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プラハとイディッシュ演劇

1911年のレンベルクー座の興行

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はじめに

プラハとイディッシュ演劇——おそらくイディッシュ演劇の専門家なら敬遠するテーマだろう。ベルリンやウィーンと違ってプラハには常設の劇場がなく、劇団が都市から都市へと移るさいの「経由地」の一つにすぎなかった。しぜん当局の検閲記録などの資料に乏しく、上演の実体が把握しにくい。専門家も二の足をふむであろうこのテーマをしかし、ながらく扱ってきた研究分野がある。フランツ・カフカ(1883-1924)に関する研究、すなわちカフカ研究である。

カフカがはじめてイディッシュ演劇を観るのは1910年5月のこと。このときは何の印象も残さなかったようだが、ふたたび別の劇団が1911年10月に興行したとき、カフカはその舞台に文字通り熱狂する。夜な夜な舞台を観ては、日記に印象や内容をこと細かくつづり、俳優たちと個人的に交友、彼らの上演のために何かと力になった。ユダヤ性やユダヤ文化への関心がこの頃から高まるため、カフカが自らのユダヤ性を意識しはじめる契機とも考えられる体験である。

カフカ研究はこの体験を重視してきたが、ことイディッシュ演劇に関しては、E.T.ベックの『カフカとイディッシュ演劇』(1971)[*1]を俟たなくてはならなかった。同著においてベックは、カフカの観た12の戯曲の脚本とカフカ作品とを詳細に比較、テーマ、モチーフ、人物などの共通点を多数挙げた。衣鉢を継ぐ研究こそ現れなかったものの、研究者の一定のコンセンサスを形成した。続く1980年代の一連の社会学的研究[*2]は、プラハ・ユ

1——— Beck, E. T.: *Kafka and the Yiddish Theater. Its Impact on his Work*. Madison, Milwaukee, and London 1971.

2——— Baioni, Giuliano: *Kafka. Literatur und Judentum*. Stuttgart 1994 (1984); Robertson, Ritchie: *Kafka. Judentum, Gesellschaft, Literatur*. Stuttgart 1988 (1985); Kieval, H. J.: *The Making of Czech Jewry. National Conflict and Jewish Society in Bohemia, 1870-1918*. New York 1988.

ダヤ人と東欧のユダヤ人文化との関わりを跡づけ、1911年当時のプラハにイディッシュ演劇受容の素地があったと示唆した。同じ枠内でカフカとイディッシュ演劇にも頁が割かれ、イディッシュ演劇は「生き生きとしたユダヤ性」や「ユダヤの日常生活」の媒体と捉えられた。

このようにまとめると、プラハとイディッシュ演劇は、カフカ研究においてその全体像が浮かび上がってきたかのように思われるかもしれない。だが実のところ、カフカ研究に特化されたために、カフカとの関係にのみ焦点が絞られ、プラハとイディッシュ演劇をめぐるさまざまな問題——カフカ以外のユダヤ系知識人の反応、上演舞台と演目の実際、劇団の俳優のパーソナリティー——は曖昧になったままだったのである。

本稿では、プラハにおけるイディッシュ演劇のありようを今一度考察したいと考えるが、カフカ研究による研究の蓄積を用いない手はない。ベックがすでに指摘しているように、資料が散逸した今日にあって頼りの網はカフカのテキストなのである[*3]。本稿では、いわば従来のカフカ研究からスライドしつつ、プラハでイディッシュ演劇はどのように現れるのか、4つの側面から探ってみたい。

1. プラハのユダヤ系知識人とイディッシュ演劇

カフカの日記によれば、上演を観に来ていたのはそのほとんどが市井の人々だった。カフカ以外のユダヤ系知識人が訪れなかったのには、後述する上演場所の問題や演劇の質が関わっている。だが、それでもカフカとの温度差には驚かざるを得ない。そのカフカにしても演劇の質については厳しい評価を下していた。従来の研究は、当時のプラハのユダヤ系知識人が東欧のユダヤ人の文化を受け容れる素地を持っていたという点で一致を見ているが[*4]、これはどういうことなのだろう。

ここで言う、プラハのユダヤ系知識人とは、その頃プラハにいくつかあった学生シオニスト組合の一つ、「バル・コクバ(コフバ)」(1889–1914)に関わったユダヤ人を指す。フー

3—— Beck, S. 22.

4—— 近年のスペクターの研究もやはり同じ受容を指摘している。次の著作の第5章を参照のこと。Spector, Scott: *Prague Territories. National Conflict and Cultural Innovation in Kafka's Fin de Siècle*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 2000.

ゴー・ベルクマン (1883–1975)、フェーリクス・ヴェルチュ (1884–1964)、マックス・ブ
ロート (1884–1968) といったカフカの友人をはじめ、後のヘブライ大学初代総長を務め
るローヴェルト・ヴェルチュ (1891–1984) ら、プラハを代表する知識人であった。成立
当初より「文化シオニズム」^[*5]を方針に据え、パレスチナ移住よりもオーストリア・ハン
ガリー帝国における、民族としての認知を求めて文化活動に取り組んだ。ここへ東欧のユ
ダヤ人の文化を紹介したとされるのがブーバーである。

ブーバーは1901年にヘルツルのシオニズム運動に参加するがユダヤ人の文化、とりわ
け芸術をめぐってヘルツルと対立、第5回世界シオニスト会議を境に運動から離脱する。
その後父親の祖父方の故地レンベルクへ赴き、当地で盛んだったハシディズム (ユダヤ
敬虔主義運動) の伝承の研究に従事した。その成果は、ドイツ語圏では最初期の二つの翻
訳——『ラビ・ナッハマンの物語』(1906)、『バールシェムの伝説』(1908)——にまとめら
れた。折りしも、ユダヤ世界への宣伝やパイプラインの獲得を企図して文化行事を行って
いた「バル・コクバ」から講演の依頼が舞い込む。こうしてブーバーは、1909年以降一連
の講演をプラハで行い、組合に大きな影響を及ぼすことになる^[*6]。以上が従来の研究に
もとづいた、「バル・コクバ」におけるブーバーの位置づけである。当時の組合員の回想
をたどると、ブーバーはまるで「師」のごとくあがめられている^[*7]、東欧のユダヤ人文化
の伝達者とされても不思議はない^[*8]。

だが、ブーバーの講演を読み返してみると、問題の1909年以降の講演では一度として
東欧のユダヤ人、およびその文化は評価されていないことが分かる。講演の主眼は、む

5——「文化シオニズム」とは、元来ロシアの思想家アハド・ハーアーム (1856–1927) に由来する用語である。テオ
ドル・ヘルツル (1860–1904) が外交手段で「ユダヤ人国家」の建設を推進したのに対し、精神的中心地とし
てのパレスチナを強調し、移住に先立つユダヤ文化の創生を訴えた。プラハへはベルトールト・ファイベル
(1875–1937)、マルティン・ブーバー (1878–1965)、ナータン・ビルンバウム (1864–1937) らの著作を介して
紹介された。

6——Baioni, S. 1–33.; Robertson, S. 198ff.; Kieval, S. 124–153.; Specter, S. 135ff.

7——たとえば、次の回想などを参照のこと。Kohn, Hans: *Martin Buber, sein Werk und seine Zeit. Ein Beitrag zur Geistes-
geschichte Mitteleuropas 1880–1930*. Cologne 1961.; Weltsch, Robert: In: *Der Jude und sein Judentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze
und Reden*. Köln 1963, S. XII–XL.

8——ブーバーはプラハのみならず、ヨーロッパへ東欧のユダヤ人文化を伝えた人物と考えられている。次の著作を
参照のこと。Aschheim, S. E.: *Brothers and Strangers. The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness
1800–1923*. Wisconsin 1982, S. 121–138.

しろ西欧のいわゆる「同化」のユダヤ人が、いかに自力で「文化再生」するかにある[*9]。1909年1月の『ユダヤ性の意味』では、「出自」や「血縁」という「実体」がその再生への鍵に、1910年4月の『ユダヤ性と人間性』は、ユダヤ人に付与されてきた内面的な「二重性」が人類に寄与すると説いている。三つ目の講演（1910年12月の『ユダヤ性の刷新』）では、たしかにハシディズムをテコにした「刷新」が展開されるが、その焦点は、後に『ハシディズムへの道』で回想されるように、伝承に関わってきた東欧のユダヤ人にはなく、そこから到達される抽象的観念的な領域にあった[*10]。

バイオーニが指摘するように、東欧のユダヤ人の文化を「バル・コクバ」に紹介したのは、ブーバーではなくナタン・ビルンバウムであろう[*11]。ビルンバウムは、「バル・コクバ」の設立当初からその名を知られ、ブーバー同様、講演などに招かれ、劇団がプラハを訪れる時期には、オーストリアを中心に「イディッシュ語主義運動」を推進していた[*12]。東欧のユダヤ人の言語（イディッシュ語）とその文化を固有のものとし、民族としての承認を得るという運動である。初期の論集では、評価こそ高くないものの、イディッシュ演劇が「発展が十分に期待される」ジャンルと位置づけられている[*13]。一時はイディッシュ語を評価したブーバーもユダヤ演劇の創設に関わったが、1909年以降のブーバーから同じ見解は期待できまい[*14]。

もっとも、東欧のユダヤ人の文化を紹介したのがビルンバウムだとしても疑問が残る。イディッシュ演劇が受け容れられなかったということは、とどのつまりビルンバウムの言説が「バル・コクバ」にあまり影響を及ぼさなかった、ということになる。同じ時期でも、

9——— Buber, Martin: *Der Jude und sein Judentum. Gesammelte Aufsätze und Reden.* Köln 1963, S.9-27.

10——— Buber, Martin: *Werke.* Bd. 3: *Schriften zum Chassidismus.* München 1963, S. 961-973.

11——— Baioni, S. 35ff.

12——— ビルンバウムの「イディッシュ語主義運動」の詳細については、次の著作および拙論を参照のこと。Fishmann, J. A.: *Ideology, Society and Language. The Odyssey of Nathan Birnbaum.* Ann Arbor 1987; 佐々木茂人：ユダヤ人の「文化的自治」における言語——ナタン・ビルンバウムの評論活動を中心に——、『人文知の新たな総合に向けて（京都大学21世紀COEプログラム「グローバル化時代の多元的人文学の拠点形成」）第二回報告書IV〔文学篇1論文〕』、2004年、189～206頁。

13——— Birnbaum, Nathan: *Die Juden und das Drama.* In: *Ausgewählte Schriften. Zur jüdischen Frage.* Bd. 2, S. 245-260.

14——— ブーバーとイディッシュ語に関しては次の拙論を参照のこと。佐々木茂人：カフカとイディッシュ語——カフカの講演における「ジャルゴン」という表現をめぐる——、*Germanistik Kyoto* 第六号、2005年、27頁以下。初期ブーバーとユダヤ演劇については、次の著作に詳しい。Riss, Heideleore: *Ansätze zu einer Geschichte des jüdischen Theaters in Berlin 1889-1936.* Frankfurt a. M. 2000, S. 71ff.

片やブーバーは熱狂的に、片やビルンバウムは冷淡に、それぞれ受容されたということなのだろうか。

問題は両者の影響力の多少にあるのではない。レオ・ヘルマン (1888-1951) の『ナタン・ビルンバウム、著作と遍歴』(1914) [*15]によれば、当時の「バル・コクバ」は、ビルンバウムの動向にむしろかなりの関心を抱いていた。同著を執筆したヘルマンからして、1909年から1910年まで「バル・コクバ」の総長を、その後は機関紙『自衛』の編集者を務めた人物なのである。

ヘルマンは、「バル・コクバ」の路線と抵触する点——ビルンバウムがシオニズムを「帝国主義」と断罪し、超党派的な活動を訴える点——については反駁を加えながらも、「イディッシュ語主義運動」には容認する姿勢を示す。というのも、「彼(ビルンバウム——引用者注)は西方ユダヤ人(Westjude)である。が、彼の愛と生活は東方ユダヤ人のものだ。その愛において西方ユダヤ人のことは忘れ去られているかに見える。だが、ユダヤの特性についての言葉からは、彼が西方ユダヤの問題に理解を示しながら取り組んでいることが分かる。彼は、東方ユダヤの生活という泉から新たな力と希望をくみ上げねばならない大きな課題に身を投じていたのだ」[*16]。現実の東欧のユダヤ人の生活を主軸とした「イディッシュ語主義運動」は、「西方ユダヤ人」のための一活動と矮小化されて「バル・コクバ」に受容されていたのである。

ベルリンやウィーンと違い、プラハには東欧のユダヤ人のコミュニティがなかった。ユダヤ系知識人が現実の東欧のユダヤ人と接触するのは、ようやく第一次大戦中、難民となった彼らが大挙して押し寄せてくるときのことである[*17]。翻訳されたハシディズムの伝承やイディッシュ語の詩などと違い、イディッシュ演劇はその場で生身の人間が演じるものである。ブーバーの議論を受け入れ、ビルンバウムの言説を読み換えたユダヤ系知識人には、現実の東欧のユダヤ人が演じる舞台を受け容れる基盤はなかったのである。

15—— Herrmann, Leo: *Nathan Birnbaum. Sein Werk und seine Wanderung*. Berlin 1914.

16—— Ebd., S. 8.

17—— 第一次大戦中のプラハのユダヤ人難民については次の拙論を参照のこと。佐々木茂人：東方ユダヤ人難民とプラハのユダヤ人——カフカの伝記研究のために——、京都大学大学院独文研究室『研究報告』第16号、2002年、1～27頁。

2. カフェ・サヴォイ

レンベルクからプラハを訪れた一座が上演したのは、「場末」と形容される「カフェ・サヴォイ」(正式名称は「ヘルマンのカフェ・レストラン〈サヴォイ〉」)である。今日で言う、ヨゼフのはずれ、コジー通りとヴィエゼンスカー通りが交差する角、カフカの奇体なオブジェが目引くスペイン・シナゴークからわずか数ブロックほどの場所になる。シーズン中は観光客でごった返すこの界隈を歩けば、ここは「場末」なのかと素朴に問いかけたくなるだろう。

周縁はつねに中心との関係で捉えられる。1911年当時、プラハの文化的な中心地は、ヴェンツェル広場(ヴァーツラフ広場)と、そこへT字に交わるフェルディナンド(ナロードニ)通りとアム・グラーベン(ナ・プシーコピエ)にあった。ヴァーツラフ広場の端、フェルディナンド通りの端にはそれぞれ、「ドイツ劇場」と「民族劇場」が並び、チェコ系とドイツ系の民族紛争の縮図にもなっていた[*18]。ここから見れば、カフェ・サヴォイは明らかに「場末」である。今でこそ林立するシナゴークによって観光地になっているとはいえ、サヴォイのあったプラハのゲットー跡地は、当時地方出身の貧しい人々の吹き溜まりと化していた。東欧のユダヤ人社会で「マハラル(ラビ・レーヴの愛称)のプラハ」として名をとどろかす場所をじっさいに訪れた一座は、おそらく驚きと共に落胆の念を禁じえなかったに違いない。

カフェ・サヴォイは今日もその姿をとどめている。「チェコの酒場」(Česká hospoda)と名前を変えて、ひっそりとたたずむこのカフェ兼ビア・ホールは、入ると正面にカウンターがあり、左手に小さなビア・ホールと右手に少し大きめのビア・ホールを備えている。ビンダーが復元した区画図[*19]によると、今ある「チェコの酒場」は以前、「ゲスト・ルーム」(Gastrum)と「控えの間」と別々に壁で仕切られていたようだ。「控えの間」は、今のものから左に少しずれた入り口から入ると、左手の廊下を抜けたところにあったらしい。一座が上演したのは、この「控えの間」であった。右隅に舞台を設え、その後部に簡

18——— プラハの民族闘争と劇場との関係については、次の著作に詳しい。石川達夫：黄金のプラハ 幻想と現実の鍊金術(平凡社)、2000年。

19——— Binder, Hartmut: *Wo Kafka und seine Freunde zu Gast waren. Prager Kaffeehäuser und Vergnügungsstätten in historischen Bilddokumenten*. Prag 2000, S. 149. Abb. 193.

単な幕を張る——会場と舞台の狭さには驚かざる得ない。

もっとも、狭さが悪い効果ばかりをもたらすわけではないのがイディッシュ演劇の特性である。観客と俳優との交感によって成立する「**שונד**」(ShUND)(後述)のような場合、観客の合いの手やアドリブなどが、狭さゆえに功を奏し、観客との一体感がより強まることもある。1911年10月4日、つまり最初の観劇より、カフカの日記を満ちた感覚はおそらくここに起因するだろう。たとえば、何度も日記に記される歌やメロディーなどは、カフカ自身一緒に口ずさんだと言うように[*20]、役者も観客も一緒に歌うものだったようだ。会場全体が祭り騒ぎになったのだろう、観客が舞台上がる様子をカフカはこんな風に記録している、「それらのメロディーは、舞台の上へ跳び上がる人すべてを受け容れ、その人の感激をまるごと包み込むのにふさわしい。たとえ、その感激を与えたのは当のメロディーと信じられなくとも」(T50)。

もちろん、大掛かりな舞台装置に狭さは致命的となる。ゴルドファーデン(後述)の『シュラミース』、『バル・コフベ』といった歴史劇は、イディッシュ演劇史や脚本に付してある写真を見ても、かなり広い舞台を上演の前提としている。ゴルディン(後述)の写実的な戯曲では、金庫や衣装ダンスといった家財道具が演技に必要な。カフェ・サヴォイにあったのは、テーブルが数卓と椅子が数脚のみ。もっとも、ただでさえ狭い舞台、仮に道具が持ち込まれたとしても、今度は役者の自由が奪われるだろう。ゴルディンの『野人』という作品を演じるにあたって、俳優はこうぼやく。「舞台装置さえあれば。俳優が動くこともできないこんなみじめな舞台ではなくて。どうやってこの『野人』を演じたのか! この芝居にはソファが要る。ライプツィヒ水晶宮の劇場は壮大だった。開けられる窓があったし、陽が射し込んだし、芝居には玉座が必要だった、よろしい、そこには玉座があった。私は群衆を押し分けて、玉座の方へ向かって行った。私は本当に王様だった。そこでははるかに演技がしやすいのだ。ここではすべてが途方に暮れさせる」(T81)。

当時のプラハには、先にも触れた「民族劇場」や「ドイツ劇場」の他にも、オペレッタを主に舞台にかけていた「等族劇場」があった。そうした壮麗な劇場を想起するなら、俳優たちは劣悪な状況で上演をしていたかに思われよう。だが、東欧のユダヤ人移民の居住区を擁するベルリンやウィーンでも、1908年前後まで常設のイディッシュ劇場はなく、ボー

20——— Kafka, Franz: *Tagebücher*. Bd. 1:1909-1912. Frankfurt a. M. 1994, S. 169. 以下「T」と略し、ここからの引用はカッコ内にページ数を付す。

イたちがビールを売り歩く「カバレット形式」での上演が普通だった[*21]。レンベルクの一座の場合、最初の2回の公演は、実はきちんとしたホールの備わった「ホテル・ツェントラール」で行われた。カフェ・サヴォイへ移ったのは、出し物が観客に合わなかったためだとされる[*22]。ゲマインデや当局が介入したのではなく、演劇や演技の質が劇団を「カフェ・サヴォイ」へ移動させたのである。

演技の質へのコメントには事欠かないカフカの日記だが、なかでも1911年10月14日の「事件」は、翌日の興行主を失う羽目に陥る劇団の様子を描いている。この日、上演を終えて俳優が口上を述べるさいに手違いが起き、幕がはずれて「舞台がむき出し」になる事態が生じた。その場に居合わせたカフカは、「当局の代表者」と翌日の興行を引き受けたユダヤ人組合の反応をつぶさに記録している。「カフェの主人は、ただもう立ち去りたい当局の代表者を落ち着かせようとし、その甲斐あって代表者は引き留められる。(中略)明晩の興行を引き受け、今晚の開演前に定例総会を行ったユダヤ人職人組合〈未来〉は、この事件のため、三十分以内に臨時総会を招集することに決める。あるチェコ人の組合員が、俳優たちの行為はけしからんと、彼らの完全な失脚を予言する」(T66 f.)。

レンベルクの一座が「カフェ・サヴォイ」の舞台に上がったのは、決してプラハのユダヤ人が彼らを蔑視していたからではない。たとえ、大きな劇場で演じることができたとしても、肝心の一座の技量が乏しかったのである。

3. レパトリーと上演

レンベルクの一座がプラハで上演したレパトリーの数、およびその作品名は、ベックと上田氏の研究によってほぼ明らかにされている。その内容はカフカが日記に詳しく記している他、ベックも作品との関連で言及、さらには上田氏の「ラテン文字転写」[*23]によって広く研究者に開かれている。ことさらにここで取り上げて論じる必要はなからう。ただ

21 ——— ウィーンでは、ユダヤ人ゲマインデが「低劣なジャルゴン文化を嫌い」、「また公演に対して反ユダヤ主義者による暴力的妨害が起こるのではないかと恐れ」たため、上演に難色を示したとされる。メンデル・ノイグレッツェル(野村真理訳)：イディッシュのウィーン(松籟社)、1997年、37頁以下。

22 ——— Binder, S. 146.

23 ——— 上田和夫氏の『カフカの見たイディッシュ演劇 台本のラテン文字転写および詳注——カフカに対するイ

し、レパートリーの質とじっさいの上演に関しては話が別である。

ベックは一座のレパートリーを二種類に分けている[*24]。ゴルドファーデンとゴルディンの作品を指して「イディッシュ演劇の古典」と、それ以外の「שונד」(ShUND)である。「古典」について何ら説明はなく、「שונד」については、「衝撃的な効果ときわめて複雑なプロットをそなえず劇」で、「一編の劇とは言いがたい、借り物からできた劇は、さまざまなタイプの戯曲の、テーマ、形態、技術を反映している」とされる。一見、判別基準は演劇史における位置づけと、戯曲の質であるように思われるが、近代イディッシュ演劇に関しては正確な記述とはいえない[*25]。

プラハで1911年に上演された戯曲の中で、もっとも古いのがアブローム・ゴルドファーデン(1840-1908)の諸作品である。常設の劇団システムを確立したことから「近代イディッシュ演劇の父」と呼ばれる彼は、もともと詩作や作曲にすぐれ、今日「クレズマー」(כלי-זמר)で親しまれる東欧のユダヤ人の音楽を劇作へ変えた人物であった[*26]。たとえばカフカも観た『バル・コフベ』(בר-כוכב)は、全編が脚韻を踏む韻文でつくられ、楽譜つきの歌を11おさめていた(さらに言えば、「歌いながら」という書きは数え切れない)。旧約聖書やユダヤ人の歴史を扱った悲劇を得意とするが、人物造詣には弱く、プロットもきわめて単純であった。

ゴルドファーデンは、ロシア帝国をはじめ東欧に広く「弟子」を生み出したが、アレクサンドルⅡ世暗殺事件をきっかけにイディッシュ演劇の上演が禁止(1883年)となり、移民の流れと共に中心地はアメリカのロウアー・イーストサイドへと移る。当地は、折りしも農業から家内制手工業へと産業形態の変化にさらされていた[*27]。過酷な労働条件が宗教的慣習の廃棄をもたらし、伝統的生活と切り離されたユダヤ人たちは故郷を想起させる娯楽を求めた。ユダヤ人観客の需要に合わせてつくられたのが、「屑物」を意味する「שונד」である。演劇における定義はさまざまで一概に悪い意味を持つわけではない。むしろ劇団と大衆との親近感を示す用語であるようだ。この「שונד」、さらに三つのジャン

ディッシュ演劇の影響解明のための基礎的作業——』は福岡大学人文学部の報告にまとめられている。

24—— Beck, S. 22f.

25—— 以下の記述は、とくに指示のない限り次の文献に依拠している。Sandrow, Nahma: *Vagabond Stars. A World History of Yiddish Theater*. New York 1996.

26—— Ottens, Rita/ Rubin, Joel: *Klezmer-Musik*. München 2003.

27—— Hödl, Klaus: „Vom Shtetl an die Lower East Side“. Wien 1991, S. 123ff.

ルに分けられる。一つ目がメロドラマ風のオペレッタ。壮大な舞台装置、豪華な飾りに衣装、そしてエキゾチックな空間演出を特徴とする。二つ目がドキュメントタッチの戯曲で、時事問題を取り上げるのが特色である。最後が「家庭ドラマ」風の戯曲。現実生活を反映しつつ、不運な恋愛をこっけいに描き、最後は円くおさまるのを身上とする。アプローム・シャルカンスキー、ジグムンド・ファイマン、モイシェ・リフテルら、レンベルクの一座のレパートリーの大半がこれに属する。

いずれも観客の心を揺さぶり、生活に欠かせない娯楽ではあったが、他の文学ジャンルに比肩しうるジャンルではなかった。毎週違った演目が舞台にかかるため、脚本が上演までに完成することはまれ、でき上がった部分から順次俳優に渡す有様だった。ほとんどが他の作品の切り貼りかヨーロッパの演劇の稚拙な翻案もの。俳優は劇作家より力を持ち、台詞を勝手に捻じ曲げたり、アドリブでごまかして幕を閉じることはおろか、自分たちの気に入らない戯曲や劇作家は排除することさえあった。なかでも、新参の劇作家は「אַלץ」²⁸と蔑まれ、字義どおり俳優たちの「カモ」になって利用されるのがおちだった。

そこに現れるのがヤコブ・ゴルディン (1853–1909) である。1891年に新大陸の土を踏んだゴルディンも、「אַלץ」²⁸として俳優たちの熱烈な歓迎を受ける。だが、それは彼が新参であったという理由ばかりからではなかった。処女作『シベリア』(1891)は文学的価値も劇作品としての価値もあまりなかったとはいえ、明らかに新しい舞台の試みを示していた。誇張的な科白や身振り、アドリブを排し、観客も普段用いるイディッシュ語を導入、科白と科白に連絡をつけ、誰でも筋が分かるようにする——驚くことに、これらのことは当時のいわゆる「שנייד」²⁹には見られない要素であった。

ゴルディンが取り上げたのは、結婚問題、仕事や金銭をめぐるトラブル、女性の人生など、移民世代のユダヤ人の社会問題であり、主としてモラルの観点から考察してみせた。ロシアで信奉していた「永遠の人々」(עם-עולם)^[*28]のプロパガンダを盛り込んだり、ときにグロテスクに造形することも憚らなかったため、劇作家仲間からは反ユダヤ主義者と揶揄されることすらあった。だが、1860年以降のヨーロッパの演劇(デュマ、ゾラ、ハウプトマン、イブセン)の動向を考えれば、ゴルディンの戯曲は時代の趨勢であったともいえよう。『シベリア』以降、ゴルディンの黄金時代が始まる。さまざまな劇団から招きを

28——反ロシア正教団体「シュトゥンダ教」のユダヤ版セクト、トルストイの影響を受け農業による自活を説いた。詳細は不明。

受け、戯曲執筆の依頼も多数受けるようになった。生前に執筆した作品は70から80にのぼるとされる。

以上のようにまとめると、レンベルクの一座のレパートリーのなかで唯一鑑賞に耐えるのは、ゴルディンの諸作品ということになる。ただし、作品が脚本どおりに上演されたかどうかは別問題である。これを明示したのが、ドイツ語圏の「ユダヤ演劇」(イディッシュ演劇に限定されない)の社会史を専門とするシュブレンゲルである[*29]。彼はベルリンの検閲の記録を当たり、劇団の中心的俳優レヴィ(後述)がプラハ来訪以前にベルリンで劇団に所属していた事実を発見。上演のレパートリーから、すでにベルリンでゴルディンの『野人』(דער ווילדער מענש)が演じられ、しかも当局に提出されたドイツ語訳の台本よりも「極端に短かった」点に着目した。カフカの日記と照らすと、5幕ものの『野人』がプラハでは4幕で上演された可能性があるという。

とすれば、「『野人』には部分的に大胆な箇所がある」(T135)というカフカの言葉を俟つまでもなく、かなり大胆な脚色を加えられたことになる。『野人』(1907)は、父親が若い女性を妻に迎えたことで崩壊する家庭、そして妻の殺害により再生していく模様を描いている。凶行に及ぶのは息子の「野人」レメフだが、それが行われる第4幕の終わりの場面では理由は明かされない。その後のレメフの兄ジモンの科白でようやく「野人」が継母を殺害した原因が明らかになる。いわく、「何だって? 野人がどこにいるっていうんだい。野人はぼくたちみんなの深いところに埋め込まれているんだ。ぼくらの振る舞い、ぼくらのやり方をみてご覧よ、みんなに野人がいるとは言えないかい? 教育を受けたり、精神を覚醒させたり、肉体を魂がコントロールすれば、野人はぼくらのなかで眠るし、反対に物質的な目的を目指してやっきになったり、理想を持たなかったり、精神が眠り込んだりすれば、野人が目覚めて、ぼくらを反文明へ駆り立て、人類の法に対立させるんだ!」[*30]。「野人」を「反文明」に見立て、殺人をその一つの現われとする——いかにもゴルディンらしいプロパガンダであるが、この科白、実は第5幕にある。つまり、レメフの凶行を説明するこの部分が欠けた4幕ものの『野人』だと、殺害は狂気の発作からとしか説明できない。ゴルディンの他の作品に比べてただでさえまとまりの悪い筋は、その作品の意図さえも失

29——— Sprengel, Peter: *Kafka und der „Wilde Mensch“*. In: *Jahrbuch der deutschen Schillergesellschaft*. Stuttgart 1995 (39. Jahrgang), S. 305-323.

30——— נאָרדין, יעקב: „דער ווילדער מענש“. וואַרש 1907. 51.1.

うのである。ゴルディンは何より作品が脚本どおりに忠実に演じられることを大事にした。それは当時支配的だった「שניר」³¹との差別化の一手段でもあった。鑑賞に耐える唯一の作品でさえもが、脚本どおり演じられていなかった可能性が高いのである。

4. レヴィの演劇人生

プラハで興行したレンベルクの一座は、イディッシュ演劇の歴史をひも解いてもその名を見出すことはできない。舞台の様子から判断するに、名をなす劇団となる資質を欠いていたものと思われる。カフカの日記から、一座のメンバーがイツハク・レヴィ、ピーパス、クルーク夫妻、チシク夫人の五人だったことは分かるものの、個々の役者となると雲をつかむ話である。もっとも、「カフカの友人」となって長年親交をむすんだイツハク・レヴィ（1887-1942?）は別だ。カフカをイディッシュ文化の世界へ開き、『判決』という短編の登場人物のモデルにもなったと、カフカ研究において未だに言及される人物なのである。あるいは、わが国で広く知られる唯一のイディッシュ演劇俳優かもしれない。

カフカ研究でのレヴィは、カフカが彼から聞いて記した日記の記述——ハシディズムとそのコミュニティ、ロシアのユダヤ人の宗教的諸習慣、敬虔な祖父の死に際など——から、伝統的なユダヤ性ないしは真のユダヤ的な生活を体現した人物のごとく扱われてきた。敬虔な両親の元で育てられたレヴィは、将来のラビを囑望されて幼少時よりタルムードの学習に励んでいた。「現代的で」「啓発された」プラハのユダヤ人に対しては、「ユダヤ人」たる自負もあったようで、後年の回想では「ユダヤ性に関しては——七人のプラハ作家のヴェルチュとベルクマンをのぞいて、ほとんど何も知らなかった」といささか高みにたった発言をしている[*31]。

しかし、カフカが1917年に手がけたレヴィの自伝の翻訳『ユダヤ劇場について』[*32]をたどると、そうしたレヴィ像、つまり伝統的なユダヤ人の伝達者という人物像は一面的な見方であったと分かる。プラハのユダヤ人からすれば、古くからの宗教生活を営む東欧の

31 —— Beck, S. 221.

32 —— Löwy, Isaak: *Vom jüdischen Theater*. In: *Nachgelassene Schriften und Fragmente I*. S. 430-436. 以下、「N」と略し、ここからの引用はカッコ内にページ数を付す。

ユダヤ人であったろうが、当の東欧のユダヤ人コミュニティからすれば、伝統的なユダヤ人とはおおよそ言い難いのである。それはたとえば、役者という職業に端的に示されよう。

シャガールら画家が正統派からユダヤ人と認められなかったことは周知の通りだが、演劇も神の被造物を「模す」という意味で禁じられた行為だった。ユダヤ人の間で演劇が発達しなかった理由もここに求められる。レヴィが生まれたワルシャワは当時ロシア帝国の「強制集住地域」にあり、19世紀後半にはじまるニコライ一世の世俗化政策にさらされていた^[*33]。レヴィの育ったのは、その中でもまだ伝統を保持するコミュニティだったようだ。中世以来続く謝肉祭劇風の「プリム劇」は許容されても、演劇はイディッシュ語のものだろうと他の言語のものだろうと「不浄」とされ、「ゴイ（非ユダヤ人）と罪人のためのもの」だった（N 432）。レヴィは回想の中で最初そのことを「知らなかった」と言うが、劇場への情熱が伝統による規制を乗り越えてしまったらしい。それを示唆するエピソードが盛り込まれている。

あるときレヴィ少年は、ワルシャワの市庁舎のむかひに「大劇場」があることを聞き知る。そこへ行きたいという想いを密かに募らせていたが、ヨム・キプールが開けた後、従兄弟たちと偶然その前を通りかかった。開演前なのだろう、大勢の人だかりが舞台を囲む中、かねてから少年の願望を知っていた従兄弟たちは彼の心を読んでこう言った、「ヨム・キプールの後は、最悪のユダヤ人でさえ劇場なんか行かないんだぞ」と（N432）。それを聞いた少年は、反省するどころか、「普通の日なら、年から年中たくさんユダヤ人が行くんだ」とかえって希望を膨らませる（Ebd.）。

こうしてポーランド人の劇場に通うようになったレヴィは、オペラ『ユグノー信徒』からシラーの劇作（『ヴィルヘルム・テル』、『群盗』）などを観劇する。ロシア語やポーランド語が分からないながらも、「プリム劇」とは比べ物にならない「ゴイ」の洗練された舞台へとめり込んでゆく。そこへ、イディッシュ演劇がワルシャワを訪れるという知らせが舞い込んだ。レヴィは両親に知られるのを覚悟で観に行き、その世界に「夜通し眠れない」ほど「興奮」する。翌朝、案の定息子の行動を知った両親は、レヴィを勘当するに至る——レヴィの自伝はここで途絶している。

33——— ツヴィ・ギテルマン（池田智訳）：ロシア・ソヴィエトのユダヤ人100年の歴史（明石書店）、2002年、30頁以下。
レヴィの通った「タルムード学校」には、シェイクスピアやシラー、バイロンなどの著作が揃えられていたという（N 434）。

伝記的資料かどうかはともかく、1920年代後半のレヴィを活写したものとしては、邦訳もあるバシェビス・シンガーの『カフカの友人』(1970) [*34]が挙げられる。もっとも、シンガーの描くレヴィ(「ジャック・コーン」)像は、カフカ研究者の知る人物とはおよそかけ離れていると言わねばならない。若いシンガーにからんでは金をせびり、運命の天使とチェスをする顛末を滑稽に語るかと思えば、ひょんなことから救った貴婦人と添い寝をして男を感じる。カフカは「天才」だが、女さえ買えない少年と揶揄される——風采のあがらない「空気人間」を取り上げ、著名な作家もろとも笑い飛ばしてしまうユダヤ人の自浄機能を描いた傑作とされるのもむべなるかなである[*35]。

後に粉川氏のインタビューに応じたシンガーは、細部のデフォルメはともかく「その〈フィーリング〉はレヴィのものだ」と答えたという。カフカの言葉を引きながら、レヴィが「語りに優れていた」と指摘したのはビンダーだが[*36]、カフカの日記がレヴィの話を数多く納めているのも同じ理由によるのだろう。とすれば、作中のシンガー相手に長広舌をふるう「ジャック・コーン」は、プラハで舞台の合間に自分の過去を自嘲的に語るレヴィに重なる。たとえば、1911年10月23日の記述。「二十歳までL(レヴィ——引用者注)はタルムード学校生(bocher)で、裕福な親のすねをかじりながら勉学に励んだ。その頃は同じような若者たちで徒党を組み、土曜日に閉まった酒場に集まっては、カフタン姿で煙草をふかし、その他にも安息日の戒律を犯していた」(T80 f.)。

クラブに入るときは「ヨーロッパの知名の士」気取りで、カフカの話をしだすと興奮してドイツ語が混じる。ヴァイニンガーのアフォリズムを引き出せば、ニーチェのセックス論を説こうとする——シンガーのレヴィは、ワルシャワの東欧のユダヤ人の間では西欧帰りの風を吹かせている。ヨーロッパに憧れその影響を受けつつも、イディッシュという、言語か「隠語」か不分明な言葉の文化をごく自然に誇りと感じる。そのような雑多なアイデンティティのありようこそ、イディッシュ演劇の役者の姿なのかもしれない。

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34——— זשאק קארן: באשעביס, 『פאלגעלט』紙に1968年6月14日から18日まで連載された。

35——— 西成彦: マゾヒズムと警察(筑摩書房)、1988年、188頁以下。

36——— Binder, S. 151.

ブラハのゴーレム伝説の四つの源流

春山清純

はじめに

ユダヤ人の間に流布する人造人間ゴーレムに関する伝説は、中世ドイツの、マインツ周辺のライン河沿岸地方で成立した後、ユダヤ人の東方移住に伴ってポーランドを中心とする東欧地域に伝播した。このポーランドで成立した伝説の一つが、チェコ（ボヘミア）のブラハに伝わって「ブラハのゴーレム」伝説が形成されたと推定されている。それ以降、ゴーレム伝説はもっぱらブラハという土地と結びついて展開されるようになり、チェコ以外の土地においても「ブラハのゴーレム」の物語が書かれるようになる。そして現代では、あたかもブラハは、ゴーレムそのものの故郷であるかのような観を呈している。

このような発展の過程で、ゴーレム像も大きく変わっていった。まず、ゴーレムは一般に土を素材にして造形され、それに何らかの魔術的措置が加えられて生命を得るのだが、その魔術的措置についての描写が変わってゆく。次にゴーレム創造の目的も変わる。またゴーレムは、ユダヤ教の神秘主義的教説であるカバラの術を習得した人物（カバリスト）が、神による人間創造に匹敵する一種の超能力を実践することによって作り出したものである。それゆえ、ゴーレムの創造には、必然的に不遜・僭越（ヒュブリス）な行為という評価が付きまとう。そしてその点は、物語の中ではゴーレムがもたらす危険性として描かれることになるが、その危険性の内容も変化する。そして最後に、危険な存在となったゴーレムからは、何らかの方法で生命力を取り去って危険性を除去しなければならないが、その方法は、生命付与の方法に対応しており、付与の場合と逆の操作を行なうことになる。これを第四の変更点としよう。以上の四つの視点からゴーレム像を検討してみると、それぞれの時代にそれぞれの土地で異なったゴーレム像が作り出されていったことがよくわかる筈である。しかし時代が下るにつれて、ゴーレム像は、それが作られた時代や土地を捨象して、単に様々な方法で創造され、様々な目的を果たす存在として描写され、

議論されるようになっていった。その結果、特に20世紀も後半に入って生み出されたゴーレムの物語は、様々なイメージのアマルガムの様相を見せている。

ゴーレムはもともとユダヤの伝説であった。しかし、人文主義者J・ロイヒリンが紹介した中世のゴーレム物語は別としても、ロマン派のJ・グリムがポーランドの説話をドイツに紹介して以来、ゴーレム像は、ドイツ文学にとっても周知の素材になり、様々な解釈が加えられて造形され続けてきた。そこへプラハのゴーレム像が加わり、ゴーレムに関する議論を一層複雑にすることになった。ゴーレム像を正しく把握するためには、議論のもつれを解く必要がある。そのためには、ユダヤの伝説と、ドイツにおける解釈を区別しなければならない。そこで我々は、ユダヤの文献におけるプラハのゴーレムの姿に焦点を当てたいと思う。また、演劇や映画のゴーレム像も、差し当たって考察の外に置く。文字で書かれ、物語として残されているゴーレム像をまず検討したい。そうすることで、プラハのゴーレム像のオリジナルな形が明らかになり、同時にそれ自体が様々に変容してゆく姿も明確になると思われるからである。

本論文においては、まずプラハ以前のゴーレム像について一瞥したのち、プラハのゴーレム像を4編、検討してみたいと思う。

1. 中世カバラとポーランドの伝承

中世カバラのゴーレム像に関しては、G・ショーレムが『ゴーレムの表象』[*1]で紹介している物語を参照した。その要点は以下の通りである。

- 土像に生命力を与えるのはヘブライ語のアルファベット、あるいはヘブライ語で神を表す文字。これを土像に吹き込むか、その周りで唱えと、土像が動き出す。
- 創造主体は古代の著名な預言者エレミヤあるいはその息子ベン・シラで、一人で造る時もあるが、二人以上のときもある。
- 創造に实际的な目的はなく、カバラの修行、『創造の書』の研究終了の証となる。

1 ——— G. Scholem: *Die Vorstellungen vom Golem in ihren tellurischen und magischen Beziehungen*. In: *Zur Kabbala und ihrer Symbolik*. Frankfurt a/M. 1977, S. 233ff.

- 土像の額に、ヘブライ文字三文字から成る「emeth」(אמת 真理)の語が自ずから現われる。これは神を示す「印章」。
- ゴーレム自身が第一文字アレフを消去するか、あるいは消去しようラビに要請する。アレフを消去すると残りは「meth」(מת 死ぬの意の形容詞)となって、ゴーレムは土像に戻る。ここには、ゴーレム創造が、偶像崇拜、あるいは神に対する冒瀆だという思想がある。
- 額の文字は「JHVH Elohim emeth」(神は真理なり)の場合もある。この場合、アレフを消去すれば、「JHVH Elohim meth」(神は死んだ)^[*2]となる。
- 創造に際して「呪文」を唱えた時は、土に帰る際に、その文字の組み合わせを反転させるよう、ゴーレムは創造者に要請する。
- 創造に際して、手順を誤れば、創造者に害が及ぶ。
- ゴーレムの言語能力に関しては、聴取能力のみとするものと、発話能力もあるとするものの、二つがある。

中世の物語においては、本来、ゴーレムは何かを使う目的で造るものではなかった。ゴーレムの創造は、カバラを習得した賢者には神の人間創造に倣ってゴーレムを作る能力があることを証明するための作業に過ぎなかった。そして名前を挙げられているのは古代の賢者であり、彼らは、中世のカバラ研究者の模範とすべき先達と考えられていたのである。

カバラとは、聖書(キリスト教の旧約聖書に当たる部分のみが、ユダヤ教の「聖書」であるが、便宜的にこの言葉を使用する)の隠された意味を解くことによって、創造の秘密、神の真の姿に迫ろうとする思想的営みである。その手がかりは聖書の言葉、すなわちヘブライ語である。カバラの古典に『創造の書』^[*3]という小冊子がある。これは、宇宙・世界・人間がどれほどヘブライ語の構造に対応しているかを述べたものである。世界はヘブライ語によって創造されたのだから、ヘブライ語に対応するというのである。本書自体にゴーレム創造の方法といったものが述べられているわけではないが、タルムード以来、本書を研究すれば、ゴーレムを作ることができるという考えが広まってゆき、中世のゴーレ

2——— ロイヒリンが紹介したのは、額に「JHVH Elohim emeth」と刻み込むタイプ。Johannes Reuchilin: *De arte cabbalistica. On the Art of the Kabbalah*. Tr. by Martin and Sarah Goodman. Lincoln and London 1993, p. 330 and 333.

3——— *Das Buch der Schöpfung*. Übersetzt und eingeleitet von Lazarus Goldschmidt. Darmstadt 1969.

ム伝承も、本書の注釈の形で展開されている。中世の物語の細部は不明だが、重要なことは、カバラ思想とゴーレム創造説話の根底に、言語神秘主義ないし言語魔術といったものが窺われることである。言葉によって現実の世界に何らかの作用を及ぼそうとするとき、最高の威力を持った言葉は「神の名前」であり、だからこそ神は「みだりに我が名を唱うべからず」と十戒で命じられたのだと考えられる。その神の名前がゴーレム創造に際して唱えられる。そしてゴーレムが創造されれば、額に「エメト」というヘブライ語が出現し、最初の文字「アレフ」を消去すれば、「メト」、すなわち「死す」となって、ゴーレムは崩壊する。このような描写こそ、まさしく言語魔術の現われなのである。

17世紀以降に形成されたポーランドの伝説についても、ショーレムの論文で紹介されていたものを参照した。その要点は以下の通りである[4]。

- 創造者はポーランドのヘルム（ヘウム）のラビ、エリヤ・パールシエム。
- 粘土の土像に神名（シエム・ハメフォラシュ）を唱えると、像は生命を得る。
- 発話能力は無いが、命じられたことは理解する。
- ゴーレムは、召使とされ、指示通りに室内で家事労働を行なう。
- 額に「emeth」の文字が記されている。
- このゴーレムは日々巨大になってゆく。巨大化したゴーレムに恐れをなしたエリヤは、ゴーレムに自らの長靴を脱がすよう命じ、かがんだ所で、額のアレフを消去する。ゴーレムは土塊に戻り、エリヤを押し潰す。

ユダヤ教の神名はJHVH (יהוה・ヤーヴェ) であるが、その名をみだりに唱えないように、その代わりに「שם המפושש שיעם・ハメフォラシュ」（明言された名前）という。略して「שם שיעם」（名前）ともいわれ、またその名を刻んだ護符も「シエム」と呼ばれる。パールシエムとは「名前の主」の意の敬称で、この場合の名前とはもちろん神の名前、シエム・ハメフォラシュのシエムである。この敬称は、神の名を正しく唱えて奇跡を起こし、病気を治したりする者に与えられるものだから、ここにも実践的カバラとのつながりが意識されている。ラビ・エリヤ・パールシエムは1583年に死去した実在の人物で、現在

4——— Scholem: a.a.O., S. 255f. J・グリムがドイツに紹介したのもこの物語だが、ラビ・エリヤの名前は伏せられている。In: *Zeitung für Einsiedler*. Nr.7, vom 23. April 1808. Scholem: a.a.O., S. 210f.

ウクライナとの国境に近いヘウムのラビだった。

この物語でも、神の名を唱えると「エメト」の文字がゴーレムの額に現われるという構図は、中世の物語と同じである。しかし新しい要素が二つ現われている。一つは、ゴーレムが家事労働という任務を持ったことである。二つ目は、ゴーレムの危険性が、ゴーレムが日々大きくなるという記述に現われており、危惧を抱いたラビがゴーレムを解体するとき、ラビを押し潰したという点である。

同じ説話の後の別バージョンでは、ゴーレムに生命力を付与する神名は、「羊皮紙に書かれて額に貼り付けられている」と書かれている。そしてこの説話では、アレフを消去する代わりに、紙片をむしりとられたゴーレムが倒壊するとき、主人に危害を加えようとし、その顔を引掻いた、とされている。神名を記した「紙片」は、新しいモチーフだが、主人を傷つけるのは、旧来のモチーフに属する。但し古い話では、押しつぶされた主人が、ここでは顔を引っかかるだけで済んでいることに注目しよう。もう一つ別の版では、ゴーレムは「世界を破壊するかもしれない」との危惧が語られているらしい。ゴーレムによる危険性の対象が、ゴーレム創造者に対するものから、次第に周囲の「世界」に移りつつあるのである。

2. プラハのゴーレムの最古の形『シップリーム』

先に名を挙げたショーレムのゴーレム論は、プラハのゴーレムの古層の分析で終わっている。しかし彼はその出典を挙げていないので、ここでは一般にプラハのゴーレムの最古層の物語と見られている『シップリーム (物語集)』(1847年) [*5]所収のL・ヴァイゼルによって採録された話に拠って、プラハのゴーレムの古層の要点を述べてみよう。なお、この物語集は、ドイツ語で書かれている。

- 創造者はプラハのラビ、レーヴ・ベン・ベツァレル。カバラに精通。
- ラビは神名 (シェム・ハメフォラシュ) を書き込んだ紙片 (シェム、護符) を土像

5—— Sippurim, eine Sammlung jüdischer Volkssagen, Erzählungen, Mythen, Chroniken, Denkwürdigkeiten und Biographien berühmter Juden aller Jahrhunderte, insbesondere des Mittelalters. Hrsg. von Wolf Pascheles. Prag 1847; 4. Auflage. 1870, S. 51.

の口中に挿入して生命を与える。

- ゴーレムに発話能力はないが、指示されたことを理解し実行することはできる。
- ラビはゴーレムに召使として戸外の家事労働をさせる。
- 土曜日は安息日のためゴーレムも休ませる必要があり、そのときには、安息日の開始前の金曜日の夕方に護符を取り外しておく。
- ある時護符を取り外すのを忘れたため、ゴーレムが暴れだし町を破壊する事件が起きた。安息日の準備中のラビは、ゴーレムの所へ駆けていって、護符を握り取り、暴行をやめさせた。ゴーレムは粉々に砕けた。
- この出来事により、ラビは、ゴーレムを二度と創造しないことを決意した。
- ゴーレムの粉々になった遺体は、アルトノイ・シナゴグの屋根裏に秘匿されている。(第4版1870年)

ゴーレムを創造したのは、1520年ごろに生まれ1609年にプラハで死去したラビ・レーヴ。彼は学識の高い人物だが、カバリストとは普通呼ばれておらず、カバリストと言えるかどうか自体、議論の対象となっている。カバリストではないが、カバラに精通していたとする者、カバラの思想をカバラの用語を使わずに展開したとする者等、様々である。このラビがなぜゴーレムの創造者に擬せられたかについては、後に改めて考えてみよう。

この物語に現われる、護符－家事労働－町の破壊というモチーフのつながりを見ると、ポーランドの物語の中でも、ヴァリエーションとして紹介した比較的新しいタイプに近いようだ。護符を貼り付ける場所は、ポーランドの物語では額であった。B・アウエルバッハが小説『スピノザ』(1837年)〔*6〕で登場人物に語らせているプラハの物語の別のタイプでは、護符は後頭部の小脳の下のスリットに挿入されることになっている。どうやらポーランドからプラハまで来るうちに、護符を貼り付けたり挿入する場所も、移動したようである。家事労働の場所が、室内から室外に移行すると共に、ゴーレムによって害を被るのも、創造者から外界である町に移ったのである。

このプラハのゴーレムの物語が何時どこで誰によって作られたか、その詳細は今もってわかっていない。創作時期に関しても推測の域を出ないが、18世紀中葉の直前説、18世

6——— Berthold Auerbach: *Spinoza. Ein historischer Roman*. Stuttgart 1837; *Schriften. Romane*. 2. Serie. 1. Band. Stuttgart 1871, S. 137f.

紀後半説、19世紀前半説等、いくつかの説がある。18世紀の始めに、ブラハの旧ユダヤ人墓地にあるラビ・レーヴの墓を改修する計画が持ち上がり、同時にラビの伝記を出版することになった。1718年ないし1727年にヘブライ語で書かれた伝記『ブラハのマハラルのメギラト・ユハシン』（系図の巻物）は、1745年に出版された。「マハラル」(Maharal)とは、「わが師ラビ・レーヴ」(moreinu ha-rav Löw)というヘブライ語の頭文字(MHRL)を繋ぎ合わせた言葉で、ヘブライ語の敬称である。この伝記にはしかし、ラビがゴーレムを創造したといった記述はないらしい。それゆえブラハのゴーレム物語の成立は、それ以前には遡らないことになる。また、エゼキエル・ランダウ(1713-1793)がブラハのラビとして赴任した時、斎戒沐浴の後、アルトノイ・シナゴグの屋根裏に登って、ゴーレムの遺体を見つけると、恐れ戦きながら降りてきて、屋根裏に登ってはならぬというラビ・レーヴの禁令を改めて強く布告したという話が伝わっている。すると、ラビ・ランダウが赴任したのは1755年のことであるから、その頃にはブラハのゴーレム伝説が成立していたと推測できることになる。しかしこのランダウのエピソードが語られているのは、先に述べたラビ・レーヴの伝記の再版(1864年)【*7】に付けられた「補遺」のなかであり、そこでは、J・S・ナートンゾーン(1810-1875)というレンベルクのラビが、アルトノイ・シナゴグの屋根裏に登ろうとしたところ、寺男から、そのランダウの逸話を聞かされたことになっている。この逸話は、その「補遺」の中で初めて語られたものであり、ランダウ説話自体が単なる伝説ないし創作の可能性もあるので、信憑性が高いとは必ずしも言い得ない。こういう事情もあって「ブラハのゴーレム」の成立時期は近年では、19世紀の初めとする見方さえでているのである。『シップリーム』出版の10年前に、この物語を収録した文学作品が少なくとも2編出版されている——その一つが既に紹介したB・アウエルバッハのもの——ことを考慮に入れば、1837年を余り遡らない時期にこの物語が成立していたと推測することもできよう。

なぜラビ・レーヴがゴーレム創造者に擬せられたかについても、まだわかっていない。ラビがカバリストどうかさえ、はっきりとしない状況である。それゆえ、その理由に関しては、いくつかの付随的と考えられる事情から推測するしかない。まず考えられるのは、このラビがことのほか長寿であったことである。生年に関しては1505年、1512/13年、1520年、1525年といろいろな説があるが、没年は1609年である。もっとも若い年をとっ

7—— Mosche Meir Perles: *Megillath Juchasin Maharal mi-Prog.* (Hebräisch) Prag 1745; Warsche (Warschau) 1864; 1889.

ても享年84歳であった。長寿のゆえに、死の天使が何とかしてラビに死を与えようと努力したという、内容の異なった伝説が、ポーゼン^[*8]とプラハ^[*9]に伝わっている。先に挙げたラビの伝記には、一つ不思議な話がかかれていられるらしい。それはラビの孫ザムエルに関するものである。ザムエルが死ぬ直前、祖父との約束だからその墓の横に葬ってくれるよう、「ヘヴラー・カディッシャー」(埋葬組合)の全員に依頼した。彼らが、空間が狭すぎると答えると、ザムエルは、スペースをあけてくれるようにラビ・レーヴに祈ってほしいと頼んだ。彼らがそのとおりにすると、空間が広がりザムエルを埋葬することができた。しかしその空間はすぐにまた元のサイズに収縮したので、細長い墓石しか立てられなかった。おおむねこのような内容である。ラビ・レーヴは死んでも、超能力を発揮したらしい。ザムエルの死は、1655年ないし1666年のことだった。その後遅くとも1680年ごろには、ラビ・レーヴは「高德の」(hofer) という敬称をつけて呼ばれるようになってゆくのである。ラビ・レーヴ生前の逸話を挙げるとすれば、なんと言っても時の皇帝ルドルフ2世との謁見であろう。皇帝は、政治の世界に嫌気がさして、ウィーンを離れてプラハに居住し、占星術や錬金術といったオカルティックな趣味に浸っており、その関連でラビを王宮に招いてカバラに関する話を聞いたという。謁見は事実だが、話の内容は推測に過ぎない。また詳細は不明なのだが、18世紀のプラハは、カバラのセンターだったという指摘もある。この時代に改めてラビの生涯と事跡に焦点が当てられ、再評価が進んだ可能性もある。このような様々な噂話や推測が融合して、それほど偉大なラビなら、ゴーレムを造ったに違いないと断定されるようになっていったのかもしれない。

最後に『シップリーム』中のゴーレム物語の最後の一文について述べておきたい。先にまとめた諸点のうちの最後のポイントである。『シップリーム』の初版(1847年)には、ゴーレムの遺体については、記載がなかったはずだ。というのも、その場所について初めて言及したのは、先に紹介したラビの伝記『メギラト・ユハシン』の再版(1864年)に掲載された「補遺」で紹介されたラビ・ランダウのエピソードに他ならないからである。おそらくこの「補遺」を踏まえて、『シップリーム』は、第4版(1870年)から、「今日でもゴーレムの破片はアルトノイ・シナゴグの屋根裏で見ることができる」といわれているという一文を挿入したのである。

8——— Knoop, *Sagen und Erzählungen aus der Provinz Posen*. 1893; J. Bergmann, *Die Legenden der Juden*. Berlin 1919. S. 53f.

9——— A. Jirásek, In: *Kalendář Českožidovský Ročenka*. 1913/14; J. Günzig, *Die Wundermänner im Jüdischen Volk*. Antwerpen 1921.

3. ペレツの『ゴーレム』

イツホク・レイブシュ・ペレツ (1852–1915) は、「近代イディッシュ文学草創期の作家の一人」で、ロシア領ポーランドの都市ザモシチに生まれた。彼のゴーレムの物語^[*10]は1893年にイディッシュ語で書かれ、『こどもとおとなのための寓話集』に収録された。この物語のゴーレム像は、次のようなものである。

- 創造者は「マハラル」、すなわちラビ・レーヴ。
- プラハ市民が大挙してゲッターを襲撃するのに対処するためにゴーレムを創造。
- 学校教師の家の前の粘土で泥人形を作製。
- 泥人形の鼻から息を吹きいれるとゴーレムは動き出し、耳元で「名前」を囁くとゴーレムは出撃し全市に死体の山を築く。金曜日になっても仕事をやめない。安息日にユダヤ人のために明かりを灯すキリスト教徒まで殺し尽くしかねなくなる。
- ラビが祭壇の前に立って詩篇の「安息日の歌」を歌うと、ゴーレムは仕事をやめ、ゲッターに退散する。
- シナゴークに現われたゴーレムの耳元でマハラルが何事かを囁くと、ゴーレムは粘土の塊に戻る。
- この泥人形は、プラハのシナゴークの天井裏に安置されている。

ゴーレムの創造に際しては、「名前」(シェム)を語りかけるという古い形が現われている。この物語で初めて、プラハの市民が暴徒となってゲッターを襲撃する。ゴーレムには、今までになかった新しい任務が課せられ、愚直に命令を実行する。そしてこの物語におけるゴーレムの危険性は、その愚直さゆえにユダヤ人にとって有用な異教徒まで殺しかねないところにある。ゴーレム自体には異教徒が有用かどうかを判断する能力はない。ペレツが『シップリーム』を知っていたかどうかはわからない。恐らく知らなかっただろう。しか

10—— Y. L. Peretz: *Der Golem*. (Jiddisch) In: *Ale Verk fun Y. L. Perets*. Sekster Bant. Buenos Aires 1944, S. 36f.; Isaac Loeb Peretz, *The Golem*. Tr. by Irving Howe. In: *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories*. Ed. by I. Howe and E. Greenberg. New York 1951; Reprinted in: *Great Jewish Short Stories*. Ed. by Saul Bellow. New York 1963; 1969, S. 140f.

し一つの目的のために創造されたゴーレムが、創造者の意図に反して、ユダヤ人自身にとって不利益な行動をするようになるという、危険性の認識は生き続けていると言えよう。

ゲッターを襲撃する民衆のイメージが、ゴーレム創造の原因として描かれたのは初めてであった。これは明らかに、19世紀の80年代から激化したポーランドおよびその東方周辺地域におけるポグロムを背景としたものである。

4. ローゼンベルクの『ニフラオート・マハラル』

1909年、ポーランドのピョートルコフの町で一冊の書物が、ウッジのラビ・ユードル・ローゼンベルクを編者としてヘブライ語で発行された。題名は『プラハのマハラルがゴーレムによって行なった奇跡の数々』[*11]。これまでのゴーレム物語が書物にしてせいぜい1ページないし2ページ程度の長さだったのに対して、本書は、編者による序文を含めて全25章、およそ80ページからなる、堂々たる内容の文書である。編者に拠れば、マハラルと共にゴーレムの創造に携わった娘婿が、一切を手記に記したが、それはメッツの図書館の奥深くに秘蔵されていた。それを偶々、司書のシャルフシュタインが発見し、ローゼンベルクが購入し、出版したというのである。ラビ・レーヴがゴーレムを創造したことを否定する意見もあるが、本書の発見によってそれが真実であることが証明されたのだと、編者は強調している。

なお、本書には編者自身によるイディッシュ語訳（1925/26年）[*12]と、J・ノイグロシエルによるイディッシュ語からの英語訳（1976年）[*13]がある。イディッシュ語版と英語版は、章の順序に一部異同がある点とイディッシュ語版に収録されているラビの子孫に関する章が省略されている点を除き、同一内容である。イディッシュ語訳の序文は、ヘブライ語原典に比べて若干簡略化されている。本文に関しては、ヘブライ語版にある「ゴーレムの性質に関するマハラルの語録」が、イディッシュ語には訳されていない。以上の点を除

11 ——— *Nifla'ot Maharal mi-Prog im ha-Golem*. (Hebräisch) Hrsg. von Judl Rosenberg. Pjotrkow 1909. [*Wundertaten des Rabbi Löw in Prag mit dem Golem*]

12 ——— *Di Geshikhte Nifloes Maharal mit dem Goylem*. (Jiddisch) Hrsg. von J. Rosenberg. Warschau 1925/26.

13 ——— *The Golem or the Miraculous Deeds of Rabbi Liva*. Tr. by Joachim Neugroschel. In: *Yenne Velt (The Other World). The Great Works of Jewish Fantasy & Occult*. New York 1976; 1978, S. 162 – 225.

いて、物語の内容に関しては、両者はほぼ同一と推定できる。詳細な検討は未完だが、ヘブライ語版とイディッシュ語版の内容は同一との推定のもとに、主としてイディッシュ語版および英語版に基づいて以下の議論を行なう。

さて、先に述べた発見のいきさつだけでなく、本書の内容も、驚くべきものであった。イディッシュ語版の表題紙には、表題の下に、「有名なガオン・マハラルが、自ら創造したゴーレムによって、血の中傷と戦うために行なった大いなる奇跡についての歴史的記述」と記されている。「ガオン」とは、トーラー（「モーセ五書」）に関する博識を有するラビなどに対する尊称であるが、そのラビが、ゴーレムを「血の中傷」と戦うために創造したというのである。「血の中傷」とは、「儀式殺人」とも言われるもので、ユダヤ人はキリスト教徒（子供とか女性が多い）を殺してその血を儀式に使用する、あるいはその血をもって儀式用のマッツォと呼ばれるパンを焼いているという、古来幾度となく繰り返されてきた迫害の口実であった。本書によると、ラビ・レーヴの時代のプラハにおいて、この種の迫害が頻発したというのである。本書の内容を要約すると、以下のようになる。

- ゴーレムの創造者は、ラビ・レーヴの他に娘婿と一番弟子を加えた3人。
- 彼らが土で出来た人形に火・水・風の三要素を加え、つまり地水火風の四大の結合により、ゴーレムが創造される。このゴーレムには、額に「emet」の文字も現われないし、口中に護符を挿入する必要もない。
- このゴーレムは、ユダヤ人を「血の中傷」に基づく迫害（儀式殺人の嫌疑）から守るために創造された。
- 誤って、家事労働等の日常の目的にゴーレムを使用すると、その愚直性のゆえに、ゴーレムは失敗し、滑稽な行動を取る。
- 迫害からの防衛の他に、不倫等により敬虔さを失ったユダヤ人を改心させたり、あるいは処罰するラビの仕事を補佐する。
- ラビとゴーレムの活躍を知った皇帝ルドルフ2世（本書では「ルドルフ王」）の勅令により迫害が収束する。
- 迫害の収束によりゴーレムは不要になり、解体されるが、それは、創造の儀式を逆に実行することで成就される。
- 遺体は、ラビの仕事部屋の屋根裏に安置される。

「手記」であるという主張の検討は最終的にはヘブライ語原文によって行なわれなければならないので、今これに関して詳細な議論をすることはできない。しかしイディッシュ語による翻訳を読む限りでは、プラハに関する地理的な描写、あるいはルドルフ2世に関わる歴史的記述に誤りが多く、ラビと共に行動した娘婿の手になる「手記」という主張を疑わせるものであることは確かである。重要な点を一つだけ挙げると、皇帝ルドルフ2世の時代に「血の中傷」に基づくユダヤ人迫害がプラハで頻発したという事実は、実際には伝えられていない。プラハの市民との間で税金を巡るささいなトラブルはあったらしいが、この皇帝はユダヤ人を優遇し保護したことで知られているのである。それゆえ、我々は、本書を、ラビの娘婿の「手記」でなく、自称編者であるローゼンベルクの著作として扱うことにする。そもそも彼は、中世のスペインで書かれたカバラの古典『ゾーハル（光輝）の書』のアラム語からヘブライ語への翻訳者であった。この書物もまた、アブラム・デ・レオンらが古代の賢者シメオン・ベン・ヨハイの名を借りて執筆したものであり、ローゼンベルクは同じ手法を応用してゴーレム物語を創作したと考えられるからである。

本書のゴーレム像はいくつかの点でユニークである。まずゴーレムの創造に三人の人物が協力しており、それぞれが呪文を唱えながら土像の周りを7回回り、最後にラビも周回しつつ、三人がアダム創造に関わる聖書の章句を唱えるという儀式が詳細に描かれていることである。これはこれまでのポーランドやプラハのゴーレム物語にはなかった描写であり、ひょっとすると、中世のゴーレム物語、あるいは何らかの説話に繋がるのかもしれない。また、この物語で初めて、ゴーレムは、ヘブライ語でヨセレ（ドイツ語でヨーゼフ）という固有名を得ることになった。

次に、このゴーレムは、ラビの口頭による指令に基づいて行動する。その額に「emet」の文字は現れないし、神名を記した護符を口中に挿入する必要もない。神名魔術とのかかわりは見られない。あるとすれば、周回に際して唱えられた「呪文」だけであるが、特にそうした記述ないし説明はない。

また、このゴーレムは安息日に休息することもない。一週間続く過越しの祭りの時期は、迫害の頻発する時期でもあり、誘拐された被害者や迫害の張本人を捜し求めて、何週間、数ヶ月にも及ぶ探索活動に従事することもあるのだから、ゴーレムには、安息日に休息している暇はないのである。

このゴーレムの創造には、明確な目的が与えられていた。それゆえ、ラビやその妻が誤った指令を出した場合には、ゴーレムは愚直に指令を実行しようとして頓珍漢な行動を

引き起こす。しかしそれは、ゴーレムのいわゆる「危険性」とは異なり、単なる「お笑い種」に留まっているのである。

最後に、本書では、「手記」に相応しく、ラビの生年、ゴーレムの創造年、いくつかの事件の生じた年、ゴーレムを解体した年等、各所に年代が記入されている点が注目される。後に述べる問題と関連してくるので、ゴーレムの創造と解体の年のみ、ここに取り上げておこう。年代はもちろんユダヤ暦で記されているので、括弧内に西暦を付記した。

創造年 ユダヤ暦 5340年（西暦 1580年）

解体年 ユダヤ暦 5350年（西暦 1590年）

ちなみにラビ・レーヴがプラハに滞在した年は、1573年～84年、88年～92年、97年～1609年の三次にわたっている。ゴーレムの創造年と解体年は確かにそれぞれその期間中に当たってはいる。しかし物語ではラビは、ゴーレム創造以前から宗教的権威者としてプラハにあって、ゴーレムを指揮したことになっているが、実際にはラビは始終プラハにいたわけでも、最初から宗教的権威だったわけでもないのである。ラビが最初にプラハに滞在した時には学校（Die Klausen）を設立したことと、1564年に設立された「ヘヴラー・カディッシャー」（埋葬組合）の規約を整備したことが知られている。84年～88年の間はモラビアのミクロシュ（ニコルスブルク）あるいはポーランドのボズナニ（ポーゼン）でラビの職に就いており、二度目にプラハに来たのは自ら設立した学校の運営のためであったし、92年～97年にポーランドのポーゼンの町でラビを務めた後、宗教的権威者としてプラハのOberrabinner（筆頭ラビ）になったのは、ようやく三度目の滞在時であったのである。

最後の歴史的事実との不整合から考えても、「手記」という説は支持できなくなり、編者ローゼンベルクの偽作説が濃厚になるのだが、それはさておき、このようなユニークなゴーレム像が生まれたきっかけについてみておこう。

「血の中傷」ないし「儀式殺人」という口実でユダヤ人が迫害された例は古く、皇帝ルドルフ2世時代のプラハにはなかったとはいえ、ヨーロッパ各地で起こったことであった。それは、迫害の理由付けとしてはもっとも古いもののひとつだが、中世や近代になっても繰り返し迫害の口実となってきたものだった。そして『ニフラオート・マハラル』が出版された1909年には、まさにこの口実による裁判がプラハで進行中だったのである。事件が起きたのは1899年の南ボヘミアの寒村ボルナ。そこでキリスト教徒の少女アネシュ

カ・フルーゾヴァーの惨殺死体が発見され、村内に住んでいたレオポルト・ヒルスナーという知恵遅れのユダヤ人青年が逮捕され、裁判で死刑が宣告された。この逮捕と死刑宣告は不当だとして論陣を張ったのが、弁護士のT・G・マサリク、後のチェコスロバキア初代大統領であった。裁判は長期化し、死刑は終身刑に減刑され、最後にオーストリア皇帝カール1世の即位に伴う恩赦によって、1916年に青年は釈放されるという経過を辿った。これは「ヒルスナー事件」^[*14]といわれているが、『ニフラオート・マハラル』の出版はこの長期間に亘る事件の中間の年に当たっている。本書の表題紙にもあるように、ラビは「血の中傷」による迫害と戦うのだが、その目的は、主として裁判の場で、プラハのユダヤ人ないし自らに掛けられた嫌疑を払拭し身の潔白を証明することにおかれ、そのためにゴーレムに命じて真犯人を探し出そうとする。その意味で本書におけるラビとゴーレムの行動は、きわめて理性的であり、非暴力的である。このように法廷闘争を中心に据えた「戦い」の描写には、「ヒルスナー事件」が何らかの影を落としていると考えられよう。

5. ブロッホの『プラハのゴーレム』

1919年のウィーンで『プラハのゴーレム』^[*15]という書物が出版された。著者はハイム・ブロッホという、ガリチアから難民としてウィーンにやってきて、第一次大戦中はジャーナリズムの世界で活動していた人物であった。ブロッホによるゴーレム物語は、序文を含む本文28章から構成されており、150頁を超える分量がある。本書の底本が『ニフラオート・マハラル』であることは序文で明らかにされている。しかしブロッホは、ローゼンベルクの名前も挙げていないし、また底本が「ラビ・レーヴの娘婿の手記」であることも否定し、「ラビの同時代人の作」と断定する。なぜ「娘婿の手記」であることを否定するかという根拠は示していない。しかし本書の表題の下には「古い手稿に基づいて改作」という記述がある。それゆえ、両書を比較することで、ブロッホの考えの根拠を探ることが可能となると思われる。

14 ——— *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem 1972, Bd. 8, Sp. 496 f.

15 ——— *Der Prager Golem. Von seiner "Geburt" bis zu seinem "Tod". Nach einer alten Handschrift bearbeitet von Chajim Bloch*. Wien 1919.

両書を詳しく見てみると『ニフラオート・マハラル』から削除された章があり、また書き加えられた章もある。章の数は似通っているのに、ページ数が大幅に異なることから推測できるように、両書に共通する章においても大幅な加筆修正が施されている。そのような「改作」のすべてにわたって述べることはここではできないので、二点のみ指摘しておくことにしたい。

一つは、『ニフラオート・マハラル』における皇帝ルドルフ2世（原文では「ルドルフ王」）に関わる叙述に関してである。原作では、ラビ・レーヴと皇帝は何度も会ったことがあるように書かれていた。ゴーレム創造の前にも皇帝から招かれて城に登り親しく謁見したようになっていたのである。しかし1872年に、東プロイセンのリュックの町（ポーランド名エウク）で発行されていたヘブライ語の雑誌『ハマギド（宣告者）』に、奇しくもラビ・レーヴの娘婿の手になる手記が掲載された。その内容は、ラビが皇帝に招かれて登城したとき、お供をした娘婿が謁見のいきさつを述べたものだった。それはユダヤ暦「5352年アダル月10日」のことであった。西暦では「1592年2月16日（あるいは23日）日曜日」に当たる。謁見はこれが最初で最後だったらしい。事実そうだったようだ。そしてプロッホもそう判断したのだろう。彼はこの記事に基づいて大幅な原文改定を施したのだ。彼は『ニフラオート・マハラル』から、皇帝ルドルフ2世に関する記述をすべて削除し、「血の中傷」事件がすべて収束した後に、「謁見」の場面を創作し、その脚注として『ハマギド（宣告者）』誌の記事を全文掲載し、その会見が「1592年」であることを読者に印象付けたのである。

二つ目は、ゴーレムの本質に関わる改作である。『ニフラオート・マハラル』では、間違った指令を受けたときにゴーレムが滑稽な行動に出ることはあったが、基本的にはラビの命令を首尾よく実行し、迫害が収束した後にゴーレムは解体された。しかしプロッホは、『シップリーム』の物語を知っていたらしい。彼は、原作にないゴーレムの暴動の場面をも創作したのである。『シップリーム』では、安息日毎にゴーレムは仕事を休んでいた。『ニフラオート・マハラル』では、それはできなかった。それゆえ、プロッホは、安息日の任務は前もって与えられることになっていたのに、ラビがそれを忘れた、そしてそのためにゴーレムが暴動を起こしたという設定で書き換えを行なった。その伏線として、ラビが誤った指令を与える場面も追加された。ここでは、ラビの忘れっぽさという、言ってみればきわめて人間らしいミスが繰り返し描かれていると捉えることができる。しかしゴーレムが暴動を起こしたとき、『シップリーム』では、口中の護符を取り去るため

にラビはゴーレムの暴れている現場まで駆けつけねばならなかった。これに対し『ブラハのゴーレム』では、ゴーレムが暴れているという知らせを受けたラビは、通りへ飛び出し、ゴーレムがいるはずの方向に向かって「ゴーレムよ、止まれ!」と命令する。すると、ゴーレムは暴行を停止する。そこへラビが駆けつけて、ゴーレムを連れて帰ることになる。ラビは遠隔操縦でゴーレムの暴行を止めた。彼は超能力の持ち主でもあったのである。ラビ・レーヴに関して言えば、その人間的な忘れっぽさと、超人的な能力の両方の性質が、原作以上に増幅されているといえよう。

さらに『シップリーム』では、口中の護符の力と安息日の禁令違反とがあいまって、ゴーレムの破壊エネルギーはおそらく極限に向かって高まりつつあったのだろう。だからこそ、護符をもぎ取られたゴーレムは、そのエネルギーの向かう方向が反転して、ポーランドのゴーレム同様、瓦解して土塊に戻るのである。そう考えて初めて、「こんな恐ろしいものをもう二度と造るまい」というラビの感懐も納得できるものとなる。しかしプロッホの物語では、ゴーレムは、一時的な誤作動は起こしたものの、基本的には終始ラビの命令に従順に従う存在として描かれており、もちろんゴーレムが自ら崩壊することもない。それゆえ「わしが鎮めるのが遅かったら、ゴーレムはブラハ中を廃墟にしていまいかねなかったなあ」とラビが近親者に語っても、ゴーレムの危険性をそれほど強く読者に印象づけることはないのである。

このゴーレムの暴動の章は、ラビの皇帝への「謁見」の次、ゴーレムの解体の章の前に置かれた。ラビの皇帝への「謁見」は1592年であったから、ゴーレムの解体はそれ以降、すなわち「1593年」に行なわれたことになった。辞典類のゴーレムに関する記述で、創造年は1580年で一致しているのに、解体年に1590年と1593年の二説があるのは、ここに原因がある[*16]。このような一見史実にあわせたかに見える年代改訂は、もう一つの不合理を生み出した。実際にはラビ・レーヴは、1592年2月の皇帝ルドルフ2世との会見を終え

16—— 1916年から23年にかけて出版されたポーランドのユダヤ人作家ビン・ゴリオンの全6巻からなるユダヤ説話集『ユダの泉』の第5巻に、『ニフラオト・マハラル』のドイツ語抄訳が掲載された。原著に従ってラビの生年とゴーレムの創造年は記載されている。しかしゴーレムの解体年はそこには記載されていない。なぜか。巻末の文献一覧には、プロッホの『ブラハのゴーレム』の名がある。おそらく、ゴーレムの解体年に1590年と1593年の二説があることを知っていたビン・ゴリオンは、それを記載することを敢えて避けたのだろう。Micha Josef bin Gorion, *Die Schaffung des Golems*. In: *Der Born Judas. Legenden, Märchen und Erzählungen*. Bd. 5. Volkserzählungen. Leipzig 1922. S. 192 und 312.

るや、ポーゼンに赴いて筆頭ラビの職に付いたのだが、物語では、ラビの不在中に、ゴーレムの暴動と鎮圧、そしてゴーレムの解体の場面が設定されることになったのである。

ルドルフ2世に関わる改作、ゴーレムの暴動に関わる改作、この双方とも、「ラビの娘婿の手記」であるとするローゼンベルクの主張をブロッホが否定していることに関連しているであろう。ルドルフとの謁見の史実や、ゴーレムが暴動を起こしたことも知らないのだから、その文書の執筆者は「ラビの娘婿」ではありえないというわけである。ところでローゼンベルクを『ニフラオート・マハラル』の著者とするわれわれの推定にこの視点を当てはめればつぎのような結論になるだろう。すなわち、ローゼンベルクは、ラビ・レーヴに関する史実を知らず、『シップリーム』のゴーレム物語も知らなかったのだ、と。ローゼンベルクはラビ・レーヴの伝記『メギラト・ユハシン』の新版(1864年か1899年)は、確かに知っていた。『ニフラオート・マハラル』の序文中のラビ・エゼキエル・ランダウに関するエピソードは伝記の補遺から、またラビ・レーヴの結婚にまつわるエピソードとラビ・レーヴの子孫についての記述は伝記の本文から取られたと推定されるからである。それにもかかわらず、ルドルフ2世に関わる史実を知らなかったのは不審だが、それは、伝記自体を読んでみないとなんとも言えない。だが『シップリーム』所収のゴーレム説話を知らなかったのは確かだろう。

それに対してブロッホはどうだろうか。彼も、ラビ・レーヴに関する史実は知らないようだ。『ハマギド』誌の記事を知っていたがゆえに、本文改定を行なったが、今度はその結果として、さらに史実に合わない記述を生み出してしまったのだから。さらに言えば、彼は、一見『シップリーム』に合わせたような改作を行なったが、その結果は『シップリーム』の持っている強いメッセージを消してしまう結果になってしまったのである。

ともあれ、ブロッホの『ブラハのゴーレム』は、翌1920年にベルリンの出版社から版を改めて出版され、1925年にはウィーンで英語訳が、1928年にはストラスブールでフランス語訳が出版され、西洋の読書界に広く紹介されることになった。ローゼンベルクの『ニフラオート・マハラル』は、1925年にヘブライ語からイディッシュ語に訳されたが、それでも、読者層はユダヤ人、特に東欧ユダヤ人に限られていた。そしてその読者の多くは、後にナチスによってこの世から抹殺されることになるのである。

終わりに

我々はこれまで、「プラハのゴーレム」の四つの形を検討してきた。その中でドイツを含む西欧文化圏では、『シップリウム』と『プラハのゴーレム』が主に論じられてきた。ベレツや『ニフラオート・マハラル』は、言葉の障壁のせいでほとんど論じられなかった。言及はされても、『ニフラオート・マハラル』と『プラハのゴーレム』の相違には目が向けられてこなかった。

事情が変わったのは、第2次世界大戦後の、特にアメリカ合衆国においてである。ナチスによる「シヨアー」の時代を経て、多くのヨーロッパ・ユダヤ人がアメリカに、特にニューヨーク周辺に移住したことによって、ゴーレム物語も、ニューヨークで再生することになった。ベレツの「ゴーレム」の英語訳(1951年)、『ニフラオート・マハラル』イディッシュ語版の再刊(1960年)、『プラハのゴーレム』英語訳の再刊(1972年)、『ニフラオート・マハラル』イディッシュ語版からの英語訳(1976年)、『ニフラオート・マハラル』ヘブライ語からの英語訳(1980年)等々である。ゴーレムの物語は、もちろんヨーロッパにおいても再生しつつある。一例を挙げれば、ベレツの『ゴーレム』のドイツ語訳(フライブルク、1967年)、ブロッホのゴーレムの詳しい紹介(シュトゥットガルト、1977年)、『シップリウム』抜粋版の刊行(フランクフルト、1994年)などがある。注16で指摘したビン・ゴリオン『ユダの泉』の抜粋版も、何度も出版されている。第2次世界大戦後のプラハでも、チェコ人作家E・ベティシュカの手になる『ゴーレム』(1968年)がチェコ語で刊行され、ドイツ語に翻訳された。これは、ブロッホのゴーレム物語をベースにして、プラハに伝わるラビ・レーヴにまつわる伝説等を織り混ぜたものである。この書物は、1989年のビロード革命後のプラハで英語にも訳され、少なくとも三ヶ国語で広められている。

このような古い文献の再刊と同時に、I・シンガーやE・ヴィーゼルを含む多くの作家たちがこれらのゴーレム物語にヒントを得て、自らのゴーレム物語を創作し始めた。しかしその中には、プラハのゴーレムでありながら額に「エメト」の文字を浮かび上がらせているものもあれば、創造に際して、呪文を語りかけるだけでなく、護符を口中に挿入し、なおかつ額に「エメト」の文字を刻み込むといった、どこのゴーレムなのかわからなくなるような混乱を示す記述も散見されるようになってきた。

それゆえ、ゴーレム像のメッセージを正しく把握するには、オリジナルなゴーレム像を知ったうえで、それぞれの作品の、オリジナルからの乖離の度を測る必要があるのでは

ないかと考えるに至った。しかしプラハのゴーレム像には、真の意味のオリジナルが存在しないので、執筆ないし刊行年代の古いものを4編取り上げて検討した。もちろん検討すべき対象は、この4編に尽きるものではない。例えば1921年にニューヨークで書かれ、22年にワルシャワで出版されたH・レイヴィックのドラマ『ゴーレム』には、ラビ・レーヴに逆らおうとするゴーレムといった全く新しいモチーフが現われているし、映画になったゴーレムは、少女に対する愛情を示しさえするのである。今後は、プラハのゴーレムという設定の上で、様々なモチーフがどのように展開されてゆくかといった視点から検討することが必要になるだろう。さらに、『シippリーム』に採録された物語が、いつどこで誰によって作られたのかもまだ不明だが、それ以外のほとんどの物語が、プラハ出身者でもなく、プラハを見たこともないと思われるような人々によって創作されていることも、注目に値する。本論文が、このような様々な視点からのゴーレム研究の基礎作業になれば幸いである。

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The Avant-garde in Hungary and its audience

Eva Forgacs

While academic art had its firmly established audience in the ranks of the aristocracy and the upper middle classes in 18th and 19th century Europe, the avant-garde, since its inception in post-revolutionary France, targeted new devotees. Charged with the promise of a utopian future – the brainchild of the utopian socialist Count of Saint-Simon[*1] – , the avant-garde addressed potentially everyone outside the establishment who was ready to convert for the idea of the new state of social justice, equality and happiness. Consistently with its radical difference from the established culture, the art of the avant-garde needed a radically new language, which, although unusual, liberated and futuristic, could reach out for a wide audience – *the* people – and entice them, gain them over, and convince them of the superiority of its vision of the future over the present through the power of art.

But the relation of the avant-garde to its living audience – the indicator of its efficiency in the present – is, in fact, inherently paradoxical, because the avant-garde, by definition, is *ahead* of the rest of the society. It follows that its audience, recruited from the ranks of the very crowd that it is leaving behind, can not, according to logic, be on the same page as the artistic avant-garde itself.

1 ——— In his treatise *De l'organisation sociale* (1825), Saint-Simon described the role of the artist in the centralized socialist state of the future:

“...in this great undertaking the artists, the men of imagination will open the march: they will take the Golden Age from the past and offer it as a gift to future generations; they will make society pursue passionately the rise of its well-being, and they will do this by presenting the picture of new prosperity, by making each member of society aware that everyone will soon have a share in enjoyments which up to now have been the privilege of an extremely small class; they will sing the blessings of civilization, and for the attainment of their goal they will use all the means of the arts, eloquence, poetry, painting, music; in a word, they will develop the poetic aspect of the new system.”

(Quoted and translated by Matei Calinescu in: Calinescu: *Five Faces of Modernity*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1987, pp. 102-103.)

There is an unbridgeable time gap between the world the avant-garde anticipates and the real, existing world in which the rest of the society lives. The avant-garde artist claims to have leaped ahead into the future, while everyone else is living in the present. The original task of the avant-garde artist is to project the image of a better future world to the population and keep up the faith of people in that future until it becomes reality. But this spells a never disappearing time gap between the coming age, which the avant-garde artist inhabits, and the present, inhabited by everyone else. In reality, as Theo van Doesburg, El Lissitzky, and Hans Richter said at the International Congress of Progressive Artists in Düsseldorf, 1922: the avant-garde was caught “between a society that does not need us and one that does not yet exist”.[*2]

The fundamental task of the avant-garde was to convince the people of the present that they *do need* the future that the avant-garde proposes. The new language and new formal idiom that they introduced were meant to be enticing, persuasive, and appealing so that the future that the avant-garde represents could have grip on the imagination of people.

But how can the language of the future resonate in the present? How, indeed, can a small group of artists committed to the future, reach “back” into the present, and reach out for the minds and hearts of all those who live in a different age than they do?

And, most of all: how can a group of intellectually, ideologically, and artistically educated artists: an elite, using an elitist language – conquer a large audience prey to popular, or even populist culture? Besides the time gap, can the sociological gap be bridged?

Because of the march into the future, the most frequent word to characterize the avant-garde and its adherents has been, since its inception, ‘progressive’. Progress, the fundamental tenet of Modernism, was marking the transition from the past into the future. On the level of politics ‘progressive’ implied an anti-establishment stance. Anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois; after all, the avant-garde was, originally, the cultural weapon of utopian socialism.

Although the waves and movements of the avant-gardes of Western Europe differed in many respects, their representatives were mostly recruited of the progressive, secular urban middle-classes and found their audience in the same educated social milieu. Already the courage of the romantics, the realists, the impressionists, the symbolists, and the post-impressionists impressed a like-minded

2— Doesburg, Lissitzky, Richter: “Statement of the International faction of Constructivists”, *De Stijl*, Vol 4, No. 4, May 1922.

Parisian crowd which, after a short period of contempt or mistrust, celebrated the innovative artists as their new heroes. The innovative formal languages of Cubism, Expressionism, Futurism, or later De Stijl and even Dada also resonated with audiences which, particularly in the wake of World War I., had already been disillusioned with classical education and culture and felt an intense desire to supersede them. Appreciating nonfigurative art or the sophisticated humor of Dada required, besides passionate social criticism and commitment to a better future, urbanity, education, and familiarity with the cultural discourse. The avant-garde artists of the West may have frontally crashed with tradition and the social order, may have intended to create a *tabula rasa*, but they had thorough knowledge of what they were fighting against, and they could rely on a like-minded and similarly educated audience, which, if moderate size, was willing to discard the culture they had been familiar with in exchange for new imagery, new contents, and future-bound attitude. For example in Germany a rather sizeable and appreciative audience including dealers, collectors, sponsors, and even museum curators and leaders, promoted the new art of dissent and innovation because they saw the next step of culture in it, and this enthused them.^[*3] As Thomas Nipperday points out, even the most radical avant-garde attracted a small but conspicuous bourgeois audience.^[*4] (These adherents and promoters of the avant-garde were as adamantly lampooned and persecuted later by National Socialism as the avant-garde artworks and artists.)

The avant-gardes of Western Europe were the innovative continuation of the cultural discourse and this discourse was not meant to spill over from the demographics that owned it. Whereas in post-revolutionary Russia the avant-garde addressed the proletariat – that is, the working classes, declared by the Communist Party to be the new owners of the country and the culture – the new developments of art in the West did not, with some exception of a few communist artists, authors and publishers in the Weimar Republic – address a social group any different from those which had

3——— See, for example Henrike Junge, ed.: *Avantgarde und Publikum*, Köln: Böhlau, 1992, in which chapters are dedicated to the discussion of the role played, among others, by such promoters of the new art as Ernst Beyersdorff, Ida Bienert, Walter Dixel, Alexander Dorner, Rosy und Ludwig Fischer, Alfred Flechtheim, Herbert von Gravens-Gravensburg, Hans Goltz, Ernst Gosebruch, Botho Graef, Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, Carl Georg Heise, Alfred Hess, Karl Ernst Osthaus, Gustav Pauli, Otto Ralfs, Walther Ratheanu, Max Sauerlandt, Herwarth Walden and Paul Westheim.

4——— Thomas Nipperday: „Was die Bürgertum in the Moderne fand“ (What the bourgeoisie found in the moderns), Berlin, 1988, quoted by Junge, *ibid.*, p. 1.

always owned the cultural discourse. What I will argue and describe below is that the Hungarian avant-garde was, also in this respect, halfway between East and West.

The avant-gardes of Eastern Europe in general, and the Hungarian avant-garde in particular, were in a different position both politically and culturally than their Western counterparts. Politically they had to fight a two-front battle: while they stepped up against the conservative establishment and the middle classes – the arch enemy of the avant-gardes – they also had to fight against their own leftist comrades' simplifying views and ideological control. The Party of Social Democrats in the early 20th century, the Communist Party of the 1919 Hungarian Commune, their descendant political parties during the interwar period, as well as the post-World War II. Communist dictatorship set out against middle class conservatism as adamantly as the avant-garde. But the Socialist and Communist parties turned against the avant-garde, too, calling it the “vestiges of bourgeois culture”, whereas the reason why they really rejected it was that they did not tolerate the avant-garde's alternative leftist political alternatives.

Therefore the Hungarian avant-garde had to make it clear that although it was politically on the left and was anti-bourgeois, these pursuits were not shared with any other leftist or communist ideology, and particularly not with those which espoused Soviet type socialist realism as the only artistic expression acceptable for the ‘masses’, ‘the people’, ‘the proletariat’.

The Hungarian avant-garde, although it included urban intellectuals, was launched by a self-made and self-educated socialist poet who came from the proletariat, and set out to create the art and culture of this demographic.

It was the background, education, and personality of Lajos Kassák (1887-1967), the progenitor of the Hungarian avant-garde that gave the intonation, language, and direction of the movement. Kassák came from a very poor working class family at Érsekújvár (then Upper Hungary), and was himself forced to work from childhood. Trained as a locksmith, he passionately pursued to educate himself. He moved to Budapest and became an activist of the Party of Social Democrats. He was a frequent speaker at rallies, and was losing job after job because of his political activities.

He was an avid reader, listened to older workers in pubs and party meetings, and traveled as far as Paris and Brussels on foot in order to see the world and know more of what was outside Austria-Hungary. In Brussels he met Socialist party leaders, and in Paris he was, for the first time, exposed to modern art. Upon his return around 1910 he attended the events of the Galilei Circle, a radical stu-

dent group which organized a series of free and lectures, open to all. A later source of his education was the lecture series of the Free School of Humanistic Studies in 1917-18, organized by liberal Budapest intellectuals including Georg Lukács, Béla Balázs, Arnold Hauser, Béla Bartók, and Zoltán Kodály.

Kassák started to write and publish poetry in the socialist daily *Népszava* [The People's Word] and the literary journal *Reneszánsz* [Renaissance]. His great ambition was to be part of the new literary periodical *Nyugat* [West] and have his poems published there, but he was, for some time, refused. The reason – hypothetically – may have been his lack of sophistication and adherence to the modernist Western forms of poetry, indeed the entire culture of poetic forms that *Nyugat* represented. He used idiosyncratic language, wrote in free verse, and struck a harsh, energetic, youthful tone, which came from the fringes of the society and culture and was vigorously expressive rather than sophisticated. Eventually he published a serialized novel and a play in *Nyugat*, but by 1915–16 he got impatient and dissatisfied with the culture of forms, even modernist, and got interested in the younger generation of authors with a harsher voice. “By the second half of 1915 I came to be convinced that for my own discontents and sinister premonitions I had to publish a journal of my own”, he wrote. “*Nyugat* had already accepted me, [...] and although I knew full well that that was as much as any young poet could wish for, I felt limited and restrained. Among my young friends I had a few whose cooperation I could rely on. Even if we did not completely agree in everything, they were also dissatisfied with what we had been having, and this shared bitterness brought us close.”[*5]

Under the pressure of the ongoing war, *A Tett*, launched on November 1, 1915, became a bridge between literary formalism and political activism. It transformed Kassák from marginal young poet into editor and an important public figure. Its newfound identity was so clear-cut, that soon the editors of other journals, including *Nyugat*, sent over the young and idiosyncratic poets and writers to Kassák. *A Tett* was fashioned, as the title, its outlay, and its contents indicated, after the Berlin-based journal *Die Aktion*, edited by the socialist Franz Pfemfert, who also had roots in the German anarchist movement, and whose periodical was an important forum of expressionist art and literature with a strong anti-war stance. Besides literary works *A Tett* also published political pamphlets and essays in sociology. As Kassák later summed it up: “*A Tett* wanted to achieve what had been dreamed

5 ——— Lajos Kassák: “Az izmusok Magyarországon” (The art isms in Hungary), in Kassák: *Az izmusok története* (The history of the art isms), Budapest: Magvető Kiadó, 1972, p. 168. My translation. All translations mine, unless otherwise indicated.

about and widely discussed in Hungary's Reform Era a hundred years earlier: that Hungary be not lagging behind the West with a multi-generational delay, but participate in the ongoing intellectual struggles of the present as an equal partner."^[*6] Therefore, besides young Hungarian poets, works by Apollinaire, Jules Romains, Georges Duhamel and Filippo Tommaso Marinetti were published in translation, and sociologist Imre Vajda contributed a series of articles about the future of the Social Democrats. Vajda belonged to the inner opposition of the Hungarian Party of Social Democrats – a membership with a serious Marxist education. He was a radical, who disagreed with the German Social Democrats and condemned them for having given up their original radicalism for the new strategy of gradual (rather than revolutionary) development and parliamentary debates. *A Tett* certainly had a readership which was recruited from the members of the Party of Social Democrats and was intellectually and ideologically receptive to political essays. Vajda explained his future-bound concept of the Party of Social Democrats which, according to him, had a crucial role in creating the "socialist man" by education, because, as he put it, "the improvement of the happiness-balance of socialist man is the ultimate goal of Socialism."^[*7] Expanding his discussion to the possibilities of the European and Russian Socialist and Communist Parties, discussing the concepts of Karl Liebknecht, August Bebel, and Jean Jaurès, turned *A Tett*, even if published in Hungarian, a venue of international interest, at least inasmuch as it brought the international discourse back to Hungary. During the hardship of the war years when most people were on edge, the readership of the political articles may have been sensitive and more receptive to the reproductions of expressionist drawings and paintings by Béla Uitz, Jenő Pásztk, or József Nemes Lampérth, too. This new visual language, as well as the expressionist poetry and prose published in the journal, used stylized forms, elongated, deformed, and deliberately distorted for more intense and more shocking expression. The nationwide solidarity generated by the need and the suffering caused by the war; the tense, extraordinary times strating in the summer of 1914, made the visual language of Expressionism more palatable for many people who were, otherwise, of conservative tastes. The success of the journal, including the scandals it caused, encouraged Kassák to be even bolder in the use of avant-garde language in an effort to co-agulate an audience of like minded people ranging from workers to progressive, socialist intellectuals

6——— Kassák, *ibid.*, p. 170.

7——— *Ibid.*, p. 186.

and artists who were all anti-war and on the political left.

The first issue of *A Tett* for example heralded what it called “the new literature” clearly talking in a new voice to a new audience. “Literary and artistic aestheticism is dead”, the introductory essay announced, “The artists and writers will, once again, be workers among the workers and the fighters... A new, social literature will follow the individualist art of today and yesterday.”[*8] This promise – a verbatim forecast of Russian Constructivism – projected the end of elitist estheticism (referred to as “individualist art”) and, in the original spirit of the avant-garde, the anticipation of a collective culture which, once the artists will be ‘workers’, will grow out of the working classes and belong to them.

From the educated middle class audience of *Nyugat* Kassák – although continuously inviting established writers and sociologists to contribute *A Tett* – turned to those young, mostly skilled workers, who had been politically educated in the socialist movement and were becoming politically conscious while outraged by, and opposing the ongoing war. Addressing this new audience, Kassák had solid grounds. Working class movements and the political education of the young workers were processes in the making, and the devastating war was a dire reality. In the years during World War I. the nascent Hungarian avant-garde was firmly rooted in reality. It had the potential to address a large audience, and could plan to play an important role on the new political and cultural scene which was expected to follow World war I. Relying on the solidarity of the rapidly increasing masses of people who had to pay the price of the war, Kassák’s avant-garde journal was the forum of the dissent, outrage, and pacifism of a large, mixed crowd. On this count, the avant-garde was grounded in reality and was becoming the catalyst and chronicler of actual historical and social changes.

With the launching of *A Tett*, which Kassák characterized as an “aggressive art movement”[*9], he opened up a forum for a new voice in Hungary. It was harsh, young, and radical, fueled by the energy to make a difference and change the world through the power of art and literature. In his 1916 *Program* – published almost a year after the journal was launched – Kassák struck a more demanding and more declarative tone. Looking already beyond the still ongoing war, he epitomized the avant-garde exactly as the Count Saint-Simon described it almost a century earlier,[*10] but super-

8——— Dezső Szabó: “Keresztelőre” (To a baptism), in *A Tett*, I/1, Nov. 1, 1915. In retrospect, Kassák remarked, that the Russian poet Vladimir Mayakovsky said the exact same at about the same time in his poem “The Poet: Worker”. In Kassák, *ibid.*, p. 172.

9——— Kassák: “Politika? Művészet?” (Politics? Art?), *A Tett*, 1916/12, pp. 185-186

10——— cf. fn. #1.

seded his vision: “it is precisely art, especially literature, possessing the most direct, active means of expression that faces the greatest task in the molding of the coming generation into a human form. [...] The new literature must be a pillar of fire arising from the very soul of the age! The subject of the new literature is the entirety of the cosmos! The sound of the new literature is the chant of the conscious energies! The glorified ideal of the new literature is Man, enlightening into infinity!”[*11]

Under the impact of the moment, Kassák blended the present and the future, exalting the present moment as a direct opening into imminent future developments. The ecstatic tone originated from Kassák’s experience as a frequent stump orator, but was also fueled by his intense faith in the *instant coming of the new age*.

At the same time however, as it became all too clear by 1919, it was this exalted and inevitably stylized rhetoric that increasingly distanced him and is group from the concrete situation. The expressionist language, which, regrettably, fails to come fully across translation, disconnected the avant-garde from their adherents who were standing on the solid ground of reality. Stylization and poetic imagery did not always resonate with readers and audiences, and drove them away from brick-and-mortar present-day reality, alienating their audience, which had expected matter-of-fact directness and simplicity.

Paradoxically, while Kassák wanted to discuss the actual historical-political situation, the catastrophe that the war brought into the lives of many, and propose concrete changes in order to make the world better, the stylized, expressionistic language he used lifted up his text into a vacuum of visions and generalities. While he wanted to address an audience which had no experience in or liking for stylishness, he ended up talking in an overheated exalted style himself. Talking about “the glorified ideal of Man, enlightening into infinity” must have sounded hieratic but hollow at a time when the people he wanted to reach out for were suffering of poverty and lost their loved ones in the trenches. “Infinity” or the promises of an infinite future were of no comfort. The gap between the present and the future, which was glossed over by rhetoric, reflected – contrary to the sincerest intentions – the lack of a sense of reality of the avant-garde at its very first appearance in Hungarian culture. There may have been a handful of people with whom this message registered with, but Kassák’s projective language, along with the future-bound, utopian, projective ideas of the avant-

11 ——— Kassák: “Programm”, A Tett, 1916/10, pp. 153-154, English Translation: John Bártki, BW., pp. 160-161.

garde, was not transparent enough for his targeted audience. The future he referred to was not tangible, and the cultural rise of the socialist workers was still in that faraway future.

Kassák was a talented and powerful poet who invented a previously non-existent expressionistic language in which he often deliberately used nouns inflected as if they were verbs, and very unusual adjectives for shockingly fresh associations.^[*12] It was his cultural utopia that this language – that of a self-made man and a self-educated poet – would be the natural, shared idiom of the young workers who came from social backgrounds similar to his.

Expressionism in Kassák's language was not quite what it was in German art and literature. While it served the personal, often deeply psychological and deliberately stylized individual expression there, Kassák understood it as a new collective language – a primitivist idiom of sorts, meant for the new “primitives”, the young workers, who had never possessed the earlier cultural paradigm. He trusted that the new style expressed the shared experience of misery, betrayal, and suffering of the working class. Accordingly, the expressionism of the Hungarian avant-garde was heavy and dramatic, closer to the woodcuts of the *Die Brücke* artists than to the free, spiritual abstraction of the *Blue Rider* group.

After *A Tett* was banned in the summer of 1916 because its international issue carried writings and pictures by citizens of countries which were Hungary's war enemies – among others, Kandinsky, Mestrovic, Kulbin, Verhaaren, Duhamel, Bernard Saw – Kassák launched a new monthly titled *Ma* (Today). Here, partially on strategic reasons, he gave more space to art,^[*13] and subtitled the journal as a “literary and artistic periodical”. Pictures were less explicit than texts in the eyes of censorship, and to further promote the new expressionist painting in Hungary, Kassák rented a small exhibition room in downtown Budapest, which soon became the meeting point of the writers, poets, and artist who coagulated around him as a group called, still with a nod to Franz Pfemfert, the “Activists”. The most emblematic artists of the *Ma* circle were Béla Uitz – also registered as assistant editor –, Lajos Tihanyi, János Mattis Teutsch, János Kmetty, and József Nemes Lampérth. Kassák undertook the distribution in Hungary of two important “fellow” German periodicals, *Der Sturm* and

12 ——— For a detailed description and analysis of Kassák's language, see Pál Deréky: *A vasbetontorony költői* (The poets of the ferro-concrete tower), Budapest: Argumentum Kiadó, 1992, pp. 32-34.

13 ——— Kassák offers this explanation in *ibid.*, p. 198.

Die Aktion. In his Budapest gallery he put on sale the postcards they published with reproductions of works by Picasso, Braque, Chagall, Klee, Kandinsky, Kokoschka, Léger, Juan Gris, and others, as a mission in the service of familiarizing the Hungarian public with the latest international tendencies in art. This, as well as many articles and reproductions in *Ma*, reflect Kassák's determination to educate a new audience which will have their primary information and orientation from him and his journal. Following the German example, *Ma* also published postcards with reproductions of works by Hungarian artists often contributing to the journal like, besides those already mentioned, Ede Bohacsek, Károly Kernstok, János Vaszary, and others. To combine a trivial and popular object, the postcard, with high art was a new initiative at the time which extended the visibility of modernist art to such groups of the society which would otherwise not have been exposed to any encounter with contemporary painting. Kassák took up the fine arts as a strategic maneuver to drive away attention from the revolutionary contents of *Ma*, but he soon found the same contents in the visual arts as well. The additional feature that he gained from the arts was a sharpened sense for the combination of high and low culture, as the example of the postcards indicates.

Although Kassák's periodicals had a steady readership during the war years, he never forgot that his actual audience yet needed to be created and educated. It had to be a wide group open to everything new, progressive, and, consistently with the title *Ma*, or 'today', expressing the present with an outlook onto the future. The new audience was also expected to be self-conscious, anti-bourgeois, internationalist, and familiar with the important contemporary Hungarian, European and American authors, musicians, and artists, in a word: a new type of world citizen, expected to rise from the ashes of the war.

In the first issue of *Ma* Kassák wrote two articles, both of which pursued among other things, to reach out for a permanent audience. In his introductory editorial article "Propaganda" (*Advertisement*) he outlined the profile of the new journal and assured the readers that no artistic compromises of any kind will be accepted; "our editorial offices will work in total independence from our publishing venture".[*14] He also announced that they want to keep a circle of subscribers around *Ma*, and there will be more for them than just the journal: "We have established a book publishing company. We shall distribute reproductions of works of art. We shall organize mati-

14 ——— Kassák Lajos: "Propaganda" ("Advertisement"), translated by John Bátki, BW, pp. 162-163.

nees.”[*15]

The latter were a new way to systematically build personal contact with the readership. The *matinees* were weekend daytime events of poetic and musical recitals where subscribers could come with family members or friends so that the circle of *Ma* could be incessantly growing. They were meant to add a new dimension to the education of the audience as well as providing feedback – by the number of the participants and their spontaneous response to the program – for the authors and the editor-publisher.

The other article is titled “A plakát és az új művészet” (The poster and the new art). Here Kassák makes the unprecedented step to discuss posters, generally considered merely commercial, lowly, and cheap – as new art. Understanding that posters pop in everyone’s eyes in the street and other public spaces, Kassák also realized that they are visually powerful, clearly understandable for everyone – which follows from their function – and also have entertainment value; and all these features invest them with a new potential, a multifaceted role, part of which is that they are easily absorbed by any viewer. The poster was a very appropriate new genre to become popular with an audience of no classical education or even illiterate. In this article, which, published in the first issue, was programmatic for *Ma*, Kassák stated that

“...the poster, formerly banished from the ‘sacred groves’ of high art, has in our days acquired a very lively role that affects many of the more material moments of our lives.

The successful poster is a practically infallible touchstone of our commercial, industrial, political and artistic life. [...] It is always agitative by nature, and essentially impossible to constrain within bounds. For a successful poster is meaningful not only as a business intermediary, but may be enjoyed and appreciated without any reservation as a pure artistic product...”[*16]

Fascinated by reproducibility, enlargeability, and street exposure, Kassák saw great new possibilities in the poster for a dialog between the new artist and the new audience. But, in a lecture he gave in December 1916, he also pointed out that art was, according to him, beyond esthetics, beauty, and romantic dreams: it was simply “honesty and good work”.[*17] In retrospect he added that “the

15—— Ibid., p. 162.

16—— Kassák: „A plakát és az új művészet” (The poster and the new painting) translated by John Bárti, BW, p. 166.

17—— Kassák: “Az izmusok Magyarországon”, *ibid.*, p. 220-221.

audience at that time did not have any understanding of this concept of art. They attached some features to the person of the artist which could be romantic, or symbolist, or just dandyism.”[*18]

Looking back from 1972[*19] Kassák gave an appropriate evaluation of *Ma*, stating that while its expressionism with all its discomfort turned a great part of the readers and the public opinion against it, thereby it was bearing the burden of being the public enemy No. 1, drawing the main attack away from *Nyugat*, and thus accomplishing the shift from formalism to radicalism. Also, by turning most of the public against itself, it attracted those few, who understood its goals and program, so that the circle of contributors and adherents was not only growing, but became more articulate, too.

In the wake of World War I. the Austro-Hungarian Empire fell apart, and Hungary, losing two thirds of her territories, was one of the new nation-states created when the borders were re-drawn within the boundaries of the former Dual Monarchy. As a result of a revolution in October 1918 Hungary became a republic with Count Mihály Károlyi as Prime Minister, but the frustrating Versailles peace treaty and the social and economic crisis of the country prompted Károlyi to cede power to a group of Moscow-trained communists led by Béla Kun. On March 21, 1919 a Soviet Republic – in short-hand: Commune – was declared in Hungary. Considering his views and editorial and artistic activities, this was supposed to be the promised land for Kassák. The Commune seemed to bring social justice and the rule of the working class, exactly as Kassák had wished and anticipated.

Still, Kassák, who was not a Communist but a Social Democrat, was hesitant to welcome the sudden Communist takeover, and was slow to integrate in the new political system. But eventually he did. He continued to publish *Ma*, and beside that he was also employed as a censor for posters. He was responsible for the decisions on what kinds of posters were allowed to be out in the streets mediating between the governing power and the population.

Ma and its editors and contributors were harshly attacked by the tabloids and other agents of public life during the first weeks of the Commune. A few weeks before the Commune was declared Kassák, in February 1919 launched a new program, meant to bloom into a movement, for which he

18 ——— Ibid.

19 ——— Ibid., p. 223.

coined the name, still with a nod to Franz Pfemfert: *activism*. What he meant was direct action on the one hand, and the attainment of ultimate goal of the movement, which was no less, than, as Andor Rosinger put it: “cosmic culture.”[*20] At this point Kassák wanted to have it all: reaching out for an ever increasing, permanent audience which would form a circle around his journal, understanding and accepting its political and artistic stances; and he also wanted to have a grip on the far-reaching dreams and ideas of this audience, *ad infinitum*.

Kassák had always refused the Social Democrats’ doctrine about the necessity of all artistic expression to be transparent, realistic and clearly and easily understandable for the wide public. He continued to believe that art has to be vanguard, leading people to new territory. His ideal was not to cater to his working class audience, but to educate them, and he had opportunities for this during the Commune. *Ma* was regularly published and had all the necessary means to organize cultural matinees and theater performances for working class audiences; if there was a worry about the fate of the journal it was that the political power wanted to keep it too close itself and monitor and control it too much. When former *Ma* contributor József Révai, who became editor of the official daily paper of the Commune, informed Kassák in a telephone conversation that a political decision had been taken to make *Ma* the official literary periodical of the new regime, Kassák furiously rejected the honor. In his autobiography he claims to have answered that he insisted on his autonomy as editor, publisher, and author.[*21] Documents, however, reveal that he in fact lobbied to have *Ma* as the official journal of the Commune. In the end of March 1919 he submitted a work project to the cultural commissariat, in which he underlined the merits of the group in supporting the proletarian dictatorship and requested administrative and financial support,[*22] which was granted. After May 15, at the time of serious paper shortage, *Ma* became a biweekly instead of a monthly, on 36 pages instead of the former 28. It was clearly the political and cultural organ of the proletariat, but Kassák and his group wanted the impossible. As old-time socialists they felt entitled to play a leading part in the official culture of a communist state, and, at the same time, to be entirely independent of its

20 ——— Andor Rosinger: “Az új kultúra kozmikus kultúra”, *Ma* volt. 4, No. 8, 1919, n.p.

21 ——— Kassák: *Egy ember élete* (One Man’s Life), Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1983, p. 521.

22 ——— Kassák: “A Ma művészcsoporthoz munkaterv” (The working project of the Artists’ Group *Ma*) Archives of Kassák Múzeum, Budapest, Km-an 12. Published in Ferenc Csaplár, ed.: *A magam törvénye szerint* (By My Own Law), Budapest: Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum – Műsák Kiadó, 1987, pp. 154-156.

political leadership. They refused to accept the low cultural level of the proletariat, and proudly declared that if “The artists of *Ma* did not cater to the bourgeois society, they will not cater to the dictatorship of the proletariat”, either.[*23]

In reality, however, it was impossible to upkeep this position. Not only did they need political and financial support, but if they wanted to reach out for the wide working class audience they claimed to be their own crowd, they had to give up their expressionist language, too. A telling example of where exactly they stood with regard to their audience was the performance of a revolutionary drama written in expressionist style by János Mácza, a member of the group. The *Ma* group staged it in a working class neighborhood in the outskirts of Budapest, only to experience that the reception was disastrous. The proletarian audience ridiculed the tragedy and burst out in laughter at inappropriate moments. The convoluted expressionist language and the exaggerated gestures of the show didn’t make sense to them; they simply found it inadequate. (It has to be noted that no professional review or other description of the performance is known.) In his evaluation of the incident, Kassák blamed the failure on the ignorance of the audience, but he couldn’t help seeing that the expressionist theater and the proletarian public, at least as far as their own attempt was concerned, were a mismatch. However, his response was not to further educate the audience, but to shoot for predictable success: he gave up dramatic performances altogether, and returned to a more traditional and formal program which would not risk lack of understanding. “A scientific introduction, poems, recital of epic poems, and music... Yes. This was already an impressive show of seriousness and importance”, he wrote about the next effort.[*24]

The incident is emblematic. Expressionist poetry, fiction, painting, and drama had been brewing in Kassák’s circle and had been published in his journals for several years before the unsuccessful performance occurred. Expressionism had been developed and cultivated for the sake of the new, working class audience which was expected to instantly recognize it as its own language and style. Kassák serialized his novel *Tragédiás figurák* (Figures Befitting a Tragedy) in *Ma*, he carried many expressionist poems, and even the essays and pamphlets in the journal used highly charged expres-

23 ——— Mózes Kahána: “A *Má*-t több ízben ért támadásokról” (“On several attacks against *Ma*”) *Ma*, Vol. 4, no. 6, June 1, 1919, p. 142.

24 ——— Kassák: *Egy ember élete* (One Man’s Life), Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, edition of 1974, pp. 513-514.

sionist language. In *A Tett* and *Ma* Expressionism was regarded as the mode in which the truth can be said about life, politics, love – everything – in an uncompromised way, directly addressing the suffering people, especially the proletariat. The concept was that those who suffer, will identify with the representation of suffering, and will recognize its representation as their own voice. The audience was also expected to be energized by the strong emotions displayed on stage, and, as a result, have increased awareness of their own life conditions. But the process of the reception of art works, as we have since learned from scholars researching the affect of art on the audience,[*25] is not linear, nor can it be precalculated on sociological basis.

Besides the truthful representation of suffering, Expressionism was, in the view of Kassák and his group, the language of the future, because it was succinct, dramatic, boldly matter-of-fact, and provocative. What Kassák sought to surpass at that time was still Impressionism, which he considered the par excellence middle-class style with its superficiality, fragmentariness, and luxurious individuality. By contrast, he saw Expressionism as token of hard-won sincerity and truthfulness.

The proletarian audience, however, apparently desired the culture of the middle classes: *entertainment*, of which it had been deprived. The convoluted expressionist language sounded confusing, complicated, and even indecipherable for the uninitiated.

In the light of this experience, which was certainly not the only one of its kind, it appears that the prophetic solemnity of Kassák's own poetry, prose, and manifestos had an additional function. The power of the exalted expressionist style had to make an emotional impact on the audience in an attempt to fill the cultural gap between the highly elitist language of the avant-garde and the “people” who failed to appreciate this style.

The distance between the avant-garde and its audience dramatically grew – and physically at that – when Kassák and his entire group emigrated after the August 1919 fall of the Commune. They set up shop in Vienna, where Kassák, in spite of his financial difficulties, managed to continue the publication of *Ma* mostly in Hungarian.[*26] His wife Jolán Simon made high-risk secret and illegal trips

25 ——— From the towering literature, see Susan Bennett: *Theatre Audiences*, Routledge, 1990.

26 ——— With the help of his colleague, writer and translator Endre Gáspár, he included articles in German in some issues, and eventually published a Theater Issue entirely in German in 1924. However, Gáspár's help was mostly needed in translating articles of French, or German authors into Hungarian, and keeping up correspondence with European avant-garde journals.

to Hungary, and smuggled in copies of the journal. Since the Commune was defeated by the political right, a leftist journal like *Ma* was banned, and its audience had to get to it clandestinely.

Not being fluent in any language other than Hungarian, Kassák took up painting and drawing in Vienna, besides writing. With the help of László Moholy-Nagy, and art critic Ernő (Ernst) Kállai, who immigrated to Berlin, he got in touch with the artists of the European avant-garde groups. By building connections with, and eventually participating in the activities of the international avant-gardes, the Hungarian group was already on the map of the vanguard movements. Kassák identified with the anger, disillusionment, and adamant social criticism of Dada, and adopted it in 1921. He combined his literary and artistic work: probably inspired by Kurt Schwitters, he started to produce picture-poems. His audience became the entire international avant-garde community, because he was exchanging copies of *Ma* for copies of *Der Sturm*, *L'esprit nouveau*, *Das Kunstblatt*, *De Stijl*, *Merz*, *Het Overzicht*, *Stavba*, *The Little Review*, *G*, *L'oeuf dur*, and other "little journals".

Throughout the exile in Vienna the *Ma* group worked for a virtual audience. But they also functioned as a cohesive force for other Hungarians who lived in exile in Vienna, and continued to organize recitals and bilingual matinees. Jolán Simon developed a new style in reciting poetry based on vocal effects, breaking down the words and revealing her own innermost impulses, which was soon followed by others. She performed in Hungary, too, during her secret visits, and organized illegal *Ma* evenings for members of the Socialist and Communist parties. Meanwhile Kassák had some of the outstanding members of the Viennese intelligentsia also involved in the *Ma* programs. Since an important part of the income generated by *Ma* came from sales in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia – both countries having a sizeable Hungarian speaking population – Kassák and his group toured these countries. In 1926 they had a recital evening in Paris, in the location of the Société des Savants.^[*27] They found a community of like-minded European artists, authors, and youth, who had been through the same war experience and had responded to it in the same way. This shared generational and political experience was the common ground of Kassák and his audience which was scattered all around Europe.

But Kassák could not be satisfied with critique only. He was intent to build up a new program

27 ——— Kassák: *A Ma története*, in Kassák: *ibid.*, p. 272.

for a new movement with positive goals, which had the potential to attract a progressive, future-bound audience. In 1922 he severed his ties with Dada and espoused Constructivism, which was considered by the international avant-gardes the visual language of the future. Since some of his authors insisted on Dada and the particular version of communist ideology that Berlin dada represented, the *Ma* group split along esthetic, political, and personal fault lines. The Hungarian variant of constructivism was engendered and developed entirely abroad, in exile, without having supporters, adherents, or any basis in Hungary. In Vienna Kassák encountered the Westernized version of Russian constructivism, which was lacking the rigorously puritan, anti-esthetic stance of the Russians. 'International Constructivism', as it came to be known, was, instead, a visual language of the new aesthetic of streamlined geometric abstraction, which often ventured into real space and 3-dimensionality. Kassák's particular version of Constructivism was neither as rigorous as that of the Russians, nor as streamlined and modernized as its Western variant. He created a more dramatic, heavily symbolic, planar constructivism which he dubbed, probably borrowing the term from the Russian painter Ljubov Popova, *Picturarchitecture*. He achieved what no Hungarian artist had achieved before him: he got integrated into the latest, present-day vanguard art of both Western Europe and, to some extent, Soviet Russia.

However: while his angry, politically charged Dada interlude was as relevant as his majestic constructivist work, none of these had a base audience in his own culture. Kassák, who always considered his emigration temporary, and wanted to make an impact on Hungarian culture, returned to Hungary in the Fall of 1926, when the police procedures against him had phased out. By this time authorities in Czechoslovakia, Romania, Poland and Yugoslavia had put a ban on his recital evenings and even on the circulation of *Ma*, so Hungary was, once again, where he could hope to rebuild his effort and audience.

The launching of a new journal marked Kassák's relentless efforts and the consistency of his program: just two months after he arrived back in Budapest, he published *Dokumentum* (Document). It was a trilingual – Hungarian, French, and German – publication which presented the works of a great number of contemporary Western authors and artists to the Hungarian readership including El Lissitzky, Walter Benjamin, and Ernest Hemingway, with a new emphasis on architecture, theater, film, dance, and music, too. For the first time in Hungary, *Dokumentum* informed its readers of the

new art of Soviet-Russia as well. It was an oppositional, politically outspoken forum, anti-capitalist and anti-bourgeois. However, Kassák soon realized that the new journal had not readership. “Not only had the writers emigrated and got scattered all over the world, the same had happened to the readers, too. After half a year the editors understood that the situation in Hungary had fundamentally changes since 1919. The possibilities which were then open, have been eradicated, and we have to continue our fight in a different territory with different methods and different people.”[*28]

General poverty, political oppression, and massive emigration have significantly set back the cultural life of the country. Kassák was back in square one: his hopes that he could educate the young socialist workers, and integrate them into the intelligentsia, were not realistic – or, at least, not by publishing a well-informed trilingual journal for them. He had to realize that the editors “could not rely on the readership of *Ma*, or *Nyugat*, because that readership had fallen apart”, Kassák wrote. “We had to come to terms with the fact that there is only one segment in society for which it is worth fighting for, and that is the students and the young workers. But reaching out for them demanded a whole new language.”[*29]

Dokumentum was discontinued, and when Kassák launched his new journal *Munka* (Work) in 1928, he was aware that “he had neither raw material, nor supporters, not even enemies, he had no artistic, social, or philosophical claims, no audience – [he] had simply nothing, no possibilities at all.”[*30]

With his international experience behind him, Kassák set to work in this vacuum with an editorial minimalism on the one hand – the journal looked very plain and modest, and, as the title suggested, did not aspire for more than accomplishing some *work* –, and an unusually far-sighted ambition on the other hand: to find the members of the new group, and to raise a whole new future audience as well. If there was no such segment in Hungarian culture and society which needed his work, Kassák set out to create that segment.

In order to reach out for the students and young workers under the pressure of political censorship, Kassák developed a new strategy. While his previous journals had been voraciously rebellious,

28 ——— Kassák: “A Dokumentum”, in Kassák: *Az izmusok története* (The history of the ‘isms’), Budapest: Magvető Könyvkiadó, 1972, p. 290.

29 ——— Ibid., p. 299.

30 ——— Ibid., pp. 292-293

both politically and artistically radical, *Munka* struck a chord with the realists. In his first editorial, Kassák underlined that the journal aspires at a certain degree of professionalism, but its competence does not expand to politics. Instead of the word ‘politics’ he kept on using the word ‘social’. For example, he wrote: “We all have one single task: the fundamental social transformation of the realistic givens of life today...”[*31] He emphasized that in the literary works published in the journal ‘human contents’ dominate rather than class warfare. Contrary to the utopian intonation of *A Tett* and *Ma*, now he stated that socialism is in the faraway future, and progress to it is going to be slow and gradual. He called the young workers to study the present situation, get an understanding of it, and associate themselves with radical young students for their intellectual power and informed views.[*32]

Munka was clearly on the political left, but did not incense its readers. Instead, it invited them to do the work of learning. It kept its language simple and understandable. It published, among other things, poems by John Dos Passos, an essay on the new Soviet literature, essays on the Bauhaus, and a short story by Ernest Hemingway. It gave accounts of urbanism, the modern metropolis, and contemporary art in Europe. It was offered to the young workers as a source of information on the culture and social issues of the present.

Beside this, Kassák made further steps to build a larger community. He started a *Correspondence* section titled “A Day In My Life”, where he published young workers’ accounts of their everyday lives and daily problems. He also started a *Sports* section, where he published photos of worker sportsmen and champions, and wrote about the necessity of mass sport. Following the example of the Berlin-based illustrated journal *Der Arbeiter-Fotograf* (The Worker Photographer), he started to seriously pursue the publication of photos made by workers. As a result *Munka*, which was simple and disciplined with no avant-garde flair, was visually dominated by photographs of workers. Out of this initiative grew one of Kassák’s great achievements: the fledgling socio-photo movement of the *Munka Circle*, which grew out of amateur sport photography.

There had been socio-photo in Hungary before, as early as the late 19th century, but now, in his article on worker photographers Lajos Gró announced on behalf of *Munka*, that “the readers are encouraged to send in their photos which will be published and/or criticized by the editors in order to

31 ——— Kassák: “Munka”, in Kassák, *ibid.*, p. 294.

32 ——— *Ibid.*, p. 295.

help the future development of their skills in photography”.[*33] As a result, amateur photographers went out to photographically document hard-core reality in Hungary, and *Munka* functioned as a venue for their pictures. Thus the journal became a forum of socially committed photography. Frequent contributors included Kata Kálmán, Ferenc Haár,[*34] Sándor Fröhof, and Lajos Lengyel. In 1930 the Socio Photo Group of the *Munka Circle* was formally established, and became one of the most important movements in Hungarian photography.[*35]

In retrospect Kassák revealed that his strategy – which had proved successful – was to integrate photography in the visual arts, and then familiarize the young workers who were attracted to photography with modernist painting and other visual arts.[*36]

Besides the socio-photo, Kassák organized a series of theater performances and political debates, developed a series of the literary events of the *Munka Circle*, which were often banned by the authorities, and published a series of *Munka Books* including socio-photo albums, literary works, and a history of new Soviet cinema. The *Mentor* bookshop in Budapest was one of the epicenters of his activities, and he met with the contributors and sympathizers of his group in one of Budapest’s many fashionable literary cafés, the *Japán Kávéház* (Japanese Coffee House).

Thus the *Circle* functioned as a home away from home for the young workers and students. Jolán Simon organized a poetry reciting choir which recited, or, to put it more appropriately, chanted poetry. The multiplication of the human voice in the choir meant to emphasize the collective aspects of poetry, and to tighten the bond of the individuals to the community. The collective recital of poetry by a choir became a specialty of the *Munka Circle*. It was also the result of such collective activities that the number of regular participants and sympathizers of the *Munka Circle* surpassed the number of the adherents of all other leftist political movements, except for the Party of Social Democrats.[*37] However, as historian Peter Konok points out, it was difficult to create a homogenous group out of

33 ——— Gró Lajos: A munkásfényképész (The worker photographer), *Munka*, 1930, No. 14, p. 425.

34 ——— He lived, with interruptions, in Tokyo between 1940 and 1956.

35 ——— Cf. Béla Albertini: *A Magyar szociofotó története a kezdetektől a második világháború végéig* (The history of Hungarian socio photo from the beginnings to the end of World War II.), Budapest: Magyar Fotográfiai Múzeum, 1997, p. 59.

36 ——— Kassák: “Munka,” *ibid.*, p. 300.

37 ——— See Peter Konok: “A Munka kör szellemi, politikai háterszága”(The intellectual and political backwaters of the Munka Circle), <http://www.polhist.hu> p. 1.

those young leftists who were dissatisfied with either the politics, or the artistic principles and esthetic taste of the Social Democrats, because this youth was divided into many sub-groups and platforms, whereas Kassák was committed to create a unified counterculture with an intellectually homogenous, convincingly large group of participants.^[*38] To this end, he was trying to consolidate the radical leftists and the more moderate Social Democrats and, as the clarity and simplicity of the journal's visual layout as well as its contents indicated, he was putting out a clear and simple political message. He was still considered avant-garde, because he was politically in opposition, and the art forms he championed, from the poetry reciting choirs to modern architecture to socio-photo, spelled progress. But he gave up on those modernist idioms which he had embraced before 1928, because they had proved to have been lost on the working-class audience.

In order to upkeep uniformity and discipline within the *Munka Circle*, he drove out from the *Circle* a small group of young artists who were leaning towards Surrealism: Lajos Vajda, Dezső Korniss, Sándor Trauner, György Kepes, Ernő Schubert, and Béla Hegedűs. These painters, fresh graduates from the Academy of Fine Arts in Budapest, had got in a conflict with Kassák, who thought that they were too pessimistic. He reproached them for not using bright colors which, in his view, radiated optimism. After the opening of a collective exhibition of the young painters, Kassák made a stark attack against them in the *Munka Circle*,^[*39] which made it impossible for the artists to remain active participants, although they had great respect for Kassák, and most of them underlined how much they had learned from him.^[*40] Most of them went abroad for a shorter or longer time, or for good. This incident demonstrates the limits of Kassák's tolerance and his determination to not allow any view or artistic practice which conspicuously biased from the group's basic stance, and could have confused or even compromised the generally accepted principles which he had shaped.

Just as his own poetry became increasingly classicist, the art forms that Kassák championed in *Munka* were becoming, throughout the 1930s, also increasingly simple and realist. The photos taken

38——— Konok, *ibid.*, p. 2.

39——— See Dezső Korniss: Kassák Lajosról, a festőről (On Lajos Kassák, the painter) in Ilona Illés and Ernő Taxner, eds.: *Kortársak Kassák Lajosról* (Contemporaries on Lajos Kassák), Budapest: Petőfi Irodalmi Múzeum, Népművelési Propaganda Iroda, 1975, p. 128.

40——— Korniss: *ibid.*, mentions that they read Russian authors with Kassák and learned simplicity and focusing on essential geometry in their paintings.

by the members of the socio-photo movement were, in fact, very close in style and content to what in the Soviet Union was already called “critical realism”, an introductory level to socialist realism.[*41]

Kassák’s attitude of simplicity and clarity and his esthetic rigor was shared by many of members of the *Munka Circle*, but there was an increasing inner political opposition within the group, too. In 1930 the *Munka Circle* split into two along the communist – radical leftist fault line, where Kassák remained closer to the classic communist ideology, while a relatively large group of young members espoused the more radical ideas of Trotsky and Karl Korsch.[*42] But even after the split the police had records of ca. 1000 – 1200 members, sympathizers, or followers of Kassák: a crowd, that we may call his core audience.

In fact this same process, the morphing of abstraction into a “new” realism had taken place in the art of the post-avant-garde across the board. The cubist-abstract idiom of the Italian futurists turned realist after World War I., as did German Expressionism in the 1920s when it was followed by Neue Sachlichkeit (New Objectivity), and the work of several representatives of the Soviet-Russian avant-garde, including Kazimir Malevich and Alexander Rodchenko.[*43] The 1930s was the decade for international conferences on culture. Leading European and American intellectuals like Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Upton Sinclair, Maxim Gorky, John Dos Passos, Theodore Dreiser, and others organized cultural forums in order to consolidate an effective anti-war front in fear of the new world war. Kassák and his journal was among those who were addressed to participate and demonstrate solidarity. The enormity of the challenge that world politics meant for the representatives of culture and cultural tradition made it probably inevitable that artistic expression would shift to realist, clear, non-elitist, generally understandable forms.

What is particularly clear though in the history of the Hungarian avant-garde, amidst a political

41 ——— Lajos Gró wrote in his article (fn. No. 33), that the photographer has to “represent the fact of everyday life from a socialist point of view so that these photos could surpass entertainment and become the expression of a new vision, in part weapons in the class struggle, and in part the historic documents of the working class movement.”

42 ——— For more on this see Peter Konok, *ibid.*, p. 5.

43 ——— For a detailed analysis of this process see Benjamin D. Buchloh: “Figures of Authority, Ciphers of Regression. Notes on the Return of Representation in European Painting”, in Brian Wallis and Marcia Tucker, eds.: *Art after Modernism. Rethinking Representation*, New York: The New Museum of Contemporary Art, 1984, pp. 107-136.

oppression which was not as total as in the Soviet Union, but was tougher than in Western Europe, is that this shift was the inevitable precondition of securing an audience for this art in the 1930s, no matter how small that audience, in fact, was.

[エヴァ・フォルガッチ／アート・センター・カレッジ・オブ・デザイン、パサデナ]

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Russian dancers in Yugoslavia in the 1920s and 1930s

Elizabeth Souritz

The kingdom of Serbia, Slovenia and Croatia (to become in 1929 the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) was created in 1918 after the collapse of the Austria-Hungarian empire in the first World War. Before this date there was very little ballet in this region of Europe. Some small groups of dancers, that were attached to the Opera companies (for instance in Zagreb), languished under Italian choreographers, appearing mostly in operas. In the 1920s ballet became established as a theatrical form in Zagreb, Belgrade and Ljubljana, and it was greatly influenced by Russians who also taught in schools and thus prepared the ground for the development of the national ballet.

We know the names of many Russian dancers of different importance who have worked in Yugoslavia in the 1920s and 1930s. The best known are Margarita Froman and Maximilian Froman, Yelena Poliakova, Klavdia Issachenko, Nina Kirsanova, Anatoly Zhukovsky, Sergei Streshnev; less known – Maria Bologovskaya, Marina M. Olenina, Fedor Vassiliev, Nikolai Yavorsky etc. Choreographers Boris Kniasev and Boris Romanov staged some ballets but did not stay long in Belgrade.

They mostly arrived from Russia during the years of the civil war in that country which followed the 1917 October revolution. With famine, cold and red terror, life having become practically unbearable, many actors and dancers had fled first to the South of Russia (the Caucasus or Odessa on the Black sea), while it was still under the White army. Then, after its defeat – to the West. The Balkans were rather easy to reach by boat (generally through Constantinople), so quite a few found at last a home in one of the cities of Serbia, Slovenia or Croatia. Then came the next generation: those who came to Yugoslavia as young people or children and studied there with Russian teachers.

I can't, of course, include them all in my paper. So I have chosen those whose work in this country in the 1920s and 1930s was especially significant – Margarita Froman, Yelena Poliakova, Nina Kirsanova and Klavdia Issachenko. The first three were ballet dancers and Issachenko worked in the free dance style.

I think I must start by telling something about the background of these dancers.

Margarita Petrovna Froman was born in Moscow on October 27, 1890 from a German father, Peter- Johann Froman, who was a musician at the Bolshoi theatre, and a Russian mother. She studied dance at the Moscow Theatrical School under the well-known dancer and teacher Vassily Tikhomirov and graduated in 1909, joining the Bolshoi Ballet. (*Photos 1,2*). The choreographer in chief of the Bolshoi was at that time Alexander Gorsky. Engaged since 1900 in reforming the Bolshoi ballet by revealing dramatic truth within the conventions of the classical ballet, he not only added to its repertory his own works (one of the most important was in 1910 the ballet “Salammbô” after the



[Photo1] I.Margarita Froman



[Photo2] Margarita Froman in “The Swan Lake”

novel by Gustave Flaubert), but reworked most famous old ballets. Froman, who was soon moved to the rank of first soloist, danced many solo parts in his productions. (Photos 3,4). In “Sleeping beauty”, a ballet he hardly changed, keeping to the Marius Petipa choreography, she danced the Lilac fairy and the Fairy of the bread crumbs, in “Don Quichotte” and “Raymonda”, that he had reworked, she danced Piccilia (selling fruit in the square in Barcelona) and Henriette (Raymonda’s companion), also Meri-Amon in Gorsky’s new version of “The Pharaon’s daughter” and by 1916 even Swanilda, the principal role in Gorsky’s “Coppélia”. So she has mastered the repertory of the Bolshoi, was familiar with the famous classical ballets in Gorsky’s versions.



[Photo3] Margarita Froman in “Don Quichotte”



[Photo4] Margarita Froman in a Russian Dance

But her stage experience was not limited to the Gorsky works. In 1910, 1911 and 1912 she also took part in the famous Serge Diaghilev “Russian Seasons” in Paris, dancing one of the slaves at the première of “Schéhérazade” (1910), solo parts in the premières of “Daphnis and Chloe” and “The Blue God” (both 1912), taking part in many other ballets. Froman was a very beautiful woman, sometimes compared to Tamara Karsavina, and during the Ballets Russes tours she sometimes danced Karsavina’s roles: for instance the Ballerina in the famous Stravinsky-Fokine ballet “Petrushka”. In 1916 she accompanied the Diaghilev Ballets Russes on its American tour. During this tour she even had the opportunity to dance with the great Vaslav Nijinsky: for instance, in Fokine’s “Le Spectre de la rose”. So she also had complete knowledge of the most famous Michel Fokine ballets, such as “Les Sylphides”, “Petrushka”, “Schéhérazade” and many others.

At the Bolshoi Froman sometimes had as a partner another very famous Russian male dancer –



[Photo 5] Margarita Froman and Mikhail Mordkin in “Aziadeh” (1917)

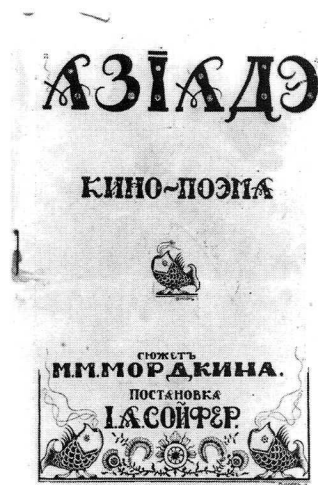


[Photo 6] The ballet “Aziadeh”. M. Froman as Aziadeh, M. Mordkin as the Sheikh, A. Bulgakov as Kerim and L. Gulin as the Eunuch. (1917)

Mikhail Mordkin who in the years of the First World War started to experiment in choreography. Froman was one of the dancers who took part in Mordkin's tours (he often toured the provinces) and for whom he staged dances and even ballets (for instance his own version of "La Fille mal gardée" in 1918). They also appeared together in the famous "Bacchanale" that Mordkin, while in the West, used to dance with Anna Pavlova.

One of his important works was an Oriental ballet "Aziadeh", given in 1918, first in the newly founded after the October revolution opera theatre (named the Theatre of the Moscow Soviet of the Worker's Deputies), then in a circus with Froman in the part of Aziadeh and Mordkin of the Sheikh. Froman got excellent reviews for dancing the part of an Arabic girl abducted and carried off to the Sheikh's harem, who then kills the Sheikh in order to gain freedom. After this ballet a film was made also in 1918 where she acted the part of Aziadeh next to Mordkin. (*Photos 5,6*). (The film still exists and can actually be seen for instance at the Dance collection of the Public Library in New York). (*Photo 7*).

That way she got the experience of both the Diaghilev repertory (mostly ballets by Michel Fokine) and the Moscow Gorsky repertory, including the important classical ballets as they were danced at the Bolshoi, at the same time as and works by Mordkin with whom she continued to have an important professional association after 1918, when both left the Bolshoi. When in 1918 Mordkin got in conflict with the administration of the Bolshoi, which accused him of taking part in performances away from the Bolshoi without having got the necessary permission, Mordkin was fined, and he resigned as an act of protest. Margarita Froman then also handed her resignation: she said that, as she was his partner, she feels just as responsible, and will not stay if he has to leave the company. Later they appeared as partners together in Ukraine, when he was at the head of the Opera company in Kiev and she was its ballerina (dancing, for instance, "Giselle"), and in other Ukrainian towns. But, although both emigrated, they did not leave Russia together. Mordkin stayed until 1924, while we know that the Froman family arrived in Yugoslavia in 1921.



[Photo7] The cover of the program of the film "Aziadeh" (1918)

It was quite a large family (two sisters and three brothers) and they all contributed to the growth of the Yugoslav ballet. Maximilan (two years older than his sister Margarita) was a dancer who has also worked before the war at the Bolshoi and in the Diaghilev company, as one of its important soloists. In Yugoslavia he was the principal male dancer in the companies that Margarita headed. The younger Valentin was also a dancer. Pavel was a stage designer who worked in Belgrade from 1921 to his death in 1940, designing the ballets "Giselle", "The Firebird", "Petrushka", "The Little Humpbacked Horse", "Don Juan" and several operas and pantomimes. The sister, Olga, a musician, has always worked with Margarita as a pianist.

At the very beginning the Fromans travelled around the country with a company named "Russian Moscow Ballet". Among the members of this company were also such Russian dancers as Yulia Bekefi, quite famous on the Russian variety stage, and Olga Orlova. When they danced in Belgrade, the newspaper "Politika" on January 11 1921 said that Froman was a lively and graceful dancer and her dances were very elegant, while Bekefi was excellent in the Spanish and Gipsy dances, same as in the Liszt's Second rhapsody.

Soon Margarita Froman settled in Zagreb. She worked there until 1927, then again from 1930 to 1956, directing the local ballet company (the Zagreb National Croatian Ballet) and opened her own ballet school. In the beginning of the 1920s she sometimes toured with the Zagreb company in Belgrade (for instance in 1921, 1922 and 1923) and, as these performances had a great success, she was asked to stage several ballets at the National Theatre. Then, in 1927, she moved to Belgrade, where she worked until 1930, before returning to Zagreb. So both important Yugoslavian ballet companies (Croatian and Serbian) have profited from her experience.

Froman was the first director of the Zagreb Ballet, which she served also as prima-ballerina (until 1934), choreographer, teacher and producer for more than thirty years. She is considered to be the most important dancer and choreographer in Yugoslavia in the first half of the XX century, having provided the impetus for the growth of ballet in her adopted country. She trained many Croatian and Serbian dancers and in general lent her prodigious energy and considerable administrative skill to establish the ballet in Yugoslavia.

Froman began by introducing first the Zagreb, then the Belgrade audiences (during the first three seasons she worked there) to the works of the most famous choreographers of the Russian repertory. She produced about 40 ballets in Zagreb and at least ten in Belgrade (most of them in one

act), dancing principal parts in many of them. She also staged around 30 operas and many dances in operettas.

The first ballets Froman produced in Zagreb were in 1921 “The Swan Lake” and “Coppélia”, then other traditional ballets she knew from Moscow, certainly in the Alexander Gorsky versions. Belgrade also saw “Raymonda” in 1926 and “The Little Humpbacked Horse” in 1927. We don’t have enough source material to be able to describe these ballets and to decide how close they were either to the traditional versions or the ones belonging to Gorsky. Even the works of the Yugoslav researchers, that I have been using, such as Milica Jovanović’s book “The first seventy years of the National Theatre ballet” (Belgrade, 1994) her dissertation “The Ballet of the National Theatre in Belgrade. 1923-1941” (in Russian, 1987), or the articles by K. Sukulević-Marković and M. Jovanović[*1] in the collection “Russian emigration in Serbian culture in the XX century” (Belgrade, 1994), don’t give an answer to this question. Quite a few newspaper reviews are quoted by the authors (mostly from newspaper “Politika”), but the critics, writing in these newspapers, just say how good the ballets were, what success they had, how important it is for the newborn Yugoslav dance theatre to have them in their repertory, but they give no analysis, even no description, do not compare different versions. Probably at that point there were no ballet critics in the country able to do it professionally. Generally the ballet reviewers also mention, with high praise, Froman’s dancing in the classical ballets that she had revived: Odette-Odile in “Swan Lake”, Aurore in “The Sleeping Beauty”, the Tzar-maiden in “The Little Hump-backed Horse”, Swanilda in “Coppélia”, Raymonda in the ballet of the same name etc. They talk of her excellent technique, her beauty, her stage presence, her expressive mime.

We know a little more about the “Nutcracker” that Froman produced in Belgrade in 1937. It must have been her own original version as she could not have danced this ballet anywhere – it was not in the Bolshoi repertory before 1919; while she left the company in 1918: it has never been produced by the “Ballets Russes de Serge Diaghilev”.

This Tchaikovsky ballet is based, as we know, on the German writer E.T.A. Hoffman’s works,

1 ——— Jovanović, Милица. Првих седамдесет година Балет Народног позоришта у Београду. Београд. 1994; Йованович, Милица. Балет Народног театра в Белграде. 1923-1941. Диссертация. ГИТИС (Москва). 1987; Руска емиграција у српској култури XX века. Београд. 1994.

but Froman used in the Prologue (probably to the music of the overture) and the Epilogue also Hans Christian Andersen's story about the little girl who freezes to death during the Christmas night. The ballet began with the scene of the girl selling matches in the street while other children, belonging to rich families, walk along with their parents past her to a house with brightly lit windows, where one sees a Christmas tree. They don't pay attention to the little beggar, do not buy anything from her. The little girl watches the passers-by and to keep warm strikes one match after another. And every time there is a flash of light, she sees a vision of the Christmas party, the richly decorated tree, the toys and presents. Drosselmeier is the only passer-by who notices the freezing child. The ballet at this point turns into a fairy tale. The little girl becomes Clara (as in the Tchaikovsky ballet), and the performance goes on as in all the usual versions: with the Fée Dragée, the battle of the mice and the tin soldiers, the usual character dances. But the ending (Epilogue) is different. One sees again the same street and the happy children going home after the party. And again no one notices the little girl lying dead in the snow. Her mother arrives looking for her, but it is too late: she has frozen to death. The mother, lifts the dead body, gives a look full of despair and anger to the audience and shakes her fist, as if saying: "It is you all, because of your indifference to the suffering of the poor, who are responsible for what has happened!". This ending, which certainly had a political meaning, was not welcomed by the administration of the theatre and after the première for a while the ballet was given without the Prologue and Epilogue, but later they were restored. What music Froman has used for the new scenes she has produced, we don't know.

But the big multiact XIX century Russian ballets, such as the ones with music by P.I. Tchaikovsky, or "Raymonda", "Coppélia", "Don Quichotte" and the "The Little Humpbacked Horse", were not the only ones revived by Froman in Zagreb and Belgrade. The shorter and more modern ballets by Fokine were even better suited for young companies just beginning to function: Froman reproduced in Yugoslavia many of the famous ballets that she knew from having danced in with the Diaghilev company : "Les Sylphides", "Schéhérazade", "The Polovtsian dances", "Petrushka", "The Firebird", "Le Carnaval", "Les Papillons". But she also went to Paris to see the new works of this company when they were performed there, and she staged them in Yugoslavia: for instance some ballets by Léonide Massine that were created in the 1920s ("Le Tricorne", "Pulcinella" and "La Boutique Fantastique"), also Bronislava Nijinska's "Les Noces" with music by Stravinsky.

Working in Zagreb and Belgrade Froman produced, on top of the ballets, many dances for the

operas that were premièred in the theatres of these cities. Some of these dances were very successful. Milica Jovanović in her book mentions the dances in “Carmen” in the Belgrade opera house choreographed in the 1930s, when Froman was herself the principal interpreter, and says they were still performed in the 1970s, forty years later.

While introducing into the repertory ballets known all over the world, Froman also realised that it was very important to produce new ballets by Yugoslav composers and on national subjects. I must say that she understood this need better than many Russians working abroad, even such important choreographers as Fokine or Mordkin, who never really became part of the culture of the countries, where they worked after having left Russia. They preferred to collaborate with Russian composers and designers and have never shown interest in subjects of local literature or related to local life, never studied local dance. Their aim was to introduce Russian ballet to the country, where they settled, and to teach their pupils what they have been taught in Russia. That is one of the reasons, I think, because neither became as popular as he could have been, for instance, in the United States that became their second home.

Froman was different. She realized that Yugoslavia is a country with very strong folklore traditions, including dances still performed in the country by the peasants. She also realized there were some very talented composers among the musicians she worked with. For instance the conductor of the Zagreb Opera Krešimir Baranović. These local folklore traditions were taken into consideration by him and the other composers who worked on the first Yugoslav ballets.

Froman produced nine ballets using national subjects or music by Yugoslav composers: “The Wedding Song” (music by K. Baranović and I. Zayts, 1922), “The Shadows” (music by B. Širala, 1923), “The Gingerbread Heart” (music by K. Baranović, 1924), “The Statuettes” (music by L. Šafranek-Kavić, 1926), “The Gold” (music by V. Papandopulo, 1930), “The Devil and his Assistant” (music by F. Lhotka, 1931), “Dreams” (music by L. Šafranek-Kavić, 1934), “Imbrek with the Big Nose” (music by K. Baranović, 1935), “The Legend of Ochrid” (music by S. Hristić, 1947). The most important are “The Gingerbread Heart”, “Imbrek with the Big Nose” and “The Legend of Ochrid”.

“The Gingerbread Heart” became a staple in the Yugoslav repertory. Set in the Croatian village fair, “The Gingerbread heart” shows a young man who in the first scene set at a fair presents his girl with a heart made of gingerbread (a local speciality), thereby winning her love. The second scene was set in a fantastic world, as was the custom in old classical ballets. It was the world of the ginger-

bread cookies. The dancers had costumes imitating the traditional gingerbread cakes as they were cooked, decorated and sold at fairs. The costumes had little mirrors attached to them and rich embroidery. The third scene, where it was the girl who gave a gingerbread heart to the boy, was again set at the fair. It consisted mostly of whirling folk round dances (kolos). This ballet was sometimes compared to “Petrushka”, and the music by Baranović to that of Stravinsky.

Another national ballet was a comedy “Imbrek with the Big Nose” (also with music by Baranović, 1937) after a rather curious folk tale of the Croatian mountains. It was the story of a silly young man who had a long and ugly nose. To please the girl he was in love with, he got to the heaven and pleaded the angels to help him and shorten his nose. The angels did it with a golden saw. (Milica Jovanović, who had done research on “Imbrek with the Big Nose”, tells in her above mentioned book that the choreographer Dmitrije Parlić, when describing this ballet, told her that the scene in the heaven was choreographed in a surrealistic style, imitating the avant-garde theatre performances. But we have no other information). When back on earth, Imbrek told his girl he had



[Photo 8] The ballet “The Legend of Ochrid”

shortened his nose himself with a razor. Because of this lie he instantly got another nose – even longer and, as a result became the laughing stock of all the villagers, while his girl refused to marry him. “Imbrek with the Big Nose” was popular with the Belgrade audiences and often danced during the next years before the second World War and up to the time when in 1941 the German army occupied Yugoslavia.

During the second World War Froman left Yugoslavia for a while to stay in Bratislava with her brother Maximilian, then came back to Zagreb. In 1947 she produced in Belgrade what is maybe up to now the most famous Yugoslav ballet – “The Legend of Ochrid”. (Photos 8,9,10,11).



[Photo 9] “The Legend of Ochrid”



[Photo 10] “The Legend of Ochrid”



[Photo 11] “The Legend of Ochrid”

The action of this ballet was set at the period of the national struggle against the Turkish aggression (that is to say – in the XIV century), but alluded to the contemporary situation in Belgrade which has nearly been destroyed in the war. It is the story of two young people Bileana and Marko who love each other, but, like in many traditional ballets (including “La Fille mal gardée”) Bileana’s father insists that she marry a richer man, whom she does not love. At the precise moment when the wedding takes place, the Turks attack. Bileana’s bridegroom is killed and she is taken away as a prisoner. But Marko is determined to save her. And here again the ballet turns to fairy tale. The mermaid of the Ochrid lake gives Marko a magic sword and a magic flower. He uses the flower to turn Bileana into a dove. As a dove she flies back home. A merry wedding crowns the ballet.

This was not the first production of the Hristić ballet. Nina Kirsanova (another Russian who has worked in Yugoslavia) has produced it in a shorter version for the first time in Belgrade in 1933, but Froman’s production was much more successful. This work, which integrated folk motives and classical ballet had an enormous appeal on post-war audiences. It was shown in many countries, especially at festivals such as the ones in Edinburgh and Athens (1951), Geneva, Zurich and Salzburg (1953), Florence and Vienna (1955). It was in the repertory of the Belgrade ballet stage for twenty years and had more than 300 performances before in December 1966 a new version was produced by Dimitrije Parlić.

As to Margarita Froman, she emigrated in 1956 to the United States and settled in Boston, where her brother, Maximilian, ran a ballet studio. There she taught dance.

Margarita Froman died in Boston on March 24, 1970.

* * *

Another Russian dancer whose work was of great importance to the ballet in Yugoslavia, was Yelena Poliakova.

Yelena Dmitrievna Poliakova (born in 1884) graduated from the Saint-Petersburg Theatrical school into the Mariinsky theatre beginning with 1902. (*Photo 12*). So she had a slightly different background from Froman, having assimilated the Mariinsky style. This style was built on tradition, that goes back to the teachings of Charles-Louis Didelot and the works of Marius Petipa, but it also has to do with the town itself where this tradition was born and developed. The Petersburg archi-

ture which is constructed on horizontal lines, grand and pure. One just has to view the Rossi street, where the ballet school is situated, with its rows of fine columns and its arched window, all in a strait line, and one understands what the Petipa corps de ballet was like and where from it got its look. This architecture has its rhythm, its musicality. And musicality was also one of the distinctive component of the Mariinsky style. The architecture, even the climate (white snow in Winter, white nights in Summer), all call for a certain restraint, a noble and modest bearing. No exaggeration, no extravagance, no breaking of rules. That is what Poliakova was brought up on.

And of course she knew all the Mariinsky repertory, having danced first in the corps the ballet, then as a soloist: in “The Sleeping Beauty” (the Fairy Fleur de Farine), “The Little Hump-backed Horse” (a Nereid, a Sea-star), “The Awakening of Flore” (Diane), “Giselle” (Moina), “Raymonda” (Henriette), “The Fairy doll” (The Chinese doll), “Don Quichotte” (Juanita), “La Fille de Pharaon” (the river Rhine) and others.

But, like Froman, she has also danced with the Diaghilev company, so she also had knowledge of the principal Fokine ballets so famous all over the world.

Poliakova in 1918, during the civil war in Russia, left Petrograd for the southern provinces, where life was easier. She worked for a while in Kislovodsk, a very famous spa in the Caucasus region. Among her pupils what little Alice Nikitina, later (beginning with 1923) one of the well-known Diaghilev’s ballerinas. With the Nikitina family Poliakova at a certain moment moved to Odessa and from there to the town of Skoplje in Macedonia, then to Ljubljana in Slovenia.

In Lyublana she worked as dancer and choreographer, staging first in 1920 Fokine’s “Les Sylphides”, then in 1921 his “Schéhérazade” and in February 1922 also a ballet with music by a local composer Riste Savin “The Dance Legend”, dancing principal roles in all the ballets she has produced. She also sometimes gave personal performances in Belgrade: for instance in 1922, appearing



[Photo 12] Yelena Poliakova

with partner Serguei Streshnev, when the critic of the newspaper "Politika" said (on February 15, 1922) that it was "a triumph". As a result she soon moved to Belgrade.

When Poliakova arrived in Belgrade there was there a recently inaugurated (on September 1, 1920) "Small ballet school" (Мала балетска школа) where Klavdiya Issachenko taught. But no regular ballet performances were yet given in the Opera Theatre (that had opened in 1919), only dances in operas, some of which were staged and performed by Maria Bologovskaya. In 1922 the choreographer in chief of the theatre was also Issachenko, but Poliakova was invited to head the company as prima-ballerina while introducing into the repertory some classical ballets. The first she produced herself: "Nutcracker" (in January 1923), "Les Sylphides" and "Schéhérazade" (both in March 1923), along with some *divertissements* and dances in many operas ("The Bartered Bride", "Carmen", "La Juive" etc). At the same time she performed (until 1928) principal parts in all the ballets: the ones she had staged and also "Giselle", "The Swan Lake" (where she danced only the part of Odette) and "The Sleeping Beauty", that were produced by other choreographers, such as Alexandre Fortunato in 1924-1926 and Fedor Vassiliev in 1927.[*2]



[Photo 13] Yelena Poliakova with her students in 1923

Poliakova was also the one who taught classical dance in the company. After 1928 it was the teaching that became her principal occupation. (Photo 13). In the National Opera Theatre she worked as teacher, coach, and advisor. In 1929 there was a celebration on the occasion of the twenty five years of her work in dance. A performance was given by the company (it was "The Little Hump-backed Horse" staged by Margarita Froman) and Poliakova was presented the Order of St. Sava.

2 ——— See: Милоје Милојевић .Балетско вече: «Шехерезада» и «Сильфиде» у Народном позоришту. Српски књижевни гласник. VIII, бр. 7, 01.04. 1923, стр.537-540; Милоје Милојевић . «Очарована лепотица». Балет П.И. Чайковског. Српски књижевни гласник. XX1. бр.5, 01.07. 1927, стр. 380-381.

As a teacher of classical dance Poliakova has worked in several Belgrade schools. At the beginning it was the above-mentioned Small Ballet School. But it was first integrated into the Actor's and Dancer's School, then in 1927 closed for financial reasons. For a while Poliakova taught there, sometimes staging dances for her students and even a small children's ballets, like "Puss-in-Boots". Then she opened her own private school, that was very successful and became the most important ballet school in Yugoslavia. Poliakova trained most of the Yugoslav dancers who performed in the 1920-50s. Some of them got an international reputation, dancing all over the world: for instance, Igor Youskevich and Mia Slavenska. Many others became known as choreographers and dancers in various theatres in the country: Pia and Pino Mlakar, Vera Denisova, Anna Roje, Oscar Harmoš, Dimitrije Parlić, Katarina Obradović etc.

Then came the war. Leaving Belgrade in 1943, Poliakova settled first in Austria, hoping to find work in the Vienna Opera theatre or its school. But Erica Hanka, who headed the company, decided that a teacher who knew no German would not be useful enough. After having taught for a while in the Vienna Volksoper and in the studio of Dia Lucca, Polakova moved to the provinces. She taught in Salzburg and other Austrian towns, including Innsbruck, when after the end of the war its Opera theatre reopened. Little is known about her work in Austria, though her biographer Milica Jovanović has found some reviews for instance of the opera "The Ball in Masks" by G. Verdi in Innsbruck where she staged dances in 1947.

One does not know exactly why in 1949 Poliakova decided to move to South America, arriving there when she was already 65 years old. But it was there, in Chile, that she again became quite famous.

In the capital of Chile, Santiago, when Poliakova started her work, there were several dance companies, but the emphasis was not on classical ballet. As early as 1941 two principal dancers of the Kurt Jooss company, that is to say exponents of the German Ausdruckstanz, have decided, after a tour in South America, to stay in Chile. (As you know, Kurt Jooss was a German choreographer, working in free dance style, but who has tried to achieve a synthesis of free dance and classical dance. His most famous work was the ballet "The Green Table" in 1932, showing the horrors of the war). The Kurt Jooss dancers, Ernst Uthoff and Lola Botka, have built in Santiago a strong dance company that got an official status – the Chilean National Ballet, but it was not a company that had a classical repertory. Nevertheless at a certain point Poliakova, though personally strongly opposed to

the free dance style (which is natural for a Petersburg ballerina of the old school), did find it possible to work with the Uthoff company, teaching classical dance. Through her influence the company got some traditional classical ballets, becoming by 1965, when Uthoff retired, a regular ballet company. Poliakova also taught in another, smaller, company – the Municipal Ballet – and its school. Her own dance school became very famous and attracted students from all over the country. Poliakova (whom everyone called respectfully “Madame”) was the best-known teacher in Chile. When in 1965 a ballet archive was inaugurated in Santiago, it was given the name of Yelena Poliakova.

It was the only ballet archive in South America and it had regular relationship with Russia, getting from Russia books and photographs. Every time Russian dancers visited Chile they were all welcomed to the archive. In December 1971 the archive and both ballet companies gave a Festival to honor Poliakova and she was presented with the Gold Medal of Santiago. Unfortunately, when there was in 1973 a revolution in Chile, initiated by the military junta, and the dictator, General Augusto Pinochet, came to power, the archive was completely destroyed. But by that time Yelena Poliakova was already dead. She died in Santiago on July 25, 1972.

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I will not discuss at length all the other Russian dancers and choreographers who have worked in Yugoslavia, though some of them were quite famous and authors of many ballets. For instance, Nina Kirsanova (1898-1989)^[*3] and Anatoly Zhukovsky^[*4] (1906 or 1907-?).

Nina Kirsanova was born in Moscow on July 21, 1898. Her grand-father was a very famous Bolshoi theatre dancer and mime (of German origin) Wilhelm Wanner, but Kirsanova did not study dance in the Imperial Theatre school, where all Bolshoi dancers came from, she went to the private dance schools in Moscow, that opened in Russia at the beginning of the XX century: first the Lydia Nelidova ballet school, then the Vera Mossolova school. Both teachers were well-known Bolshoi dancers. So Kirsanova also, like Froman, belonged to the Moscow ballet tradition. Beginning with

3 ——— For Kirsanova see: Шукулевић –Марковић, Ксенија . Улога руских уметника у стварању балета Народног позоришта у Београду 1920-1944. // Руска емиграција у српској култури XX века. Београд. 1994. С. 191-201.

4 ——— For Zhukovsky see: the same article, p. 202-208.

1917 she worked as a dancer in some of the Moscow private theatres, later moving to the town of Voronezh, where she danced in classical ballets (including “Swan Lake”), but life in Russia becoming more and more difficult, traveled toward Poland. While she danced in Lvov in 1921 she met the dancer and choreographer Alexander Fortunato Scholz (who was not really a ballet choreographer, but worked mostly in variety) and in 1923 went with him to Yugoslavia. Fortunato was choreographer in Belgrade from 1923 to 1926. He staged “Coppélia”, “The Swan lake”, “The Polovtsian dances” and “Giselle”. Kirsanova danced in these ballets along with Poliakova (for instance in “Swan Lake” one danced Odette and the other Odile). Unfortunately Fortunato had no real knowledge of the classical ballets. He did his own versions, sometimes quite fantastic ones, as was his “Swan lake”. Milica Jovanović has described it in her dissertation. Odile in this ballet danced as a gypsy, and there were scenes that were more proper to a music-hall performance, as, for instance, when a huge cake was brought onto the stage and the ballerina walked out of it. One can imagine what Poliakova, a Mariinsky ballerina, felt, when she had to take part in such performances. No wonder she stopped dancing and confined herself to teaching.

In 1926 Fortunato and Kirsanova left Yugoslavia. She worked in many other countries (including Bulgaria) and companies (including the one that belonged to Anna Pavlova) and came back to Belgrade in 1931, this time alone. In Belgrade she staged in 1931-1934 several ballets, some of them from the Pavlova repertory: “The secret of the pyramids” (in the Pavlova company known as “Le Roman de la Momie”, music N. Tcherepnin) and “The Autumn Leaves”(music F. Chopin). Also a version of Léonide Massine’s “Les Présages” (in Belgrade under the title “The Man and the Destiny”, music P.Tchaikovsky’s Fifth Symphony) and some classics. She also worked in other towns of Yugoslavia as a choreographer and in the 1940-50s as a teacher. In her late years she gave up dance and studied archeology. Kirsanova died on February 3 1989 in Belgrade.

Kirsanova’s partner, when she came back to Yugoslavia in the 1930s, was Anatoly Zhukovsky, also a Russian. But he did not study dance in Russia, his background was different. His family, escaping the revolution and settling in Yugoslavia, wanted him to have a military carrier, so he was educated at a military school . But, being attracted to the theatre, he in 1923 began to act as a supernumerary at the National Theatre, was soon given small parts and attracted the attention of the choreographer Alexander Fortunato and also of Poliakova. He began to study with Poliakova and in the season of 1925-1926 was already a member of the ballet company, which at that point had two

principal male dancers – Fortunato and Streshnev. From 1929 to 1942 Zhukovsky danced most important parts in the theatre's ballets and did some choreography. His personal interest was in folk dance. He staged ballets "In the Caucasus" (music by A. Rubinstein), "The Polovtsian dances" and "The Golden Cockerel" (both with music by N. Rimsky-Korsakov) and some ballets using Yugoslav dances, that he studied in detail, traveling to different regions of the country, which were rich in folklore.. There was an important difference between the ballets on Yugoslav subjects featuring local dances by other choreographers (for instance, Froman) and his choreography. Froman, being a ballet choreographer, worked with classical dance, introducing some details proper to folklore and achieving a kind of stylization of the folk element, while Zhukovsky aimed at authenticity. He soon became an authority in Yugoslav folk dance, producing ballets: "The Fire in the Mountains" (music by Alfred Pordes, 1941), "The Symphonic kolo" (music by Jakob Gotovac, 1941) and "In the Moravia Meadow" (music by S. Nastasijević, 1942).

As in 1942 the Belgrade Opera Theatre was bombed and destroyed, Zhukovsky left to work abroad. In 1951 he settled in the USA. There he continued to study folk dance (including dances of the Indians), worked at the San Francisco University and became well-known as an specialist in this field, creating the "Ethnic Workshop" that he headed until 1978.

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And last of all I want to mention one dancer who worked not in ballet, but free dance, a form that developed in Russia after Isadora Duncan's many visits to our country. Everyone knows about Russian ballet and its international influence. (You have felt this influence also in Japan). But one has much less information about "free dance" in Russia (where one generally gave it the name of "plastic dance"). But actually Isadora Duncan, who came to Russia for the first time in 1904, has also been a great influence. In the years 1910-1920s many groups and schools of plastic dance emerged, either imitating Duncan or inventing their own style of movement. Most of these studios were in Moscow, because Moscow was always more open to new trends (for instance schools and studios belonging to Eli Kniepper-Rabenek, who was known in the West as Ellen Tels, or Ludmila Alexeyeva, Vera Maya, Inna Tchernetskaya). But a few were also in Petersburg (Petrograd). One of them belonged to Klavdiya Issachenko, who later came to Yugoslavia.

Klavdiya Lukianovna Issachenko was born on April 22, 1884, probably in Moscow. She belonged to an aristocratic German family. A researcher in Germany (with whom I have corresponded) has given me the information that she was Baroness Freiin Egger von Egghoven, but in Russian sources (for instance in the French reference book “Almanach de Saint- Pétersbourg”) I have found her maiden name only as Eggert. German sources say that she has been married to the General Vladimir Abramov and that in 1901 a daughter – Tatiana – was born to them. She has been a student of the school attached to the Stanislavsky Moscow Art Theatre from August 1901 to 1903 and appeared in small parts in the performances of this theatre (in the play “In Dreams” by Vladimir I. Nemirovich- Danchenko and as Princess Mstislavskaya in the play “The Tzar Fedor Ioannovich” by Alexei K. Tolstoy). But for some reason as a student in the school and as an actress she used the name Sokolova. Later she worked as a drama actress in the provinces and in Petersburg, for instance in 1906-1908 in the Novy Vassiliev-Ostrovsky Theatre where she played rather important roles (for instance in several Heijermans’s plays, including “Allerzielen” and in plays by modern Russian writers).

When exactly did she begin to study Duncan dance we don’t know, but as early as 1908 she published articles on this dance (“What is plastique and dance” in the Kiev magazine “V mire iskusstv”, 1909. № 10-12). And at last she opened in Petersburg in 1913 under the name of her second husband (the lawyer Vassily Vassilievich Issachenko) a “School of plastique and dramatic expressiveness”. The school taught “plastique of the natural movements (as in antiquity)”, rhythmic gymnastics (Emile Jaques-Dalcroze system), solfeggio, chorus singing, dramatic reading, voice placement, make-up. There was a special class for children. The Issachenko group gave many performances . (Photo 14). There are some reviews in newspapers. One of the reviews is named “Ballet of the arms”[*5], so that one is inclined to think that in her teachings and her dances Issachenko paid a special attention to the movements of the arms and hands.



[Photo 14] The program of the Klavdiya Issachenko school in Petrograd

5——— Шебуев Н. Балет рук // Зритель. Пгр. С. 30.

In 1916 she published a brochure with the program of her school where on 38 pages she explains what her aim is. It was published in Petrograd, but we may certainly assume that when in Yugoslavia she probably proclaimed the same ideas and taught the same.

She writes of the modern theatre which is a “total” theatre where the author’s text is used as one minor part of the overall theatrical experience of spoken word, music, movement, dance, lights, sets and costumes. For her it is natural movement that is important, not the “artificial” ballet. She also writes about François Delsarte and Emile Jaques-Dalcroze and especially Isadora Duncan, stressing the importance of their teachings. A special chapter is dedicated to children, their health and the lack of physical education in schools. In the same brochure are reproduced some writings by Delsarte and the Russian writer Dmitry Merezhkovsky, and the program of the Issachenko school, where grown-ups and children will learn to use their bodies in the natural and expressive way. The brochure is illustrated: there are some reproductions of Greek vases, some drawings representing Greek athletes and characters from Greek mythology but also photos of dancers from the Issachenko school. (One of the student of the Issachenko school was very probably her daughter Tatiana. And that is the reason why German researchers are interested in Klavdiya Issachenko: Tatiana became in the 1940-60s one of the most important German choreographers under the name of Tatiana Gsovsky, having married the choreographer Victor Gsovsky).

When Issachenko came to Belgrade in 1918 there was no ballet company there, but there was a certain tradition of free dance. A local dancer and teacher, Maga Magazinović, who had studied in Hellerau with Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, has introduced his rhythmic gymnastics in Belgrade. So Issachenko was not the first to teach free dance in Yugoslavia, but her teaching and her performances were also of importance. When the Opera theatre opened at the very end of the 1918 (the first opera performance was on December 29, 1918) the directors of the Opera started to invite dancers to appear in operas. They were mostly Russians: in 1920 Maria Bologovskaya choreographed and danced in operas “Mignon” and “Eugene Onegin”. As it was mentioned earlier, in September the school named “The Small Ballet School” was founded under Issachenko and in December of the same year she was invited to direct the dance classes in the Opera. It was also Issachenko and five other girls who formed the first dance ensemble of the Opera. It soon grew to 22 members and following appearances in operas even gave separate dance performances. In the beginning of 1921 a dance performance was reviewed in the newspaper “Politika” (on February 6, 1921). Its author again, like

the Petrograd critic a few years earlier, spoke of arm's movements that Issachenko used, but has also mentioned that maybe the students should at the same time study other dance styles, "where there are more movements for the legs"[*6]. The author of the article certainly meant classical dance, and soon his wish was to be fulfilled, when in 1922 Yelena Poliakova started teaching. But meanwhile Issachenko gave other performances with her students. For instance on April 19, 1921 it was a fairy tale with dances "Snow-white and the seven dwarfs" (music by P.Krstić). In November 1922 a school named Actor's and Dancer's school was founded which absorbed the Small Ballet School. Two dancers were directing it – Yelena Poliakova and Claudia Issachenko and dancers were seriously trained in both styles. Later Issachenko had her own company which gave performances also in other countries. For instance in 1923 in Berlin. (This was mentioned in the Russian magazine "Zhisn iskusstva" (1923, № 23). (*Photo 15*).

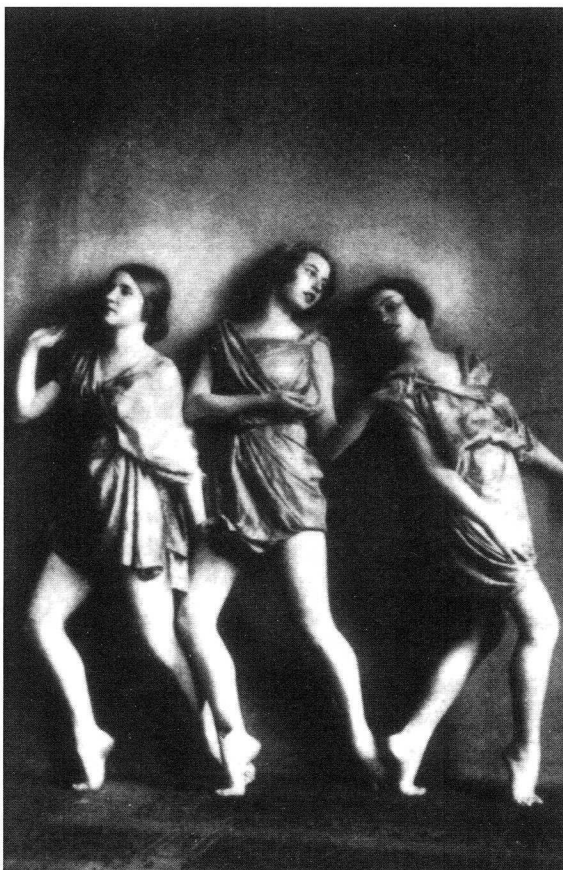
It is difficult to imagine how these two women got together – one (Poliakova) a strict academician, hardly tolerating any deviance from the traditional classical style, the other (Issachenko) – who has had no real ballet schooling, whose dance must have been more a kind of improvisation. Probably each one taught what she considered to be important and just let the other be. But we know that in some cases they had to work together. There is least one ballet (or dance performance), where they are both mentioned as choreographers.

Several years ago there was in the Institute for Research in the Arts, where I work in Moscow, a conference on the art of the avant-garde. The papers that were read at this conference were published in a book: "Russian avant-garde of the years 1910-1920 and the theatre"[*7]. Among the papers there is one that deals with Yugoslavia. It is: "The avant-garde dance of the subconscious. Experiment in choreography by Yelena Poliakova and Klavdiya Issachenko (Begrade, 1923)". The author – a researcher from Serbia E. Šantić – tells about the ballet "The Valet's Broom".

It was a project initiated by two young people, interested in the newest trends in art – the poet Marko Ristić and the painter and architect Alexander Deroko. They have asked Miloje Milojević, a well-known composer, to write the music for a ballet to Ristić's libretto, that was to be shown at a

6 — See: Павлович, Мирко. Становление оперы и балета в белградском Народном театре // Русская эмиграция в Югославии. 1996. С. 307.

7 — Русский авангард 1910-х -1920-х годов и театр. Изд. Дмитрий Буланин. 2000.



[Photo 15] Students of Klavdiya Issachenko

ball – “The two thousand second night”- in Belgrade. Not much is known about this performance that took place in a restaurant on February 16, 1923. We know that it had dance and spoken word, also sometimes singing, and that in the dance sections both ballet and free dance was used. But there are no descriptions in newspaper reviews, no designs for sets and costumes and just one photograph. But the music exists and there is a program with the list of dances and the names of the actors.

“The Valet’s Broom” was a surrealist play, examining what goes on in the mind of a poet. The actors and dancers (who not only moved but also spoke) came onto the stage through entrances that pictured the eyes and the mouth of the poet. They represented his thoughts. There was a Hypnotist (played by the avant-garde painter Mirko Kujačić), who directed the show, making things happen the way he wished. There were other characters – the

Ant, who sang and danced, being performed by Vladimir Bologovsky, a singer and a dancer; the jealous husband, who was also a Diver. He appeared as a grotesque figure. A Bacchanale was danced by Ivanka Rajković. The dancer Milorad Antić appeared as a character named Conscience, that was represented as something vague, undecided, swaying from side to side. And Lubomir Jovanović performed Suicide. There was a dance named Sentimentality and this one was choreographed by Issachenko and danced by her students, while Poliakova probably staged another dance for four balleri-

nas in tutus.

“The Valet’s Broom” was one of the first experiments in avant-garde theatre in Yugoslavia, and it is interesting to know that dance played an important part in the performance – both classical dance and free dance (or “modern dance”) which later in the thirties was to become very popular in Yugoslavia. And it is interesting to realize that at the early stages of the development of this “modern dance”, same as at the beginning of ballet, there was also someone from Russia.

Klavdiya Issachenko had by 1923 in Belgrade her own company, composed of her students. The best known were: Nata Milošević, Sonja Stanislavović, Anica Prelić. Some of them were very young. For instance the three above-mentioned girls in the years 1922-1923 were only thirteen, which means that they have not yet come of age. So, when Issachenko arranged for them to tour abroad, the director of the National Theatre, who wanted to keep them in his company, positively opposed her plans. He even tried to arrange things so that they were to be stopped at the frontier, while leaving the country. But his plan did not work. The group, headed by Issachenko, performed from 1923 to 1927 in many European countries (Germany, Austria, France, England, the Netherlands etc.) Some of the dancers (for instance Anica Prelić) later returned to Yugoslavia, and Prelic became a well-know teacher, but Issachenko did not come back.

Russian choreographers and teachers of dance were instrumental in the formation of Yugoslav ballet. Through them the classical dance at its purest was introduced and developed there – in particular by Yelena Poliakova and Margarita Froman. The Russians brought to Yugoslavia the famous ballets of the traditional classical repertory and continued to enrich it with works from the Diaghilev company. They were the first to stage original ballets on local subjects, worked with local choreographers an even studied folk dance. Thus they greatly helped Yugoslav dancers and choreographers to develop their own art.

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