best, to a very low-key commemoration. Bringing an end to Northern Irish sectarian violence and redirecting, modernising the economies and every-day life of the island became the overarching theme. Anything helping Ireland to adjust to this new identity was approved, just as all things pointing towards a nationalist tradition were dismissed. Peace became the supreme value, rendering any form of violence and any narrative that would include the glorification of war, or any past Irish uprising, i.e. violence, an unacceptable and fanatical opinion.

The Good Friday Agreement (1998) and Reconciliation

On April 10, 1998 the political climate would completely change with negotiations finally reaching a breakthrough in every major contentious issue and the signing of the Good Friday Agreement between the Irish and the British Governments, including most of the political parties in Northern Ireland. Three decades of violence had come to an end in which there were 16,200 bombings, and 36,900 shooting incidents with over 50,000 casualties and 3,254 people killed.[17] The peace agreement was a monumental watershed in the relationship between the loyalist (Protestant) and the nationalist (Catholic) communities. For the first time since Partition and the creation of the Northern Irish State in 1921, a perpetual arrangement of a power-sharing government was guaranteed with 1) a joint office of a First Minister and Deputy First Minister (one unionist, one nationalist) 2) half of the cabinet consisting of loyalist ministers and the other half of nationalist

[16] Ballagh: *op. cit.*

[17] CAIN (2004): Northern Ireland Society – Security and Defence, *cain.ulster.ac.uk,* https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/ni/security.htm#05 Accessed April 28, 2023.

ministers. The release of political prisoners was by far the most contentious issue. It was included in the deal in order to win the support of the wider republican and loyalist communities for the peace agreement. A complete restructuring of the Northern Irish police force (that had practically been a Loyalist force) was also agreed to, hiring Nationalist officers to gain the trust of and also to better serve the Northern Irish Catholic community.

A significant addition to these provisions was made in 2004 when Irish citizenship and an Irish passport became available upon request (!) to all Northern Irish citizens just as if they had been born in the Republic of Ireland. This was a hugely significant gesture for all those Catholic Irish people who overnight went from the majority to minority after the 1921 Partition and found themselves citizens of a different country from their compatriots without moving anywhere! Even though the reunification of Ireland would continue to remain a dream, Irish citizenship now bridged that void by restoring the spiritual fabric between Irish people in the North and in the South (– in a manner similar to Hungarian citizenship made available to ethnic Hungarians living in any of the seven neighbouring countries within the Carpathian Basin starting in 2010).

The major plank in the eye of the revisionist establishment in Dublin had been removed,[18] peace had been agreed to and most of the paramilitary groups ceased their campaign of violence. The Celtic Tiger was also "alive and well" – a reference to the Irish economy experiencing an unprecedented double-digit growth through foreign investment pouring into the country. With historical hindsight, it is easy to "predict" what nobody could know at the time, whether real peace would come to Northern Ireland, how long the peace would last and if some sort of reconciliation between the different communities and political and economic interest groups would actually transpire. Therefore, it is of little wonder that when it came to commemorating / celebrating the anniversary of the declaration of Irish national independence from the British, Irish politicians felt (and perhaps still do) as if they were treading on eggshells. The highly fragile peace settlement in the North might break under the weight of any wrong step. No wonder that those who comprehend what was at stake feel a sense of urgent responsibility for intervening in any intelligent way they could in the shaping and communication of "things," in order to keep the peace at ALL costs. However, the "all costs" bit, as a number of cultural nationalist historians and commentators would have us believe, seems to be leading the nation of Ireland (as it would any other nation that has lost its own language in favour of its formal imperial ruler's language) down the path of losing their national identity. This is how Irish cultural (national) survival has been pitted against the cause of peace, i.e. the physical survival and well-being of the people (and of economic growth) on both sides of the Irish border. To the cultural nationalists, this might have seemed like a real catch 22. They warned, however, that the "debates are purely politically motivated to side-track the conversation from

[18] *Century Ireland*: *op. cit.*

focusing on issues that would both truly honour the 1916 martyrs, as well as serve the highest interest of the people of Ireland here and now: implementing the 1916 Proclamation!"[19] In their view that is the real and direct challenge to the status quo!

2010s: Symbolic gestures of reconciliation

In the 2010s, in a gesture of reconciliation, a series of historic state visits were exchanged between the British, the Irish and Northern Irish Heads of State/Government. In May 2011, Queen Elizabeth II and her husband, Prince Philip, accompanied by British PM David Cameron accepted the invitation of the President of Ireland, Mary McAleese. Queen Elizabeth II was the first British Monarch to pay a visit to the independent Republic of Ireland. The last time a British Monarch had set foot in Ireland took place in colonial times, exactly 100 years earlier in 1911, when King George V, the Queen's grandfather had stayed in Ireland for a few days. Among the many symbolic gestures on the part of the Queen at the state banquet given in her honour, she opened her speech by saying her first sentence in Gaelic Irish. Perhaps the most significant was her visit to the Garden of Remembrance where she laid a wreath and bowed her head to pay her respects to the 14 executed leaders of the Irish Easter Uprising whose bodies were secretly dumped, bare naked, wrapped with barbwire, by British army personnel in a mass grave in that very spot back in 1916.

Another historic first visit was that of Irish President Michael D. Higgins to the UK in 2014. Mr Higgins became the first Irish President to speak before the British Houses of Parliament. These events, in the words of the Speaker of the House, John Bercow, "would have been very difficult to imagine a few decades ago. It is a telling testament to the extraordinary transformation of the relationship between and within these islands in our lifetimes."[20] President Higgins was honoured with a state banquet at Windsor Castle. The guest list included a highly controversial name from Northern Ireland's paramilitary past, that of Martin McGuinness.

McGuinness was invited as the Deputy First Minister of Northern Ireland, despite his deeply tarnished past (in Unionist eyes) as the former IRA deputy during the early years of the Troubles. Family members of IRA victims came out to protest his presence at Windsor Castle holding placards calling for justice. Back home in Northern Ireland many republicans were also offended by his presence in the Queen's home. McGuinness was drinking a toast to the same person to whom not so long before he would be unwilling to swear an oath of allegiance as a Sinn Féin Member of Parliament from Northern Ireland elected into Westminster Parliament, thus never taking his seat in the House of Commons?! True, two years prior to the

[19] *Century Ireland*: @35:00

[20] UK Parliament, (April 9, 2014), Irish President, Michael D. Higgins, addresses Parliament. [Video file]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ELGlc3uYhJI Accessed April 28, 2023.

Windsor visit McGuinness had already met the Queen when she visited Northern Ireland in 2012. Since he was the democratically elected Deputy First Minister of the Northern Irish Assembly in Belfast, it was his duty to receive the Queen alongside with the First Minister, Peter Robinson. That landmark handshake of the British Queen and a diehard republican, a former paramilitary commander, who had been fighting against everything the Queen was symbolizing, became another symbolic act. However, while back in 2012 McGuinness was not seen as a sell-out by republicans for shaking hands with the Queen since his paramilitary past was by then an open secret, and because he had the tenacity to greet the Queen in Irish Gaelic, instead of English, in 2014, his toasting the queen in Windsor was an entirely different level of cosying up to the British, and became a thing too much to stomach for his voting base back in Northern Ireland. Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Féin, the party that McGuinness belonged to, had a short, but carefully crafted message for those disillusioned by McGuinness' visit to London:

> This decision may cause difficulty for some Irish republicans in light of ongoing difficulties in the north (of Ireland) but I would appeal to them to view this positively in the context of republican and democratic objectives and the interests of unity and peace on this island. While Martin McGuinness's involvement in President Higgins's state visit may not be welcome by opponents of change, it is yet another example of Sinn Fein's commitment to an inclusive future, based on tolerance and equality.[21]

Centenary 2016: Revising history and toning down the rhetoric

As Ireland was approaching the centenary of the 1916 Eastern Rising, despite a decade and a half of peace on the island, numerous historians and public figures were concerned that large- scale celebrations might destabilise the delicate political settlement in the North. They dusted off the revisionist take on the Rising and called into question whether celebrating 1916 and the violence it entailed would be morally right, to begin with. They raised questions and hosted public debates on prime time television and throughout colleges and universities in Ireland that put the above issues in an even more politically correct context than it had been back on the 75th anniversary in 1991. Were the rebels on the right side of history?[22] The wording of the question itself suggested that there IS a right side of history, and by sheer logic, if we are not on that side, then we must be on the … wrong side! Also, to use the term "rebel" instead of other alternatives such as the fairly neutral term "leaders" is

[21] "Martin McGuinness to attend state banquet hosted by the Queen," *Belfast Telegraph*, April 5, 2014, *belfasttelegraph.co.uk*. https://www.belfasttelegraph.co.uk/news/northern-ireland/martin-mcguinness-to-attend-state-banquet-hosted-by-the-queen-30158647.html Accessed April 28, 2023.

[22] *Century Ireland*: *op. cit*.

quite telling. "Was the rising justified? Did they have the right to use violence? Can violence be ever justified? Was warfare, and all the death, destruction and bloodshed that it brings, the only way to achieve independence?" Formulating questions can be the most subtle and politically correct way of actually rebranding the narrative, albeit in an apparently unbiased manner, with the audience all too likely not even realizing that the choice of words in the questions and the premises included therein are meant to "guide" and direct them towards a certain interpretation, and thus prevent them from reaching other potential interpretations.

Heather Humphreys, Ireland's culture minister (2014–2016), who headed the 2016 program, grew up by the border, an experience which had made her very aware of the sensitivities still defining in the North. She worked hard to strike a balance by addressing unionist sensitivities as the preparations of the Centenary of the 1916 Eastern Rising were underway so that no one would be offended.[23] Ultimately, the Irish government had decided to refer to the centenary year events as commemorations rather than celebration of 100 years of the Proclamation of the Irish Republic. So "what's in a name?" – we might ask echoing Shakespeare! Is commemorating the declaration of independence much different from celebrating it? Could the Irish help those coming from different traditions (especially loyalist Protestants in Northern Ireland) feel safer (and sensitivities do matter) if the Irish government in the Republic decided to "tone down the rhetoric," celebrate in essence and in deed, but not so much in words?

Perhaps, the most telling embodiment of the sensitive and inclusive approach of the Irish government to 1916 republican-nationalist, home-rule-nationalist and loyalist traditions came in the form of the Remembrance Wall in Dublin's Glasnevin Cemetery. This latest national monument was especially made for the centenary and was unveiled by local school children amidst an inter-faith service on Sunday morning, 3 April, 2016. The reflective black granite walls are engraved with the names of all those who died in the 1916 Rising: 58 Irish Volunteers, 262 Dublin civilians, 13 policemen, and 107 British soldiers.[24] Relatives of the Irish Volunteers had not been consulted by officials, but decided to express their dismay at the stunning insult of engraving the names of victims and perpetrators side by side, thus equating the memory and sacrifice of those who gave their lives for the freedom and independence of Ireland with those who fought and died to keep Ireland and the Irish under British Empire's oppression. While the Glasnevin Remembrance Wall is reminiscent of the Vietnam Veterans War Memorial and the 9/11 Memorial at Ground Zero in New York City in several ways, it is unconscionable that these American war memorials would have the names of Viet Cong soldiers or Al-Qaeda

[23] TheJournal.ie, "The government, Sinn Féin and the battle for 2016 … It starts today," August 1, 2015, https://www.thejournal.ie/government-sinn-fein-2016-rossa-2239622-Aug2015 Accessed April 28, 2023.

[24] RTÉ: "1916 'Remembrance Wall' unveiled at Glasnevin Cemetery," April 3, 2016, https://www.rte.ie/news/2016/0403/779141-1916-events Accessed April 28, 2023.

terrorists inscribed (honoured) alongside the names of their victims! Reconciliation is a worthwhile purpose, however, rewriting history by engraving the narrative that all deaths are to be deemed equally is a dangerous slippery slope.

The Rising, that had set Ireland on the course of war and eventual freedom from 750 years of British rule, has been consequently called wrong and unnecessary, but perhaps the most stunning indictment has been made by leading history professor, Paul Bew, at Queen's University, that it was undemocratic because the decision for the rising was made by an "unelected group to destroy the democratic leadership of Irish nationalism."[25] The best people to make such momentous decisions in their country are always those who live there – so goes his argument-, and they voted for the Irish Parliamentary Party and their policy of Home Rule – which was on the statute books by 1914! Easter 1916 and its aftermath was, therefore, "the displacement of the democratically elected Irish leadership by the insurrectionists"! Perhaps a question to ask Professor Bew would be if the Act of Union (1801) came about in a democratic manner? Or is it all right to use a different definition of what qualifies as a democratic process when applied to 1801 than for measuring the democratic quotient represented by the 1916 "rebels" who wanted to undo the 1801 Act of Union?! Majority electoral support, as we understand it today, would have been impossible, since women did not have the vote yet (so half the population was disenfranchised to begin with), just as the poorest of the working class, represented by James Connolly and his Citizens' Army, did not have the right to vote either. The Irish could not have dreamt of openly setting up a convention to freely discuss or debate the future constitutional standing of their nation as the Americans had done 150 years earlier! But the British subjects in America had the Atlantic Ocean between themselves and England, whereas Ireland was right next door. Any striving for independence had to be organized in a secretive fashion. Two and a half years after the Uprising the people of Ireland actually democratically backed up and voted for the very aims of the Easter Uprising at the general election of 1918 where more Irish men and women could exercise their right to vote than ever before. They gave Sinn Féin candidates a landslide victory and a huge majority within Irish parliamentary parties contesting the election rather than those representing home rule for Ireland (the IPP of John Redmond and John Dillon), which was considered a done deal.

Among the few exceptions to the "toning down of the rhetoric on 1916" was the party Sinn Féin, that called on the Irish people to commemorate those who fought for Irish freedom, celebrating their spirit and vision and committing to the values of the Proclamation to build a New Republic of equals and bring an end to partition. Another exception was Taoiseach (Prime Minister) of Ireland (2011–2017) Enda Kenny speaking at the launch of "Ireland 2016" when he said:

[25] H. McDonald & R. Walker: "New film may give IRA dissidents ammunition," April 12, 2009, *The Guardian*, http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2009/apr/12/northern-ireland-easter-rising-film Accessed April 28, 2023.

> Easter 1916 was a moment when Irish nationalism joined forces with a revolutionary cultural and language movement to forge an irresistible campaign towards self-determination. It is important that the Irish people have the opportunity to come together to celebrate and have pride in Ireland's independence and to honour those who gave their lives so that the dream of self-determination could become a reality.[26]

These patriotic few words would not be echoed, however, in the official commemoration launch video of 2016, titled "Ireland Inspires 2016" and released by Enda Kenny's administration. Oddly enough the video does not even as much as mention the Easter Rising or the signatories of the Proclamation, though it shows the General Post Office, which was the headquarter of the Easter Rising and the scene where the Proclamation was originally read out by Patrick Pearse, for a combined of 2 seconds (!) out of the total 1.5 minutes. The rest of the video shows pictures of recent British, Irish heads of state and Northern Irish political leaders appearing together at various highly symbolic state visits – with the caption: "Reconcile our different journeys," followed by images of Ireland building a future where they "present (their) our best to the world," and "(Let's) build a new legacy."[27] University College Dublin history professor, Diarmid Ferriter, a member of the government advisory panel on the centenary, commented to the Irish Times that the commemoration video was nothing but "embarrassing unhistorical sh*t."[28] Ferriter claimed to have been left in the dark about the launch video and was, therefore, unable to advise the government or the producers of the film. His comments to the Irish Times did have their desired effect as the much-criticized video was removed the following day, with the official website displaying the notification: "The website is temporarily undergoing maintenance, and will be back up and running as soon."[29] The video never saw the light of day again on the official website.

Former Irish Taoiseach, John Bruton (1994–1997) from the Fine Gael party re-entered the limelight with a very different take on the Easter Rising's legacy. In 2016 he shared that in his view the 1916 circumstances did not meet the criteria of a "just war." Bruton essentially claimed that "using violence to obtain home rule for Ireland in 1916 was both wrong and unnecessary as Ireland had already been promised home rule in 1914."[30] In a speech, he described the Easter Rising as

[26] Decadeofcentenaries.com, March 31, 2015, Launch of "Ireland 2016" centenary programme. https://www.decadeofcentenaries.com/31-march-2015-taoiseach-and-tanaiste-join-minister-humphreys-and-minister-of-state-o-riordain-to-announce-ireland-2016-centenary-programme-national-museum-of-ireland-collins-barracks-dublin-7/ Accessed April 28, 2023.

[27] Thejournal.ie: (November 20, 2014) "That 2016 video everyone hated has been obliterated from the face of the planet," https://www.thejournal.ie/2016-video-scrubbed-1790699-Nov2014 Accessed April 28, 2023.

[28] *Ibid*.

[29] *Ibid*.

[30] J. Bruton: His full speech denouncing the Easter Rising, March 28, 2016, *newsletter.co.uk*. https://

"completely unnecessary" and wrong (!) because it had "damaged the Irish psyche" by introducing a "culture of violence and hero worship" which led directly to the Troubles that would go on afflicting Northern-Ireland for three long decades.[31] Bruton laid the blame on the 1916 rebels' impatience and glorification of war for not giving the democratic process of home rule a fair chance, which in his estimation would have led to Irish independence eventually. The fact that Irish Independence was born out of war and violence, which always bring hell, and can never be glorious or heroic, has turned 1916 into an anathema, a source of embarrassment for most in the Irish political establishment.

Many on the nationalist side of Irish politics, among them de Valera's grandson, Eamon O Cuív, have argued that Ireland's weakened sense of nationhood would not have withstood the Anglicization of Ireland much longer. And even though freedom is never free, and at times people have had to pay the highest price to attain it, since the stabilization of the Free State of Ireland there has been no other nation in all of Europe more stable and posing absolutely no threat to any other state than that of Ireland.

> There is no other European state whose army has only been involved in peacekeeping operations since 1923. So the record of the Irish people has been one of a nation that abhors violence. We as a nation can be very, very proud of that![32]

Conclusion

In the republican nationalist tradition, the 1916 Easter Rising was a heroic stance of a few hundred brave Irish men and women who were willing to lay down their lives to free their country of foreign oppression. For many, however, who belong to the more moderate home rule tradition "using violence to obtain home rule for Ireland in 1916 was both wrong and unnecessary as Ireland had already been promised home rule in 1914."[33] Among Northern Irish Catholics "the heroic nature of the 1916 rising became part of a national self-image that justified the revolutionary means and violence by which independence had been achieved."[34] As a consequence, in the eyes of a lot of people on both sides of the border, the "image of the 1916 freedom-fighter morphed into the hated figure of the IRA terrorist,"[35] who was always ready and more than willing to shed the blood of the enemy Brits in the North in order

www.newsletter.co.uk/news/john-bruton-his-full-speech-denouncing-easter-rising-1254637 Accessed April 28, 2023.

31 *Ibid*.

32 *Century Ireland*: *op. cit.*

33 Bruton: *op. cit.*

34 O'Brian: *op. cit.*

35 *Century Ireland*: *op. cit.*

to achieve the reunification of the two Irelands. Though the major plank in the eye of the revisionist establishment in Dublin had been removed with the Good Friday Agreement,[36] still Northern-Irish unionist and British sensitivities had ultimately driven the Irish government to tone down the language and the preparations for the Centenary events. The general attitude of Enda Kenny's Fine Gael government could best be described by neutrality, inclusivity, political correctness, and a commitment to reconciliation between the various traditions and persuasions of the people of Ireland, North and South.

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[36] *Ibid*.

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Abstract

The present paper focuses on some of the most salient aspects involved in the rebranding of Irish national narratives of the 1916 Easter Rising between 1916 and 2016. In the Irish Republican nationalist tradition, the 1916 Easter Rising was a heroic stance of a few hundred brave men and women which came to be "regarded as the foundational event of the Irish Republic."[37] *In the 1970s, however, the Southern establishment took to revising the national narrative. By the time the centenary came around in 2016, the Rising that had set Ireland on the course of war and eventual freedom from 750 years of British rule, was seen by many as essentially misguided, or outright wrong, unnecessary, and undemocratic. Perhaps, the most telling embodiment of the sensitive and inclusive approach of the Irish government to "all the different traditions" within North and South came in the form of the Remembrance Wall in Dublin's Glasnevin Cemetery.*

Keywords: 1916 Easter Uprising, commemorations, public memorials, violence, reconciliation, historical narratives

Rezümé
Az ír függetlenség versengő narratívái

A jelen tanulmány az 1916-os húsvéti felkelés ír nemzeti narratíváinak 1916 és 2016 közötti újragondolásában szerepet játszó néhány kiemelkedő szempontra összpontosít. Az ír republikánus nacionalista hagyomány szerint az 1916-os húsvéti felkelés néhány száz bátor férfi és nő hősies kiállása volt, amelyet „az Ír Köztársaság alapító eseményének tekintettek." Az 1970-es években azonban a déli establishment nekilátott a nemzeti narratíva újraírásához. Mire azonban 2016-ban elérkezett a századik évforduló, a felkelést, amely Írországot a 750 évig tartó brit uralom alóli végleges szabadság útjára terelte, sokan alapvetően elhibázottnak, vagy egyenesen helytelennek, szükségtelennek és antidemokratikusnak tekintették. Az ír kormánynak az északon és délen belüli „különböző hagyományok" iránti érzékeny és befogadó hozzáállásának talán legbeszédesebb megtestesítője a dublini Glasnevin temetőben található emlékfal volt.

Kulcsszavak: 1916-os húsvéti felkelés, erőszak, megbékélés, történelmi narratívák, nyilvános emlékművek

[37] Ferriter: 2013.

Ágnes Beretzky

In Close Tandem? The Parallel Biographies of Harold Nicolson (1886–1968) and Allen Leeper (1887–1935)

Nearly eight thousand miles apart, the two cities, Tehran and Melbourne had a lasting impact on twentieth-century Hungarian history and culture. The 1943 Tripartite Conference or the 1956 Olympics may come to mind first, but the present paper focuses on Harold Nicolson and Allen Leeper, who had been born in the two cities more than half a century earlier. It was in Paris where their paths crossed in 1919, which had a profound impact on the fate of the people in the Carpathian Basin and beyond.

In November 1886 Catherine Rowan Hamilton gave birth to her third son, Harold George in the capital of the Persian Empire where her husband, Arthur Nicolson, the future Lord Carnock was serving as Consul General. The family moved on soon from Tehran, and little Harold happened to spent a part of his early childhood, the years between 1888 and 1893, in Budapest. It was from here that his father sent reports to London condemning the Hungarian government, particularly for its oppressive policies against the nationalities, and his dislike of Hungary peaked when, according to persistent rumour, he discovered that his wife was having a lengthy affair with a local aristocrat.[1] Understandably, little Harold did not take a liking to the Hungarian elite or the capital, later recalling his time in Budapest as "four years of boredom."[2] Owing to his father's frequent postings, however, change was soon to come and he spent his formative years throughout Europe and the Near East, notably in St. Petersburg, Constantinople, Madrid, Sofia, and Tangier.

In Melbourne, six weeks after the birth of Harold Nicolson, the Australian Adeline Marian Wigram Allen and Alexander Leeper, the Irish-born but Anglophile principal of Trinity College in Melbourne, also welcomed their child. Alexander Wigram Allen was so feeble at birth that at first he was thought to be stillborn. Beyond all expectations, however, the little boy survived and soon stood out from his peers, although mainly in terms of his mental abilities. Leeper had studied at the University of Melbourne and then at Balliol College, Oxford, before joining the British Museum in 1912 as an Egyptologist-Assyrologist. His talent for languages

[1] Géza Jeszenszky: *Lost Prestige: Hungary's Changing Image in Britain 1894–1918*, Budapest, CEU Press, 2020, 109n.

[2] Harold Nicolson: *Sir Arthur Nicolson, First Lord Carnock. A Study in Old Diplomacy*, London, Constable, 1930, 78.

was evident from an early age: in addition to Western languages, he read Hebrew, Russian, Czech, Serbian, Romanian, Bulgarian and Hungarian: altogether fifteen (!) languages, a unique feat among his contemporaries.[3]

It was in the same Oxford college that Nicolson also carried out his undergraduate studies, enjoying the liberal and intellectually stimulating atmosphere of the institution which reinforced his heritage of historical perspectives from the aristocratic home. It also raised his awareness of the long-standing contrasts between nations.[4] But – unlike Leeper – he barely managed to graduate. In October 1909, however, he came second in a competition for admission to the diplomatic service; he was appointed attaché in Madrid in 1911 and then secretary at the British Embassy in Constantinople from January 1912 to October 1914.

For the two young men who were spared the horrors of the trenches, WWI opened up new opportunities. Nicolson came to be employed at the Foreign Office: as the lowest-ranking member of the staff, on August 4, 1914, he had the duty of delivering Britain's declaration of war to the German ambassador in London, but he soon rose to the position of Second Secretary. At the same time, the physically weak Leeper, who had been dismissed from military service, became a member of Lord Edward Gleichen's Intelligence Bureau in 1915, where he wrote weekly reports on the situation in the Middle East and Russia. In the meantime, he maintained a particularly close relationship with certain Romanian diplomatic-political figures, such as the unwaveringly anglophile[5] Take Ionescu, the founder of the *Council of Romanian National Unity*, one of the select few to receive first-name billing in Leeper's diary, and the Romanian ambassador in London, Nicolae Mișu.[6]

When the new Austro-Hungarian monarch Karl put out feelers for a separate peace between his crumbling empire and the Entente, Harold Nicolson, quite a lone voice in the Foreign Office, was supportive.[7] Leeper, on the other hand, became a staunch advocate of the ethnic reorganisation of East-Central Europe, getting close to the group that launched the influential weekly journal, *The New Europe* and the principal figure behind it, the historian-publicist Robert William Seton-Watson (1879–1951). Leeper was full of praise after their first meeting: "Seton-Watson knows everyone worth knowing in Hungarian, Serbo-Croatian, Rumanian

3 Robert William Seton-Watson: "Allen Leeper". *The Slavonic and East European Review*, XIII, April 1935, 683.

4 Derek Drinkwater: *Sir Harold Nicolson and International Relations: The Practitioner as Theorist,* New York, Oxford University Press, 2005, ix.

5 The London-born actress Bessie Richard was Ionescu's first spouse. His parents were adamantly against the relationship since they wanted their son to marry a girl from an affluent family, but they were powerless to stop the marriage. As a result, they disinherited him and broke off contact for a long time. https://dosaresecrete.ro/iubirile-lui-take-ionescu-bessie-richards-si-adina-olmazu/ Accessed April 28, 2023.

6 Leeper to his father, Alexander Leeper, January 26, 1919. Allen Leeper Papers, University of Cambridge, Churchill Archives Centre, [further on: Leeper Papers] 3/9.

7 Norman Rose: *Harold Nicolson,* London, Pimlico, 2006, 62.

and Čech political circles. […] I was of course just like a child with him. And most of the little knowledge I have is based on his books."[8] Leeper often contributed to the journal under the pseudonym "Belisarius," and he and Seton-Watson were to remain close friends for the rest of their lives.

With the support of Steed and Seton-Watson, Leeper founded the *Anglo-Romanian Society* in August 1917, of which he was elected Honorary Secretary. The new group's objectives were to support the Romanian people's legitimate aspirations and advance overall relations between Britain and Romania. The Secretary not only spoke excellent Romanian, but also published *The Justice of Rumania's Cause*. In his pamphlet he put forward the idea that the at least (!) four million Romanians in Hungary were "socially and politically democrats," the incorporation of whom into the kingdom of Romania would greatly serve "the cause of progress and democracy."[9]

In March 1918, Leeper became a member of staff in the Political Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office (the Austro-Hungarian Division of which was led by Seton-Watson), and was sent to Paris with his close associate Nicolson to attend the opening of the peace conference. The two of them then began to work in an office in room 108 of the Astoria Hotel, processing and organising the vast amount of material on the Danube and Balkan border disputes, as the most valuable and tireless assistants to Sir Eyre Crowe (1864–1925), then Assistant Under-Secretary of State. On February 4, 1919, Leeper was appointed to the Romanian territorial claims commission, which coincided with his main area of expertise and Nicolson was assigned to the Czechoslovak commission, despite the fact that he considered himself inexperienced and totally unprepared. As for the roots of his convictions about the reconstruction of Europe, he was in agreement with Leeper: he acknowledged that he had been "overwhelmingly imbued" with the doctrines put forward by *The New Europe* to which he had devoted diligent study.[10]

Thus, the British representation of both Romanian and Czechoslovak interests in Versailles reflected the influence of *The New Europe* and its renowned founders,[11] all advocates of national self-determination. According to the recollection of Nicolson, Leeper and he "never moved a yard without previous consultation with experts of the authority of Dr. Seton-Watson […]"[12] who, in turn, stressed that there

8 Leeper to his father, Alexander Leeper, February 3, 1916. Hugh Seton-Watson – Cornelia Bodea: *R. W. Seton-Watson and the Romanians 1906–1920*, Bucharest, 1988, Vol. I, 558.

9 Allen Leeper: *The Justice of Rumania's Cause*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1917, 5, 15.

10 Harold Nicolson: *Peacemaking 1919,* London, Constable, 1934, 113, 33.

11 Besides Seton-Watson there were several other influential figures: Henry Wickham Steed, the foreign editor of *The Times*, British archaeologist and academic Ronald Burrows, who served as Principal of King's College London and finally the liberal politician-journalist Alexander Frederick Whyte.

12 Nicolson: *Peacemaking*, 126. The second half of Nicolson's statement is rarely, if ever quoted, but it is extremely instructive: "On the other hand, I question whether a lifelong knowledge of a country is always an advantage when it comes to making decisions that must be broad, impartial, unbiased and adapted to needs and proportions outside the area under discussion."

"never was a more unjust and foolish mare's nest put forward than the allegation as to ignorant experts. For months Allen Leeper, Nicolson and a number of others, and the bevy of brilliant Americans were bombarded with 685 materials of all kinds from the most opposite and conflicting sources, and steered a steady and unflinching course through them all."[13]

The official border proposal of the British peace delegation regarding Hungary, presented in Paris in February 1919, was based on the Seton-Watson Memorandum of December 1918, but its most positive feature, the concept of the ethnically disputable territories, the so-called "grey zones,"[14] was abolished, except for the Austro-Hungarian border, since no on-the-spot investigations had taken place until then, and there was no prospect of them in the future. Thus, although the border line proposed by the British left the island southeast of Pozsony (Bratislava, Pressburg) called Csallóköz (Grosse Schütt, Veľký Žitný ostrov) with Hungary, it followed the Danube and the river Ipoly from Komárom (Komárno): the deviation from the ethnic boundary was justified by economic reasons in the west (free access to the Danube) and in the east by the need for uninterrupted rail links between Romania and Czechoslovakia. The Romanian border also ran within the "grey zone", separating from Hungary Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare), Arad and the north-western part of Banat, again citing the importance of rail links. In comparison, the Yugoslav-Hungarian border along the Zombor (Sombor)-Danube-Drave line was considered ethnically relatively fair.[15] One of the signatories of the document was Harold Nicolson, who confessed in his memoirs, that

> my feelings toward Hungary were less detached. I confess that I regarded and still regard that Turanian tribe with acute distaste. Like their cousins the Turks, they had destroyed much and created nothing. Budapest was a false city devoid of any autochthonous reality. For centuries the Magyars had oppressed their subject nationalities. The hour of liberation and retribution was at hand.[16]

A few months later, he acknowledged in a personal letter that besides his traumatic experience in Budapest Seton-Watson had had an impact on him.[17]

Nicolson's memoirs give us an accurate picture regarding Hungary's northern borders, i.e. the work of the Czechoslovak commission. At the meetings of February 28 and March 2, 1919, Pozsony (Bratislava or Pressburg), fifteen percent of which was Slovak, was, after a brief discussion, awarded to Czechoslovakia, but the future of Csallóköz, (Grosse Schütt, Veľký Žitný ostrov) provoked heated debate: the

[13] R. W. Seton-Watson: *op. cit.* 684–685.
[14] R. W. Seton-Watson: "Hungary: Frontier Delineation between Hungary and Her Neighbours". Public Record Office, Political Intelligence Department, No. P.O. 52, f. 301–311.
[15] Ignác Romsics: "A brit külpolitika és a magyar kérdés". *Századok*, CXXX (1996), 287–288.
[16] Nicolson: *Peacemaking*, 34.
[17] Gyula Juhász: *Uralkodó eszmék Magyarországon 1939–1944*, Budapest, Kossuth Kiadó, 1983, 244.

French delegates were in favour of annexation by Czechoslovakia, the Americans of status quo. Nicolson then took a wait-and-see attitude. The situation was similar for the territories east of Komárom (Komárno): the French argued for a Danube border, while the US delegates, historian Charles Seymour and Alan Dulles, argued for an ethnic border. Two days later, however, after the hearing of the all-wanting Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Edvard Beneš (1884–1948) and against the other two pro-French British members of the committee, the half-German, yet Germanophobe Sir Eyre Crowe, and the fundamentally ignorant Australian Sir Joseph Cook, Nicolson changed his mind. "I am sure they are wrong", he recorded in his diary, "it is heart-breaking to have to support a claim with which I disagree. I am anxious about the future political complexion of the Czech State if they have to digest solid enemy electorates."[18]

As for the eastern frontiers of Hungary, in 1910, 31% of the more than five million people, or 1.664 million declared themselves to be of Hungarian nationality. However, they were to be annexed to Romania: the importance of rail transport was inestimable until WW2, and the Temesvár (Timișoara)-Arad-Nagyvárad (Oradea)-Máramarossziget (Sighet) line was to be incorporated into a whole Romanian "circular railway", which would connect to the Czechoslovak main line at Királyháza (Korolevo-Koroleve) in the north and to the Yugoslav main line at Temesvár (Timișoara) in the south.

Leeper was often present at the meetings on the Yugoslav commission, too, because of Romania's involvement. With knowledgeable persuasion he argued there for the annexation of the Szabadka (Subotica)-Zombor (Sombor) railway line and the surrounding areas to the South Slav state, virtually the whole of the Bácska region, because of the transport aspect, acknowledging that this would affect 461,000 Hungarians and Germans as opposed to 185,000 Slavs. On the other hand, he did not support the ideas of the South Slavic envoys who constantly besieged him from the summer of 1919 until January 1920 (!) to hand over Pécs and the surrounding coal fields or Baja.[19]

The hard-working diplomat attended every meeting of the respective Boundary Commissions set up to finalise the borders, and usually managed to convince the American delegates who originally proposed a more favourable settlement for Hungary. His close and continuous cooperation with, among others, the Romanian Minister in London, later Foreign Secretary Nicolae Mişu, in co-ordinating action would be far from acceptable for a civil servant today. So effective was the young Leeper in representing Romanian interests that it is likely that he did more for Romania than the country's celebrated leader, Ion Brătianu. Brătianu made

[18] Nicolson: *Peacemaking*, 279. See also Géza Jeszenszky: "The British Role in Assigning Csallóköz (Zitny Ostrov, Grosse Schütt) to Czechoslovakia". In László Péter – Martyn Rady (eds.): *British-Hungarian Relations Since 1848*, London, Hungarian Cultural Centre and School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University College London, 2004, 123–138.

[19] Leeper to Rex Leeper, February 21, 1919. Leeper Papers, 3/8.

vehement attacks on the minority treaties that were to protect the minorities in Romania, threatening the Council to resign, among other things. The indignant Lloyd George noted: "This damned fellow; he cannot even get coats for his soldiers without us."[20]

But the activities of Leeper and Nicolson were by no means confined to the drawing of borders: in April 1919, authorised by the Council of the Four, that is David Lloyd George of Britain, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando of Italy, Georges Clemenceau of France, and Woodrow Wilson of the U.S, they were assigned to accompany the former Boer General, Jan Christiaan Smuts (1870–1950) to his negotiations with the Hungarian government in Budapest. The Bolshevik Béla Kun made an extremely negative impact on both Smuts and the young Britons as "one of the most hideous creatures, […] a rather bad edition of a small pig and more Mongol than Jewish in type"[21] (Leeper) with "a face of a sulky and uncertain criminal" (Nicolson).[22]

After the negotiations broke down in Budapest, the delegation travelled to Prague. According to his diary, Nicolson then begged Smuts to persuade President Masaryk (1850–1934) to give up the territorial claims regarding Csallóköz who seemed to comply. However, Beneš later claimed to the French that Smuts had misunderstood the aging Masaryk and thus the pure Hungarian territory south-east of Pozsony-Pressburg-Bratislava was assigned to Czechoslovakia. Nicolson's summary, recorded in his diary, is telling: "At the eleventh hour, an effort was made on my part to redress a flagrant injustice."[23] None of the British delegates present in the border commission felt like him, and in no small part due to the cheering crowds on his May 1919 trip to Czechoslovakia, Seton-Watson also changed his mind about the status of Csallóköz, (Grosse Schütt, Veľký Žitný ostrov), which had been originally a grey area the future of which was to be decided by on-the-spot investigation.[24]

The failure of the Smuts-mission was greeted by Leeper with barely concealed joy. Not surprisingly, he also supported the Romanian advance that began at the end of July 1919, believing that Hungarian nationalism and Bolshevism went hand in hand, threatening Central Europe. As for the reports of Romanian troops' pillaging and looting the country, he largely dismissed them as fabrications of Hungarian propaganda.[25]

When in September 1919 the British diplomat Sir George Russel Clerk (1874–1951) was sent by the Peace Conference first to Bucharest to issue a warning to the occupying Romanian troops to withdraw, and then to Budapest to facilitate the formation of a coalition Hungarian government, Leeper also joined him. He made

[20] James Headlam-Morley: *A Memoir of the Paris Peace Conference 1919*, London, Methuen, 1972, 136.

[21] Leeper to Rex Leeper, April 10, 1919. Leeper Papers, 3/8.

[22] Nicolson: *Peacemaking*, 298.

[23] Nicolson: *op. cit.* 324.

[24] "Tell Nicolson that in the question of the Schütt I made up my mind". Seton-Watson to Headlam-Morley. May 26, 1919. Qtd in Jeszenszky: "The British Role". 133.

[25] FO 608/15, 182.: Foreign Office: Peace Conference; British Delegation, Correspondence and Papers.

sure that the ultimatum was "couched in friendly terms"[26] and while in Romania, he took delight in travelling, meeting Ionescu and other opposition leaders: "I had already so many friends here that it was not like coming to a strange place" – he recalled in a private letter.[27] In the American major-general Harry Hill Bandholtz's opinion, the unabashedly pro-Romanian Leeper and initially Clerk, too, were so ineffective that "a cooing dove would make a better ultimatum bearer."[28] Nevertheless, Clerk's mission was finally crowned with some success: a coalition government led by Károly Huszár was formed on November 24 in Budapest, which the was acknowledged by the Entente. In the meantime, owing to Leeper's leniency, the ultimatum to Romania was issued as late as November 12, 1919, and the Romanian troops did not retreat behind the designated border until March 1920, and were not reprimanded for the delay.

In February and March 1920, when, among others, David Lloyd George and the Italian Prime Minister, Francesco Nitti demanded a revision of the Hungarian peace treaty so that two million seven hundred and fifty thousand Hungarians would not have to be put under foreign rule as a "herd of cattle" (Lloyd George), the pro-Romanian expert again took action. His memorandum was circulated to all delegates before the meeting of March 8, 1920, in which he explained that if the conference backed down from their "publicly announced" decisions, they would be interpreted in Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia as they were "no longer bound" by the minority clauses of the peace treaties. Moreover, they might invade Budapest again.[29]

Leeper's memorandum effectively refuted the arguments put forward by the Apponyi-led Hungarian peace delegation in January 1920, too: he tried to counter some of the "outdated" economic, geographical, historical and cultural aspects put forward in favour of Hungary's integrity, as well as considered the referendum requested by the Hungarian delegation not only impossible but also unnecessary, referring, for example, to the December 1918 declaration of Transylvanian Union. The annexation of the ethnically Hungarian border areas, which the Hungarian delegation objected to on the grounds of the ethnographic principle, was justified by Leeper assuming that the town-dwellers, although having declared themselves Hungarian in 1910, were in fact of Romanian, Serbian or Slovakian nationality as victims of former Magyarization. Finally, he dismissed the Hungarian proposal to link the land of Szeklers to Hungary by a territorial strip through Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca) with the blatant lie that the Szeklers were a people completely different from the Hungarians, and would therefore surely be content with autonomous status within Romania. If, despite all these facts, the Peace Conference favoured

[26] Leeper to Alexander Leeper, September 7, 1919. Leeper Papers, 3/9.

[27] Leeper to Mary Elizabeth Leeper, September 19, 1919. Leeper Papers, 3/9.

[28] Harry Hill Bandholtz: *An Undiplomatic Diary by The American Member of the Inter-Allied Military Mission. to Hungary, 1919–1920,* New York, Columbia University Press, 1933. https://mek.oszk.hu/08200/08202/08202.htm Accessed April 28, 2023.

[29] Leeper's Diary, March 8, 1920. Allen Leeper Papers, 1/3.

rectification(s), he argued, the signing of the Hungarian peace treaty would be postponed into the unforeseeable future, which would seriously endanger peace in the region. Leeper therefore called for the peace treaty to be signed as soon as possible, but to calm his readers, he suggested that in the event of ethnically disputed border sections, the border demarcation committees should make a proposal to the League of Nations, under whose supervision the peaceful border change could later be implemented.

Also at the March 8 meeting, when Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon requested Leeper to express his views on the two most problematic areas, the Szekler land and the Hungarian Csallóköz, Leeper stressed that for economic and strategic reasons Czechoslovakia absolutely needed the southern branch of the Danube, without which the population of Pozsony (Bratislava) and Révkomárom (Komárno) would be exposed to famine (!).[30]

As is well known, Leeper achieved his goal and the borders remained unchanged: in Nicolson's words, Romania obtained "all and more than all."[31] Leeeper's own and his colleagues' Romanophilia left their mark on the Treaty of Trianon after which his career took a steep upward turn: from 1920 to 1924 he served as private secretary to Foreign Secretary Lord Curzon, then first secretary at the Viennese embassy for five years, before being recalled to London in 1928 to work again in the Foreign Office. After 1931, he was mainly concerned with the questions related to disarmament and grew bitterly disappointed.

A great friend of the Romanians until his death, Leeper never acknowledged that the peace treaty could not provide effective protection for any minority in Romania; between 1920 and 1934, the League of Nations received forty-seven petitions on the subject of grievances against Hungarians in Transylvania, more than from any other ethnic group except the Upper Silesian Germans. Nor did his attitude towards Hungarians change; he confessed in a private letter that "there is hardly a nation in the world for which I feel less affection that the Magyars."[32]

In 1934, Leeper's health collapsed, and after a long, agonising illness, he died in January 1935. Countless British obituaries praised him for his devotion or brilliant foreign office-work. However, unlike Seton-Watson, he has largely been forgotten in the Successor States, Romania included. Only one Bessarabian Romanian, Ion Pelivan paid him a visit and assured him that in exchange for obtaining the Council's recognition of Bessarabian reunion with Romania, his photograph would be hung up in all schools.[33] As well-known, in 1944 the region became one of Stalin's first preys, and Pelivan survived the dictator by only a few months in the notorious Sighet (Máramarossziget)-prison.

[30] J.P.T. Bury – Rohan Butler (eds.): *Documents on British Foreign Policy, 1919–1939,* Vol VII., London, 1958, 440–449.

[31] Nicolson: *Peacemaking*, 137.

[32] Allen Leeper to Seton-Watson, January 29, 1924. Seton-Watson Papers/17/14/5.

[33] Leeper's Diary Entry: April 12, 1920. Leeper Papers, 1/3.

After the conclusion of the Peace Conference, Harold Nicolson became Private Secretary to Sir Eric Drummond, the first Secretary-General of the League of Nations. In 1925 he was transferred to Tehran as an embassy counsellor. It is a little-known fact that when his excellent sourcebook, *Peacemaking 1919*, was published in 1934, Miksa Fenyő, president of the National Association of Industrialists requested the author to delete some of the sentences (Turanian tribe) in the next edition which were so offensive to Hungarians. Nicolson replied: "I am ashamed that I felt the way I felt in 1919. But we all did. I can't take it back, because then I wouldn't be honest."[34]

Although diplomatic work kept him busy, he always found time to compile literary biographies, including Tennyson's (1923), Byron's (1924) or Swinburne's (1926). "He probably never wrote a boring line" – sounded his critics' acclaim and his diplomatic abilities were in fact side-lined by his focus on literary achievements. In July 1938, in a letter to his wife, Vita Sackville-West,[35] he confessed: "It is true that I would rather you finished a long poem than I became Secretary of State."[36]

Despite his growing distance from politics, in 1939, right after the outbreak of WW2 Nicolson published a polemical book on the origins of the new war. He put forward the idea that back in 1919 war-torn Paris had obviously been an inappropriate location for a peace conference, with its people screaming for retaliation. Furthermore, in light of the Congress of Vienna (1815) he also maintained the view that it had been a major error to have treated Germany as a pariah state, and her invitation to the conference would have served the stability of Europe better: "The peace which emerged was unjust enough to cause resentment, but not forcible enough to render such resentment impotent"[37] – he opined.

On June 4, 2020, a high-ranked commemorative speech on the Trianon centenary recalled Harold Nicolson's involvement in the treaty: he knew "precious little" of all Hungarian past, yet he "fundamentally influenced the future of Hungarians."[38] However, after sketching the British diplomat's activities at Versailles and his recollections afterwards, it rather seems that, compared to most of his contemporaries, e.g. Allen Leeper, Eyre Crowe or Seton-Watson himself, Nicolson was more a man of "fair play." His diary entry on March 12, 1919 seems to confirm this: "the Grosse Schütt […] will be engraved on my heart."[39]

34 Juhász: *op. cit.* 244. In the same book (*Peacemaking 1919)* Nicolson described Leeper as "a man of high ideals, the purest Wilsonism, some philological ambition, intermittent health, unfailing energy, and unashamed curiosity." *Op. cit.* 105.

35 Unlike Nicolson's own bisexuality, the rumours surrounding Vita's long affair with Violet Trefusis almost destroyed his diplomatic career in the early 1920s. On their complex relationship, see Nigel Nicolson: *Portrait of a Marriage*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1998.

36 Drinkwater: *op. cit.* 2.

37 Harold Nicolson: *Why Britain is at War*, London, Penguin Special, 1939, 147.

38 Hungarian President János Áder's Centennial Speech in the Hungarian Parliament on Day of National Unity, Budapest, June 4, 2020. https://pretoria.mfa.gov.hu/eng/news/Ader_Janos_koztarsasagi_elnok_beszede_a_Nemzeti_Osszetartozas_Napjan Accessed April 28, 2023.

39 Nicolson: *Peacemaking*, 283.

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Abstract

This paper explores the parallels between the careers of Harold Nicolson and Allen Leeper. Though far away at birth, they were soon linked by their university years and then by their service in the British Foreign Office, which in 1919 saw them both posted to Paris for the Peace Conference: They worked in the office-room 108 of the Astoria Hotel, processing and organising the vast amount of material relating to the Danube and Balkan border disputes, as two of the most valuable and tireless assistants to Sir Eyre Crowe, the British Under-Secretary of State. Drawing on primary sources, this paper examines their influence as Czechoslovak, Romanian and Yugoslav Commissioners on the shaping of future borders, and then highlights their later self-reflections on their activities in 1919. Finally, the present paper seeks to explore whether it is proper to judge their activities, as is otherwise generally accepted in Hungarian historiography, as equally damaging to Hungarian interests.

Keywords: Harold Nicolson, Allen Leeper, peace-making, Paris, 1919–1920

Rezümé
Harold Nicolson (1886–1968) és Allen Leeper (1887–1935) párhuzamos életrajzai

Jelen írás Harold Nicolson és Allen Leeper pályaképeinek párhuzamosságait térképezi fel. Bár születésükkor egy világ választotta el őket, egyetemi éveik után mindketten a brit külügyminisztériumi szolgálatába álltak, melynek keretében 1919-ben mindkettőjüket a megnyíló békekonferencia helyszínére, Párizsba küldték: az Astoria Szálló 108-as szobájában kialakított hivatalban dolgoztak a dunai és balkáni határvitákkal kapcsolatos óriási anyag feldolgozásában és rendszerezésében. Elsődleges forrásokra építve a jelen tanulmány azt vizsgálja, hogy a csehszlovák, román és jugoszláv területi igényeket vizsgáló bizottsági munkájuk során mekkora ráhatással rendelkeztek a leendő határok kialakítására, majd felvillantja az 1919-es tevékenységükkel kapcsolatos későbbi önreflexióikat. Végül arra keresi a választ, hogy jogos és helyes-e a tevékenységüket, mint ahogy az a magyar szakirodalomban egyébként alapvetően elfogadott, a magyar szempontok tekintetében egyformán károsnak ítélni.

Kulcsszavak: Harold Nicolson, Allen Leeper, versailles-i békék, 1919–1920

Zsuzsanna Péri-Nagy

Tolkien, the Practicing Catholic: The Early *Letters*

Reading through the *Letters* of Tolkien edited by Humphrey Carpenter, we might stumble upon *Letter 89*, a "most peculiar letter," as Tolkien himself characterized it.[1] It is stunning to read the description of a religious experience Tolkien had during a time of adoration, that is, a prayer before the Blessed Sacrament in their parish church, then he continues with another such experience, which happened while he was riding his bicycle on a road in Oxford. These are clearly of a mystical nature and deserve further and thorough scrutiny, which will be done in a future paper. The present analysis will focus on the investigation of Tolkien's letters, shedding light on Tolkien as a practicing, devout Catholic. As most scholarly works which analyze Tolkien's Catholicism (and there is a constantly growing number of these) mainly focus on the implantation of his beliefs into his works, and very little is said about the actual practice of his faith in everyday life, the present paper attempts to scrutinize his *Letters* to gain a clearer view on this. Due to the limits of this paper, only the early years of his correspondence will be focused upon, and thus only a short glimpse will be offered into Tolkien's living faith, although naturally a much ampler view would be gained by investigating a longer section of his correspondence.

The sources for this research are limited to Tolkien's *Letters*,[2] further investigations might be extended to more comprehensive sources, like his contemporaries' letters written to him or letters written to others but shedding further light on Tolkien's religious habits. More archival material may be included, as well as the contemporaries' other memoires, etc., but these would constitute a further step of the research.

The *Letters* as a source are not comprehensive, either: Tolkien's correspondence was so diversified that it has not been catalogued yet, numerous letters may still be undetected by scholarship, being in private possession. Therefore, all-inclusive research is impossible for the time being. In consequence, this paper will use Humphrey Carpenter's published selection of the *Letters*,[3] which gave priority to letters which contain information about Tolkien's literary works and some other issues; as Carpenter puts it: "the selection has also been made with an eye to demonstrating the huge range of Tolkien's mind and interests, and his idiosyncratic

[1] *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, ed. Humphrey Carpenter, with the assistance of Christopher Tolkien, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000, 99–102.

[2] *Ibid*.

[3] *Ibid*.

but always clear view of the world."[4] The religious practices of Tolkien form part of this criterion to demonstrate the worldview of the author, and besides some theoreticizing theology (which is, surprisingly, rather rare in the *Letters*), considerably more numerous references are made to actual religious habits.

The omissions were mainly made by Carpenter to preserve the privacy of Tolkien's married life, so a great majority of the letters written to Edith Bratt are not included in the book,[5] most unfortunately for this present research, as they very presumably might contain numerous references to Tolkien's Catholic beliefs and his demands to his fiancée and later wife to follow in his footsteps, as the conversion of Edith into the Catholic Church eventually happened due to Tolkien's insistence. But the concrete steps of this debate among the betrothed are relatively well treated and documented by previous studies and biographies.[6] Nevertheless, let us quote just one instance from a letter to her, which aptly opens a long series of references to the lively religious life Tolkien led. It mentions his lifelong practice of attending mass, even on weekdays. Here he informs Edith about a Sunday mass or an important feast-day celebration he went to (this is what the word High Mass indicates), but it is noteworthy that he writes that he missed masses so much, even though he makes a clear reference to the fact that it was only a period of one week or two when he could not participate in them: "I went to St. Aloysius for High Mass – and I rather enjoyed it – it is such ages since I heard one for Fr. F.[7] wouldn't let me go when I was at the Oratory last week."[8] We also know from Carpenter's *Biography* that Tolkien went to early morning mass each day to St Aloysius, his parish church: "They bicycle three-quarters of a mile into the town, to St Aloysius' Catholic Church, an unlovely edifice next to the hospital in the Woodstock Road. Mass is at seven-thirty, so by the time they get home they are just a few minutes late for breakfast."[9] Later we find other instances in his letters as well about his sacramental life, some of which will be treated later.

The bulk of the letters published in Carpenter's edition begins with some letters written by Tolkien to his sons, both enrolled in the Army during WWII. Tolkien visibly took his duties as a father very seriously, and it is moving to see the number of letters and the care with which he tries to equip his sons in these troubled circumstances. His Christian faith is manifested in multiple ways: it is present in the closing lines of the letters, where Tolkien constantly sent his blessings and re-assured his sons about his prayers. In September 1939, Michael Tolkien, Tolkien's second son, volunteered for army service, and left to train as an anti-aircraft gunner. His father wrote to him: "But God bless you keep you anyway"[10] and: "God bless

4 *The Letters of J. R. R. Tolkien*, 1.

5 *Ibid*.

6 See H. Carpenter: *J. R. R: Tolkien: A Biography,* Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000.

7 Father Francis Morgan, who was Tolkien's guardian, in the Birmingham Oratory.

8 Letter 1 to Edith Bratt, not dated, October 1914, 7.

9 H. Carpenter: *J. R. R. Tolkien: a Biography*, 114.

10 Letter 16 to Michael Tolkien, 3 October 1937, 22–23.

you, my dear son. I pray for you constantly. Remember me. Do you want anything specially? Very much love from your Father."[11] The frequent repetition of this phrase in various forms suggests that we do not see here a literary topos of an epistolary closure, but Tolkien was convinced of the significance of paternal blessings and of prayer. He even asks for their prayers with touching sincerity: "Pray for me. I need it, sorely. I love you. Your own Father."[12]

The difference between the sage paternal figure and the younger sons to be counselled alternates with the sense of a Christian fellowship where mutual spiritual help is needed and welcomed. This spiritual help takes on multiple forms. He mentions Masses offered for them, and mass counts as the most sublime and efficacious form of prayer. The Eucharist seems to have a central role in Tolkien's devotional life, and it becomes clear from his letters that he did not only take the significance of Masses very seriously, attested by his custom of partaking in daily masses, as related above, but he also practiced the adoration of the Eucharist regularly. Several letters testify to this, and Tolkien becomes unusually and surprisingly loquacious when he touches upon this issue. Thus, we have a considerable number of passages in the letters where he took serious pains to share his admiration and love for the Eucharist and the extreme benefits of the face-to-face encounters with Christ hidden in the most blessed Sacrament. In these excerpts he is not theoretic or didactic, but tries to share his personal experiences in a touchingly sincere and vulnerable tone. One letter is often quoted by scholars, where Tolkien gives to Michael the supreme advice:

> Out of the darkness of my life, so much frustrated, I put before you the one great thing to love on Earth: the Blessed Sacrament … There you will find romance, glory, honour, fidelity, and the true way of all your loves upon earth, and more than that: Death: by the divine paradox, that which ends life, and demands the surrender of all, and yet by the taste (or foretaste) of which alone can what you seek in your earthly relationships (love, faithfulness, joy) be maintained, or take on that complexion of reality, of eternal endurance, which every man's heart desires.[13]

This an extremely rich text, which offers a thorough, though condensed essence of what Tolkien thought and experienced about the Eucharist. It would demand an in-depth theological analysis, but our focus being on the practical side of his faith, let us highlight these implications of the text instead. He strongly tries to avoid sounding theologizing; therefore, he begins with a touchingly sincere confession of his actual state of mind, overtly admitting the frustration, the tragic tone of his existence. Thus, the second line gains a real weight of argument, and the highly exigent claim

[11] Letter 42 to Michael Tolkien, 12 January 1941, 48.
[12] Letter 45 to Michael Tolkien, 9 June 1941, 56.
[13] Letter 43 to Michael Tolkien, 6–8 March 1941, 53–54.

of this statement will become authentic ("I put before you the one great thing to love on Earth: the Blessed Sacrament"). The following list of definitions of what the Eucharist is, or what it offers was clearly taken from experience as well and seems to be issued much more from the lessons of a life lived than a mere theological theory. It is not by chance that we read about Death itself here, which is a quite surprising notion when relating to the Eucharist. The actual circumstances of writing the letter offer the explanation of this choice: they are both (father and son, the writer and the addressee) in war, facing possible death. What the Blessed Sacrament meant for him is suggested also by the terms "complexion of reality" (although here they refer to something else as well): it is, or rather, He is an eternally living reality, to be relied on, especially in times of trouble.

His letter to Michael Tolkien also displays his notion that there is an eternal quality of the relationship between fathers and sons, which transcends the earthly attachment:

> Still, let us both take heart of hope and faith. The link between father and son is not only of the perishable flesh: it must have something of *aeternitas* about it. There is a place called "heaven" where the good here unfinished is completed; and where the stories unwritten, and the hopes unfulfilled, are continued. We may laugh together yet…[14]

The dangers of war naturally direct the attention of the father to the presence and help of the guardian angels, a Catholic concept which Tolkien took very seriously and admonishes his sons to fall back on their protection. He tries to give a description of how he envisages his angel:

> Remember your guardian angel. Not a plump lady with swan wings! But – at least this is my notion and feeling –: as souls with free will we are, as it were, so placed as to face (or to be able to face) God. But God is (so to speak) also behind us, supporting, nourishing us (as being creatures) … The bright point of power where that life-line, that spiritual umbilical cord touches: there is our Angel, facing two ways to God behind us in the direction we cannot see, and to us. But of course do not grow weary of facing God, in your free right and strength (both provided "from behind" as I say).[15]

It is interesting to see how Tolkien rejects the stereotyped representations of popular devotion about the guardian angels and describes instead his own concept and intuition ("my notion and feeling") about them. After this highly interesting exposition, he advises his son not to forget to pray directly to God as well, that is,

[14] Letter 45 to Michael Tolkien, June 1941, 55.
[15] Letter 54 to Christopher Tolkien, 8 January 1944, 66.

not to fall into excesses as regards his devotion to his angel, which gives proof of Tolkien's soundness and realism in matters of piety.

But it seems that his efforts to understand the essence and workings the guardian angels were rewarded by a correction of these concepts. Very interestingly, later he had a kind of a mystical experience, and in Letter 87 he narrates the actual happening, a vision which he had on a day in a church in Oxford when he was praying before the Blessed Sacrament in adoration.[16] During the experience he is given a more precise insight into the matter.

He takes Christopher into his confidences because evidently, Christopher took his father's advice seriously, and asked for the protection of his guardian angel. This is what follows:

> Your reference to the care of your guardian angel makes me fear that "he" is being specially needed. I dare say it is so … It also reminded me of a sudden vision (or perhaps apperception which at once turned itself into pictorial form in my mind) I had not long ago when spending half an hour in St. Gregory's before the Blessed Sacrament when the *Quarant'Ore* was being held there. I perceived or thought of the Light of God and in it suspended one small mote … And the ray was the Guardian Angel of the mote: not a thing interposed between God and the creature, but God's very attention itself, personalized. And I do not mean "personified" by a mere figure of speech according to the tendencies of human language, but a real (finite) person.[17]

The *Letters* betray another religious practice Tolkien offers to his sons, which is even more interesting, as it offers a clearer view on how he lived the reality of himself being an artist, a "sceop," a bard in whom words, music and heavenly inspiration are fused in the same reality and practice: namely liturgy.

> If you don't do it already, make a habit of "praises." I use them much (in Latin): the Gloria Patri, the Gloria in Excelsis, the Laudate Dominum, the Laudate Pueri Dominum (of which I am specially fond), one of the Sunday Psalms, and the Magnificat; also the Litany of Loretto (with the prayer Sub tuum presidium). If you have these by heart you never need for words of joy. It is also a good and admirable thing to know by heart the canon of the Mass, for you can say this in your heart if ever hard circumstance keeps you from hearing Mass. So endeth Faeder Lár his suna. With very much love.[18]

In his letter he makes a long list of the traditional prayers of the Church: these are prayers from rarely celebrated solemnities as well as prayers pertaining rather to

[16] Letter 89 to Christopher Tolkien, 7–8 November 1944, 99.

[17] *Ibid*.

[18] Letter 54 to Christopher Tolkien, 8 January 1944, 66.

more popular piety. What is more, he confesses that he memorized the whole text of the liturgy of the mass, so that he can recite it even if some impediment would hinder him from hearing mass actively. This is a most unusual practice, even among the clergy, not to speak of a lay person, which demonstrates a very high level of commitment to religious practices and an equally unusual exigence in spiritual life.

He was well aware of and used the whole English liturgical tradition, as he alludes to the lines from the Anglo-Saxon Exeter Book, and in Old English!

> Longað þonne þy læs þe him con léoþa worn,
> oþþe mid hondum con hearpan grétan;
> hafaþ him his glíwes giefe, þe him God sealde.[19]
>
> From the Exeter Book. Less doth yearning trouble him who knoweth many songs, or with his hands can touch the harp: his possession is his gift of "glee" (= music and/or verse) which God gave him.[20]

Noteworthy is here the word joy ("glee"), which condenses everything: very similarly to how his closest friend, C. S. Lewis used the same concept. For Lewis, this term somehow condensed the essence of the transcendental realities appearing in a perceivable form here in this earthly life, hence the title of his autobiography, *Surprised by Joy,*[21] where *Joy* is a synonym of God's realm. In the same vein, here the word "glee" expresses the synchronicity of multiple concepts, that is, realities: that of music, words, and heavenly joy, which, as artistic creative forces, are real gifts of heaven.

Not only did Tolkien invoke transcendental help and grace, but he narrates occasions when he experienced the reverse direction as well: how heavenly aid appeared, as a surprise, even in a challenging form, in the everyday life of the faithful one, as in the following case:

> I gave two lectures … But an incident occurred which moved me and made the occasion memorable. My companion in misfortune was Cecil Roth (the learned Jew historian). I found him charming, full of gentleness (in every sense); and we sat up till after 12 talking. He lent me his watch as there were no going clocks in the place: – and nonetheless himself came and called me at 10:7, so that I could go to Communion! It seemed like a fleeting glimpse of an unfallen world. Actually I was awake, and just (as one does) discovering a number of reasons (other than tiredness and having no chance to shave or even wash), such as the

[19] *Maxims I,* lines 169–171.
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] C. S. Lewis: *Surprised by Joy: The Shape of My Early Life,* New York, HarperCollins, 2017.

> desirability of getting home in good time to open up and un-black and all that, why I should not go.[22]

In this letter we find proof of another form of devotion Tolkien practiced with seriousness, and which shows how he turned to more popular forms of devotion as well, namely, the Rosary.

> But the intrusion of this gentle Jew, and his glance at my rosary by my bed, settled it. I was down at St. Aloysius at 7.15 just in time to go to Confession before Mass; and I came home just before the end of Mass … I lectured at 11 a.m. and managed to have a colloguing with the Lewis and C. Williams (at the White Horse). And that is about all the top off the news as far as I am concerned![23]

The fact that he had the rosary by his bed suggests a daily prayer of it, as was advised for fervent believers. This short passage also testifies to another important element of sacramental life which Tolkien lived faithfully: confession. We can see from the letter that he went to confession even on weekdays, as he continued his day by giving a lecture and then having lunch with Lewis and C. Williams. The letter also betrays how Tolkien perceived the fine but real working of Providence in the instances of his everyday life: when he was reluctant to go to Mass, divine aid intervened and gently pushed him not to neglect his daily routine of taking part in the Sacrifice. He finely emphasizes that God uses an elder brother in faith (the gentle Jew) to remind him of his generous commitment, generous, as it was no demand of the Church which compelled the faithful to attend mass even on workdays; only the Sunday Mass was a requirement, so Tolkien's daily appearance in church testifies to his unusual ardour.

This is again followed by the confirmation of his paternal affection, which also has the purpose of turning the page, fuelled by his timidity, after this too sincere uncovering of his inner being, as in other instances, too: "This is (No. 1) of Pater ad Filium Natu (sed haud alioquin) minimum: Fæder suna his ágnum, þám gingstan nalles unléofestan)."[24]

Another proof of his practice of going to church is his custom to share with his correspondent his criticism about the sermons delivered during the masses. He is quite outspoken about what he thinks, and he comments upon the issues treated. In Letter 69 he narrates a sermon he heard in Oxford by Father Douglas Carter, a priest of St. Gregory's Catholic Church: "Fr. C. gave a stirring little sermon, based on Rogation Days … We all woke up. I am afraid it is all horribly true."[25] Therefore,

[22] Letter 55 to Christopher Tolkien, 18 January 1944, 67.

[23] *Ibid*.

[24] "The Father to his son, Born the youngest, (but not at all in other respects (the least), The Father to his own son, the youngest, but by no means the least loved." *Ibid*.

[25] Letter 69 to Christopher Tolkien, 14 May 1944, 80.

we might assume that he took an active part in the liturgy and considered the thoughts heard in church worthy of remembering and even thorough criticism.

Yet another proof of his interest in his faith is his familiarity not only with the theology and the customary religious practices, but also with the representatives of the Church to which he belonged. Tolkien had some correspondence with Catholic priests, not only with his guardian. Assuring his son, Christopher, about his understanding of the sufferings he had to undergo while being in camp during the war and about the urge to grouse about these, he provides the information that he used to have an ongoing correspondence with a priest from the Birmingham Oratory, his childhood church, while he took part in the first World War: "I used to write in just the same way or worse to poor old Fr. Vincent Reade, I remember."[26] This is to say, he sought spiritual help and counselling from the priest with whom he was acquainted from his relatively early childhood even after years of physical separation, in times of utmost troubles, in the hardships of war. This testifies to a continuity of spiritual counselling which then went on throughout his whole life.

He wrote another letter to Father Robert Murray, a Jesuit priest and a close friend of the Tolkien family, which contains the often-quoted lines about Tolkien's confession about the Christian conception of *The Lord of the Rings*:

> I know exactly what you mean by the order of grace; and of course, by your references to Our Lady, upon which all my own small perception of beauty both in majesty and simplicity is founded. *The Lord of the Rings* is of course a fundamentally religious and Catholic work; unconsciously so at first but consciously in the revision.[27]

Lastly, even if this sounds paradoxical, as a proof of the absolute seriousness with which Tolkien lived his faith, let us quote a little example of the humour which permeated his spiritual life, as there is no seriousness without humour, and the saintlier, the jollier. He gives his son Christopher some news about his friend, C. S. Lewis, and laments about the naïvely exaggerated puritanic image Lewis' audience forced on him:

> Lewis is as energetic and jolly as ever but getting too much publicity for his or any of our tastes. "Peterborough," usually fairly reasonable, did him the doubtful honour of a peculiarly misrepresentative and asinine paragraph in the Daily Telegraph of Tuesday last. It began "Ascetic Mr. Lewis"---!!!! I ask you! He put away three pints in a very short session we had this morning, as said he was, "going short for Lent."[28]

[26] Letter 66 to Christopher Tolkien, 6 May 1944, 78.
[27] Letter 142 to Robert Murray S. J., 2 December 1953, 171.
[28] Letter 56 to Christopher Tolkien, 1 March 1944, 68.

However, it seems that neither the Gargantuan nature of his closest friend, nor his acceptance of such unusual and maybe, by prudish standards blameful conduct could shake the belief of those who knew him well that Tolkien led a respectable and even admirably devout life as a Christian. Tolkien's fame as a pious Catholic is still lively and considerable in his parish, at St. Aloysius' church in Oxford and among his fellow Christians to such an extent that efforts are being made for the opening of a process of canonization. The local bishop encouraged the faithful to explore the life of the writer as a preparation for this. The cause gained supporters even abroad: an Italian priest, Fr. Daniele Pietro Ercoli wrote to the archbishop of Birmingham in this matter, who encouraged Ercoli to promote Tolkien's fame in this respect: "I am pleased to encourage you in seeking to inform people more widely about J.R.R. Tolkien's Catholic faith and the influence that this had on his writing and on his life." He also suggested that a prayer for private use should be written for the canonization, which was done. As a further step, on 1–2 September 2018 a "Canonization Conference" in Oxford was promoted.[29] Whether the cause will be successful or not, the *Letters* already give ample evidence about Tolkien's living faith, which found its expression in the ardent and faithful practices of his religion.

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Abstract

The present paper investigates a hitherto unknown face of J. R. R. Tolkien: Tolkien, the practicing Catholic. The analysis of his works, mainly that of The Lord of the Rings by minutious scholarly work as well as his own lines about the "fundamentally religious" conception of it makes it clear that Tolkien had an overall religious worldview which determined to a considerable extent the creation of his works. A great amount of research has been made and is being made to uncover all the implications of Tolkien's faith into his works. However, his actual religious practices of his everyday life have been left uncovered yet. This paper attempts to provide a brief glance into these by examining Tolkien's early Letters, using the selection edited by Humphrey Carpenter.

Keywords: Tolkien, Letters, religious practices, private devotion

Rezümé
Tolkien, a gyakorló katolikus

A jelen tanulmány Tolkien egyik eddig nem ismert arcát kutatja: Tolkienét, a gyakorló katolikusét. Műveinek elemzése révén, valamint saját sorai által is, világossá vált, hogy Tolkien világnézete alapvetően vallásos, amely lényegileg meghatározta műveinek megformálását. Komoly és sokrétű kutatás készült és készül arról, miként jelenik meg Tolkien hite műveiben. Ugyanakkor mindennapi életének hitgyakorlatairól még nagyon keveset tudunk. A jelen dolgozat megpróbál rövid bepillantást nyújtani e területre Tolkien leveleinek vizsgálata által, a Humphrey Carpenter által kiadott válogatott levélgyűjtemény alapján.

Kulcsszavak: Tolkien, Levelek, vallási gyakorlatok, hitélet

Judit Nagy

Private Memory and Public History in Chang-rae Lee's *A Gesture Life* and in Christina Park's *The Homes We Build on Ashes*

Introduction

Doc Hata of Bedley Run and Nara Lee of Vancouver are troubled by past traumatic events intertwined with the history of their ancestral homeland. Their experience of loss dominates the memories they have of the place they once called their home, where their saga of multiple displacement began. Moreover, they also share the remorse over failing to protect someone close. Former comfort station medical staff Doc Hata's reminiscences of Kkutaeh and Minjoo's narrative of her accidental kidnapping and subsequent afflictions punctuated with Nara's factual input offer a near-historical portrayal of Japanese military sexual slavery. In an attempt to uncover how private memories and public history are linked in Lee and Park's respective novels, this paper will discuss the following points: story lines and narration, the perpetrator's tale, Doc Hata and Minjoo's respective stories of sexual slavery, and finally, the authors' comments on their motivation, sources and insights.

Story lines and narration

First, an explanation will be provided as to how the story lines and the narrative patterns help forge the link between personal memory and public history in the two novels. Lee's novel has two parallel story lines. One focuses on wartime events in the past, the other on Doc Hata's current life in the United States. The narrator, Doc Hata oscillates between "an intense, violent setting where bizarre and sadistic things would happen" and the "vernal, tidy, and controlled suburban setting" of Bedley Run.[1] Chapter 6 takes the first plunge into Doc Hata's past. In an interview with Sarah Ann Johnson, Lee explains, "I tried to institute and develop that suburban setting to an extent where it feels like that's what the book is, and only then switch gears".[2] The two storylines converge when Kkutaeh appears in Doc Hata's Bedley Run home in the form of a hallucination, symbolic of the past nagging at Doc Hata's present life. The beginning of the novel's closing paragraph contains Doc Hata's prayer for reconciliation with his past:

[1] Sarah Ann Johnson: „An Interview with Chang-rae Lee". https://www.awpwriter.org/magazine_media/writers_chronicle_view/2464/an_interview_with_chang-rae_lee Accessed 15 April 2023.

[2] *Ibid*.

> Let me simply bear my flesh, and blood, and bones. I will fly a flag. Tomorrow, when this house is alive and full, I will be outside, looking in. I will be already on a walk some place, in this town or the next or one five thousand miles away. I will circle round and arrive again. Come almost home.[3]

Almost in the last sentence suggests that full reconciliation in this sense is impossible. In Lee's novel, other characters are also seen and described through Doc Hata's eyes, their words are put in quotation marks, including those of Kkutaeh. Lee has amply commented on his choice of first person narration for *A Gesture Life*. His interest centers on the exploration of the inner world of his sole narrator all throughout, "the drama of consciousness."[4] He also warns, though, that there is a certain limitation due to the ever-present filter of the character's consciousness "on his self view and world view."[5] Accordingly, by employing a disclaimer at the very beginning of the story, Doc Hata deems himself an unreliable narrator:

> [i]t seems difficult enough to consider one's own triumphs or failures with perfect verity, for it's no secret that the past proves a most unstable mirror, typically too severe and too flattering at once, and never as truth-reflecting as people would like to believe.[6]

His unreliability, as Lee suggests in an interview with Ron Hogan, "has to do with his own feelings and emotions and psyche"[7] deeply affected by his past experience. Memories are of a subjective nature. At the same time, they also form important building blocks of public history through the variety of perspectives they offer.

Park chooses a different narrative strategy to unfold her story. Her novel opens with the Busan fire of 1953. The description of the fire and how it devoured Nara's neighborhood including her newly built home is followed by an account of Nara's school days in the 1930s. From that point on, the story progresses towards the present with occasional flashbacks signifying earlier events, such as the 1919 Independence Movement, Nara's escape from Daegu, Minjoo's story or the tale of the phoenix. The initial image of the Busan fire places the loss of home as a theme in focus right from the beginning of the novel. Many of the shared retrospective episodes to follow, among them, Minjoo's first-hand experience of Japanese sexual slavery, echo this theme, in close connection with ways of rebuilding, mitigation and the „spiritual resilience of women in the face of colonial and domestic violence."[8]

3 Chang-rae Lee: *A Gesture Life*. New York, Riverhead Books, 1999, 356.
4 Johnson *op. cit.*
5 *Ibid*.
6 Lee *op. cit*. 5.
7 Ron Hogan: "Chang-Rae Lee". http://www.beatrice.com/interviews/lee/ Accessed 12 April 2023.
8 Alissa McArthur: "The Homes We Build on Ashes". https://roommagazine.com/the-homes-we-build-on-ashes/ Accessed 1 April 2022.

Another important feature of Park's narration is her creation of a menacing atmosphere, which functions as a foreshadowing tool to contextualize the fate which befalls Minjoo. Such sinister episodes include the public school beatings, the Japanese military breaking into and subsequently closing the missionary school, or ominous whispers about the orphanage such as "[t]hose places […] are no good at all right now. […] It is not safe in those places."[9] In addition, both Park and Lee make use of the object-triggers-memory scheme be it the geisha doll Nara smashes in her Vancouver apartment or the shreds of the black flag stashed away in Doc Hata's Bedley Run house. Through the symbolism these objects carry, they evoke personal memory and make remnants of public history at the same time.

The Homes We Build on Ashes is narrated in third person singular, with the narrator filling in on some important historical details. Nara allows Minjoo to share her experience with the reader directly, while also providing the broader historical context of these happenings through her own insights, thus enabling the reader to place Minjoo's experience in a wider perspective. What is more, the affective overtones of Minjoo's account are accentuated by Nara mediating what she actually sees looking at Minjoo and how that makes her feel. While Lee is presenting the issue of military sexual slavery through Doc Hata's internal drama, Park uses what Lee terms an "outwardly dramatic" narrator[10] to achieve affective complexity and to provide the narrative perspective bridging personal memory and history.

The perpetrator's tale

"Survivors tell stories or create testimonies that bridge the gaps in historical and personal memory," states Miller in his analysis of *A Gesture Life*.[11] Having witnessed the plight of Japanese military sexual slaves in some way or other, both Doc Hata and Nara can be considered survivors, who "provide history to a silent story."[12] However, their position as survivors is very special. Doc Hata is employed as medical staff in the Japanese Imperial Army at a *comfort station* during WWII, so, through his profession, he becomes an instrument in the systematic victimization of military sexual slaves. "Though not all-powerful, he's also someone with a measure of control, which puts him in an unenviable position with respect to the women," Lee elaborates.[13] From the weekly check-ups Doc Hata conducts, he is fully aware of the harsh treatment and fiendish violence 'comfort women' are exposed to, he is also familiar with their appalling living conditions. He himself does not frequent

9 Christina Park: *The Homes We build on Ashes*, Toronto, Inanna Publications and Education Inc., 2015, 73.

10 Johnson: *op. cit.*

11 Matthew Miller: "Chang-rae Lee's A Gesture Life: The Recuperation of Identity". *Ethnic Studies Review*, Volume 32, Issue 2, 2009. 1–23.

12 *Ibid.*

13 Johnson: *op. cit.*

the *comfort station*, yet, he provides just enough medical care to keep the women in service, which is "not against [his] field training," he confesses.[14] Furthermore, on an occasion, he forces one of the girls back to an officer. This all lends support to the argument that Doc Hata is not just a survivor witnessing the hardships of military sexual slaves but can also be seen as a perpetrator. To make his position more complex, he possesses a 'tragic flaw', which brings about Kkutaeh's and, in a way, his own downfall: in his doomed relationship with Kkutaeh, he fails to understand and respect her needs as a woman in her situation. Lee explains, "[t]he context does not allow for what any of us would think of as a real love. His love for her is perverse, even if he doesn't think of it as perverse. […] She can't reciprocate in the way that he would want, and of course, something terrible is going to happen to her."[15]

When Nara first observes Minjoo on the boat, she describes the apparent traces of violence on her body: "she had bruises on her face and neck like she had been strangled. Welts and cults covered her arms in circular patterns that looked like cigarette burns. There were scars on her upper back and shoulders that ran deep, as though someone tried to skin her alive."[16] As a witness, she faithfully chronicles the visible effects of Minjoo's brutal treatment, adding factual details to complement Minjoo's own painful confession thereby acting as an agent connecting memory and history. Moreover, Nara herself experiences the cruelty of Japanese men as a slave labourer. When she makes a mistake handling the machine at the textile factory in Osaka:

> One of [the men] punched her across the jaw while another kneed her in the stomach and yet another struck her on the side of her head. […] [T]he three kicked and stomped on her […]; two of [the perpetrators] seemed to enjoy this with a perverse sexual pleasure, while the other descended into an animalistic frenzy.[17]

In addition to her Japanese superiors' heinous attack on her, Nara is also to assist one of her fellow labourers at birth who "had been raped by one of the factory managers."[18] These experiences enable her to better comprehend what Minjoo had had to endure and add a certain complexity to Nara's own position in the story.

When Minjoo dies shortly after their arrival in Pusan port, she bestows her testimony on Nara – a heavy burden for her to carry, given the circumstances of Minjoo's kidnapping from the orphanage, which Nara witnesses but also allows to happen. In addition, she would have had the chance to inform Minjoo's parents

[14] "I was to employ the least wasteful treatment. […] Which is what I did […] each […] time one of them was brought in, despite their terrible condition." Lee: *op. cit.* 227.

[15] Johnson: *op. cit.*

[16] Park: *op. cit.* 114.

[17] Park: *op. cit.* 92.

[18] Park: *op. cit.* 103.

about the incident, but, completely overtaken by fear and her survival instincts, she chooses to run away. Later, when Mr. Lim visits Pusan in search of her missing daughter, she lets another chance pass by to share with him what she now knows about his late daughter's fate. She only discloses the fact that Minjoo has passed away. This latter incident may be perceived as an act of grace, yet, similarly to Doc Hata, it may equally place Nara in the role of a perpetrator.

Lee recounts that initially, his novel centered around the character of a military sexual slave: "I'd written quite a bit of that first story, and it wasn't doing a lot of things for me that I wanted it to do. It didn't feel particularly fresh and different compared to the research I'd done."[19] In fact, Doc Hata began as a side character in the original novel.

> [What I wanted was] [n]ot to reflect solely on [Doc Hata's] experience in the camp, but to let that experience sear him psychically, forever. Once I started writing him, I then began to feel that this was a new story, definitely one I hadn't encountered in my research, and one that is the other side of the story, the perpetrator's tale.[20]

Accordingly, both novels dwell upon the portrayal of the perpetrator's post-traumatic life and show how Doc Hata and Nara bear lifelong consequences of their actions. *A Gesture Life* concludes with Doc Hata flying the black flag calling for Kkutaeh in his perpetual spiritual voyage of coming "almost" home whereas Nara invokes Minjoo even on her deathbed: "[t]oday, for the first time, Minjoo turned around and saw Nara. She reached out her arm to Nara and Nara eagerly reached back. 'Oh, have you forgiven me, dear Minjoo?'"[21]

Perpetrators, like their victims, are traumatized, and their guilt keeps echoing relentlessly in the aftermath of their acts. Lee himself stresses that he intended to "bring home for the reader not just an act, […], but the aftereffects, what happens in the act's wake. And, most interestingly, how people live in that wake."[22] Indeed, the perpetrator's guilt surfaces in both novels in various ways. First, they see the dead in their current lives: Doc Hata talks to Kkutaeh as a ghost in his Bedley Run while Nara imagines her grandchild Lauren to be Minjoo's reincarnation. Second, guilt also manifests in the protagonist's unwillingness to share their memories in both novels. Thinking of Minjoo, Nara "refuse[s] to dwell on that part of the past" and "she push[es] the memories out of her mind as hard as she could unable to bear the guilt."[23] It is like "pulling yourself blindly through a mysterious resistance whose properties are slowly revealing themselves beneath you, in flame-like roils and

[19] Johnson: *op. cit.*
[20] *Ibid.*
[21] Park: *op. cit.* 254.
[22] Hogan: *op. cit.*
[23] Park: *op. cit.* 5.

tendrils, the black fires of the past,"[24] Doc Hata describes, drawing a subtle parallel with the movement of the water in the swimmer's wake. "Blindly", "resistance", and "revealing themselves" are symptomatic of his reluctance to speak. Meaning "muddy or thick with suspended matter," the term "roil" implies the cloudy and soiled past looming while "tendril," associated with climbing plants, captures its nagging and clinging quality. The color black brings a richness of associations into the image, the most important of which is perhaps the reference to the shreds of the black flag binding Doc Hata to what is left of Kkutaeh.

Details emerge little by little, triggered by "music and voices playing off the hidden trees,"[25] the tattered pieces of black silk, the pool, the dark fabric of the shop used for decoration, the cardboard school in Busan shanty town, Nara's granddaughter, the cooking pot saved from the fire or the geisha doll Nara smashes "with an almost violent force."[26] Lee himself confirms to have employed this strategy to build Doc Hata's narrative of guilt. In addition, more in Lee than in Park, the reader is often left to infer the affective repercussions from the facts in terms of how they would reflect on the protagonist in the gapped texture of the narrative: "[Doc Hata] would never give a huge confession, so the narrative would have to provide an acknowledgement of what happened without any real show of emotion when he tells you these things. That was very important to me, that he was going to just let you know what happened and let it sit there."[27] In Park, Minjoo focuses on the affective aspects of her experience of military sexual slavery while Nara is used as an instrument to fill in on some important historical details. At the same time, echoes of Nara's guilt keep reverberating throughout the story and reach their climax in Minjoo's haunting sentence "Do you remember, Nara? I was only visiting. I wanted to comfort you and keep you safe. I was only visiting."[28] Thirdly, also signifying Doc Hata and Nara's guilt, self-justification occurs on several occasions in the two novels. For example, Doc Hata mentions that in wartime everything works differently, thus commodities – which category includes the girls in his care – should not be handled wastefully, hence he keeps sending them back to resume their duty after the most basic 'mending' he can provide as a medical assistant, "for in wartime it was never a question of salubrity, really not for anyone."[29] Or, upon witnessing the kidnapping scene, Nara "was traumatized and an uncontrollable self-preservation drove her away as fast as possible. She only had one thought, which was to survive, and she pushed away any other thought that would pose an obstacle," which she points out as the reason why she did not stop to inform Minjoo's parents of what she has witnessed, "[s]omething she would come to regret deeply and painfully."[30]

[24] Lee: *op. cit.* 152.
[25] Lee: *op. cit.* 105.
[26] Park: *op. cit.* 228.
[27] Hogan *op. cit.*
[28] Park: *op. cit.* 120.
[29] Lee: *op. cit.* 226.
[30] Park: *op. cit.* 80.

As has been shown, inherent to the perpetrator's tale, guilt is present in many different forms in both novels from episodes of hallucination, self-delusion and self-justification to structural enhancement, with the effect of making both Doc Hata and Nara's character more complex, while also providing an important additional narrative perspective for presenting and understanding the past.

Characters' respective stories of military sexual slavery

The next part of the paper will focus on the sexual slavery-related content of the two novels. Firstly, the reader is given the chance to learn how Kkutaeh and Minjoo became military sex slaves. Kkutaeh and her sister were "traded" by their parents for their brother about to be drafted. They were told they were going to work in a boot factory outside of *Shimonoseki*,[31] while Minjoo accidentally fell victim to a kidnapping scheme arranged by the corrupt matron of Nara's orphanage, which also implies the responsibility of Korean collaborators regarding Japanese military sex slavery: "Nara watched motionless as the woman mumbled some rubbish to the men while they handed her a small envelope."[32]

Next, Lee's novel provides a description of the military sexual slaves quarters, the five small wooden cabins of the 'comfort house' arranged in a line, the "tiny, windowless rooms, no more than the space of one and a half tatami mats", with a "wide plank wood" in the middle shaped like a coffin lid[33] emblematic of the girls' likely fate. Minjoo's testimonial does not contain any details in this respect.

In both novels, there are also textual references to the military sexual slaves' life. Doc Hata estimates that the three women "ranging from sixteen to twenty-one"[34] at the Rangoon camp have to serve 200 men, 20–30 a day, "the resulting insult […] horribly painful and ignominious."[35] Minjoo confesses that "like it was some retail shop," they received 'visitors' from 8:00 am to 5:00 pm "all day, every day" and worse, secretly also at night.[36] In Lee, Mrs. Matsui, a Japanese woman in her fifties who "had obviously once been in the trade"[37] functions as the girls' "keeper", cooking meagre meals and providing them with minimal supplies and care to remain in service. She is also in charge of handing the soldiers their tickets to visit the *comfort house*. Minjoo makes only a brief reference to the "manager of the facility", who would get angry with the assaulted girls for "soiling the sheets with [their] blood" and who forced them to bathe for their *customers*.[38]

[31] Lee: *op. cit.* 250.
[32] Park: *op. cit.* 76.
[33] Lee: *op. cit.* 179.
[34] Lee: *op. cit.* 181.
[35] Lee: *op. cit.* 226.
[36] Park: *op. cit.* 116.
[37] Lee: *op. cit.* 181.
[38] Park: *op. cit.* 119.

Lee's novel makes mention of the medical surveillance conducted among sexual slaves, the purpose of which is "well-being aside, to make certain they could perform their duties for the men in the camp."[39] Mrs. Matsui readies them for the examination, spreads their legs apart and "holds them steady,"[40] if they are unwilling to comply. Doc Hata focuses on the paperwork and does not touch the girl's "swollen and bruised" privates, he inspects them only "visually"[41], yet, he feels uncomfortable with them due to the catalytic role he plays in their victimization, whereas Captain Ono, the chief medical personnel, is suggested to have molested Kkutaeh. Minjoo simply utters that they had "access to medicine" and she speaks of the horrid conditions under which abortions were performed.[42]

When Doc Hata's comrades, Lieutenants Enchi and Fujimore are discussing the arrival of "the fresh girls" in Singapore, their causal banter is interrupted by the commotion the suicide of one of the new arrivals jumping from the barracks has caused. "She must have landed just to snap her neck like that,"[43] Doc Hata observes. It is also added that two girls were "lost" on the way from *Shimonoseki* to the military camp. In Park's novel, Minjoo recounts that she herself was often praying for "the Angel of Death"[44] to come to her rescue, and that the *comfort station* was furnished minimally to prevent women from taking their own life. Still, some tried to hang themselves even with their bedsheets or, initially, using the weapons of the visiting soldiers. "[M]any women did kill themselves,"[45] Minjoo adds. Moreover, in Lee's novel, Kkutaeh keeps begging Doc Hata to kill her to escape Captain Ono's grip, and Corporal Endo performs what can be termed the consented form of honour killing on Kkutaeh's sister to save her from shame, for which he pays with his life "as any saboteur who had stolen or despoiled the camp's armament or rations."[46]

Some of the women try to run away or hide upon arrival at the camp. Doc Hata's first flashback ends with the scene where he captures a girl and delivers her back to General Yamashita, who thinks of the girl's move as a potential suicide attempt: "'We wouldn't want another leaper, would we?'"[47] Kkutaeh's sister finds shelter under the porch but the promise of rice balls lures her out of her hiding place and, in turn, Colonel Ishii drags her back inside. Park's Minjoo does not share any episode of anyone attempting to flee, but she does comment on the ban of soldier's weapons at the 'comfort station' as "no solace for those who wanted to escape."[48]

39 Lee: *op. cit.* 180.
40 Lee: *op. cit.* 184.
41 *Ibid.*
42 Park: *op. cit.* 119.
43 Lee: *op. cit.* 108.
44 Park: *op. cit.* 116.
45 Park: *op. cit.* 117.
46 Lee: *op. cit.* 189.
47 Lee: *op. cit.* 112.
48 Lee: *op. cit.* 118.

Both novels provide numerous references to women depicted as disposable objects to be discarded once they reach the condition 'beyond mending'. Their death means the rest are "one fewer", their dead bodies are swung like "a sack of radishes."[49] Minjoo's description testifies to the same attitude on the part of the military: "[o]nce dead, [the manager of the facility] tossed the body out with the rotting garbage behind the barracks."[50] Even when they are alive, they are "merchandise"[51] of "monger[s]"[52], a commodity "quite valuable […] to the well-being and morale of the camp"[53] while they last. Like machines, they need to be maintained, which "present[s] [Doc Hata] with difficult challenges,"[54] given the regular mass visitations. "Almost all the women in my barracks died within a few years,"[55] recounts Minjoo. Like useless objects, they are replaced by new girls. And, as "supplies became more scarce" towards the end of the war, the girls "ha[ve] to last longer."[56]

Violence is a prevalent feature of the picture the two novels paint of military sexual slavery. Doc Hata's second flashback of the war takes the reader to *Rangoon* (Yangon, Burma), where new *volunteers* are delivered to the military camp in a truck. Ms. Matsui, their keeper "barks" at the girls. Her verbal violence is followed by Captain Ono hitting one of the girls for not obeying his orders quickly enough. From "faint bruising"[57], "broken nose", "dislocated hips", "cigarette burns", welts, cuts, scars, strangling, the "barbaric and forced" abortions, mutilation, vaginal bayoneting, soldiers' "unauthorized night visits" causing "nocturnal terror"[58] to the sadistic gang rape initiated by Shiboru[59], violence is portrayed as a quotidian corollary of military sexual slaves' life, leaving minimal chance for the girls to survive. In the end, Kkutaeh is killed in the vile assault by Shiboru's men. Moreover, even though Minjoo is set free "for she survived for so long," she dies within a relatively short time due to the substantial damage done to her body.

While *A Gesture Life* zooms in on the violence pertaining to the final years of WWII (1943-45) in two Japanese military camps in South-east Asia, Park's novel additionally catalogues violence and abuse during the Japanese Occupation: the public school beatings, the forceful closing down of missionary schools, the hunt for alleged *traitors*, the confiscation of noblemen's property, the murder of Nara's father, the brutality of foremen at the forced labor camps. Except for the incident

49 Lee: *op. cit.* 109.
50 Park: *op. cit.* 119.
51 Lee: *op. cit.* 183.
52 *Ibid.*
53 Lee: *op. cit.* 166.
54 Lee: *op. cit.* 167.
55 Lee: *op. cit.* 118.
56 Park: *op. cit.* 118–119.
57 Lee: *op. cit.* 182.
58 Park: *op. cit.* 114–119.
59 Lee: *op. cit.* 304–305.

which befalls Nara's father, Park's victims are female. However, in Lee's story, men are pictured as violent among themselves, too, which instances such as Colonel Ishii shooting the sentry dead or the beheading of Corporal Endo reveal.

Both novels paint a historically accurate picture of Japanese military sexual slavery. The highlighted issues include how these women are forced to serve as sexual slaves, their quarters and quotidian life, suicide and attempts to flee as ways out of their misery, the treatment of sexual slaves as objects and the omnipresent violence in their life. While Lee uses the presented factual information to capacitate the reader to piece together Kkutaeh's story, in Park, the focus is on the physical and mental scars Minjoo and other women have suffered at the *comfort stations* as a consequence of sexual slavery. All that is shared is congruent with the available historical sources and the testimonies given by former Japanese military sexual slaves.

The authors' motivation, sources and insights

In the TV program *To Read a Book,* Lee reminisces how the idea of the novel came to him:

> "[t]here was a very small article about Korean women who were protesting at the Japanese Embassy in Seoul. […] I wondered why they were protesting so I read more of the article […] It was the first time I ever heard about what had happened to them. […] I was kind of ashamed of myself."[60]

This incident inspired Lee to start doing research on Japanese military sexual slavery. He additionally conducted interviews with a few survivors in Seoul, first intending to write a novel from their point of view, but it "didn't quite come up to the measure of what I had experienced, sitting in a room with these people," Lee admitted,[61] thus he foregrounded an initial side character in Doc Hata's person, who also grew out of the interviews he was conducting.[62]

Lee was aiming to create a story that "would be as accurate and authentic as possible."[63] Yet, he did not wish to simply replicate the collection of historical facts at his disposal. In fact, "[t]he only thing that I tried to remember was to try not to make it seem so historical,"[64] he explains. And indeed, the reader is continuously

[60] "'A Gesture Life' (Author: Lee Chang Rae)". *TV To Read a Book*, ep. 31, KBS, 05 July 2014. Accessed 4 August 2022.

[61] Dwight Garner: "Adopted Voice". *The New York Times*. Books. September 5, 1999. https://archive.nytimes.com/www.nytimes.com/books/99/09/05/reviews/990905.05garnet.html Accessed 12 April 2023.

[62] *Ibid*.

[63] Johnson: *op. cit.*

[64] *Ibid*.

invited to fill in the gaps in Doc Hata's story of Kkutaeh, the narrative lacunae provided by the "reveal[ed] bit[s] of information without the surrounding details […] You get the fact before you get the real story. The deeper revelation comes later."[65]

Christina Park's novel was inspired by her grandmother's story of losing her home in the Busan fire.[66] Home is a central metaphor of the work. „I anchor those really big events in the homes in which [Nara] lives", Park reveals, be it even such unhomely places as the "insidious orphanage"[67] or the climactic passage home on Pusan-bound boat where Nara finds out what has become of Minjoo. Like Lee, Park also consulted various historical sources for her novel, which Nara's intermittent explanatory passages confirm unequivocally. Moreover, the book was written at the time when the issue of apology became the topic of heated debate, so its "Acknowledgements" section, which contains a passage dedicated to the "200,000 women and girls who suffered in the camps under military rule," addresses this issue explicitly: "[i]n order to forgive, one must first asked to be forgiven. May you get the apology you deserve."[68] Equally importantly, Park calls the attention to the inappropriateness of the term *comfort women*:

> [i]t continues to baffle me why we still label these poor women from the perspective of the soldier. These were women and girls who were kidnapped or tricked and then coerced and forced into a militarized form of sexual slavery. The comfort part was to bring comfort to the soldiers. […] In fact what they went through was heinous and horrible. If I affect any kind of change, I'd love to change the language around that and shift the perspective back to the women and give them the justice that they deserve.[69]

Conclusion

The gap between personal memory and public history in bridged in several different ways in Chang-rae Lee's *A Gesture Life* and in Christina Park's *The Homes We Build on Ashes*. First, the convergence of Lee's two story-lines and Doc Hata's prayer for reconciliation illustrate how the past – embedded in a historical context – haunts the present at a personal level in a "drama of consciousness". The historical context for Minjoo's story is created through "outwardly dramatic" Nara's occasional flashbacks, the sense of menace pervading her account leading up to the kidnapping

[65] *Ibid*.

[66] Jeanette Kelly: "Christina Park explores Korean ancestry in first novel". *CBC*, October 14, 2015. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/nara-lee-houses-we-build-on-ashes-1.3271177 Accessed 2 Aug. 2022.

[67] *Ibid*.

[68] Park: *op. cit.* 257.

[69] Kelly: *op. cit.*

scene and the factual information she provides to supplement Minjoo's confession. Moreover, both novels employ objects through the symbolism of which personal memory and public history are connected. Next, as Doc Hata and Nara feature in the role of *witness, survivor,* and *perpetrator* at the same time, their character helps the reader understand the complexity of the issue of military sexual slavery. Guilt, a corollary of the perpetrator's post-traumatic life is amply documented in both protagonists' narratives. An important tool to link personal memory and public history are the *historical realia* the authors worked into their stories based on research they had done on the subject. These include references to how military sexual slaves were *recruited*, their quarters, living conditions, routines, the inhuman and violent treatment they received and how they reacted to it. Finally, as interviews with both authors are available on their respective works, it can be confirmed that attempting to achieve historical authenticity was a conscious choice on Lee and Park's part.

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Abstract

Former comfort station medical staff Doc Hata's reminiscences of Kkutaeh in Chang-rae Lee's A Gesture Life *(1999) and Minjoo's narrative of her accidental kidnapping and subsequent afflictions punctuated with Nara's factual input in Christina Park's* The Homes We Build on Ashes *(2015) offer a near-historical portrayal of Japanese military sexual slavery. In an attempt to uncover how private memory and public history are linked in the two novels, this paper will discuss the following points: story lines and narration, the perpetrator's tale, Doc Hata and Minjoo's respective stories of sexual military slavery, and finally, the authors' comments on their motivation, sources and insights.*

Keywords: sexual slavery, works by Korean diasporic authors, narrative theory, the "perpetrator"'s tale, Korean history.

Rezümé

Magánemlékezet és történelem Chang-rae Lee „A Gesture Life" és Christina Park „The Homes We Build on Ashes" című művében.

Doc Hata, a „vigaszállomás" egykori „egészségügyi dolgozójának" Kkutaeh-re való visszaemlékezése Chang-rae Lee A Gesture Life *(1999) című regényében, és Minjoo a legjobb barátnője, Nara közvetítésével történő elbeszélése az egy szerencsétlen véletlennek köszönhető elrablásáról és az azt követő szenvedéseiről Christina Park* The Homes We Build on Ashes *(2015) című regényében a japán katonai szexuális rabszolgaság történetileg hiteles ábrázolásának tekinthetők. A tanulmány a következő pontokon keresztül mutatja be, hogy hogyan kapcsolódik össze a magánemlékezet és a történelem a két regényben: történetvezetés és narráció, az „elkövető" története, Doc Hata és Minjoo visszaemlékezései és a szexuális katonai rabszolgaság, bepillantás a szerzők motivációjába, az általuk használt forrásokba és a szexuális rabszolgasággal kapcsolatos meglátásaikba.*

Kulcsszavak: szexuális rabszolgaság, koreai diaszpórában élő szerzők művei, narratíva elmélet, az „elkövető" története, koreai történelem.

Zita Turi

"Dreams always speak in Welsh" – Fictional Realities in Antal Szerb's *The Pendragon Legend*

The Pendragon Legend (1934) by Antal Szerb is partly set in Wales and recounts the history of the Rosicrucians from the perspective of the Hungarian scholar János Bátky. Wales may at first appear to be a unexpected location for a novel by a Hungarian author to take place, but its ancient history of occultism and distant setting make it a fitting backdrop for the thrilling plot to unfold. Szerb experimented with several prose genres and combined different narrative styles to create a text that blends science with occultism, history with bogus history, and dream visions with reality. To achieve this, I will argue, he adopted the Welsh theme for the novel in which stories with varying degrees of authenticity are fused in a delightful and playful manner.

The main character, János Bátky, works as a researcher specialising in the history of the Rosicrucians at the British Museum in London. Bátky meets Owen Pendragon, the Earl of Gwynedd, who invites him to his castle in Llanvygan, Wales, where the scholar undergoes a sequence of fantastical adventures. Szerb wrote an essay entitled *The Rosicrucians* (*A rózsakeresztesek*) about the topic, in which he expressed his critical views and scepticism of occult studies while also acknowledging the cultural significance of Rosicrucianism. Although Szerb claims that *Fama Fraternitatis* (1614) by Johann Valentin Andreae, the most important text of the Rosicrucians, was a deception, the readers, as András Wirágh notes, are to decide whether to consider the novel to be an exciting commentary on the essay or, conversely, the essay functions as a disclaimer for the novel.[1] Bátky refers to the ambiguity around this secret society and the Pendragon family, the genealogy of which he narrates as follows:

> The Pendragons trace their origins – though I notice the line isn't exactly clear – to Llewellyn the Great. This is the Llewellyn ap Griffith who was beheaded by Edward I, the king whom János Arany immortalised for the young reader in Hungary as riding a pale-grey horse. The old Welsh bards who went to their death in the flames singing like the doomed heroes of their own tragic art were

[1] Wirágh András: *Fantasztikum és medialitás: Kísértetek és írásnyomok a magyar prózában Nagy Ignáctól Szerb Antalig*, *Irodalomtörténeti Füzetek* 180, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Irodalomtudományi Intézet, Fórizs Gergely (ed.), Budapest, Reciti, 2018, 198.

> in fact being punished for praising the house of Pendragon. But all this is in the mists of the past.[2]

The text alludes to a ballad entitled "The Bards of Wales" ("A walesi bárdok," 1857) by János Arany, a piece central to the Hungarian literary canon and a perhaps somewhat surprising contribution to the formation of Welsh identity in the 21st century. The Welsh town of Montgomery and Magyar Cymru,[3] a society promoting Hungarian-Welsh relations, had a plaque which commemorates Arany in English, Welsh, and Hungarian installed in the town centre in 2017; it was originally given to Montgomery in 2019 but could not be unveiled until after the Covid pandemic in 2022.[4] This occasion was particularly significant for Welsh-Hungarian relations, as it celebrated Arany's ballad, the main character of which is King Edward I, who, according to legend, had 500 bards killed for refusing to celebrate him. Arany sought inspiration in this story and used it to denounce Emperor Franz Joseph I, who, after the bloody retaliations that followed the 1848–1849 Revolution and War of Independence, was regarded as a tyrant by most Hungarians.

Although it is difficult to pin down the sources Arany used for the poem, Katalin Hász-Fehér notes that he owned a copy of Charles Dickens's *A Child's History of England* (Tauchnitz, Leipzig, 1853), which contains an annotation by Arany in Chapter XVI ("England under Edward the First, called Longshanks").[5] He also had a copy of Friedrich Steger's historiography entitled *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für das deutsche Volk* (1848), which marks 1277 as the year of the massacre in Montgomery.[6] Another probable source was Ferenc Pulszky's travelogue (*Uti vázolatok 1836-ból*) published in *The Book of the Flood in Budapest* (*Budapesti Árvízkönyv*, 1839), which contains a long description of England and Wales. The contrast between Pulszky's characterisation of the West Country in England and Wales is sharp, calling the former "the realm of machinery and factories" and describing the "tower-like steaming chimneys, dark factories covered in smoke, roaring locomotives, children spinning around them, earning peanuts each week. They make a living on their own, and although they can't experience the joys of childhood, they are independent and get used to the struggles of life […]."[7] What Pulszky describes is the ramifications of industrialisation

[2] I will refer to the English translation by Len Rix. I use my own translations for other primary sources originally written in Hungarian. Antal Szerb: *The Pendragon Legend*, transl. Len Rix, London, Pushkin Press, 2006, 16–17.

[3] https://magyarcymru.home.blog/

[4] Craig Duggan: "Montgomery unveils plaque for Hungarian poet Janos Arany". *BBC News,* 14 May 2022, https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-wales-61448325 Accessed 27/04/2023.

[5] Katalin Hász-Fehér: "Bárdok Walesben: A walesi bárdok keletkezés- és közléstörténete". *Irodalomtörténet*, XCV/2, 2014. 208.

[6] Hász-Fehér: *op. cit*. 208.

[7] Pulszky Ferenc: "Uti vázolatok 1936-ból". In B. Eötvös József (ed.): *Budapesti árvízkönyv*, Pest, Heckenast Gusztáv, 1839, 121: "[…] torony alaku magas gőzkéményeket, füstbe burkolt sötét gyárakat lát az ember, mozdonyok zugnak, 's gyermekek forgolódnak körültök, 's két forintot p. p. kapván

in urban regions in England, which he contrasted with the idyllic scenery of Wales as "a province that has been amply gifted with the charms of nature."[8] Then Pulszky goes on to describe the Welsh people, who

> […] preserved their national identity despite the efforts of the English, and despite that it [Wales] had been occupied by England for centuries. Notwithstanding the dominance of the language, the English could not erase old Welsh customs and literature, and they could not silence Gaelic speech. Although Edward I had 500 poets slaughtered to prevent resistance in the country, even today there is a harp in every shed where people sing the songs of the travelling bards.[9]

The legend of the 500 bards characterises Welsh identity as one fighting against English oppression. This is also echoed by the plaque unveiled in honour of Arany in Montgomery, which, on the one hand, served as a tribute to his poetry and, on the other, gave locals an opportunity to reiterate Welsh national identity largely characterised by the centuries-old resistance against England.

Arany was probably familiar with several books that dealt with this topic. Hász-Fehér argues that the majority of English, French, and German works focusing on English history in the 18th and 19th centuries mention the episode about Edward I and the bards, but none of the available texts reference figures.[10] Besides Dickens's *A Child's History of England*, Arany was likely to have been inspired by Scottish poetry and he translated the anonymous Scottish ballad entitled "Sir Patrick Spens" (1765)[11] in 1853; he probably also knew Thomas Gray's "The Bard: A Pindaric Ode," a poem featuring Edward published in 1757.[12] Hász-Fehér adds that the legend of the bards has been mentioned in almost every English-language historical work since the 17th century. The story was first cited in *The History of the Gwydir Family* (first published in 1669) by a Welsh nobleman called Sir John Wynn, and although the legend has been considered true by most Welsh historiographers, English historians often question

legalább hetenként, munkájokért magok tartják ki magokat, 's ha a' gyermekség' vidor örömeit nem is ízelhetik, legalább jó eleve szoknak a' függetlenséghez 's komoly gondhoz."

8 Pulszky: *op. cit*. 121.

9 Pulszky: *op. cit*. 121–122: "Angolhont elhagyván, Walesbe mentünk, ezen a természettől minden bájaival bőven megajándékozott tartományba, melly nemzetiségét az angolok százados törekedései ellen is, bár századok óta Angolhonhoz csatolva, mind eddig épen megtartotta. Angol élet még mindig el nem törleszthteté a régi szokásokat, angol nyelv, literatúrája minden kincsei mellett, el nem némíthatta a gael beszédet, 's bár I-sö Eduard 500 költőt egyszerre levágatott, hogy a nemzetet a régi időkre emlékeztetve, forrásba ne hozzák, még most is minden pitvarban a hárfa áll, mellyen a vándor dalnok énekeit hangoztatja."

10 Hász-Fehér: *op. cit*. 209.

11 For more on Arany's Scottish and Welsh sources see Elek Oszkár: "Skót és angol hatás Arany János balladáiban". *Irodalomtörténet*, I/10, 1912. https://epa.oszk.hu/02500/02518/00008/pdf/ Accessed 26/04/2023; Tolnai Vilmos: "Arany balladáinak angol-skót forrásaihoz". *Irodalomtörténet*, II/1, 1913. https://epa.oszk.hu/02500/02518/00009/pdf/ Accessed 26/04/2023.

12 Hász-Fehér: *op. cit*. 211.

its authenticity and regard it as a myth that has been fabricated to overshadow the kingly virtues of Edward.[13]

While Arany was certainly fascinated by the story of the bards, he also appears to have been sceptical of its credibility. This is revealed by a piece he published in the journal *Koszorú* (*Wreath*) which explains that some of the bards "may have died in the resistance, but the story of this carnage, I think, was devised by poets, who later wrote ballads about this topic and sang them by the fire in Wales until they grew to believe that they are true."[14] Clearly, Arany considered the story to be inspirational, but merely used it as a vehicle to explore issues of power, political resistance, and moral integrity.

Such conflation of history and legends is a recurring theme in *The Pendragon Legend*, one example being the dialogue between Osbourne and Miss Jones, who shares a strange dream about a dog she believes to have been "the dog of hell."[15] The dog foreshadows Osbourne's death in the Castle of Pendragon, following which Miss Jones says that "Dreams always speak in Welsh,"[16] thus creating an association between the unreality of dreams and Wales. Osbourne explains that the old lady has been on her death bed for three years and likes him very much, which is why she insists that he does not visit the castle. Then the young man makes a joke about his own death saying that then the "prophecy would be fulfilled. I'd become a legend, like my ancestors who lived in nobler times. I'd be like one of those Homeric heroes whose death is prefigured three cantos beforehand. Sensational."[17] Here Osbourne conflates family history with family legends – the Pendragon legend – and literature, which also questions the credibility of Szerb's novel. His sister, Cynthia, makes a similar remark earlier in the text when she says to Osbourne that "you'll completely undermine folkloric research. After this I can never again be sure what is genuine and what is humbug."[18] Cynthia's note sounds as if it was Szerb's comment on the ironic quality of the novel, the title of which includes the Latin term "legenda," which originally meant "to be read" and was a popular genre in the Middle Ages to portray the lives of saints and martyrs and which would have been regarded authentic by most readers in the Middle Ages and the early modern period. Wirágh observes that *The Pendragon Legend* is constructed through a web of intertextual references in which Bátky, on the one hand, is the interpreter of the legend, and, on the other, he is also responsible for its recording and creation by deciphering the signs and commenting on the events.[19] Szerb liked to fuse historical

[13] Hász-Fehér: *op. cit.* 216.

[14] Qtd. in Hász-Fehér: *op. cit.* 218: "[…] az ellenállók között lelték halálukat, de ez a tömegmészárlás így, azt hiszem, csak a hegedősök képzelgése, akik, sok évvel később, mondhatnám költöttek egy históriás éneket erre a témára, és addig énekelgették azt a velszi tűzhelyek mellett, amíg el nem hitték, hogy igaz."

[15] Szerb: *The Pendragon Legend*, 130.

[16] Szerb: *ibid*. 130.

[17] Szerb: *ibid*. 130.

[18] Szerb: *ibid*. 89.

[19] Wirágh: *op. cit.* 199.

events with fictional narratives, for which the increasing interest in occultism[20] and mythologies emerging at the end of the 19th century provided a wealth of materials.

The end of the 19th century marked the emergence of the Celtic Revival (or Celtic Twilight), a cultural and literary movement which focused on Irish, Welsh, and Scottish mythology, literature, and art. Szerb writes about this cultural trend in *The History of World Literature* (*A világirodalom története*, 1941) and refers to *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867) by Matthew Arnold, in which he notes that Celts are "always ready to react against the despotism of fact."[21] Here, Arnold critiques the tendency to conflate factual information and fiction in the Celtic mind. Szerb also quotes this line[22] and adds that the Scots and the Welsh were less involved in the Celtic Revival than the Irish, although the Welsh translated a collection of legends, the *Mabinogion*, into English.[23] The 1920s, Szerb continues, marked a decade of intense interest in legends and mythologies (e.g. *Joseph and His Brothers* by Thomas Mann in 1933 and *Mornings in Mexico* by D.H. Lawrence in 1927), and he goes on to discuss the works of John Cowper Powys, who used Celtic legends in *Wolf Solent* (1929) and *A Glastonbury Romance* (1932). Szerb first praises Powys for his incorporation of mythology to create "an unnameable and obscure ambiance" and "the kind of indescribable and disturbingly profound meaning that lurks in the dreams of Dostoevsky's heroes;"[24] however, he adds that "no matter how great an author he is, he could not avoid mannerism. His later novels, *Jobber Skald* and *Maiden Castle*, seem to be imitations of the first two, and his more recent works are completely unreadable […]."[25] *The Pendragon Legend* may be read as Szerb's response to the Celtic Revival, even though he maintained a critical distance and parodied the genres of this literary trend.[26]

[20] György Szőnyi discussed the emerging interest in occultism in the first half of the 20th century and argued that authors like Iván Baktay, Mária Szepes, and Béla Hamvas made significant contributions to spiritual literature and philosophy in the era. For more on occultism in Hungary see Szőnyi György Endre: "Művészet és okkultizmus". AudMax esték, Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 18/06/2018 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RJaaKolgu-8&ab_channel=SZTEB%C3%B6lcs%C3%A9szet-%C3%A9sT%C3%A1rsadalomtudom%C3%A1nyiKar Accessed 02/05/2023; Szőnyi György Endre: "Capital Magic – Occult Budapest". https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vVK6asuCJuM&ab_channel=Gy%C3%B6rgyE.Sz%C3%B6nyi Accessed 02/05/2023.

[21] Matthew Arnold: *On the Study of Celtic Literature* (1867). https://www.gutenberg.org/files/5159/5159-h/5159-h.htm Accessed 27/04/2023.

[22] Szerb Antal: *A világirodalom története,* 9th edition, Budapest, Magvető, 1941, 186.

[23] Szerb: *ibid*. 724.

[24] Szerb: *ibid*. 819: "megmarad homályos sejtelemnek, amelyet nem is lehet néven nevezni. Az a fajta kimondhatatlan és riasztó mélyebb értelem ez, amely a Dosztojevszkij-hősök álmaiban lappang."

[25] Szerb: *ibid*. 820: "Későbbi nagy regényei, *Jobber Skald* és *Maiden Castle*, már olyanok, mintha az első kettő utánzatai volnának és legutóbbi írásai már teljesen elviselhetetlenek […]."

[26] Szerb very much appreciated the work of Yeats, who was one of the figureheads of the Celtic Revival and an important author with profound interest in occultism (cf. *A világirodalom története*, 722). Aladár Sarbu discusses Yates's works focused on Rosicrucianism (e.g. "To the Rose upon the Rood of Time," "The Lover tells of the Rose in his Heart," "The Secret Rose") and argues that the structure and themes of his *Rosa Alchemica* (1896) resemble those in *The Pendragon Legend*. Aladár Sarbu: "Szerb Antal, W. B. Yeats, Walter Pater és *A Pendragon legenda*". *Filológiai közlöny*, LXIV/2, 2018. 70.

József Havasréti points out that Szerb's novel oscillates between two cultural contexts: popular genres and cultural exclusivity. Havasréti explains that the former may be characterized by the features of detective novels, ghost stories, and adventure novels; the latter is a reference to the fact that Szerb was a scholar and wrote about the Rosicrucians with philological rigour and panache. The most obvious examples of cultural exclusivity are the secret societies and the occult-magical knowledge that play an important role in the novel.[27] Regarding occultism, Szerb's position is twofold: on the one hand, his ironic remarks indicate that he was not a believer in occult studies; on the other, he, although ironically, acknowledges the cultural significance of such secret societies. As he put it in his essay entitled *The Rosicrucians*: "But it's not fair to just laugh at the Rosicrucians. Although many of them were fools and swindlers, the society mainly included people who were driven by a desire for knowledge and the uneasiness of striving for truth."[28] This is echoed in the dialogues between Bátky and the Earl of Gwynedd, who is obsessed with Robert Fludd (1574–1637), the occult scientist and physician best known for his theories concerning the interconnection between the microcosm and macrocosm, which he wrote extensively about in *De naturae, seu technica macrocosmi historia* (1618). In *The Pendragon Legend* the Earl compares Fludd's ideas to those of 20th-century scientists as follows:

> Fludd, sir, wrote a lot of nonsense because he wished to explain things that couldn't be accounted for at the time. But essentially – I mean about the real essence of things – he knew much, much more than the scientists of today, who no longer even laugh at his theories. I don't know what your opinion is, but nowadays we know a great deal about the microscopic detail. Those people knew rather more about the whole – the great interconnectedness of things – which can't be weighed on scales and cut into slices like ham.[29]

Szerb adopts a neutral position in the conflict between the 20th-century understanding of science and views of natural philosophy before the Scientific Revolution. While he uses irony and humour to express scepticism, he remains impartial and acknowledges that although the achievements of modern science are impressive, they lack the holistic perspective Fludd and his contemporaries would have viewed the world from.

In his article about *The Pendragon Legend*'s occultism and the book's reception, György Szőnyi observes that in the 1930s in Hungary, critics who were unfamiliar

[27] Havasréti József: "Ponyvaregény és kulturális exkluzivitás – Szerb Antal: *A Pendragon legenda*, 1934". *Literatura*, XXXVII/4, 2011. 142.

[28] Szerb Antal: *A rózsakeresztesek*. In *A varázsló eltöri pálcáját*, Budapest, Magvető, 1961, 32–33: "De azért nem igazságos dolog, ha csak nevetünk a rózsakereszteseken és az aranycsinálókon. Ha sok is volt közöttük a bolond és csaló, a társaságok magvát mégis olyan emberek alkották, akiket az igazi megismerés vágya, az igazság felé küszködő nyugtalanság vezetett."

[29] Szerb: *The Pendragon Legend*, 11–12.

with the study of occultism tended to focus on the book's structure, narrative techniques, and other literary devices while dismissing its subject matter.[30] Endre Illés published a rave review about Szerb's novel in the 1935/3 volume of the journal called *West* (*Nyugat*), in which he referred to the book as the combination of "a two-volume history of Hungarian literature and a collection of excellent, but perhaps too methodical, essays."[31] Illés praises Szerb's use of "ample expertise for the sake of a joke" and his "misleading swindles" and calls him a "rare and shining talent" and his work the "detective novel of learned readers."[32] He concludes the review by highlighting the novel's "only flaw: the mystical elements have not been transformed into reality or untruth through some kind of witty sublimation. Because in the end, the writer and the reader knowingly deceive each other."[33] Illés focuses primarily on Szerb's brilliant juggling of various genres (academic and literary) and praises both his witty incorporation of materials and his scepticism.[34] The last comment echoes Cynthia's exclamation about not being able to tell the difference between "what is genuine and what is humbug"[35] mentioned earlier, and it also chimes with Osbourne's response of becoming a legend to Miss Jones's dream.

Szőnyi also notes that ambivalence is one of the most appealing features of the novel. Szerb leaves the nature of esoteric occurrences obscure: Bátky's vision may be perceived as a real experience or as a dream, two interpretations which would both fit into the remit of the novel.[36] This kind of ambiguity is detectable throughout the entire work, especially, as I argued, in Szerb's use of a variety of genres and the confusion of history with anecdotal legends, for which the Welsh setting provides a fitting context.

While "The Bards of Wales" by Arany may be associated with a political pretext (that is, as a sign of resistance against the Habsburg empire after the failed Hungarian Revolution of 1848), Szerb's choice of Wales is very unlikely to have been political. He may have partly chosen this setting because as a researcher he had spent a year in

30 Szőnyi György Endre: "Az ezotéria diszkrét bája: Szerb Antal Pendragon legendája és néhány előképe". In Jankovics József (ed.): *„Nem sűlyed az emberiség!"… Album amicorum Szörényi László LX. születésnapjára*, MTA Irodalomtudományi Intézet, 2007, 863.

31 Illés Endre: "Pendragon-legenda: Szerb Antal regénye". *Nyugat*, 1935/3. https://epa.oszk.hu/00000/00022/nyugat.htm Accessed 26/04/2023: "[…] egy kétkötetes magyar irodalomtörténet és seregnyi kitűnő, de talán túlontúl módszeres esszé édestestvére […].

32 Illés: *ibid*. n.p.

33 Illés: *ibid*. n.p.: "Egyetlen fogyatékossága: a misztikus elemeket végül sem sikerült valami szellemes szublimálással valósággá vagy hazugsággá átváltoztatni: Mert végül író és olvasó egymást csapják be, s ezt mind a ketten tudják."

34 Some English language reviews consider the novel in the context of the horror tradition, while others compare it to Poe's works. Paul Bailey classifies the novel into the genre of pastiche, and Nicholas Lezard calls it an early precursor to *The Da Vinci Code*. Richard Hyfler likens Szerb to Dan Brown, and Albert Manguel points out that Szerb was aware of the parodistic potential of Gothic literature (Wirágh: *op. cit.* 195).

35 Szerb: *The Pendragon Legend*, 89.

36 Szőnyi: "Az ezotéria diszkrét bája". 865.

Britain in 1929–1930 and thus could incorporate recent experiences of the country into the novel. In a letter to Dionis Pippidi from Paris on 28 June 1932, Szerb reveals: "I'm writing an adventure novel, it's set in a haunted castle in Scotland, you can imagine the rest. I hope I can wring a couple of pennies out of it. Realpolitik."[37] One of Szerb's goals was to make profit by writing the novel, which he thought would become a bestseller. Indeed, it was well received when it was first published in 1934, which may have been partly due to Szerb's recycling of the Gothic tradition and the Celtic theme as well as a general interest in occultism in the 1920s and 1930s in Hungary. He first planned to have the story take place in Scotland, known for its haunted castles, but eventually he changed his mind and chose Wales. Szerb often refers to Scots and the Welsh together as Celts, and it is possible that he was inspired by Arany's use of the Welsh theme, which certainly made the novel's Welsh episodes more relatable for contemporary Hungarian readers. It may also be the case that he simply wanted to use a location which would have seemed exotic to Hungarians, who probably knew even less about Wales than Scotland.

Christina Les discusses European fiction between 1900 and 2010 and she dedicates an interesting chapter to the narrative function of the Welsh setting in *The Pendragon Legend*. She argues that Szerb may have chosen Wales because of its otherness compared to European countries.[38] The comparison with London's urban setting, Les adds, "allows Szerb to access space untainted by real-world associations and there to indulge in pure fantasy."[39] While London represents "normality and all things civilised," Wales is portrayed as an impenetrable wilderness where Bátky gets lost.[40] Indeed, the two locations invite highly different narrative styles: the London episodes are presented as perplexing detective stories, but the mysterious events in Wales gradually evolve into an incomprehensible ghost story and sheer irrationality.

In Wales, Bátky feels more misplaced than in England, and Les argues that this may be because the Welsh themes and spaces are highly unfamiliar to most European writers, which allows for more artistic freedom than locations with extensive cultural associations.[41] In the novel, the focus falls on Welsh landscapes and not on Welsh culture or language,[42] and the Welsh scenes are blended with references to England throughout. When Bátky sees an apparition the first night he stays in the Earl of Gwynedd's castle, he narrates the encounter as follows:

37 *Szerb Antal levele Dionis Pippidinek*, transl. Réz Pál: "Egy kalandregényt írok, egy skóciai kísértetkastélyban játszódik, a többit el tudod képzelni. Remélem, ki tudok sajtolni belőle néhány pengőt. Realpolitik." https://www.holmi.org/1995/07/szerb-antal-levelei-dionis-pippidinek Accessed 26/04/2023.

38 Christina Les: *Space Beyond Place: Welsh Settings in European Fiction, 1900–2010*, PhD Dissertation, Bangor University, 2019, 5. https://research.bangor.ac.uk/portal/en/theses/space-beyond-place(0975e7e1-9282-40f2-8f66-27f5f836fc27).html Accessed 27/04/2023.

39 Les: *op. cit.* 63.

40 Les: *op. cit.* 80.

41 Les: *op. cit.* 17.

42 Les: *op. cit.* 91.

> In front of the door, with a flaming torch in his hand, stood a gigantic medieval figure. Just to be clear on this: not for a moment did I think it could be any sort of ghostly apparition. While it is a fact that English castles are swarming with ghosts, they are visible only to natives – certainly not to anyone from Budapest.[43]

Interestingly, Szerb here refers to superstition as fact with reference to England, even though Bátky is in Wales when he comments on the incident. The confusion of Welsh and English identities is another recurring theme in the book. When Bátky meets the Earl of Gwynedd, the Earl says: "I am not English. I am Welsh. That makes me, apparently, fifty per cent more like a Continental."[44] Being half Welsh, the Earl implies, makes one partially European, which may also be understood as Szerb's criticism of Englishness, which Szerb grew rather bored of when he was working there in 1929. In another letter to Dionis Pippidi on 11 November 1929 he explains this as follows:

> I'm a bit tired of England. Imagine people sitting around the dinner table, eating soup that tastes exactly like the meat and the cake, an indefinably bourgeois taste, and all these people chat about is the theatre and the royal family: this is how I see England. It seems that people here are still driven by the old, incomprehensible superstitions of the Victorian era: that is, they believe that life deserves to be lived. When there is a crisis in India, their papers are full of details of dinner parties given by the Prince of Wales in honour of veterans.[45]

Of course, this may be yet another example of Szerb's irony, or it may mean that the stereotypes he had been familiar with before he went to England, he found to be true. Either way, his portrayal of Britishness is rather confusing: Scottish and Welsh are simply considered to be Celtic, and Welsh and English are repeatedly conflated in his writings. In *The History of World Literature*, he notes that John Cowper Powys was Welsh, but later calls him "the greatest representative of depth psychology in English literature" (315). Indeed, although Powys was born in Derbyshire, he had a Welsh background, lived much of his life in Wales, and even though he knew Welsh, he wrote in English.[46]

43 Szerb: *The Pendragon Legend*, 64.

44 Szerb: *ibid*. 10.

45 *Szerb Antal levele Dionis Pippidinek*, transl. Réz Pál: "Ami Angliát illeti, kicsit belefáradtam. Képzelje el, amint az emberek az asztal körül ülnek, kanalazzák a levest, amelynek pontosan olyan az íze, mint a húsé és a süteményé, meghatározhatatlanul polgári íz, s ezek az emberek kizárólag a színházról és a királyi család tagjairól csevegnek: én ezt az Angliát látom. Az itteni embereket, úgy tűnik, ma is a Viktória-kor régi, érthetetlen babonái hatják át: vagyis azt hiszik, az élet megérdemli, hogy megéljék. Amikor a nyakukba szakad az indiai válság, lapjaik tele vannak annak a vacsorának a részleteivel, amit a walesi herceg a régi frontharcosok tiszteletére adott." https://www.holmi.org/1995/07/szerb-antal-levelei-dionis-pippidinek Accessed 26/04/2023.

46 For more on Powys and Szerb see Les: *op. cit*. 35–36, 60–93.

Szerb, who was one of the most prominent academics in the field of English studies in the late 1920s and early 1930s in Hungary, relied on his research of the culture and literature of the British Isles and on stereotypes Hungarian readers would have been familiar with when he wrote *The Pendragon Legend*. Bátky makes a comment on a Welsh character Osbourne refers to as the prophet Habakkuk – an old man called Fierce Gwyn Mawr – saying that "It was a disturbing, fantastic, strangely threatening sight, complete with the obligatory wisps of straw in the hair that every self-respecting lunatic in Britain has spotted since the days of King Lear."[47] The Hungarian text reads "every self-respecting English lunatic" ("minden jóravaló angol őrült"),[48] which, again, highlights the semantic confusion regarding the national identities of the United Kingdom. Using fictional and stereotyped views based on literary examples, Szerb yet again confuses Welsh and English cultural allusions, which adds irony to the text. Zsófia Bárczi argues that this irony accommodates mixed genres, themes, and literary trends through the imitation of the multifaceted genre of the essay, in which fragmentation is not an insufficiency, but rather an opportunity to cross genre boundaries.[49] Szerb dissolved these boundaries and produced a work with a rich network of intertextual connections and literary allusions that the reader is to disentangle in order to understand the novel.

András Wirágh points out that the reference to Byron's *Don Juan* in *The Pendragon Legend* is an allusion to *Bolond Istók* by János Arany (1850), which cites Byron's line "My way is to begin with the beginning"[50] in English.[51] Szerb includes this sentence at the very beginning of the novel, and he also begins his essay on French, English, American, and German novels (*Hétköznapok és csodák*, 1935) by saying "let's begin at the beginning."[52] Wirágh argues that it is difficult to distinguish between these texts, and the reader has to identify the literary allusions and establish connections in order to understand the text. Bátky, Wirágh continues, the "doctor of unnecessary sciences," often uses quotations in his communications with other characters and incorporates them into his narrative, which thus becomes a "literary collage" made up of various sources. This includes inscriptions of the tomb at Pendragon Castle, Bátky's notes, and short letters and messages written by him and sent to him.[53] This aligns with Bátky's characterisation of the Earl of Gwynedd, who, Christina Les observes, he describes as someone "wreathed in laurel on the frontispiece of old books."[54] Bátky likens the Earl to a book, saying that he "seemed to embody an historical past the way

47 Szerb: *The Pendragon Legend*, 257.

48 Szerb: *ibid*. 125.

49 Zsófia Bárczi: "Műfaji játékok Szerb Antal *A Pendragon legenda* című regényében". *Literatura*, XXVIII/2, 2002. 207.

50 János Arany: *Bolond Istók*, https://mek.oszk.hu/00500/00597/html/bi01.htm Accessed 28/04/2023.

51 Wirágh: *op. cit.* 205.

52 Antal Szerb: *Hétköznapok és csodák: Francia, angol, amerikai, német regények a világháború után*, Budapest, Révai kiadás, n.d., 6. https://mek.oszk.hu/15100/15106/ Accessed 28/04/2023. "Kezdjük a kezdetén."

53 Wirágh: *op. cit.* 205.

54 Les: *op. cit.* 72; Szerb: *The Pendragon Legend*, 9.

no book ever could,"[55] and when Bátky becomes aware of the "dark and dangerous escapade" he experienced in Wales at the Earl's castle, all he wants is to return to the "British Museum, and the impregnable calmness of books."[56]

Despite the Welsh location, the readers learn relatively little about the country, and, as Les argues, the landscapes, weather, and other aspects of the natural world gain more significance than local people and their culture.[57] The episodes in Wales are largely based on stereotypes of ruined castles, lakes, forests and "ordinary Welsh characters in the novel are much less developed than the aristocratic Pendragons."[58] They are mostly stock characters like the nervous priest, mad prophet, and superstitious peasants, who do not shape the course of events in the novel.[59] As a result, the Welsh locations become "very different and even otherworldly surroundings."[60] Wales, therefore, could be seen as "a portal to a certain kind of space, characterised by otherness, liminality and distance from all that was previously known and familiar."[61] The otherness and liminality of Welsh spaces chime with Szerb's combination of various genres and textual references as well as his intermediary position regarding occultism.

Szerb compares Wales to Hungary, a country the culture and language of which seem similarly alien to Western Europeans. When Bátky introduces himself to Maloney, he responds that he had never heard of either Hungary or Hungarian people. Maloney first thinks Bátky makes fun of his ignorance, then he asks:

> "And where do you Hungarians live?"
> "In Hungary. Between Austria, Romania, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia."
> "Come off it. Those places were made up by Shakespeare."[62]

The dialogue reveals that Eastern Europe from a British perspective is portrayed as equally alien as Wales from a Hungarian point of view. When Maloney asks Bátky to say something in Hungarian, Bátky recites Endre Ady's poem ("A nyári délutánok," 1907) and Maloney says: "Very nice. But you don't fool me. That was Hindustani."[63] Hungarian sounds incomprehensible to Maloney in the same way as Welsh sounds unrelatable to most Hungarians. Interestingly, Endre Illés's review

55 Les: *op. cit.* 202.
56 Referenced and quoted in Les: *op. cit*. 67.
57 Les: *op. cit.* 5.
58 Les: *op. cit.* 64.
59 Les: *op. cit.* 64. Szerb placed the fictional Llanvygan Castle into North Wales and included some real locations such as Corwen, Caernarfon, Moel Sych, Bala, Rhyl, and Llandudno in the novel and he even the invented locations, e.g. Caerbryn and Abersych, to deliver "an air of authenticity," which shows that he had some geographical knowledge of the region (Les: *op. cit*. 6).
60 Les: *op. cit*. 5.
61 Les: *op. cit.* 5.
62 Szerb: *The Pendragon Legend*, 31.
63 Szerb: *ibid*. 32.

of *The Pendragon Legend* refers to Maloney, who is Irish, as "this big, athletic English boy,"[64] a comment which, again, reveals the considerable confusion regarding English-speaking nations among Hungarian intellectuals in the 1930s.[65]

Maloney's dismissal of Hungarian as nonsense is similar to Bátky's attitude to the Welsh language. Les observes that in the novel Welsh is characterised as "incomprehensible 'jabbering'"[66] of indigenous people and even "the philomath Bátky shows no interest in learning" it, and the language is linked with local superstition throughout.[67] Welsh is contrasted with the use of Latin, which is the key to understanding occult studies and which "boosts Bátky's importance in the plot because he is often the only character present who can understand it."[68] Szerb appears to have made a comparison between Wales and Hungary, two nations that are remote and linguistically and culturally inaccessible to most Europeans; their inclusion thus provides a suitable context for a novel about the Rosicrucians.

In *The History of World Literature* Szerb argues that "world literature" constitutes literature written in the great Romance (French, Italian, Spanish) and Germanic languages (German and English). He argues that literature written in great European languages is not necessarily more valuable than that of small nations; however, Szerb continues, speakers of great languages only learn each other's language, and, similarly, speakers of smaller languages only learn great languages. Thus, "only the literature of the great languages and the privileged few of smaller ones which are translated into great languages can enter common literary consciousness […]."[69] He adds that although other languages may join the canon in the future, this "is an injustice we sons of small nations feel the most. But it is one of those fundamental injustices rebelling against which would be a juvenile and Don Quixotesque struggle."[70] Although speakers of major European languages have limited access to the culture and literature of small nations, Szerb took advantage of his marginal position as a Hungarian writer. He, by adopting an outsider's perspective and excessive use of irony, turned this around and wrote a novel in which he used stereotypes to experiment with different genres and create a compassionate mockery of occultism.

64 Illés: *op. cit.* n.p.: "ez a nagydarab, sportoló angol fiú."

65 In general, Britishness and Englishness are still frequently confused in Hungary; for example, the British royal family is frequently called the English royal family and the British pound is known as the English pound.

66 Les: *op. cit.* 191.

67 Les: *op. cit.* 192.

68 Les: *op. cit.* 65.

69 Szerb: *A világirodalom története*, 8: "ilymód a közös irodalmi tudatba, a 'világirodalmi tudatba' csak a nagy nyelvek irodalma kerülhet be, a kisebb nyelvekből pedig az a kiváltságos kevés, amit a nagy nyelvekre lefordítanak."

70 Szerb: *ibid*. 9: "A jövőben további nyelvek irodalma léphet be a világirodalomba; de ebben a történelmi pillanatban csak eddig terjednek a világirodalom határai. Ez igazságtalanság, azt mi kis nemzetek fiai érezzük legjobban; de azok közé az alapvető igazságtalanságok közé tartozik, amelyek ellen harcolni gyermeki dolog és donquijotéria lenne."

I have argued that Antal Szerb's choice of the Welsh setting plays an important role in the narrative construction of *The Pendragon Legend*, while also serving as a commentary on occultism and the Celtic Revival that emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Szerb experimented with a variety of literary genres and combined several narrative techniques to create a work that conflates science with occultism, history with pseudo-history, and dreams with reality. The novel is made up of stories with varying degrees of authenticity intertwined in an amusing manner. The otherness and the liminal quality of the Welsh locations allowed Szerb to fuse different genres and textual references, as well as to express an intermediary position and irony regarding occultism. He appears to have drawn a parallel between Wales and Hungary – two countries that are linguistically and culturally barely accessible to speakers of larger European languages – through the Welsh setting and by having a Hungarian character narrate the story. Eastern Europe seems just as alien and mysterious from a British viewpoint as Wales is from a Hungarian perspective. As a result, the Welsh setting allowed Szerb to set the plot in a space which Hungarian readers would have had very few, if any, real-life associations of, and which thus could frame the fantastical plot.

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Abstract

My essay focuses on the interconnection between the Welsh setting and narratology in The Pendragon Legend by Antal Szerb. Szerb experimented with several prose genres and combined different narrative styles to create a text that blends science with occultism, history with bogus history, and dream visions with reality. To achieve this, he adopted the Welsh theme for the novel in which stories with varying degrees of authenticity are fused. I argue that the Welsh setting in the novel reveals considerable confusion concerning the nations that make up the United Kingdom. At the same time, it also provided an opportunity for Szerb to set the plot in a space which Hungarian readers would have been familiar with thanks to "The Bards of Wales" ("A velszi bárdok") by János Arany, yet probably had very few real-life associations of, and which thus could accommodate the fantastical plotline.

Keywords: Szerb Antal, occultism, *The Pendragon legend*, Wales, narratology

Rezümé
„Az álmok mindig walesiül beszélnek" – Fikció és valóság Szerb Antal A Pendragon legenda *című regényében*

Tanulmányomban Szerb Antal A Pendragon legenda *című regényében vizsgálom a walesi helyszíneket és azok narratológiai jelentőségét. Szerb a regényben számos prózai műfajjal kísérletezett és különböző narratív technikákat vegyített, s egy olyan szöveget hozott létre, amely ötvözi a tudományt az okkultizmussal, a történelmet a mendemondával, a látomásokat pedig a valósággal. Ehhez a regény nagy részét Walesbe helyezte, ami egyben rámutat a brit identitással kapcsolatos félreértésekre az 1930-as évek Magyarországán, másrészt teret biztosít a misztikus történet kibontakozásához.*

Kulcsszavak: Szerb Antal, okkultizmus, *A Pendragon legenda*, Wales, narratológia

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Pődör Dóra

Ételhez és italhoz köthető magyar jövevényszavak az angolban

Bevezető

Az *Oxford English Dictionary* (a továbbiakban: *OED*) az angol nyelv legnagyobb szótára. Az angolban az összes, 1150 óta írásban dokumentált szóról próbálja a lehető legtöbb információt szolgáltatni a kiejtéssel, az eddig előfordult helyesírás- és alakváltozatokkal, az etimológiával és a különböző jelentésekkel kapcsolatban, mindezt alátámasztva idézetekkel, amelyek között szerepel mindegyik szó, illetve jelentés eddig ismert első, írásban dokumentált előfordulása. A szótár jelenleg körülbelül 600 000 címszót és több, mint 3,5 millió idézetet tartalmaz. Mivel ez történeti szótár, ezért a jelentések nem gyakorisági, hanem időrendi sorrendben vannak feltüntetve.[1] Ez azt is jelenti, hogy számos olyan szót is megtalálunk a szótárban, amely manapság már nem használatos.

Az *OED* tervezése 1857-ben kezdődött, és az első kiadás különböző füzetei (*fascicles*) 1884 és 1928 között láttak napvilágot. Egy kiegészítő kötet is megjelent 1933-ban, majd 1972 és 1986 között újabb négy kiegészítő kötettel gazdagodott a sorozat. Az addig megjelent összes kötetet egyesítették 1989-ben, a szótár 2. kiadásában. 1992-ben a szótár CD-ROM-on is megjelent. Eközben elkezdődött a szótár teljes átdolgozása, hiszen a 19. század végén és a 20. század elején megírt szócikkek alapos frissítésre szorultak. Az a döntés született, hogy ez az átdolgozott 3. kiadás már csak online formában lesz hozzáférhető. 2000-ben vált a 3. kiadás elérhetővé az előfizetők számára (*OED online*), és a szótárban 3 havonta teszik közzé az átdolgozott, illetve új szócikkeket.[2] Az átdolgozás még mindig nem ért véget. A lexikográfusok nem ábécésorrendben haladnak, és a szócikkeknél megtaláljuk azt az információt is, hogy át lettek-e már dolgozva vagy sem, illetve, hogy mi az átdolgozás, vagy egy új szócikk esetében a közzététel dátuma. Szintén nagyon hasznos, hogy a 3. kiadás szócikkeiből elektronikus formában elérhető ugyanannak a szócikknek a 2. kiadásban megjelent változata is.[3]

Az *OED* nemcsak nyelvészeti, hanem kultúrtörténeti szempontból is egy kincsesbánya, hiszen dokumentálja az angol nyelvben megtalálható jövevényszavakat is, illetve az idézetek segítségével – bár korlátozottan – ezek kulturális beágyazottságába is bepillantást nyerhetünk. Az „Advanced search" funkció segítségével sza-

[1] „About". https://public.oed.com/about/ Elérés: 2023. május 1.

[2] „History of the OED". https://public.oed.com/history/ Elérés: 2023. május 1.

[3] A cikkben szereplő adatok az *OED online*-ból származnak, így az *OED* rövidítés a szótár ezen változatára értendő. Itt szeretném kifejezni köszönetemet a Károli Gáspár Református Egyetemnek a 2023. évre szóló *OED online* intézményi előfizetésért.

vakra és szókapcsolatokra kereshetünk rá többek között a szótár egész szövegében, vagy csak a szócikkek etimológiával foglalkozó részében, vagy csak a definícióban, vagy csak a példaként szolgáló idézetekben. De szűrhetünk szaknyelvi terminusokra is (pl. jog, orvostudomány, vallás stb.), az első előfordulások időintervallumára (pl. megnézhetjük, hogy mely szavak lettek először dokumentálva az angol nyelvben 1425 és 1440 között), szófajokra, az angol nyelv különböző területi változataira (pl. Ausztrália, Írország), illetve azt is lekérdezhetjük, hogy egy-egy nyelv hány esetben szerepel egy angol szó forrásaként. Ezen lehetőségekre továbbá különböző kombinációkban is rákérdezhetünk.[4] Így például, ha a „Language of Origin" szűrő segítségével lekérdezzük azon szócikkek számát, ahol az *OED* egy magyar szót (is) megemlít egy angol szó eredeteként, akkor egy 35 szócikkből álló listát kapunk. Amikor pedig a „Hungarian" szóra a szócikkek etimológiára vonatkozó részeiben keresünk rá, akkor egy 119-es listát kapunk. A különbség a két lista között elsősorban arra vezethető vissza, hogy az etimológia-leírások sokszor nem csak az adott címszó szorosan vett etimológiáját adják meg, hanem számos esetben más nyelvekből is hoznak példákat. Így például a *classify* ige szócikkében az egyik párhuzam gyanánt meg van említve a latin *classificare* alak, amely az *OED* szerint egy nem datált magyar forrásban jelent meg először.[5] De azt is megtudhatjuk, hogy a *biogas* szót az angolban a magyar *biogáz* szó mintájára alkották meg 1958-ban.[6] E példákból is látszik, hogy érdemes az *OED*-ben található magyar vonatkozású adatokat mind nyelvészeti, mind pedig kultúrtörténeti szempontból megvizsgálni.

A teljes körű vizsgálat túllép egyetlen tanulmány keretein, így itt csak az ételhez és italhoz köthető hat jövevényszóval kívánok foglalkozni.[7] Választásomat az indokolja, hogy talán ezek között találhatóak a legismertebb magyar eredetű kölcsönzések az angolban, és számos angol anyanyelvű is tisztában van azzal, hogy e szavak Magyarországhoz és a magyar nyelvhez köthetők. Ezen tanulmány e hat szó dokumentálásával, helyesírásával, kiejtésével, morfológiájával, szemantikájával, a szótár kapcsolódó példáival, valamint a gyakoriságukkal foglalkozik.

A vizsgált szavak és dokumentálásuk

Az *OED*-ben található adatokkal dolgoztam, így pl. nem vizsgálom a *palinka* szót, ami jelenleg még nem szerepel ebben a szótárban, és a jelentősebb angol egynyelvű online tanulószótárak közül is csak a *Collins Dictionary*-ben találtam meg.[8]

4 „Advanced search". https://www.oed.com/advancedsearch Elérés: 2023. május 1.

5 „classify". *OED*. Elérés: 2023. május 1.

6 „biogas". *OED*. Elérés: 2023. május 1.

7 Nem megyek bele a „jövevényszó" meghatározásának problematikájába; a vizsgált szavakat jövevényszónak tekintem az angolban, mivel az *OED* adatolja őket, és a magyart adja meg közvetlen forrásnak.

8 „palinka". *Collins Online Dictionary*. Elérés: 2023. március 2.

Az *OED*-ben előforduló, ételhez és italhoz köthető magyar jövevényszavak ábécésorrendben az első dokumentált előfordulásuk jelölésével: *barack* (1936), *goulash* (1866), *palacsinta*[9] (1932), *paprika* (1830), *paprikash* (1877), *puttony* (1940).[10]

Egy idővonalon elhelyezve a következő lenne a sorrend: *paprika* (1830), *goulash* (1866), *paprikash* (1877), *palacsinta* (1932), *barack* (1936), *puttony* (1940).

A fenti szavak *OED*-ban történő dokumentálásának kronológiája a következő: *goulash* (*OED* kiegészítő kötet, 1933), *paprika* (*OED* kiegészítő kötet, 1933), *puttony* (*OED* kiegészítő kötet, 1982), *palacsinta* (2005), *paprikash* (2005), *barack* (2019).

Ezek szerint az adatok szerint a dokumentált első előfordulás és az *OED*-ben való megjelenés között változó hosszúságú idő telt el, amelyet az alábbi táblázat csökkenő sorrendben mutat be:

1. táblázat. A vizsgált jövevényszavak első megjelenése az angol nyelvben, valamint dokumentálásuk az OED-ben

Szó	Első dokumentált előfordulás	Megjelenés az OED-ben	Különbség
paprikash	1877	2005	128 év
paprika	1830	1933	103 év
barack	1936	2019	83 év
palacsinta	1932	2005	73 év
goulash	1866	1933	67 év
puttony	1940	1982	42 év

Az *OED* készítésének és a különböző kiadások publikálása történetének ismeretében megállapítható, hogy a fenti szavak legkorábbi megjelenése a következő években lett volna lehetséges: *goulash* (1900), *paprika* (1904), *paprikash* (1904), *palacsinta* (1933 vagy 1982), *barack* (1972), *puttony* (1982);[11] azaz a *puttony* kivételével elvben lett volna lehetőség e szavak korábbi dokumentálására is. Figyelembe kell vennünk azonban a változó szerkesztői prioritásokat, valamint azt is, hogy a számítógépek kora előtt óriási adatmennyiséget kellett manuálisan kezelniük a szótáron dolgozóknak.

9 Az *OED* külön szócikket szán a szlávból átvett *palacinka*, valamint a németből átvett *palachinken* szavaknak, ám ezekkel itt nem foglalkozom („palacinka" és „Palatschinken", *OED*). Elérés: 2023. május 9.

10 Mivel a *puttony* szót a Tokaji aszúhoz kapcsolódóan vette át az angol, ezért tárgyalom az ételekhez és italokhoz kapcsolódó szemantikai kategóriában. A vizsgált szócikkek: „barack", *OED*; „goulash", *OED;* „palacsinta", *OED;* „paprika", *OED;* „paprikash", *OED;* „puttony", *OED*. Elérés: 2023. március 2.

11 „OED editions". https://public.oed.com/history/oed-editions/ Elérés: 2023. május 1.

Helyesírás

A vizsgált szavak a következő helyesírással szerepelnek a releváns szócikkekben:

2. táblázat. A vizsgált jövevényszavak OED-ben adatolt helyesírás-változatai

Címszó	További helyesírás-változatok
barack	*Barack*
goulash	*goulasch, gulyas, Gulyas, Goulash*
palacsinta	*palachinta, palascinta, Palacsinta*
paprika	*praprika*
paprikash	*papricash, paprikás, paprikache, paprikas, paprikash, paprikos, paprikosh*
puttony	<y> nélkül az egyik többes számú alakban (l. később)

A magyar helyesírás a következő címszavakban jelenik meg: *barack, palacsinta, paprika, puttony*, és a további két vizsgált szónál a felsorolt helyesírás-variánsok között megtalálható a *gulyas* és a *paprikás* is. A variáció minimális három szó, a *barack*, a *paprika* és a *puttony* esetében – l. a példákat a fenti táblázatban. A *palachinta* és a *palascinta* alakokkal kapcsolatban a szótár megjegyzi, hogy ezek „rendhagyó" helyesírás-változatok, és a feltüntetett példákban csak a *palacsinta* és a *Palacsinta* szerepelnek, illetve ezek többes száma. A *praprika*-t is hibásnak fogja fel a szótár, mivel egy példát hoz rá, [*sic*] megjegyzéssel.

A tulajdonképpeni variáció a *goulash* és a *paprikash* esetében fordul elő. Az *OED* számos helyesírás-változatot adatol a *paprikash* szócikkben, amelyeknek idővonala a következő: 1800-as évek: *papricash*, 1800-as évektől kezdve: *paprikás*, az 1900-as évektől kezdve: *paprikache, paprikas, paprikash, paprikos, paprikosh*. A variáció itt részben az /ʃ/ hang helyesírásában, részben pedig az utolsó, hangsúlytalan magánhangzó helyesírásában (angol ejtése: /ə/ vagy /ɑ/) található. A *goulash* esetében a variáció a hangsúlyos magánhangzó helyesírását, a középen álló mássalhangzót, valamint az utolsó mássalhangzót érinti. A *goulash* első szótagjában az angol anyanyelvűek hosszú *ú*-t /u:/ ejtenek, és ennek a jelölésére, ha ritkán is, de időnként alkalmazzák az <ou> betűkapcsolatot. (L. pl. *group, soup, through, wound, youth*; azonban az <ou> a modern angol nyelv több változatában gyakori /aʊ/ diftongust jelöli.) Az <u> betű megtartása (*gulash*) egy, a magyarban használthoz némileg hasonló rövid u-t /ʊ/ vagy pedig egy /ʌ/ hangot jelölt volna. Az angolban megtalálható a magyarban <ly>-nal jelölt /j/ hang, amit általában <y>-nal jelölnek; az <ly> szó végén fordul elő, és /li/-nek ejtik. Ez a betűkapcsolat szó közepén értelmezhetetlen, és valószínűleg ezért fordul elő a szimpla <l>-es helyesírás is. A szó végi /ʃ/ hangot háromfajta helyesírás is megjeleníti: <s>, <sh>, <sch>. Ezek közül a középső felel meg az angol helyesírás – kiejtés megfelelési szabályoknak; az <sch> valószínűleg a német alakot veszi mintául. Az <s>-t az angol beszélők /s/-nek ejtenék (ami a magyar helyesírás szerint <sz>), ezért indokolt az utolsó mássalhangzó helyesírásának megváltozta-

tása. (Egyébként, ha a hozzávetőleges magyar kiejtést szeretnénk visszaadni angol helyesírással, akkor a <guyash> alak lenne erre a legalkalmasabb.)

A fenti példákban megfigyelhetjük, hogy egyes esetekben olyan változások következtek be ezen szavak angol(osított) változatainak helyesírásában, amelyek jobban tükrözik az angol helyesírás – kiejtés megfelelési szabályait: ilyen például a *goulash* és a *paprikash* alakokban az /ʃ/ hang <sh> betűkapcsolattal való megjelenítése.

A *palacsinta* és a *barack* esetében lett volna indokolt még változtatni a magyar helyesíráson, mivel a magyarban a <cs>-vel jelölt hangot az angolban <ch>-val írják, a <c>-vel jelöltet pedig <ts>-vel. A <ck> betűkapcsolat feltűnik időnként az angolban a /k/ hang jelölésére (pl. a *kick* 'rúgás' vagy a *knock* 'kopogtatás' szóban), így az, aki a magyar helyesírás és kiejtés szabályait nem ismeri, a *barack* szó végén automatikusan egy /k/ hangot fog ejteni. Az *OED*-ben feltüntetett négyfajta kiejtésből kettő végén /k/, a másik kettő végén pedig /tsk/ áll, és a szótár szerkesztői meg is jegyzik, hogy a /tsk/ kiejtés a magyart tükrözi, míg a /k/ a <ck> helyesírás hatására alakult ki az angolban.

Kiejtés

A 3. táblázatban láthatóak az *OED*-ben feltüntetett kiejtések. Fontos megjegyezni, hogy az *OED* egy saját fonetikai átírás-rendszert használ, ami nem teljesen azonos az angol egynyelvű tanulószótárakban használt IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet) szerinti átírásrendszer-változattal. Így pl. az *OED* /a/-ja az előbb említett szótárak RP[12] /æ/-jének felel meg, míg az /ɛ/ pedig az /e/-nek. Ugyanakkor a GA[13] esetében az *OED* az /æ/ szimbólumot is használja: így pl. a **trap** szóban az RP kiejtésben /a/, a GA kiejtésben pedig /æ/ található.[14] Ugyanakkor az *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*-ben e szó magánhangzója mindkét nyelvváltozatban /æ/.[15]

[12] RP = *Received Pronunciation* ('elfogadott kiejtés'; l. Porkoláb Ádám – Fekete Tamás: *Angol-magyar nyelvészeti szakszótár*, Pécs, szerzői kiadás, 2021, 207): az Angliában beszélt angol nyelv legmagasabb társadalmi presztízzsel bíró kiejtésváltozata.

[13] GA = *General American* ('általános amerikai kiejtés'): az Amerikai Egyesült Államokban beszélt angol nyelv legáltalánosabb kiejtésváltozata.

[14] „Key to pronunciation: British English" és „Key to pronunciation: U.S. English", *OED*. Elérés: 2023. május 2.

[15] „trap". *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*. Az egyes vizsgált szavak angol egynyelvű tanulószótárakban található kiejtésére nem tér ki e tanulmány. Elérés: 2023. május 8.

3. táblázat. A vizsgált jövevényszavak kiejtése az OED szerint

Szó	Brit angol kiejtés (RP = Received Pronunciation)	Amerikai angol kiejtés (GA = General American)
barack	/ˈbaratsk/, /ˈbarak/	/ˈbɛrətsk/, /ˈbɛrək/
goulash	/ˈguːlɑːʃ/	/ˈguːlaʃ/
palacsinta (az egyik tsz.: *palacsintak*)	/paləˈtʃɪntə/, /ˈpɒlətʃɪntə/ (tsz. /paləˈtʃɪntɑːk/, /ˈpɒlətʃɪntɑːk/)	/ˌpɑləˈtʃɪn(t)ə/ (tsz. /ˌpɑləˈtʃɪntɑk/)
paprika	/ˈpaprɪkə/, /pəˈpriːkə/	/pəˈprikə/, /pæpˈrikə/
paprikash	/ˈpaprɪkaʃ/	/ˈpɑprəˌkɑʃ/
puttony	/ˈpuːtɒn(jə)/	/ˈputɑn(jə)/

A hangsúly helye

A magyarban mindig a szó első szótagjára esik a hangsúly, ám az angolban ennél jóval bonyolultabb szabályrendszer határozza meg a hangsúlyeloszlást. Nézzük meg, hogy mi történik ezekkel a magyar jövevényszavakkal az angolban! A *barack*, a *goulash*, a *paprikash* és a *puttony* esetében az *OED* szerint mindig az első szótagra esik a hangsúly. Ugyanakkor a *paprika* szóban a négy különböző feltüntetett kiejtés közül háromban a hangsúly a második szótagra esik, és csak az elsőnek feltüntetett variáns elsőhangsúlyos. A *palacsinta* szóban szintén változhat a hangsúly helye: az *OED* három átírást ad, ahol kettőben a harmadik, egyben pedig az első szótagra esik a hangsúly. Továbbá az egyik harmadik főhangsúlyos alakban az első szótagon egy másodhangsúly is jelölve van. A kétszótagú szavak esetében az angolban a leggyakoribb hangsúlyminta az, amikor az első szótagon van a hangsúly, így a *barack, goulash* és a *puttony* esetében nem is várható, hogy változás következik be. A 3 háromszótagú szó esetében azonban kettőnél a nem magyaros hangsúlyozás is megjelent. Érdekes ugyanakkor, hogy bár a *paprika* és a *paprikash* szavak közt az angol anyanyelvű beszélők számára is valószínűleg világos lehet a kapcsolat, a *paprikash* szónál mégsem ad meg olyan kiejtésváltozatot az *OED*, ahol a második szótagra esik a hangsúly – úgy, mint a *paprika* szó négy kiejtésváltozata közül háromban.

A mássalhangzók

A *gulyás*-ban nem /j/-t, hanem /l/-t ejtenek – l. a helyesírással kapcsolatos elemzést fent. Ahogyan már korábban is említésre került, a *barack* szóban az utolsó mássalhangzót vagy magyarosan, vagy pedig /k/-nak ejtik az *OED* szerint, és ez utóbbi a <ck> betűkapcsolat angol kiejtését tükrözi.

A *paprikash*-nál csak /ʃ/-re végződő kiejtést ad meg a szótár annak ellenére, hogy szerepel benne az <s>-es helyesírás is, amit az angolban /s/-nek szoktak ejteni. A *palacsintá*-ban az *OED* közli a *-t* nélküli kiejtésváltozatot is az amerikai angol esetében, ugyanis ebben a nyelvváltozatban gyakori a /t/ hang kiesése egy /n/

és egy hangsúlytalan magánhangzó között (mint pl. a *center* vagy az i*nternational* szavakban).

A *puttony* szóban a szó végi palatalizált /n/ (= ny) kiejtése gondot okoz mindkét nyelvváltozatban, ezért vagy nem palatalizált /n/-nek ejtik, vagy palatalizálják, ám utána betoldanak egy hangsúlytalan magánhangzót.

A magánhangzók

A magánhangzók kiejtését az angolban alapvetően befolyásolja az, hogy a hangsúly melyik szótagra esik. A hangsúlytalan szótagokban a leggyakoribb magánhangzó az ún. svá (/ə/), ami kb. egy félig kerekített magyar /ö/-re hasonlít. Ez a hang megtalálható a *barack* és a *paprikash* egyes kiejtésváltozataiban, valamint a *paprika* és a *palacsinta* összes kiejtésváltozatában. Ez utóbbi két szó magánhangzóra végződik, és itt az összes, a szótárak által megadott kiejtésváltozatban a svá az utolsó hang. Ez a hang tűnik fel még a *palacsinta* szó összes kiejtésváltozatában a szintén hangsúlytalan 2. szótagban, a *paprika* hangsúlytalan első szótagjában, illetve a *paprikash* szintén hangsúlytalan második szótagjának egyik kiejtésváltozatában. A vizsgált szavak hangsúlytalan szótagjaiban számos más magánhangzó is előfordul, amelyeket a fenti táblázat mutat be.

Az *OED* szerint szinte mindegyik vizsgált szóban különbség van a hangsúlyos magánhangzó kiejtése között a brit angolban (Received Pronunciation) és az amerikai angolban (General American). A *goulash* a kivétel, mivel mindkét nyelvváltozatban hosszú /u:/-val ejtik. A *barack*-ban a brit angolban (Received Pronunciation) az első magánhangzó /a/, míg az amerikai angolban (General American) /ɛ/, a *puttony*-ban /u:/ és /u/. A *paprikash* első, hangsúlyos szótagjában az RP /a/-t, míg a GA /ɑ/-t ejt.

A *paprika* szónál az *OED* szerint az GA-ben mindig a második szótagra esik a hangsúly és a hangsúlyos magánhangzó /i/-nek ejtendő; míg az RP-ban, amikor az első szótag a hangsúlyos, akkor /a/ a magánhangzó, amikor pedig a második, akkor hosszú /i:/.

A *palacsinta* esetében a GA-ben mindig a harmadik szótagra esik a hangsúly és a magánhangzó /ɪ/-nek ejtendő, míg az RP-ben megvan ez az ejtés is, illetve amikor az első szótag a hangsúlyos, akkor abban a magánhangzó egy /ɒ/.

Morfológia (szófaji besorolás, többes szám, részvétel szóalkotásban)

A vizsgált szavak közül öt főnév, egy (*paprika*) pedig melléknév és főnév besorolást is kapott. Ami a többes számú alakokat illeti, az *OED* a *palacsinta*, a *paprika* és a *puttony* esetében tünteti fel ezeket, mivel az angolban ezek a megszámlálható főnevek. A *palacsinta* esetében három többes számú alakot adatol a szótár: *palacsintas, palacsinta, palacsintak* – ezek közül az angol, azaz az *-s*-es többes szám két idézetben is előfordul. A *paprika* szócikkben a *paprikas* és a *paprika* vannak feltüntetve mint

többes számú alakok, és az *-s*-es alakra két példa is akad. Végül a *puttony*-nál négy többes számú alak szerepel: *puttonyos*, *puttonos,*[16] *puttonys*, *puttonyok*. Megállapítható tehát, hogy mindhárom szó előfordul az angol többes szám jelével; kettőnek (*palacsinta* és *paprika*) van úgynevezett „zéró," azaz végződés nélküli többes száma, illetve szintén kettő (*palacsinta* és *puttony*) magyar többes számban is előfordulhat az angolban (bár ezekre a szócikkekben nincsen példa).

Ami ezen szavak szóalkotásban való részvételét illeti, az *OED* megjegyzi, hogy a *paprikash* utómódosító (*postmodifier*)[17] is lehet, különösen a *chicken paprikash*-ban. Ez a szóösszetétel tulajdonképpen egy hibrid alak, hiszen míg első tagja, a magyar *csirke* le lett fordítva *chicken*-re, addig a második tagja egy magyar jövevényszó. Egy példát is találunk erre a szócikkben.

A *paprika* szó egy szóösszetételben is szerepel az *OED*-ben: az először 1938-ból adatolt *paprika red*-ben, amelynek jelentése: 'paprikavörös.'

Szemantika

A következő oldalon látható táblázat összefoglalja az *OED*-ben található szemantikai információkat a vizsgált szavakra vonatkozóan.

A szótár két szó esetében (*goulash, paprika*) tüntet fel több mint egy jelentést. A vizsgált jövevényszavak két esetben a magyar szónak csak egy-egy jelentését veszik át (a *barack* csak a barackpálinkát jelenti, magát a gyümölcsöt nem, a *puttony* pedig csak a tokaji borra vonatkozik).

A *goulash* szó esetében egy új jelentés is kifejlődött, amit a bridzsben használnak. A magyar terminus itt a *holi*. Ennek a jelentésnek az első bizonyított előfordulása 1927-re adatolt. Érdekes, hogy az ehhez tartozó 5 példában csak a *goulash/Goulash* helyesírás fordul elő. A *paprika*-nál is szerepel egy olyan jelentés (először 1934-ből), ami nem adatolt a *Magyar Értelmező Kéziszótár*ban, mégpedig a 'paprikavörös.'[18]

[16] A magyar *-os* melléknévvégződést nemcsak a szótár értelmezi többes számként, hanem egyes példák is.

[17] Porkoláb – Fekete: i.m. 192.

[18] „paprika". Juhász J. – Szőke I. – O. Nagy G. – Kovalovszky M.: *Magyar Értelmező Kéziszótár*, nyolcadik, változatlan kiadás, Budapest, Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989, 1082–1083.

4. táblázat. A vizsgált szavak angol definíciói és azok magyar fordításai[19]

Szó	Jelentések száma	Definíció angolul	A definíció magyar fordítása
barack	1	A type of apricot brandy made in Hungary; a drink of this.	Magyarországon készített egyfajta sárgabarack brandy; egy adagnyi ebből.
goulash	2	1. A stew or ragout of meat and vegetables highly seasoned. Often called Hungarian ragout. 2. Contract Bridge. A re-deal of unshuffled cards after the hands have been thrown in without bidding.	1. Jól fűszerezett, húsból és zöldségekből készített pörkölt vagy ragu.[20] 2. *Bridzsben*. A meg nem kevert kártyák újraosztása, miután a lapok licit nélkül be lettek dobva.
palacsinta	1	In Hungarian cuisine: a thin pancake eaten as a dessert, often filled with jam, cheese, nuts, or chocolate.	A magyar konyhában: vékony palacsinta, amelyet desszertként fogyasztanak, és amelyet gyakran megtöltenek lekvárral, túróval, dióval vagy csokoládéval.
paprika	5	*A. adj.* 1. Designating a dish flavoured or coloured with sweet (usually red) pepper, either fresh or in dried and powdered form. 2. Of the orange-red colour of paprika. *B. n.* 1. A powdered spice with a deep orange-red colour and a mildly pungent flavour, made from the dried, ground fruits of certain varieties of the sweet pepper (see sense B. 2). Also more fully *paprika pepper*. Also figurative. 2. The mildly flavoured, usually red fruit of any of several European varieties of the sweet pepper, Capsicum annuum (Longum group); (also) a plant producing such fruit. Also more fully *paprika pepper*. 3. The bright orange-red colour of paprika.	*A. mell.* 1. Egy olyan étel jelzője, amelyet édes (általában piros), friss vagy szárított és megőrölt paprikával ízesítenek vagy színeznek. 2. Paprika-, azaz narancsvörös színű. *B. fn.* 1. Őrölt fűszer, amelynek sötét narancsvörös színe és enyhén pikáns íze van, és amelyet az édespaprika bizonyos fajtáinak megszárított és megőrölt terméséből nyernek (l. a B 2. jelentést). Teljesebb alakban *paprika pepper* is. *Átvitt értelemben* is. 2. Az édespaprika európai fajtáinak (*Capsicum annuum* (Longum csoport)) enyhén ízes, általában piros termése; valamint ezt a termést hozó növény. Teljesebb alakban *paprika pepper* is. 3. A paprika élénk narancsvörös színe.

[19] Szerzői fordítások.

[20] A *stew* szót, amelyet itt 'pörkölt'-nek fordítottam, nem lehet pontosan visszaadni. Az *oxforddictionaries.com* a következő definíciót adja: „a dish of meat and/or vegetables cooked slowly in liquid in a container that has a lid" („stew, n.", *oxforddictionaries.com*). Elérés: 2023. május 8. A *ragout* szóra vonatkozóan a következőt találjuk: „a hot dish of meat and vegetables boiled together with various spices" („ragout, n.", *oxforddictionaries.com*). Elérés: 2023. május 8.

paprikash	1	A Hungarian stew flavoured with paprika. Also as postmodifier, esp. in *chicken paprikash*.	Egy magyar pörkölt jellegű, paprikával ízesített étel. Utánvetett jelzői funkcióban is, különösen a „chicken paprikash"-ban.
puttony	1	In Hungary: a basket usually made of wooden staves or wickerwork and designed to be carried on the back, used to transfer grapes from the vineyard to the wine press. Hence: a measure of dried overripe grapes equivalent to the contents of such a container, added to the fermentation cask in making Tokay, the number of measures added determining the richness of the wine.	Magyarországon: háton hordható, általában falécekből vagy fonott vesszőkből készült kosár, amiben a szőlőből viszik át a szőlőszemeket a préshez. Ebből: szárított, túlérett szőlőszemek egy adagja, ami egy ilyen kosárba belefér, és amit az erjesztő hordó tartalmához adnak hozzá, amikor a Tokajit készítik; az adagok száma határozza meg a bor gazdag ízét.

A szótár példái

A szótárban található példák adatai: *barack*: 5 idézet (1936–2005); *gulyás*: 1. jelentés: 7 idézet (1866–1963), 2. jelentés: 5 idézet (1927–1964); *palacsinta*: 6 idézet (1932–2002); *paprika*: A (melléknév) 1. jelentés: 5 idézet (1830–1996), 2. jelentés: 3 idézet (1978–1999), B (főnév) 1. jelentés: 5 idézet (1839–2003), 2. jelentés: 5 idézet (1851–2003), 3. jelentés: 4 idézet (1934–1991); *paprika red* (paprikavörös): 3 idézet (1938–1998); *paprikash*: 6 idézet (1877–2014); *puttony:* 6 idézet (1940–2005).

A *barack* szónál 3 idézet könyvből, kettő pedig újságból származik. Az első idézet meg is magyarázza a szót („Hungarian apricot brandy"). Az egyik idézetben *apricot barack* (= sárgabarack barack) szerepel, míg két idézetben *barack*, dőlttel szedve, magyarázat nélkül; egyben pedig nagybetűvel, szintén magyarázat nélkül. A 2005-ből származó idézetben a *gulyás* szó is szerepel ugyanabban a mondatban, magyar helyesírással.

A *gulyás* szó első jelentéséhez tartozó idézetek lelőhelye: három szakácskönyv, egy útleírás, egy hetilap, egy szépirodalmi mű és egy levelezés. A második jelentésnél a példák különböző bridzsről szóló szakkönyvekből származnak.

A *palacsinta* szócikkben 4 idézet újságban/magazinban, kettő pedig könyvben (egy magyar ételek receptjeit tartalmazó szakácskönyvben, illetve naplóban) tűnik fel. Bár a címszó mellett többféle helyesírás is szerepel, az idézetekben mindenütt *palacsinta* található. Két esetben dőlt betűvel van szedve a szó, három esetben pedig nagybetűvel kezdődik. A többes számú *palacsintas* kétszer fordul elő. A két legkorábbi idézetben két magyar szóösszetétel is szerepel: *Palacsinta tésjta* és *Lerakott Palacsinta*, ezek angol fordításával/magyarázatával. A legkésőbbi idézett példa szintén megmagyarázza, hogy mi ez az étel.

A *paprika* esetében a melléknév 1. jelentésénél az egyik idézet egy szakácskönyvből származik, egy napilapból, egy útleírásból, kettő pedig regényekből. A 2. jelentésnél

az egyik idézet egy hetilapból, míg a másik kettő visszaemlékezésekből származik. A főnév 1. jelentésénél két idézetet egy szakácskönyv, illetve egy főzős magazin ad, egyet egy útleírásból vettek, egyet egy amerikai hetilapból, egyet pedig H. D. Lawrence leveleiből. A 2. jelentés idézeteinek forrásai: egy szakácskönyv, egy útleírás, egy enciklopédia, egy havilap, egy hetilap. A 3. jelentéshez tartozó idézetek egy napilapból, két havilapból és egy szótárból származnak.

A *paprikash* szócikkben található idézetekben igen nagy a variáció helyesírás szempontjából. A *paprikash/Paprikash* alak négyszer, míg a *papricash*, a *paprikas* és a *paprikache* kétszer fordul elő. A hat idézetből egy magazinból, a többi pedig könyvből (szakácskönyv, útleírás) származik. Négy idézet tartalmazza, hogy ez a szó milyen jellegű ételt takar. Érdekes módon az egyik szerző egyfajta paradicsomlevesként írja le a paprikást. Az egyik idézet még a *gulyás, paprika* és *pökölt* (= *pörkölt*) szavakat is tartalmazza, egy másik pedig a *papriká*-t.

A *puttony* szó esetében az idézetek közül három borokkal foglalkozó könyvből származik, egy egy borokkal foglalkozó magazinból, kettő pedig egy-egy angol napilapból. Öt idézetben a *puttonyos/puttonos* szóalak fordul elő, egyben az angol többes szám jelével ellátott *puttonys*, egyben pedig a *puttony*. A *puttonos* alakot tartalmazó idézet azt magyarázza, hogy az exportőr egyszerűsíti a helyesírást azzal, hogy törli az <y> betűt. Az 1940-ből származó idézet hibásan értelmezi a *puttonyos* szót, amikor azt írja, hogy ez azt a fából készült edényt jelöli, amibe a szőlőt szedik (vagyis itt a puttony definícióját adja meg). Ezen idézetek némelyikében továbbá megjelennek a *Tokaji/Tokay* és az *Aszu/Aszú* szavak is.

Gyakoriság

Az *OED* nyolc gyakorisági sávba osztja a nem elavultnak ítélt címszavakat. A 8-as sávban találhatóak a legnagyobb gyakoriságú szavak, míg az 1-esben a legritkábbak. A gyakoriságot elsősorban a Google Books Ngrams data 2. verziója alapján kalkulálják ki. A vizsgált címszavak közül a legnagyobb gyakoriságú a *paprika*, amely a 4-es sávba tartozik, ami 0,1 és 1,0 (=0,99) közötti (darabszám) előfordulást jelöl egymillió szavanként. A *gulyás* a második leggyakoribb: a 3-as sávba tartozik, ami 0,01 and 0,1 (=0,099) közötti előfordulást jelöl egymillió szavanként. A többi szó a 2-es sávba tartozik, azaz ezeknek a szavaknak az előfordulási aránya a tipikus modern angol nyelvhasználatban kevesebb, mint 0,01 (=0,0099).[21]

Az *OED* által jelölt gyakoriságot összevetettem néhány más angol egynyelvű szótár adataival, és a következő eredményt kaptam: a vizsgált szótárakban csak a *paprika* és a *goulash* szavak fordulnak elő, tehát az a két szó, amely az *OED* szerint ebből a hatból a leggyakoribb az angolban. A szótárak közül néhány a nyelvi szintről, néhány pedig a gyakoriságról ad információt. Az *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*-ben mindkettő a

[21] A rendszer részletes leírását l.: https://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/key-to-frequency/. Elérés: 2023. május 1.

Közös Európai Referenciakeret szerint C2-es szintű besorolást kapta.[22] A *Cambridge Dictionary* nem adja meg az összes címszó nyelvi szintjét, így ezét a kettőét sem.[23] A Macmillan és a Longman szótárak itt nem adnak meg a gyakoriságra vonatkozó információt: az előbbi csak az angolban leggyakrabban használt 7500 szót emeli ki, míg az utóbbi csak a beszélt és az írott nyelvben előforduló 1000 leggyakoribb szót. Ezek szerint a *paprika* és a *goulash* nincsenek benne a leggyakrabban használt 7500 angol szóban.[24] A *Collins Online Dictionary* 5-ös skálán jelöli a címszavak gyakoriságát, ahol az 1 a legritkább, míg az 5 a leggyakoribb előfordulást jelöli. Mindkét szó esetében 1-es érték szerepel ebben a szótárban.[25] Az eddig említett szótárak mind tanulószótárak, azaz nem angol anyanyelvűeknek készültek, ezért igyekeznek a nyelvi szintről vagy a leggyakrabban használt szavakról információkat adni (ez a két paraméter természetesen összefügg egymással). A *Merriam-Webster online* szótár angol anyanyelvűeknek készült, és bár a *goulash* és a *paprika* szerepelnek benne, a szótár jellegéből kifolyólag sem a nyelvi szintről, sem pedig az előfordulás gyakoriságáról nem kapunk információt.[26]

Összegzésként elmondható, hogy a vizsgált szótárak az *OED*-vel összhangban kezelik az ebben a tanulmányban górcső alá vett szavakat.

Konklúzió

A vizsgált szavaknál mind a helyesírás, mind pedig a kiejtés esetében variációt találunk. A helyesírásnál a magyaros és az angolos alakok is előfordulnak a legtöbb esetben, míg a kiejtésnél elsősorban a brit és az amerikai változat között van a különbség. Ahol a főnévnek van többes száma, ott időnként a magyaros alak is dokumentálva van. Két szó esetében (*goulash* és *paprika*) új jelentés is kifejlődött; az előbbi esetében egy olyan, ami nem kapcsolódik az ételekhez. A példák forrása a legtöbbször szakácskönyv, főzős magazin vagy útleírás, bár időnként fikciós műfajokból is idéz a szótár.

A fenti tanulmány is bemutatja, hogy milyen összetett kérdésekkel kell foglalkozni a jövevényszavak esetében, és hogy hány különböző területre lehet az ilyen szavak segítségével rávilágítani.

[22] „paprika" és „gulyás". *Oxford Learner's Dictionaries*. Elérés: 2023. május 1.
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[24] „goulash" és „paprika". *Macmillan English Dictionary, Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English*. Elérés: 2023. május 1.
[25] „goulash" és „paprika". *Collins Online Dictionary*. Elérés: 2023. május 1.
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Rezümé

A tanulmány hat, az angol nyelvben található, ételhez és italhoz kapcsolódó magyar jövevényszót vizsgál meg részletesen. Ez a hat szó a barack, goulash, palacsinta, paprika, paprikash *és* puttony. *A kutatás az* Oxford English Dictionary *harmadik, online kiadásának adatait használja fel (*oed.com*). A vizsgálat kitér a szavak dokumentálására, helyesírására, kiejtésére, morfológiájára (szófaji besorolás, többes számú alakok, részvétel szóalkotásban), szemantikájára, a hozzájuk kapcsolódó példákra, valamint gyakoriságukra. Azért ezekre esett a választás, mert talán közöttük találhatóak a legismertebb magyar eredetű kölcsönzések az angolban, és számos angol anyanyelvű is tisztában van azzal, hogy e szavak Magyarországhoz és a magyar nyelvhez köthetőek.*

Kulcsszavak: magyar jövevényszó, angol nyelv, *Oxford English Dictionary*, dokumentálás

Abstract
Hungarian loanwords in English connected to food and drink

This study examines in detail six Hungarian loanwords in English connected to food and drink. The six words are barack, goulash, palacsinta, paprika, paprikash *and* puttony. *During the research, the third, online edition of the* Oxford English Dictionary *was used (*oed.com*). The analysis discusses the documentation of these words, their orthography, pronunciation, morphology (part of speech, plural forms, aspects of word formation), semantics, the illustrative examples, and frequency. These words were chosen because it is believed that the most widely known Hungarian loanwords in English may be found among them, and many English speakers are aware of the fact that they are connected to Hungary and the Hungarian language.*

Keywords: Hungarian loanword, English language, *Oxford English Dictionary*, documentation

BOOKS REVIEWS – RECENZIÓK

Gábor Patkós

Tamás Juhász (ed.): *Art in Urban Space: Reflections on City Culture in Europe and North-America*, Budapest – Paris, Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church in Hungary – L'Harmattan Publishing, 2021, 266 pp.

Urban studies is an emerging interdisciplinary field, loosely connected by the subject of its interest, the city. The starting point for the collection at hand was an international conference hosted by Károli Gáspár University (KRE) and the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (MTA) in 2019. The volume is compiled with this interdisciplinary perspective in mind, and rather than employing rigid and restrictive definitions, it applies more fluid and inclusive approaches to the concepts of "art", "urban," and "space."

Tamás Juhász's introductory chapter serves as a theoretical foundation for the volume. The chapter provides a vast and comprehensive overview of the critical literature on the topic, in addition to formulating the position the volume aims to take. The author carefully considers the inherently challenging task to thoroughly explore the theoretically loaded and interdependent concepts of "art" and "space." According to Juhász, art will be considered in the broadest sense of the term, meaning "any art form or artistic activity" (9), while space is to be understood as "a domain politically demarcated, socially structured and culturally always recreated" (11). Therefore, to consider arts in an urban context it is essential to realize that arts "necessarily and simultaneously position themselves in such interlocking levels as the global and the local, […] therefore posing a perpetual threat to hegemonic discourses that attempt to isolate and privilege any of these levels" (13). Based on this insight, Juhász arrives at the conclusion that defines the theoretical framework of the entire volume: "the effect arising from encounters in the city […] is aptly characterized by the term *disruption*" (14).

The chapters are organized into three sections, the first one titled "Public Art Considerations," which focuses on the meanings of the term "public art," and the challenges of contextualizing historical moments through public artworks. Holly Lynn Baumgartner's analysis of the history and significance of the Heidelberg Project in Detroit demonstrates that the city itself takes an active role in the creation of the artwork; in other words, "it is Detroit and its past, painful 400 years that called the HP into being" (24). Baumgartner also recognizes that space, more specifically the dichotomy of absence and presence, in fact, operates in paradoxical ways: "its greatest artistic impact [is] in its removal, the meaning constructed from its absence" (38). The author also notes that the Heidelberg Project is capable of

"narrating an alternative history of Detroit" (38) and that "art has a healing effect on the publics engaging with it" (38).

Issues of historical imagination are also important in the chapter by Gizela Horváth, which continues with the exploration of further dichotomies, considering the inside and the outside and the public and theprivate. The chapter analyzes the public art works of Banksy, Perjovschi, and the arguably failed attempt at creating visual public space titled "Muian project" (53). While the consideration of walls to disrupt the modernist dichotomy of public and private is an important critical aspect, the one-to-one correspondence between physical walls and the Facebook wall reads as a slightly less convincing argument.

Adrienne Gálosi's most important point may be the concept of "normalization," more specifically the question of how the city and public art "normalize each other" (59). According to Gálosi, when examining public art "from the angle of their contribution to urban development or regeneration" we are faced with the city's "strong normative impact on art" (67), but at the same time, art is also used to normalize urban spaces. After examining the political and socioeconomical relevance of normalization, the reader is reminded that art always allows freedom, as it "does not compel us" (72), but always "finds its own ways of disjunction and conjunction", the best art doing both at the same time (73).

The second section titled "War, Travel and Resistance" features essays which aim to theorize broader issues of culture and are connected by the critical significance of cities and urban spaces. Although the critical orientations of the chapters are different, an emerging common theme is the recognition that it is essential to consider the lived experiences of the city in order to fully understand their respective subjects. Ágnes Zsófia Kovács aims to compare and contrast Edith Wharton's lesser-known travelogue and John Ruskin's contributions to art history through a thoroughly interdisciplinary analysis. The author argues that despite their shared method of "precise observation" of Italian architecture, the unique aspect of Wharton's art historical writing is owed to the fact that she was interested in the "local continuity and historical change of artistic styles or manners represented in buildings, gardens and landscapes" (102). According to Kovács, Wharton's most important contribution is the way in which she "connects the story of Italian visual arts to the story of Italian cities continually" (103).

Teodóra Dömötör aims to explore the "feminizing effect" of urban living, focusing on the narrative representation of the city in "A Very Short Story" by Ernest Hemingway. An interesting critical argument is that relationships between characters are strongly influenced by their ties to certain locations, most importantly to New York City. In other words, "city living plays a crucial role in shaping cultural and gender identity" (123).

Michael Collins's interest lies in exploring the concept of intellectual cross-fertilization among cities in war and peace. Cities within this framework can be considered as "perpetual synergy machines" or "hubs of vast imagined communities"

(130). However, according to Collins, World War II itself could be read as a "single, monstrous city" constructed by "credits and debts" (140) that mirrors individual cities, that "decay into anti-cities" (143) during wartime.

Jasamin Kashanipour brings the reader's attention to the critical concept of "artification" through the examination of two ethnographic narratives taking place in contemporary Vienna. Artification and Kashanipour's chapter in general are focused on ideas of resistance towards, especially, the neoliberal conditions that are "manipulating people's desire into adoration of economic growth" (184). According to the author, "cities as well as arts have increasingly become tools of capitalist commodification" (170) and artification, or in other words "transfiguring the act of life modeling into an art form" (172) could be a critical reactionary attitude to cultural globalization.

The third and final section, "London: Word, Action and Image" offers a glimpse into different social and historical contexts with the central theme of considering London as a prominent actor on the map of cultural geography. Erzsébet Stróbl offers an inventive reading of the coronation entry of Queen Elizabeth I into London as an early modern theatrical performance utilizing the city as a public stage. This argument is further supported by the analysis of the complex interplay between London as theatre, actors-audiences as participants, and scenic and sound design. In addition, Stróbl argues that the theatrical entry was "one of the first pieces of propaganda" (209) and a demonstration of the young Queen's capacity for self-representation, which could be seen as "crucial to her success as a female ruler" (209).

Dóra Janczer Csikós also examines the spaces of London through the perspective of performing arts and analyzes William Hogarth's print as satire: "behind the façade of apparent order and respectability, there is now turmoil and degradation" (216). This degradation, for Hogarth, appears to be the result of "foreign and delusionary entertainments" (217), most notably Italian-language opera. Janczer Csikós continuously highlights the "interconnectedness of financial and moral issues with the anxiety over the alien, foreign invaders" (225), while also taking the spatial and cultural topographies of London into consideration.

In the third chapter of this section, Éva Péteri reads Ford Maddox Brown's most well-known painting, *Work*, through the framework of class criticism by comparing the human and dog figures in the painting. Péteri carefully analyzes the visual imagery starting with the human characters and exploring the socioeconomic realities of the time. The author then contrasts humans with the depiction of dogs in the painting, resulting in the bitter realization that "unlike people, dogs of different breed and social background do interact" (241).

Finally, the closing chapter of the volume by Sarah Butler reflects on her lived experiences as a writer working and living in London. The chapter is unique in the sense that it is based on extracts from Butler's three different novels "reflecting on the city, ideas of home, and the novel as form from the perspective of a practitioner"

(246). The most important notion for the author seems to be the realization that the city and the home are terms that constantly re-interpret each other and that "home is a process, something that is constantly being made and re-made, modified, changed, lost and found" (247). Butler also entertains the idea that "the home and the city as generated through and imbued by narrative" (253), which echoes Ricoeur's concept of narrative identity, but unfortunately this direction is not explored further.

Ultimately, the structure of the volume seems to echo the subject of its investigation: reading the chapters feels like experiencing chance encounters, which are not accidentally, yet unexpectedly revolve around the same "space". This collection of essays is a highly productive attempt at reflecting on the complex relationships between art and the city, or in other words, understanding how cities shape the perception of our shared cultural productions. In general, *Art in Urban Space* is a valuable addition to the theoretical toolkit of anyone interested in urban studies and arts in general, not only due to the high-quality scholarship demonstrated by the individual contributions, but also because of the compelling and engaging way in which the collection is brought together.

Fabiny Tibor

Stróbl Erzsébet: *I. Erzsébet: Egy mítosz születése,* Budapest, L'Harmattan, 2022, 344. o.

A 16. századi Angliát mindenekelőtt a vallási villongások határozták meg. VIII. Henrik uralkodása alatt elkezdődik az ellentmondásoktól hemzsegő reformáció, amely azonban politikai erővé lesz a kamasz-király, VI. Edward rövid uralkodása alatt. A trónon féltestvérek váltják egymást: Edward korai halála után, 1553-ban a VIII. Henrik első feleségétől született Mária került a hatalomra, akit a történelem hosszú ideig „véresnek" nevezett, hiszen a katolikus restauráció jegyében sorra küldte máglyára a protestáns „eretnekeket," miközben a közülük a szerencsésebben a kontinensre menekülhettek. Ám öt évvel később ő is meghalt, s 1558-ban lépett trónra a Boleyn Annától született I. Erzsébet. Az angol történelemben a 16. század második felét, amely körülbelül egybeesik I. Erzsébet angol királynő uralkodásával (1558–1603), az angol kultúra aranykoraként, „reneszánszaként" tartja számon a kultúrtörténet.

Stróbl Erzsébet *I. Erzsébet: Egy mítosz születése* című könyve nemcsak a magyar nyelvű, hazai könyvkiadásban számít hiánypótló munkának, hanem – amint erre már igény is mutatkozott – angol nyelvű külföldi kiadása is fontos szerepet töltene be a 16. századi kultúrtörténet nemzetközi kutatásában. Szakmai hírnevét a szerző máris megalapozta azzal, hogy a témáról az elmúlt másfél évtizedben is megjelentek publikációi rangos külföldi kiadványokban.

Ha a végéről kezdjük forgatni a könyvet, azonnal észrevesszük a gazdag bibliográfiát. Még külföldi kiadványokban is ritka, ha egy szerző több oldalas forrásanyagot (primer szöveget) tud felmutatni a szakirodalmi jegyzékében. Stróbl Erzsébet bibliográfiájában a primer források listája több mint hat oldalt tesz ki, a hivatkozott szekundér szakirodalom pedig dupla annyit. A könyvet harmincegy illusztráció teszi még vonzóbbá.

Bár számos monográfia született és film készült már a „Szűz Királynőről," Stróbl Erzsébet könyve azonban nem egy a – néha unalmas, néha populáris – történeti feldolgozások között. Ez a könyv az I. Erzsébet uralkodását övező mítosz kialakulását és elterjedését követi nyomon, „a kultusz motívumainak eredetét és fejlődését kívánja megragadni, miközben rávilágít a királynő saját imázsformálásának jelentőségére és a korabeli női uralmat támadó retorika hatására" (9. o.).

Stróbl Erzsébet nem veszít időt megközelítésének és módszertanának bemutatásával; az olvasó talán mégsem téved, ha azt a 20. század utolsó évtizedeiben elterjedt „új historizmussal" állítja párhuzamba. Az új historizmus ugyanis az eszmetörténetet az irodalmon, az irodalmat pedig az eszmetörténeten keresztül vizsgálja. Az irodalom alatt nemcsak szépirodalmat, hanem a kutatott korban fellelhető írott dokumentumokat, korabeli forrásokat érti. Stróbl elméleti megközelítése

nem hagyományos, hanem rokonítható a Dávidházi Péter által néhány évtizede kezdeményezett kultusztörténeti kutatásokkal, még akkor is, ha Stróbl módszere – mint a bevezetőben írja – „eltér a Dávidházi Péter által meghatározott kultuszfogalomtól." Amíg az *„Isten másodszülöttje"* kultuszfogalma a „feltétlen imádat," vagy a „megkérdőjelezhetetlen csodálat"-ként írja le a Shakespeare körüli tiszteletet, addig az Erzsébet-mítosz nem csupán csodálat-történet, mert ahhoz a Szűz Királynő személyét sokszor bíráló vagy gúnyoló megnyilvánulások is hozzátartoznak. Mindazonáltal szerencsés lett volna, ha a mítosz és a kultusz fogalmainak különbségét a szerző markánsabban elkülöníti.

Ha a könyv egy másik műfaji besorolásával kísérletezünk, akkor leginkább reprezentáció-, illetve önreprezentáció-történettel van dolgunk. Ha létezik is ez a műfaj, nagyon ritka, s a szerző megközelítése ezért is tekinthető eredetinek.

Az első, az olvasót a „könyvbe vonó" fejezet – stílusosan – I. Erzsébet 1559. január 14-én történt londoni bevonulásával kezdődik. Már itt megmutatkoznak a könyv erényei: a hatalmas történelmi ismeret könnyed és olvasmányos stílussal párosul; az egyes események és a korabeli portrék precíz leírását kapjuk. A fél évtizedig tartó re-katolizáció után I. Erzsébettel a „re-reformáció" indul el, ez az a folyamat, amely Angliát az anglikanizmus *via media* hátszelével protestáns európai hatalommá tette.

A protestáns gondolkodás a katolikusnál erősebben épít a bibliai tipológiára, így nem véletlen, hogy Erzsébetben az ószövetségi Debórát, az újra protestáns Angliában pedig a helyreállított Izráelt látták. A női hatalomgyakorlás egyik érdekessége, hogy a katolikus Tudor Mária és a protestáns Tudor Erzsébet egyaránt az Igazság képviselőjeként jelenítette meg önmagát, sőt mindketten a *veritas filia temporis* (az igazság az idő leánya) tabló alatt vonultak fel a koronázásuk alkalmával. A szerzőnek igaza van abban, hogy „Erzsébet női uralmának legfontosabb legitimációja, hogy az isteni Gondviselés helyezte őt az ország élére," de arról sem szabad elfeledkezni, hogy ez nemcsak reá vonatkozik, hanem annak a VII. Henrikkel kezdődő (Morus Tamás által először is képviselt) „Tudor myth"-nek a része, amiről E.M.W. Tillyard írt Shakespeare királydrámáiról szóló, ma már klasszikus könyvében.

A gondolatmenet szempontjából ugyan kitérő a női uralom kérdéséről szóló második fejezet, de itt Arisztotelésztől kezdve a kora újkorig bezárólag egy rendkívül értékes eszmetörténeti áttekintést kapunk. Igazán izgalmas olvasmány a skót kálvinista reformátor John Knox támadása a nőuralom ellen és az ő konzervatív női uralkodó imázsaira adott válaszok (46–62. o.).

Az „Erzsébet királynő önreprezentációja" című harmadik fejezet arról szól, hogy miképpen ragadhatjuk meg Erzsébet imázsformálását nyilvános beszédeiben, imáiban, teológiai és filozófiai témájú szövegek fordításában, versekben és levelekben. Műfajtörténeti szempontok is felvillannak, miközben Erzsébet saját szövegeit olvassuk. Ezekből nyilvánvalóvá lesz, hogy Erzsébet vallásossága nem a hatalmi szempontokat legitimizáló külső máz, nem a hitet és a Bibliát politikai érdekből instrumentalizáló játszma (amire ma is találunk példát!), hanem őszinte

meggyőződés. Ebből kap erőt népe kormányzásához, az ószövetségi tüposzoknak (Debóra, Judit, Eszter) megfelelően. A szerző Erzsébet királynő önmeghatározásának három elemét tárgyalja: ezek „A művelt fejedelem"; „Isten alázatos szolgálóleánya," valamint a „A szerető, gondoskodó uralkodó." Erzsébet „szeretetretorikájának" egyik elvi alapja Ernst H. Kantorowicz ismert tézise a „király két testéről" ill. Mary Axton könyve a „királynő két testéről."

A könyv negyedik, ötödik és hatodik fejezete végeredményben az első fejezet folytatásának is tekinthető, hiszen itt a korai országjárásokat, azok sajátosságait, a két egyetemi városban, Cambridge-ben 1564-ben, illetve Oxfordban 1566-ban tett látogatásait mutatja be részletesen, nagyon sok forrásszöveg idézésével. Oxford kevésbé, Cambridge annál inkább a puritán szellemiség fellegvára volt. Ezért ezért is jogos a megállapítás, hogy „a királynő státuszát itt elsősorban nem a katolikusok kezdték ki, hanem azok a radikális protestáns prédikátorok, akik lelkiismereti kötelességüknek tekintették, hogy tanácsaikkal irányt mutassanak uralkodójuknak." (Megjegyzem: Genfet aligha nevezhetjük a „radikális reformáció" (112. o.) városának, hiszen a valóban radikális Szervétet antitrinitárius nézeteiért éppen itt küldte máglyára Kálvin.)

A kenilworthi és a woodstocki 1575-ös látogatások leírása és bemutatása láthatóan szívügye a szerzőnek. Bármennyire is fontosak ezek a látogatások a kultusznyelv kiszélesedése szempontjából, a nem szakértő olvasnak túl részletezőnek, aprólékosnak tűnhetnek. A Szűz Királynőről szóló hatodik fejezetben nemcsak az 1578-as norwichi a látogatás bemutatása történik, hanem annak a kimutatása, hogy ezen a látogatáson „érhető először tetten a királynő örök szüzességének dicsérete" (164. o.). Talán hasznos lehetett volna mélyebben feltárni a katolikus Mária-kultusz és a protestáns „Szűz Királynő" mítosz vallási és antropológiai hasonlóságait és különbségeit. Stróbl Erzsébet ebben a fejezetben tényleg megmutatja művészettörténészi kompetenciáját és erényeit. Mintegy féltucat királynői portrét elemez több mint húsz oldalon keresztül.

A hetedik fejezet az irodalomtörténet perspektívájából vizsgálja Erzsébet portréját. A pásztorköltészet műfaját is ismertetve Edmund Spenser *Pásztorkalendáriumá*nak Erzsébet-imázsát mutatja be részletesen. Az április ekloga szól Erzsébet dicséretéről: „a negyedik helyen álló eklogában utalás Vergilius IV. Eklogájára, amely a szűz Astraea eljövetelét ígérte" (195. o.). Megtudjuk, hogy „a műben Erzsébet szűziessége is megjelenik, Dianára utal szépségének Phoebe és Cynthia istennőkkel történő összehasonlítása. A királynő isteni felmenőket kap: Pánt és Szürinxet" (197. o.).

A magyar kultúrtörténet szempontjából is unikumnak tekinthető Budai Parmenius István (1555?–1583) szerepének megvilágítása a Szűz Királynő dicsőítésének kontextusában. A magyar fiatalember három évi európai peregrináció után jutott el Angliába, majd innen Amerikába, de a visszaúton hajótörést szenvedett és meghalt. Az *Epibatikon, aza hajóra szállást ünneplő költemény* című latin nyelvű művében aranykorként énekli meg Astraea Angliáját, sőt Amerikáját is, ahol a bennszülöttek ártatlanságban és békében élnek. Részleteket olvashatunk Parmenius költeményé-

ből magyar fordításban. Sajnáljuk, hogy az eredeti latin szöveget nem láthatjuk a lábjegyzetben, mint ahogy ez az angol szövegek esetében megtörtént.

A könyv legsikeresebb része „A kultusz intézményülése" címet viseli. Ez az utolsó előtti fejezet olyan mintha egy narratív dráma tetőpontjához érkeztünk volna. Ha így van, akkor az utolsó fejezet lecsengés, dramaturgiai kifejezéssel „dénouement." Miért nagyszerű a nyolcadik fejezet? A Szűz Királynő hazai ünneplésének megszilárdulásáról, az eredetileg hármas ünneplés (születés, trónra lépés, koronázás) után a koronázás napjának megünneplése veszi át a vezető szerepet. Ez pedig minden év november 17-e volt, amely egyszerre volt egyházi ünnep és udvari, populáris ünnepség. Ilyenkor a templomokban felzúgtak a harangok, a liturgiában Dávid király hálaadó zsoltára hangzott el, az ószövetségi olvasmányok azokról a királyokról szóltak, akik megtisztították Izrael vallását a pogányság beszüremkedésétől. A keresztény hitnek a pogányságtól (illetve a katolicizmustól) való megtisztítása jellemző protestáns toposz, nem mintha a következő évszázadokban ez ne lenne érvényes a protestantizmus egyházaira.

Az 1570-es, 1580-as évek katolikus lázadásai, az 1580-as földrengés, a spanyol fenyegetés felerősítette az apokaliptikus nyelvezetet. Egy Edmund Bunny nevű hitszónok az ekkoriban elterjedő ramusi vizuális logika „térképén" felvázolta, hogy egy anglikán hazafinak miről is kell elgondolkodnia Erzsébet királynő ünnepén (228–231. o.). A fordítást Stróbl Erzsébet a cambridge-i Emmanuel College-ban fellelhető példány alapján végezte.

A kiváló fejezet második része az udvari és a populáris megemlékezésekről szól, a lovagi tornajátékokról és viadalokról. Ezekben egyre gyakran jelennek meg a mitológia és a folklór elemek is jelentkeznek, pl. a „vadember," római istenek stb. Vajon ez a szcenika előre vetíti-e a Jakab-korban elterjedt mitologikus elemeket felsorakoztató zenés maszkajátékokat („masques")? Shakespeare *A vihar*-ja is már ide tartozik. A Spanyol Armada támadásának időszakában, majd a katolikus feletti győzelem idején (1588) felerősödik Erzsébet királynő erejéről dicsőítő retorika, amelyet önmaga is megmutatott a híres a híres Tilbury beszédében: „I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king and of a king of England too." A magyar fordítás a „stomach"-ot „bátorságként" adja vissza: „Tudom, hogy gyenge és törékeny női testem van, de szívem és bátorságom egy királyé, sőt Anglia királyáé." (286. o.) A győzelem következtében a királynő trónra lépésének nemzeti ünnepként előírt napján túl a Spanyol Armada feletti győzelem napja is nemzeti ünnep lett. Ezzel intézményesült a királynő körüli kultusz: a királynői imázs összeforrt a nemzetté kovácsolódás folyamatának beteljesedésével.

Az utolsó, „lecsengő" fejezet a „Túlzások, kritikák és támadások" címet viseli. Bemutatja, most már kevésbé aprókosan, a felelevenített országjárásokat (hasznos táblázat található a 265. oldalon). Méltó befejezése ennek a könyvnek és fejezetnek Edmund Spenser *A tündérkirálynő* című, torzóban maradt, a keresztény és pogány

elemeket allegóriával vegyítő eposza, ahol Gloriana jeleníti meg a királynő személyét (282–290. o.).

A könyv hiánypótló jellegét és célját a könyv utolsó mondataiban maga a szerző fogalmazza meg: „Jelen könyv a mítosz megszületésének időszakába kívánt betekintést nyújtani. Azokba az ábrázolásokba, amelyek nagyrészt hiányoznak a történelemkönyvekből, és így a magyar közönség eligazodását segíthetik a királynő kultuszában, amelyet oly gyakran, oly sokféle módon használtak már fel Erzsébet uralkodása óta" (307. o.).

A tudományos kutatás minden kritériumának messze megfelelő monográfia ugyanakkor mindenki számára követhető, élvezetes olvasmány. Nagy értéke a könyvnek, hogy az eredeti forrásokat az eredeti helyesírással és központozással adja meg a lábjegyzetekben. Egy következő kiadásban (ami szerintem be fog következni) érdemes lesz az idehaza nem igazán ismert személynevek után feltüntetni a születés és az elhalálozás időpontját, vagy akár a könyv végére beilleszteni az egyes személyekről pár soros életrajzi információt, így az olvasók hasznos kézikönyvként is forgathatják ezt a kiváló monográfiát.

A könyvet nem lehet eléggé dicsérni. Két dolgot tehetünk: olvassuk el minél többen ezt a könyvet; mondjunk a szerzőnek hálás köszönetet.

Tamás Juhász

Kornélia Horváth – Judit Mudriczki – Sarolta Osztroluczky (eds.): *Diversity in Narration and Writing: The Novel,* Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2022, 305 pp.

This recent collection of nineteen essays on the novel is best approached with a caveat in mind. Highlighting the idea of diversity, the title suggests, somewhat deceptively, that diverse forms (or other components) of the novel will be the main subject matter of the book. This, however, is not the case. While two chapters focus on fiction that must be a discovery (or rediscovery) for most readers in that one of them is modelled upon recent criminal cases (representing therefore the captivity novel subgenre, as discussed by Noémi Albert's "Like People in a Book") and the other was usually sidelined in critical approaches to its author's oeuvre (such as Sándor Márai's *The Blood of San Gennaro*, as discussed by Zoltán Kulcsár-Szabó in "Wonders of Telling – Telling Wonders"), most of the other essays cover famous, or at least quite well-known novels ranging from *Ulysses* through *The Grass is Singing* to Géza Ottlik's *School at the Frontier*. There seems to be no attempt to address the contemporary diversity of types of fiction, the myriad ways in which practicing novelists (even authors of so-called fan fiction) can approach this famously elastic literary form. In addition, the list of contributors is in a minor conflict with the idea of diversity. Except for a Canadian and a Russian author, everybody else is Hungarian.

Let it be added quickly that this fact does not signal any kind of uniformity in the contributors' scholarly endeavours. In fact, the heavily theoretical orientation of the individual chapters shows a delightful variety, including, but definitely not limited to, engagements with space studies (as in Yuliia Terentieva's commentary on David Lodge), the closely related concept of flânerie (as in Mihály Benda's reflections on the representation of Paris in modern Hungarian literature), narratology (as in Tibor Gintli's chapter on speed in storytelling, Gábor Kovács's on narrative parallelism and László Bengi's on descriptive strategies), intertextuality (as in Angelika Reichmann's essay on J. M. Coetzee), post-colonialism (as in Nóra Séllei's treatise on Doris Lessing) , Northrop Frye's myth criticism (as in Sára Tóth's approach to Imre Kertész), psychoanalysis (as in János Szávai's discussion of dreams in modern fiction), Bakhtinian heteroglossia (as in András Kappanyos' study on Joyce), or the contemporary cult of the fantasy genre (as in Nikolett Sipos' reflections on *A Game of Thrones*). Diversity is then an appropriate word in the title, but its main reference (as the "Introduction" itself is compelled to explain) is the impressively wide range of interpretive methods that the authors apply rather than the examined corpus itself or the background of the contributors.

The book is relatively long, yet, given its scope and structure, I wish it was somewhat longer. Judit Mudriczki's impressive Introduction ("Diversity in Academic Discourses

on Novel Studies and Narrative Theory in and beyond Central Europe") ushers in the main sections and individual chapters in a precise, conscientious manner, yet it shies away from the daunting task of addressing the key issues (as introductions to edited volumes generally do, or at least try to do) whose recurring presence justifies the presentation of all materials in one single volume. Also, a few chapters do not unpack all the academic potentials that they clearly carry. For example, Kornélia Horváth's "Three Central European Writers on the Novel: Milan Kundera, Béla Hamvas, Géza Ottlik" offers an illuminating synopsis of the three writers' views and beliefs about the novel as a genre, however, the unfolding historical and theoretical arguments are supported by the Central European context only to a limited degree. True, the chapter is about theory, but the emphatic choice of authors from the same cultural-geographical region calls for some clarification on how regionally-linguistically determined fiction and narrative theory in general are interrelated – this question remains throughout the volume. Yet another beneficial addition would have been the creation of an introductory section to open the three larger units, explaining key concepts, and contexts for, each ("Intermediality and Narrative Theory," "Narrative Discourses in Classic and Contemporary English Fiction," "Narrative Discourses and the Hungarian Legacy of Fiction"). Finally, the Index should be longer. For a serious academic work of three hundred pages and nineteen chapters, a mere one and a half pages of indexed names are unlikely to be adequate. And indeed, this index is of limited help for the reader. For example, it does not list Tom Wolfe (a primary subject matter in Sarolta Osztroluczky's "The Thicket of Memory"), Albert Camus (a key author in Dorottya Szávai's "Figures of Absence"), Krisztina Tóth (a contemporary writer discussed in Edit Zsadányi's "Hungarian Voices of the Subaltern") or even Gustave Flaubert (a central figure in Mieke Bal's brilliant opening chapter "From 'Madame Bovary c'est moi' to 'Emma is Us'").

And, at the same time, a concluding caveat for the reader could be not to make too much of the above complaints. The individual essays in the volume are very-well written, perceptive engagements with the critical problems that they identify at the outset. As a result, the collection carries significant academic value, and whoever is interested in the novel as a genre will find in it complex critical insights, fresh historical perspectives and possible starters for new conversations about the practice and theory of prose fiction. In addition, the (very minor) imperfections that the reviewer can spot in the book are in fact curiously reproducing those qualities of unfinishedness or provisionality that many critics and novelists (from Henry James through J. M. Coetzee to Ishmael Reed) associate with the genre (in fact, Kornélia Horváth's already noted chapter on Géza Ottlik intriguingly details Ottlik's notion of the novel as something fluid, something always "becoming", 48). With its multiplicity of critical voices and the dignified editorial struggle to channel such heterogenous materials into coherent units, *Diversity in Narration and Writing: The Novel* shows respect for, and a profound understanding of, its literary subject matter.

Dóra Bernhardt

Jonathan Brant – Edward Brooks – Michael Lamb (eds.): *Cultivating Virtue in the University,* Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2022, 288 pp.

The word *virtue* – or *character,* the term used interchangeably by the writers of the volume in question – are not concepts one would naturally associate with "university." The importance of the concept of "character education" is not new in the English-speaking world, but it has been researched by scholars primarily in the context of primary and secondary education. This volume, however, demonstrates the growing movement that emphasizes how the university can also be a "site for the cultivation of virtue" (4). In fact, the authors are convinced that, given the challenges and opportunities of higher education in the twenty-first century, character education is as important today as it was for a long time in the history of education. Whether or not it is acknowledged, universities – just like any educational institution – implicitly cultivate character, thus it is imperative that awareness should be raised about the *how*.

The aim of the book is to contend that universities not only *do,* but "critically and intentionally" (271) *should,* and, practically, *can* form the character of their students. The contributors to the volume come from a variety of academic disciplines, which enables a broad and comprehensive approach to the topic. The insights from history, education, psychology, philosophy, sociology, theology, and literature contribute to the conclusion that "colleges and universities can play a vital role in helping students become more virtuous in ways that promote their flourishing and the flourishing of their communities" (271).

The Introduction (Part 1, Chapter 1) sets the goal of answering the question "Should Universities Cultivate Virtues?" (7) and makes the case for a positive answer by giving an overview of the arguments presented in the chapters. The essays following the Introduction are divided into three parts. Part 1, "The University as a Context for Cultivating Virtue," (27) focuses on the larger historical, intellectual, social, and scientific context of character education at a tertiary level. Julie Reuben considers the history of modern American universities and underlines the fact that even though virtue was at the core of early American colleges, different historical, social, and cultural processes have eclipsed this original commitment, and reviving it is a task for today's educators. Chad Wellmon's paper (Chapter 3) focuses on the historical aspects of higher education in Germany. His starting point is Max Weber's distinction between *Wissenschaft* and *Bildung*, and his conclusion is that "scholarly practice" – the research university – has moral limitations, which means that institutions "need to look outside themselves and partner with other moral traditions and resources" (54). The third paper in Part 2 is perhaps the most interesting one and raises the question: Isn't it late for character education by

the time students leave high school? In the essay entitled "Developing Virtue in Emerging Adults," (57) Brian A. Williams answers this question by citing not only neuroscientific, but also psychological and sociological research. Emerging adults are defined as young people between the ages of seventeen and twenty-five, and, Williams concludes, research suggests that "the years of emerging adulthood" – the time when identity-formation and self-focus, among others, are distinctive features of the young person's life – "are especially formative ethically" (65).

Having set the context, Part 2 entitled "Institutional and Cultural Barriers to Cultivating Virtue" considers the difficulties associated with the language and discussion of character in the twenty-first century. In Chapter 5 a philosopher, Onora O'Neill, points out that while the eclipse of virtue in the university can partly be traced back to changes in the role and function of the university, that is, academics and teachers have less time for the "undertaking of fostering the wider aspects of education that can shape character and inculcate virtue" (84), the main reasons are due to deeper social, philosophical, and cultural trends. The disruptive changes of the past century have affected society's views of duties, rights, justice, and values, and have marginalized virtues, which means that, O'Neill argues, universities alone cannot resolve the consequences of this shift "without engaging wider approaches that do not reduce matters of justice to respect for individual rights, or ethical questions to the satisfaction of individual preferences" (95). In Chapter 6 Nigel Biggar addresses similar issues from the point of view of theology and suggests that Christian theology is "morally realist" and can thus give voice to often "unspoken moral commitments" (110).

Part 3 pursues the issue of "How to Cultivate Virtue in the University" further. Some of the six essays in this part are more theoretical, while others introduce and share the results of already existing initiatives. The editors of the volume participated in an initiative called Oxford Global Leadership Initiative (GLI) organized by Oxford Character Project. This voluntary, extracurricular program was designed for a group of postgraduate students from a range of scholarly disciplines at the University of Oxford. The first chapter in this part presents the theoretical framework based on the Aristotelian tradition of virtues in the form of "Seven Strategies of Character Development" (116) before describing in detail how the GLI put each one of these into practice. The next essay in Chapter 8 by Christian B. Miller is an imaginary recounting of a conversation between a university president and the author, who is a moral philosopher, on the idea and possibilities of cultivating virtue. Miller focuses on the virtue of honesty, and he assumes that cheating is one of the most common temptations students face during their studies. Similarly, Blaire Morgan and Liz Gulliford discuss a somewhat unexpected virtue in the next chapter, and they argue that the "superficially simple" concept of gratitude "can be better understood as a virtue" (18, 178). They also emphasize that even though in today's higher education there may be different barriers to the fostering of gratitude, practicing this virtue would have many beneficial effects not only on

social relationships but even on academic performance. Joanna Collicutt is both a psychologist and a theologian, and in Chapter 10 she analyses the figure of Jesus as a "virtuous character" and provides suggestions for how the characteristics exhibited by him could be "translated into a form appropriate for secular higher education" (208). The contributors of the final chapters, Jessica Richard (Chapter 11), and Paula M. L. Loyola and Lesley Larkin (Chapter 12), use literature as a framework for the understanding of certain virtues. Richard focuses on Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* to illustrate the "elusiveness of virtue, both our own and that of others" (224), while Loyola and Larkin examine contemporary narrative dystopias and emphasize the ethical possibilities – "decolonial pedagogy" in particular – of this kind of fiction to "expose our most deeply held assumptions and allow us to imagine different, and more just, ways of being in the world" (245).

Besides reviewing the most important lines of reasoning, the Conclusion, written by the editors of the volume, adds further aspects that should be considered when discussing the role and pedagogy of character education in higher education. Should the focus be on individual virtues or on their interconnection? How can character development be measured? In the end, Lamb, Brooks, and Brand conclude that there is a "need for reliable and well-evidenced methods" to provide "further impetus for scholars and educators to produce research that analyses the potential efforts to educate character" (270).

I propose that, for all the different reasons discussed by the authors, the topic of this book is relevant for anyone involved in higher education. The diversity of perspectives makes it possible to choose from a variety of angles from which the interconnection between virtue and character are approached, but the challenge to take the task of cultivating virtue in the university more seriously is present in all of them, and the examples and initiatives introduced could be a good basis for further thought and discussion. This should be a priority especially for Christian universities, where the cultivation of virtues is – or could be – by definition part of the mission statement of the institution. The Notes and Bibliography sections following each chapter provide excellent starting points for further contextualized research.

Anita Barta

Lieven Ameel (ed.): *The Routledge Companion to Literary Urban Studies*, New York, Routledge, 2023, 498 pp.

The Routledge Companion to Literary Urban Studies aims to provide up-to-date source material for both teaching and studying literary urban studies. The book offers a diverse picture of the current state of urban literature: it focuses on theoretical concepts and literary genres; discusses case studies of cities with a street-level view of urban life; and explores possible new directions as well.

After a brief general introduction, the editor, Lieven Ameel, has included another chapter, which discusses issues related to the teaching of literary urban studies. In this chapter, the editor's aim with the *Companion* is clearly explained: it intends to fill a particular gap in a developing discipline. The authors claim that relatively few studies have been published to specifically support the teaching of literary urban studies and that there are still few resources to examine how urban space functions in literature. They assume that the lack of resources is due to the marginalization of the question of space in literary studies as if it were a less important descriptive category than time. Since the *spatial turn* in the humanities and social sciences there has been a renewed interest in space, but this has not resulted in the production of material useful for teaching literary urban studies. The volume aims to bring together different perspectives on teaching this emerging discipline. The articles published in the *Companion* summarize the latest developments based on the interdisciplinary courses recently offered by the authors at various universities, while they also outline future directions.

The book has four main parts, "Key Concepts," "Key Genres," "Case Studies," and "New Debates." "Key Concepts" lays the theoretical groundwork for the *Companion*; it includes five chapters exploring the concept of the map, walking in a city, the palimpsest, the aesthetics of the city, and the role of seriality in literary urban studies. The chapter on mapping by Liam Lanigan shows that the word may have a double meaning in literature: with the advent of the skyscraper and the airplane, the representation of the city enables a panoramic, that is, a top-down perspective, and it also provides a metaphorical understanding, which refers to a subjective encounter with the city. The chapter on walking in the city by Heidi Lucja Liedke, relying partly on Michel de Certeau's idea of "*city idlers,*" shows the experience of a narrator-traveller who takes many walks and has personal impressions. Bart Keunen, the author of the chapter entitled "The Aesthetics of the City," investigates the versatility of urban experiences. The city is explored as a palimpsest in Jens Martin Gurr's writing, who argues that it is the task of the reader and the writer to decipher and read the hidden text under the surface both in the case of urban architecture and literary texts. The last chapter introduces the image

of recursive cities; Maria Sulimma claims that the creation of cities in literary works strongly relies on the serial dynamics of storytelling, reception, and production.

The second part titled "Key Genres" includes five chapters and aims to introduce the reader to certain literary genres, explain their importance for urban studies, and demonstrate historical continuity. The genres explored are satire, encomiastic, metropolitan miniature, the city in crime fiction, and infrastructural forms. Grace Gillies deals with satire and traces the roots of this genre to the 2nd century. The following paper by Carrie Beneš and Laura Morreale examines the characteristics of a praising genre, called encomium or panegyric, which is a rhetorical form used to celebrate the spiritual or physical attributes of a city and to praise favoured cities for their physical, moral, or historical virtues. Andreas Huyssen claims that writing about metropolitan miniatures was a specific genre of 19th century journalism and enjoyed great popularity in the metropolitan press. Barbara Pezzotti suggests that the crime novel emerged with the growth of the first metropolises, and the genre reflected the transformations taking place in the urban environment. The last article by Dominic Davies in this group responds to the "three D's" (density, diversity, and dimension) that characterize urbanization with its own list of "three C's" (comics, cities, and conglomerations). It explores the combination of cartographic and aerial perspectives with a street-level view of everyday life, for example, by showcasing how the city looks when seen through the eyes of a typical urban creature: the superhero.

The third part, titled "Case Studies" is the longest part of the *Companion*; it provides the reader with sixteen chapters on cities. A group of writers explore African cities and black identities: Mohamed Wajdi Ben Hammed focuses on the lumpenproletariat in North Africa, for instance, in Tangier. Alex Halligey writes about the role of the theatre in Johannesburg, Anna-Leena Toivanen examines the representation of West and Central African cities in francophone African narrative, and Patrice Nganang explores the representation of the metropolis in black narratives. Another group of texts focuses on European cities discussing themes such as urban writings from France by Michael G. Kelly, the urban viewpoint of the 2008 revolt in Athens by Riikka P. Pulkkinen, and the Russian provincial town by Tintti Klapuri. Three articles touch on topics from the American continent: Julia M. Hori explores the urban environment in Jamaica, Liesbeth Francois investigates the questions related to social relations and the uneven distribution of power in Mexico City, and Ceri Morgan discusses how mobility appears in contemporary Montreal fiction. The last section of essays is from the Middle, South, and Far East: Chen Bar-Itzak explores palimpsestuous imagination in Haifa and its neighbourhood, among other locations, Annie Webster is interested in the pedestrian perspectives in Baghdad, Rita Nnodim examines Bombay, the Indian metropolis, from the perspectives of unseen and unheard voices, Elizabeth Ho writes about a new wave of authors producing urban comics, and Franz K. Prichard is interested in the urban vocabularies of Japan.

The title of the last part of the volume is "New Debates" and it intends to outline new possible directions in literary urban studies. The topics covered, such as "*translocality*", Hispanic female perspectives, and queer visions, have not been deeply explored in city studies yet; thus, they can be included either in curriculums or they can serve as excellent fields for further research work for students. Investigating these issues may also contribute to the development of literary urban studies. The literary figure of the urban outcast and the urban subsistence in Patricia García's essay is the focus of the first chapter. The second essay by Eric Prieto partly revolves around the question of "*mappability*" itself and discusses urban informality as an integral characteristic of the cities in world literature. Davy Knittle's writing explores queer and trans theories from an urban point of view. Paul Dobraszczyk discusses the future of the city: he highlights the connection between science fiction, cities, and the future and reads science fiction texts as a form of escape from the world as we experience it. The last author, Lena Mattheis, invites the reader to adopt a trans-local perspective, which may lead to a new understanding of space. As digital connections have changed the sense of location, this chapter can be relevant in studying new approaches to cosmopolitanism and intersectionality as well.

The Routledge *Companion to Literary Urban Studies* has been compiled to assist teaching programs, professors, and students by offering an accessible summary of key terms and debates in the field of urban studies. It explores a variety of cultural contexts as well, showing that urban studies is a versatile and flourishing discipline; thus, the book is an excellent source in the developing field of literary urban studies.

Mária Varga

Review of Francine Prose: *Cleopatra: Her History, Her Myth,* E-book ed., New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2022, 224 pp.

Francine Prose's *Cleopatra: Her History, Her Myth* scrutinizes the critical reception of Cleopatra VII throughout history and is unapologetic in its quest to identify, contextualize and disprove the misogynistic, sexist, and politically driven myths and opinions surrounding the infamous Egyptian Queen. Accordingly, when faced with Cleopatra's afterlife, Prose takes a critical approach to Shakespeare's portrayal of Cleopatra, analyzing his text from a perspective that might appear somewhat predictable and, occasionally, even contradictory. Despite these contradictions, Prose's work greatly contributes to the discussion of Cleopatra VII, providing the reader with a clear, in-depth outline of the Egyptian queen's life, with insightful comments and observations on the various interpretations of Cleopatra on film and in literature, and with a feminist narrative which has been greatly lacking in the discourse surrounding Cleopatra.

The introduction of *Cleopatra: Her History, Her Myth* is arguably the most compact and informative chapter of the whole work. Prose lays out the critical reception of the historical figure of Cleopatra in minute detail, starting with how the Romans of her time led what was essentially a smear campaign against her, while later historians, including Plutarch himself, were what is referred to in the text as "apologists for Roman imperial expansion" (7). Despite her warding off the Roman Empire for as long as she did, Cleopatra became well-known for her allegedly seductive nature, supposed beauty, and her love affairs with Caesar and Antony. Prose is quick to point out that such politically driven depictions of her were also infused with sexism and racism; otherwise, Cleopatra's supposedly sexual nature and her contradictory, passionate personality would not have been such central aspects of said depictions. Her political achievements as a queen were written off as the results of witchcraft, seduction and manipulation—the last two often said to go hand in hand. Prose does well in quoting examples and providing them with social and political context in order to explain their—often hateful—nature. The chapter competently lays out the intention of the book and the approach it wishes to take, and although it has the unintentional effect of making some of the other chapters feel somewhat underwhelming when compared to it, it certainly succeeds in drawing the reader in.

Prose has divided the rest of her work into two parts: "The Life of Cleopatra" and "The Afterlife of Cleopatra." "The Life of Cleopatra" begins with an account of the historical background of the dynasty to which Cleopatra belonged, which, while certainly necessary, is at some points somewhat of a dry read. While it is discouragingly easy to get lost in the staggering number of Egyptian leaders by the

name of Ptolemy, Prose does make sure to mention whenever an event or concept appears that has some connection to Cleopatra, reminding the reader whom the book is actually about.

Chapter Two describes the power struggles between Cleopatra and her brother, Ptolemy XIII, which began shortly after their father's death. The chapter mentions names and concepts—such as Auletes, sibling-spouses and the Gabiniani—which makes one glad to have read through the previous chapter and solidifies the necessity of it. Prose gives the reader a detailed account of all of Cleopatra's struggles and achievements, painting a realistic picture of a young queen who not only was up to the task of leadership, but often exceeded expectations. The chapter also describes the tensions between Egypt and Rome at the time, and how the internal struggles of both states influenced their relationship.

Despite having described in the introduction how Cleopatra has often been reduced to her love affairs with Antony and Caesar, Prose, ironically, dedicates a chapter each to both relationships, going as far as to title them "Caesar and Cleopatra" and "Antony and Cleopatra." However, a reader expecting a simple account of each relationship should be pleasantly surprised; both chapters' focus is mainly on the myths, paintings and writings surrounding the couples, as well as the relevant historical context and political climate. The chapter about Caesar and Cleopatra makes sure to point out how sexism and racism influenced the myths and the various depictions of the couple, while also reminding the reader of the Romans' attitude towards Cleopatra and Egypt, as well as expanding on how this affected both her and Caesar's reputation and life. Prose does an admirable job of depicting Cleopatra not as the lover of Caesar, but as a ruler in her own right. Antony and Cleopatra's chapter greatly draws upon Plutarch's text and heavily focuses on the anecdotes he wrote, understandably—due to the sparsity of ancient sources—lacking in variety when compared to the previous chapter. Still, the explanations and suppositions given for each anecdote makes it an intriguing read.

The following chapters, "The Final Act Begins" and "The Snake," essentially continue Antony and Cleopatra's story, focusing mainly on the demise of the couple, both as leaders and lovers. "The Final Act Begins" provides the reader with insightful details on the actions Cleopatra took during the conflict with Rome, including speculations on why she fled with her ships during the Battle of Actium, while the concluding chapter of Part I—"The Snake"—lays out the existing discourse around Cleopatra's suicide, as well as later depictions and artistic interpretations of her death. Altogether, other than a few trivial imperfections, Part I, "The Life of Cleopatra," gives an in-depth retelling of the Egyptian queen's life, the chapters imbued with a rich variety of artistic and historical interpretations and a competent analysis of the political and social climate of Cleopatra's era.

Part II starts with what has all the markings of an interlude, a pause after the excitements of the first half of the book. The seventh chapter, titled "The Pearl," essentially focuses on speculations relating to the anecdote of Cleopatra crushing

a pearl—an aphrodisiac—into Antony's drink and the way artists have incorporated said anecdote into their works, which makes for an appealing read. Though this is a rather short chapter—enforcing the idea of it being something of an interlude—Prose makes sure it explains that the anecdote "portray[s] Cleopatra … as the personification of Eastern licentiousness and dissolution" (143). While it is a pity that Prose did not expand on the topic of orientalist interpretations of Cleopatra beyond the anecdote, the chapter itself still fulfills its purpose.

Chapter Eight, which focuses on Shakespeare's Cleopatra, curiously differs from the other chapters in that the author's voice seems more present. In essence, Prose criticizes Shakespeare for showing Cleopatra as a lover instead of a ruler; she also remarks that Shakespeare failed in making Cleopatra more sympathetic than Octavia, or indeed sympathetic in general. Certainly, given that the play itself is something of a more mature version of *Romeo and Juliet*, and that Shakespeare himself sets a tone of domestic dispute with the backdrop of a war in the very first scene, the fact that he portrayed Cleopatra as a lover is indisputable, but also understandable. It is similarly understandable why Antony is the one being put into a military setting, considering that portraying him as both a lover and a soldier was imperative for the sake of showing the audience the character's inner conflict, as well as Rome's role in the couple's demise. Despite her role as a lover, Cleopatra herself does portray some qualities of a leader throughout the play, including the time after Antony's death when she attempts to trick Octavius (referred to by Prose as Octavian but in the play as Octavius), and even her consequent death, which was only partly due to Antony—otherwise one can assume that Shakespeare would have left out Octavius's and Cleopatra's politically charged conversation. Prose's statement about Octavia being more sympathetic than Cleopatra, although lacking quotes or sources—with the exception of a comment about Dryden fearing that the same phenomena would appear in his play—is a well-known sentiment amongst Shakespeare critics. Yet in the context of the book, the idea of Octavia, who barely has any appearances and who embodies all those Roman qualities of a woman that Prose herself has shown distaste towards, being more sympathetic than Cleopatra, whose strong personality, extensive variety of flaws and clear passion for Antony makes her both alive and more resembling a 21st century woman, seems both baffling and contradictory. Finally, the chapter ends with a quote from Dryden's *All for Love*, a play based on Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, which Prose greatly praises. While arguably an odd way to end such a thematically important chapter, it does cement Prose's opinion on Shakespeare's Cleopatra. Ultimately, in light of the book's stance on sexualized representations of Cleopatra, the analysis of Shakespeare's play echoes Prose's main argument, though it does open itself to criticism.

The closing chapter of Prose's work, "Cleopatra on Film," delves into cinematic interpretations of Cleopatra, all of which depict what Prose calls a "crowd-pleasing, orientalist fantasy" (168). Although the paragraphs about the production of movies

such as the *Cleopatra* starring Elizabeth Taylor seem irrelevant at times to the purpose of the book, the chapter itself is still clear in its intention to show how each movie mentioned portrays Cleopatra, and the flaws of such portrayals. Prose ends the chapter and thus the book by wondering how Cleopatra herself might have felt about the various interpretations of her person, which, while whimsical and slightly out-of-tune with the rest of the work, is a contemplative question to end on.

Ultimately, regardless of whether the reader agrees with her analysis on Shakespeare's Cleopatra or not, Francine Prose's text is undoubtedly an informative read to anyone wanting a clearer understanding of why Cleopatra VII has been so harshly criticized and sexualized throughout history.

Contents of The Next Issue – Symbols, Identity, and Invention