

Media and Literature
in Multilingual Hungary
1770–1820

Edited by
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The Literary Program of István Sándor and the Periodical *Sokféle* (1791–1808)*

István Sándor (1750–1815) is considered one of the first Hungarian bibliographers thanks to his handbook *Magyar Könyvesház [Hungarian Library]* (1803). However, since József Szinnyei made his inaugural speech¹ in 1901, essays on press history and other writings about the era have contained very few references to Sándor's work.² He deserves more attention than this, because he took up where his predecessors left off, continuing the important work of the generation that came before him. He was certainly committed to his cause and his low profile can be mainly attributed to his early death and other historical circumstances. These circumstances also allowed István Kultsár, who was ten years younger than Sándor (1760–1828), to become the longest-living press personality and author of his generation. Much of Sándor's output has still not been researched properly and literary scholars have not delved deeper into his work. Art historians have spent time researching him though, including Júlia Papp, who has analysed details of Sándor's work as an art collector and archaeologist.³

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1 SZINNYEI József, *Az első magyar bibliographus [The First Hungarian Bibliographer]*, *Értekezések a nyelv- és széptudományok köréből*, 17/10 (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1901).

2 Case studies about the special fields of his oeuvre: RÉTHEI PRIKKEK Marián, *Sándor István nyelv-tudománya [István Sándor's Linguistics]*, *Nyelvészeti füzetek* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1909); KÓKAY György, "Sándor István irodalmi és bibliográfiai munkásságához" ["To István Sándor's Literary and Bibliographical Works"], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 77 (1961): 314–319.

3 PAPP Júlia, *Művészeti ismeretek Gróf Sándor István (1750–1815) írásaiban [Art Knowledge in the Writings of Earl István Sándor, 1750–1815]*, *Művészettörténeti füzetek* 21 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1992).

Sándor was born in Lúka, Nyitra County on August 11, 1750. His parents were aristocrats and he grew up bilingual, speaking both Hungarian and Slovak. He attended the Piarist school in Nitra and later the Jesuit college in Trnava. He later lived mainly in Lúka and he was a well-known misogynist who never started a family. He is rumoured to have carved a line from Péter Beniczky on a brass plate in the vestibule of the renovated palace in 1778. The line goes “Woe to the house where the cow can yoke the bull.”⁴ He moved to Vienna in 1784, where he worked as a jurist and spent his money on collecting books and art. His interest in literature and linguistics showed early. In 1778 he translated one of Gellert’s novels and a play (*G** nevezetű svédi grófnénak rendes történeti egy juhászi játékkal egyetemben [The History of the Swedish Countess G** and a Shepherd’s Play]*), then in 1791, in Győr, he published a short biography of the globetrotter András Jelky, translated from German. (This was possibly a follow up of the 1790 success of the English-language memoir of Móric Benyovszky, the Hungarian aristocrat and adventurer who reached Madagascar.) In 1792, again in Győr, he published his own translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. He used a 4×12 meter and called the edition *Az Orras Ovidnak deákból fordított változái [The Changes of Ovid with the Nose, Translated from Latin]*. In 1793, still in Győr, he anonymously published *Egy külföldön utazó magyarnak jó barátjához küldetett levelei [The Letters of a Hungarian Traveller Abroad Written to His Good Friend]* about his travels in Western Europe between 1785 and 1791. The guidebook was written as a series of epistles and included colourful material and cultural content, based mainly on his own experiences. The book was a huge success with Hungarian readers. His main work, also published in Győr, in 1803, was entitled *Magyar Könyvesház*. The volume contains a bibliography, the aim of which was to list every book printed in Hungary up until that time, including about 3,600 entries. Sándor may have collected part of his material in the Vienna Court Library, but his own library was also significant, and he corresponded regularly with fellow scholars as well. He published his dictionary *Toldalék a magyar-deák Szókönyvhez [Supplement to the Hungarian–Latin Dictionary]*, on which he had been working for thirty years, in Vienna in 1808.

From this time on he played an important role in the cultural projects of Miklós Révai (1750–1807), who was an outstanding Piarist, linguist and literary scholar. In 1780, Sándor subscribed to *Magyar Hírmondó [Hungarian Herald]*, which Révai edited. Sándor also exchanged letters with Révai, maybe from

4 SZINNYEI, *Az első magyar bibliographus*, 445.

1782⁵ but certainly from 1786.⁶ Their personal relationship, beyond their debates, was friendly. Révai helped prepare Sándor's volumes for publication, and they helped each other sell their books.⁷ What is more, the wealthy nobleman also provided financial support to the scholar, who was known for being temperamental and whose ambitions exceeded his financial means.

It was through the cooperation of these two intellectuals that an important literary and scientific periodical of the era, *Sokféle [Variety]* was born, which was published either annually or twice a year between 1791 and 1808. It was printed in Győr at Sándor's own expense until 1801, with the last four volumes being printed in Vienna. Sándor himself wrote and translated the periodical using foreign newspapers and encyclopaedias as his source. The correspondence between the two men tells us that Révai corrected the first volume himself. A manuscript elegy of his also survives in which he salutes Sándor. József Szinnyei comments that in spite of the intensity of their relationship, Sándor's name does not appear in Révai's *Planum* of a learned society in 1790, although it is true that several other illustrious contemporaries were also missing from that list.⁸ It is possible that Révai did not feel that his patron and friend was yet ready to join the elite, although Sándor had the chance to prove his fitness as an editor and scholar from the next year onward, through *Sokféle!*

Based on both the one-author method and the chosen topics, it is safe to assume that Sándor's main model was *Mindenes Gyűjtemény [Miscellaneous Collection]* (1789–1792), published in Komárom [Komárno in Slovak] by József Péczeli, which at this time only appeared annually and ceased to exist after the editor's death. Sándor also wrote poetry, although he certainly wasn't as talented as Péczeli. In the appendix of the Ovid translation and at the end of the 1801

- 5 We do not know the location of this unique 1792 letter from Révai to Sándor today; all that we do know about it is from a paper. Moreover, Révai dissembled his name, the sender's name and the dating was written afterwards in an unknown hand. КИЦСКА Sándor, "Révai Miklós levele Sándor Istvánhoz" ["Miklós Révai's Letter to István Sándor"], *Győri Szemle* 3, No. 4–6 (1932): 129–131.
- 6 I would like to thank Arttila Thimár for allowing our research team to access these letters, currently under preparation for publication by our research group. About the influence of Mátyás Rát to István Sándor: КÓКАЙ György, *A magyar hírlap- és folyóiratirodalom kezdetei (1780–1795) [The Beginnings of the Hungarian Newspaper and Periodical Literature, 1780–1795]*, Irodalomtörténeti könyvtár 25 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó – A Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Irodalomtudományi Intézete, 1970), 157. More data: SZINNYEI, *Az első magyar bibliographus*, 10–12 (with publishing of the Révai's occasional elegy to Sándor).
- 7 According to Réthei Prikkel, this refers to the conversion to Révai's linguistic conception, see RÉTHEI PRIKKEK, *Sándor István nyelvtudománya*, 5.
- 8 SZINNYEI, *Az első magyar bibliographus*, 12.

Sokféle he also published his own string of poems. No letters exist to prove that they corresponded, as only fragments of either of their correspondence survives. Sándor followed Révai's example both in terms of methodology and business model, since due to their size, periodicals like *Mindenek Gyűjtemény* and *Sokféle* could only be printed profitably twice a year at most, and more likely only once. The Streibig printing house in Győr made a good partner for Sándor, but it is also no coincidence that the last issues, after a seven-year break and during the deteriorating economic circumstances of the Napoleonic wars, were printed in Vienna. Distribution may also have seemed safer there, because as many as three volumes were published in 1808. Still, this is where the story of the tenacious periodical ended. The renowned name only appeared in the title of manuscript collections of poems after that, with József Márton founding an ancillary periodical of a similar profile, with the same title, "a' Bétsi Magyar Újság mellé toldalékul" ["as an Appendix to the Vienna Hungarian Paper"], which was published from 1832 until 1833.

Sokféle not only tried to continue and develop the framework of the terminated *Mindenek Gyűjtemény*, it also harmonized its selection with *Magyar Hírmondó*. Sándor knew this paper well, since he had subscribed to it at his Luka estate, and he must have drawn a lot from it. We can speculate this because he too included articles on natural sciences and the humanities, especially the history of language and books. Sándor clearly wanted to meet the expectations of his friends from the intelligentsia, following Révai's concept and in memory of József Péczeli, the genre's pioneer. But *Sokféle* was not the only paper in the Transdanubia region. *Magyar Almanák [Hungarian Almanac]*, published as a supplement to the *Bécsi Magyar Kurír [Hungarian Courier of Vienna]* between 1794 and 1796 and edited by Sámuel Decsy, took on a similar mission. Besides publishing a huge amount of information on geography, statistics, and onomastics, Decsy also published pamphlet-like articles. For example, in 1795 and 1796, there was *A' Magyar Országi Oskoláknak, és Tudományoknak jelenvaló állapotjáról [About the Current Situation of Schools and Sciences in Hungary]*, which included a list of professors.⁹ After the almanac went bankrupt¹⁰ Decsy

9 *Magyar Almanák* (1795): 84–196.

10 "Not only did it not pay for my expenses, but I lost over 1500 forints cash, so I decided – because in my nation nobody is really interested in Hungarian literature – that I would never publish a book after that." ["Nem tsak vissza nem térültek az arra fordított költségeim sőt kész pénzt 15 száz forintnál többet vesztettem rajtok, és álhatatosan el tőkéllettem magamban, hogy mivel nemzetemben semmi gusztust nem tapasztalok a Magyar litteraturához, többé soha semmi könyv ki adásával nem szerent-séltetem erszényemet."] *Magyar Kurír* (1798): 42. Sándor regarded neither Sámuel Decsy nor Dániel

wrote an open letter, the bitterness of which Sándor echoed in his own comments in *Sokféle*.

Szinnyei mentions that after Volume VI of *Sokféle* (1799) it seemed as if the editor wanted to take a break, and the foreword of the volume hints that he would retreat indefinitely. Thankfully, this did not happen. Thanks to the patronage of literary men, and possibly thanks to encouragement from friends and also maybe through loans,¹¹ in 1801 he reappeared with two new volumes, containing mostly historical and linguistic material. This is when the break happened. And it was followed by the three volumes published in Vienna in 1808, the standard of which did not fall below that seen in the previous publications. So looking back, the end, for a series that had become quite reputable, is lamentable.

From Issue 2, *Sokféle* expanded its profile to some extent, and it published more literary material, including poems and anecdotes. I cannot analyse these here, but it is useful to cover some of the main topics and genres, primarily from the point of view of Révai's agenda of protecting values. A literary analysis of the periodical from this perspective is long overdue as usually only a few excerpts from a list of several hundred are mentioned.

By reading *Magyar Könyves-Ház [Hungarian Library]*, published in 1803, we will see that István Sándor was a book fanatic. But this is not the only evidence for this. He saluted Ferenc Széchenyi, the founder of the Hungarian National Library, with Hungarian poems when he had the catalogue of his own library published.¹² What he wrote in *Sokféle* also shows that he was sensitive to the deficiencies of the Hungarian publishing industry in a programmatic way. In the first issue he published *Az óhajtható Magyar új könyvekről [On Desirable New Hungarian Books]*, which in a way repeats some elements of Révai's call from nine years earlier. He deems it desirable to have the Hungarian-Latin dictionary extended with German and French explanations, referring to the earlier unfulfilled promises of János Farkas and Mihály Adami. Mátyás Rát's plan for a Hungarian-German dictionary, like so many similar undertakings, failed due to a lack of subscribers. "Indeed our Nation should be ashamed, but even more so our Great ones [i.e. great patriots], that these laudable efforts, which I could give several examples of, are not only left without reward, but are not even

Pánczél as a serious professional, and although he admired the high number of the subscribers to the *Kurír*, he envied it too at least to the same extent. KÓKAY, "Sándor István irodalmi és bibliográfiai munkásságához", 314.

11 SZINNYEI, *Az első magyar bibliographus*, 16.

12 *Ibid.*, 18.

supported.”¹³ He also talks about the incomplete Hungarian-language literature on history. To make up for it, he also published a large number of biographical articles on historical figures. In the very first *Sokféle*, after introducing various people, he includes a historical portrait gallery from Attila the Hun to Baron François de Tott (1733–1793), with a special side note on the prince of Transylvania, Francis Rákóczi II. Then in *Második darab* [*Second Volume*] he introduces Count de Bonneval, the Turkish pasha of French descent.¹⁴ At the beginning of this volume he published other royal portraits too.

In his piece encouraging new Hungarian books, reflecting on Révai’s agenda leads him to publish literary sources:

Hungarians have long wished for a collection of ‘Hungarian poems’, and hope was given by Hon. Doctor Miklós Révai, but since so far, beyond his own poems, he has only published the poems of [Ferenc] Faludi, [Lőrinc] Orczy, and [Ábrahám] Barcsay. It seems as if he did not feel like continuing. Everyone knows how hideous our immortal [István] Gyöngyösi’s publication with Landerer in Buda was, yet nobody is waking up to console the Homeland with a new, improved print. Although Baron Ráday the older promised this in the past, the promise has not borne fruit. In a similar manner, the poems of Heltai, Tinódi, Valkai, Nagybántasai, Ilosvai, Paskó, Balassi, Rimay, Beniczky, Zrínyi, Liszti, Koháry, and others are also awaiting a new publisher. Whoever has the money for this and can also form the hope of further propagation, would indebt the Homeland to a great extent should he enrich it with such work.¹⁵

The short piece on *Költeményes Gyűjtemény* [*Collection of Poems*, series of Miklós Révai] becoming blocked may in fact convey internal information to the public. In 1782 Révai enthusiastically recommended a very similar list of names in a missing letter and is said to also have checked with Gedeon Ráday, who “has already summarized the biographies of one hundred Hungarian poets from the sixteenth century alone. Undoubtedly he has even more works of this nature. I will do my utmost to visit him soon in Pécel this summer”.¹⁶ The list addressed to Sándor refers to collecting specific sources:

13 “Az óhajtható Magyar új könyvekről” [“On Desirable New Hungarian Books”], *Sokféle: Első darab* (Vol. 1) (1791): 156–159, 158.

14 “Gróf Bonnevalról” [“About Count Bonneval”] *Sokféle: Második darab* (Vol. 2) (1791): 86–90.

15 “Az óhajtható Magyar új könyvekről”, 158.

16 КИЦСКА, “Révai Miklós...”, 130.

Now I ask you that although there are some about whom I know, and I have even found, but due to the distance and the scarcity of opportunity I cannot access them, so please share them with me soon. These are: Bálint Balassi and János Rimay, and if an older print than the Pozsony [Bratislava] one, István Koháry and László Amadé. I am also desirous of the Lőcse [Levoča] edition of Beniczky, if you have it. Especially for the old ones, it is good to have two or even three copies. What is more, I need these, as they are mostly damaged and if something is missing in the one, then the other will have it. This is the case now with Liszti's *Magyar Mars* [*Hungarian Mars*], and the authors published with Heltai. I would also like to hold the poems of Sebestyén Tinódi in my hands as soon as possible. Mr. Rádai also has manuscript copies of his poems. However, if you also have this author, I would dearly like you to send that as well. Have all of these sent as soon as possible to Rát in Pozsony. About Amadé's life, since you have heard more about him and know more, please send a more detailed report about this as well.¹⁷

It is not that he wants to disparage Révai or Gedeon Ráday with the list. Rather, he seems to be urging the rest of the literary community to take on the task. However, this did not really succeed. Kazinczy's series, *Magyar régiségek és ritkaságok* [*Hungarian Antiquities and Rarities*] was published much later, in 1808, after the writer's imprisonment, and none of the old writers and poets listed as published appear in it, except for János Sylvester's grammar, the first Hungarian alphabet, and János Varjas' "*E vocalisú*" *éneke* [*Song of E-s*]. The second volume remained in manuscript form (the final copy intended for press was finished in 1813), but we cannot see these names in it either. In fact, they do not appear together until Ferenc Toldy's *Handbuch der ungrischen Poesie* (1828).¹⁸

István Sándor himself was the first to pay this debt. In 1796 he published László Amadé's husband's lament,¹⁹ then in 1798 in his report on the more interesting pieces of the imperial library in Vienna²⁰ he gave a detailed description of *Cronica* (1554) by the famous Hungarian verse-chronicle writer, Sebestyén Tinódi, a copy of which was located there. He then described at length the meters and themes used by Tinódi (whom he definitely considered

17 Ibid., 131.

18 TOLDY Ferenc, *Handbuch der ungrischen Poesie* (Pesth–Wien: G. Kilian, K. Gerold, 1828).

19 "A' Házasság által el-vesztett Szabadságnak meg-síratása" ["The Lament About the Freedom Lost by Marriage"], *Sokféle: Negyedik darab* (Vol. 4) (1796): 235–241.

20 "Egynehány régi Magyar Könyvek Esmértetése" ["Description of Some Early Hungarian Books"], *Sokféle: Ötödik darab* (Vol. 5) (1798): 134–195, about the Tinódi's *Cronica*, with quotations: 157–186.

a Protestant) as well as his influence on Miklós Istvánffy, and his less common words (he also cherry-picked items like this from other books). Finally, he published verbatim details from several histories. In fact, he was the first Hungarian scholar to do this. Sámuel Pápay may have made notes on this article. We know this because in his 1808 textbook, *A magyar irodalom eszmérete* [*Summary of the Hungarian Literature*] he clearly seems to have relied on the communications published in *Sokféle*, sometimes quoting them word for word.²¹ We can make educated guesses about István Sándor's business strategy and his need for variety because the longer first part of this issue is a series of interesting articles taken from zoology.

In Volume VIII, 1801 he seemingly returns to popularizing the Rát-Révai agenda in his article *A Magyar Iróknak szőlő két jeles Intések* [*Two Notable Warnings to Hungarian Writers*].²² However, this article is also aimed at language cultivation and reform instead of literature, and it is followed by a scientific article on language history. Sándor, a Catholic, acknowledges and emphasizes the importance of reformation in developing Hungarian-language literature, but he rejects its exclusive nature (which keeps appearing in this period as a kind of element of vindication).²³

Although we cannot yet talk about folklore studies at this time, Sándor, a passionate Finno-Ugrist, was clearly interested in the antiquities of tribal cultures and Hungarian folklore, such as shamans and singers. He links their role to the tradition of bards and minstrels:

For toasts they loudly broke into the songs prepared for blessing the Deity beneath the sky. However, it seems that it was not the shamans but the singers who carried out this last. They were the only ones then to perform Poesis, creating countless songs about gods and stories, as well as secular songs, but these were not written down, and so they were all forgotten about and lost. They also wrote many battle or war songs about the heroes of the time. They even had some funny songs, which they used to sing over the table. These singers *** used to go around with the army, just so they could see what was going on there and later write poems about it. Through the wartime songs they urged the warriors to fight, and at the beginning of the

21 For example PÁPAY Sámuel, *A' magyar irodalom' eszmérete* [*Summary of the Hungarian Literature*], Vol. I (Veszprém: Számmer Klára, 1808), 372 (about Tinódi).

22 "A Magyar Iróknak szőlő két jeles Intések" ["Two Notable Warnings to Hungarian Writers"], *Sokféle: Nyóltzadik darab* (Vol. 8): 81–85.

23 "A' Magyar Nyelvet és Szókat illető Jegyzetim" ["My Notes About the Hungarian Language and Words"], *Sokféle: Tizedik darab* (Vol. 10) (1808): 3–88, 48.

battle the entire brigade sang with them. In other words, they must have been a People like the German die Barden und Scalden.²⁴

He considers *Pannóniai ének* [*Song About the Occupation of Pannonia*] the only, yet oft-quoted record of this community of artists, and he dates it not to the time of the catastrophic Battle of Mohács (1526) but to the fourteenth and fifteenth century, as do some linguists today. In several articles he returns to the fact that the threads of poetic and historical memory may have become entangled, but this does not mean that the words of the one-time minstrels were fiction: “And then it was not all lies in the old songs either.”²⁵ This periodical is a virtual pocket book of the history of language thanks to the thorough analysis of the lexicon of Anonymus (Notary of King Béla), Simon Kézai, The *Legend of Saint Margaret*, *Regestrum Varadiense*, or the sixteenth century translator of Aesop, Gábor Pesti. The fact that it lists extinct expressions found in early prints, or parallel words in the Lapp and Hungarian languages adds to its importance.²⁶ However, it sometimes seems it was designed with other aims in mind, occasionally trying to please readers with much more popular taste. It is typical that the numerous articles published on zoology or the history of fashion or industry around 1795 had completely disappeared by the time of the Vienna issues.

Sokféle also provides valuable scraps of scholarly information on popular poetry. In *A régi ’s mostani Magyar Énekről és Tántzról* [*On Old and Current Hungarian Songs and Dance*] (1801) the contemporary triad of song genres represented by Révai and his followers (e.g. Ádám Pálóczi Horváth, and no doubt Mihály Csokonai Vitéz) predominates:

The old Hungarian song almost always was of stories, warriors, or mourning. [...] Our Predecessors also had love songs, 1), but those were free from expressions provoking lechery.²⁷

24 “A’ Taltosokról ’s Dalosokról” [“On Shamans and Bards”], *Sokféle: Kilentzedik darab* (Vol. 9) (1808): 107–111, 108.

25 “Béla Nótáriussáról még egyszer” [“One More Time About the Notary of King Béla”], *Sokféle: Nyóltzadik darab* (Vol. 8) (1801): 47–50, 49.

26 RÉTHEI PRIKKEL, *Sándor István nyelvtudománya*, 3–4.

27 “A régi ’s mostani Magyar Énekről és Tántzról” [“On Old and Current Hungarian Songs and Dances”], *Sokféle: Hetedik darab* (Vol. 7) (1801): 66–74, 67.

We can read the rest of these lines in *Nemzeti hagyományok [National Traditions]* (1826),²⁸ by Ferenc Kölcsey, who doubtless would have read this issue of *Sokféle* when he was a student. Incidentally, by mentioning South Slavic heroic poetry Sándor foreshadows the influence of Serbian folk poetry which would become fashionable all over the country. These poems were about the deeds of Prince Márkó (Marko Kraljević) and János Hunyadi or *voivode Jankula*. This genre is now extinct in Hungary but is still alive in Serbia.²⁹ He also encourages people to collect popular songs sung to contemporary German, Slovak and Gypsy tunes (which in turn would eventually become old themselves). In the foreword to *Könyvesház* Sándor opined that contemporary chapbooks were a waste (he did not even include them in his bibliography), but he did recommend exploring old almanacs.³⁰ He cites the poem *Bolondság embernek ok nélkül szenvedni [It is Foolish for Man to Suffer for no Reason]* at length from a valuable unnamed (and now unidentifiable) manuscript as an early example of couplets.³¹

István Sándor rightly ignores geographical books and maps relaying recent data. He tried to make up for this oversight (following Western examples) by publishing statistical accounts of the Habsburg Empire and other countries as of 1788. Then there was *A' leg-nevezetesebb Városoknak Bétstől való távozások, s millyen az idő nálók, midőn Bétsben Dél vagon [The Distance of the Most Famous Cities from Vienna, and Their Current Local Time When Noon in Vienna]* and *A' Nemzetek', Országok', Városok', és Folyók', Magyar Neveik [Hungarian Names of Nations, Countries, Cities, and Rivers]*.³² In closing the manifesto, he calls for Hungarian-language literature on the natural sciences, specifically for female readers, “so that our Ladies can also make more sober judgments about natural things, and that they can teach their offspring about this and that”.³³ His dedication to bourgeois culture is expressed in many other places. He often makes fun of superstitions, gullibility, and stupid advertisements. He defends

28 KÖLCSEY Ferenc, *Összes költeményei: Nemzeti hagyományok: Parainesis [Complete Poems: National Traditions: Parainesis to Kálmán Kölcsey]*, ed. SZABÓ G. Zoltán, Osiris Klasszikusok (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2008), 181–206.

29 „A régi s mostani Magyar Énekről...”, 67–68.

30 SÁNDOR István, “Előbeszéd” [“Preface”], in SÁNDOR István, *Magyar Könyvesház, avagy a' magyar könyveknek kinyomtatások ideje szerént való rövid említésök [Hungarian Library or Short Descriptions of the Hungarian Books in the Chronology of Their Printing]*, A4[a–b] (Győr: Streibig József, 1803).

31 “A Nyelvünkbeli első Próbák” [“The First Innovations in Hungarian Language”], *Sokféle: Nyóltzadik darab* (Vol. 8) (1801): 85–89, 87–88.

32 For example *Sokféle: Első darab* (Vol. 1) (1791): 144–152, 164–167; *Sokféle: Második darab* (Vol. 2) (1791): 131–152.

33 „Az óhajtható...”, 158.

himself at length in the 1791 report, *A' Szabad Kőművesekről* [*On Free Masons*], and he was probably a Freemason himself, saying of the society:

Conversation is subordinated to the laws of good morals and decorum, where the smallest mention is avoided of differences in religion or the affairs of governance, and all teasing is banned, and even more so all rudeness and slander.³⁴

Sokféle did not really publish contemporary literature, since Sándor did not have a network of authors. Even though the cover rightfully claims that Sándor wrote the entire publication himself, by this time he was less ambitious in terms of literature and was focusing more on popularizing science. He published only very few of his own poems (some of which were better than others), and chose instead to publish aphorisms, fables, and anecdotes. Sándor did not quote from his contemporaries and probably saw literature as having been created by authors of the past. In an exception to this he did publish the *Romántz* [*Romance*] *Istók és Kati* [*Istók and Kati*] at the end of the second volume, although he wrote this one himself.³⁵

Some outlines and reviews of *Sokféle* were published in the press. The first volume was also announced in *Hadi és Más Nevezetes Történetek* [*Military and Other Famous Stories*], and it was mentioned as a novelty on November 29, 1791:

In our latest letter we mentioned a new Hungarian work, which we had not yet seen at the time; but now we have it in our hand. As soon as we received it, we started to read it. We found it to be a useful and pleasing book.³⁶

In 1803 the *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* in Jena published a synthetic review about all the previously published volumes of *Sokféle*; and even one about *Magyar Könyvesház* in 1804. Although it makes some small corrections, it lists the series as one of the most important publications in contemporary Hungarian literature.

34 "A' Szabad Kőművesekről" ["On Freemasons"], *Sokféle: Első Darab* (Vol. 1) (1791): 109–116, 116. See more: "A' Templomosokról" ["On Templars"], *Sokféle: Kilentzedik darab* (Vol. 9) (1808): 93–98.

35 *Sokféle: Második darab* (Vol. 2) (1791): 153–163.

36 ZVÁRA Edina, *Egy tudós hazafi Bécsben: Görög Demeter könyvtára* [*A Scholar Patriot in Vienna: The Library of Demeter Görög*], Nemzeti téka (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár–Gondolat Kiadó, 2016), 104.

Aus dieser Anzeige wird es den Lesern klar seyn, dass dieses Buch unter die nützlichern Arbeiten der neuern ungarischen Schriftsteller gehöre, und dass der innere Gehalt und das Interesse desselben mit jedem Hefte steige. Was dem Rec. bey einem solchen Mancherley am nöthigsten dünkt, ist ein brauchbares Realregister, zumal da von einerley Gegenstand in früheren und späteren Heften die Rede ist, etwa beym zehnten Hefte.³⁷

From Sándor's reaction it seems that he was not aware who had written these reviews. He does not name Ludwig von Schedius, although he mentions that he "must be an upstanding patriot". He knew the Jena periodical well and according to his 1795 announcement in *A' magyar tudós Újságról* [*On a Hungarian Scholarly Newspaper*], he set it as a model for himself:

The patriots competent in science have long desired scholarly news in our language in the manner of the *Litteratur Zeytung* in Jena because through that not only would new works be known in our Homeland more quickly, but the good ones would be recommended, and buyers would be warned of the bad ones so that they do not waste their money on them.³⁸

After Révai died in 1807, Sándor tried to establish contact with his student, István Horvát, whom he wanted to help financially. He also sent him some issues of *Sokféle* to sell, but eventually they stopped cooperating. This may be one of the reasons why this illustrious periodical suddenly withered and ceased. Although he was nationally recognized, Sándor was increasingly lonely and isolated and, tired of his illnesses, he committed suicide in Vienna in 1815. He rests in an unmarked grave and his estate was scattered, even though he made a will 22 years before his death, in which he left 10,000 forints to the future Hungarian Academy of Sciences.³⁹ The majority of his books went to the Mednyánszky family, and from there to the library of the Eötvös Collegium Budapest in 1895. Visitors can still find some fragments there today.

Hopefully, we will have many future opportunities to analyse István Sándor's oeuvre. This might allow us to restore him to his rightful place as an important figure carrying out Révai's agenda regarding the history of language and popularizing of science.

37 *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 23 April 1803, 177–184.

38 "A' Magyar tudós Újságról" ["On Hungarian Scholarly Newswriting"], *Sokféle: Harmadik darab* (Vol. 3) (1795): 73–74; see KÓKAY, "Sándor István...", 315.

39 The later documents of the will of Sándor are in the Manuscript Collection of the Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, f. e. RAL 83/1831, 90/1831, 124/1832, 24/1837.