

EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY OF BUDAPEST
ÉCOLE DES HAUTES ÉTUDES EN SCIENCES SOCIALES OF PARIS

Charles University in Prague
Faculty of Arts

Institute of World History

ICONOGRAPHY AND NATIONALISM:
THE COMPARISON OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR
MEMORIALS IN BUDAPEST AND PRAGUE

Master's Thesis

Andrea Kocsis

Thesis supervisor in Budapest: Péter Erdősi, Ph.D
Thesis supervisor in Paris: M. Nicolas Verdier, Ph.D
Thesis supervisor in Prague: Mgr. Jaroslav Ira, Ph.D.

Budapest, Paris and Prague, 2016

Hereby I declare that I worked out this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature, and I did not present it to obtain another academic degree.

Prague, 3. June 2016

.....
Andrea Kocsis

Abstract in English

Iconography and Nationalism.

The comparison of the First World War memorials in Budapest and Prague

The purpose of the present thesis is to compare the national iconography appearing on Czech and Hungarian WW1 memorials. The political power symbolically occupied the public spaces by the WW1 memorials while expressing its national propaganda after the Great War. It was an attempt inducting sensitive questions since the dead heroes of the nation were dead sons of the families at the same time. For this reason the making of memorials is connected to individual and collective grief. This grief resulted in a glorious narrative in Czechoslovakia, while in Hungary the death of soldiers represented the death of the nation in the discourse on the political level. How can this process be expressed and how can it be researched?

On the one hand, commemorations are situated in space, and space is an implicit content of WW1 memorials. As a consequence, it is important to analyse the spatial context of the monuments. On the other hand, the explicit content of the monuments is their visuality. In order to analyse and compare the iconographies, it is useful to transform the symbols into a countable form by applying the content analysis method. Furthermore, for interpreting the symbols, it is necessary to understand their historical-temporal, spatial and the iconographic contexts. Symbols are analysed in detailed case studies. The final aim of the thesis is to compare the traces of the two national intentions in the urban memory.

Key words:

First World War, memorial, nationalism, iconography, comparison, Budapest, Prague

Abstrakt v českém jazyce

Ikonografie a nacionalismus Komparace památníků První světové války v Budapešti a v Praze abstrakt

Cílem této diplomové práce je porovnat národní ikonografii přítomnou na českých a maďarských památnících První světové války. Politická moc symbolicky zabrala veřejný prostor těmito památníky sloužící k národní poválečné propagandě. Šlo o poměrně choulostivé usilí, uvažíme-li, že národní hrdinové, kteří zemřeli pro svou vlast, byli zároveň i synové rodin. Z tohoto důvodu je problematika spojená s individuálním a i s kolektivním truchlením. V československém prostředí tento žal vyústil v oslavný narativ, zatímco v Maďarsku byla smrt vojáků v politickém diskurzu prezentována jako smrt národa. Jakým způsobem může být tento proces vyjádřen a jak může být zkoumán?

Na jedné straně je komemorace umístěna v prostoru. Ten je tím pádem implicitním obsahem památníků, a proto je důležité prozkoumat souvislosti prostoru, kde se památník nachází. Na straně druhé je explicitním obsahem památníků jejich vizualita. Aby bylo možné analyzovat a komparovat ikonografie, je nejprve potřeba převést symboly do kvantitativní podoby. V tomto případě použijeme metodu analýzy obsahu. Kromě toho je k interpretaci symbolů potřeba porozumět historickému, prostorovému a ikonografickému kontextu. Tyto souvislosti mohou být zkoumány pomocí podrobných případových studií. Konečným cílem práce je tedy porovnat stopy obou národních záměrů, které zanechaly v paměti města

Klíčová slova:

Ikonografie, nacionalismus, památník, První světová válka, Budapešť, Praha

Abstract in French

Iconographie et Nationalisme

La comparaison des monuments aux morts à Budapest et à Prague

Le sujet de ma recherche est la comparaison des monuments aux morts à Budapest et à Prague. Je suis intéressée par le rôle du nationalisme dans la commémoration de la Grande Guerre pendant la période l'entre-deux-guerres en Hongrie et en Tchécoslovaquie. Les questions les plus importantes de ma recherche sont les suivantes. Comment la mémoire des morts était utilisée pour la construction de la nation? Quels symboles relient la nation à la guerre ? Comment l'espace de la ville était utilisé pour commémorer les morts par le pouvoir politique?

Le pouvoir politique occupa symboliquement l'espace publique par les monuments aux morts exprimant sa propagande nationale après la Grande Guerre. C'était une intention sensitive, car les morts héroïques de la nation étaient aussi les fils morts des familles. Pour cette raison la question est liée à la problématique de deuil individuel et collectif. Finalement en Tchécoslovaquie ce deuil produisait un narrative victorieuse, en revanche, en Hongrie la mort des soldats représentait la mort de la nation dans le discours sur l'échelle politique. Comment peut-il, cet processus, être exprimer et comment peut-on le rechercher ?

D'une coté, la commémoration est située dans l'espace. L'espace est un contenu implicite des monuments aux morts. Par conséquent, il est important d'analyser les contextes spatiaux des monuments. D'autre coté, le contenu explicite des monuments est la visibilité. Pour analyser et comparer l'iconographie, il est utile de transformer les symboles à une forme comptable. Dans ce cas, la méthode applicable est l'analyse du contenu. En plus, afin d'interpréter les symboles, il faut comprendre les contexte historique-temporal, spatial et iconographique. Ils sont analysables par les études de cas détaillées. Le but final de l'analyse est de comparer les traces des deux intentions nationales dans la mémoire urbain.

Abstract in Hungarian

Ikonográfia és nacionalizmus

A budapesti és prágai első világháborús emlékművek összehasonlítása

A dolgozat célja, hogy összehasonlítsa hogyan hatott egymásra a nacionalizmus és az első világháborús emlékművek ikonográfiája a prágai és budapesti köztereken. A politikai hatalom a közterek megjelölésén keresztül kifejezte az állam által propagált háború utáni narratíváját. Ez egyrészt azért volt kényes törekvés, mert a megemlékezendő nemzeti hősi halottak nem csak a kollektív, hanem a személyes gyász középpontjában is álltak, így vonnak maguk után az emlékművek erős kegyeleti kérdéseket. Ez a gyász a cseh területeken egy győzedelmes felhangot kapott, így a halottak a szabad hazáért vívott harc áldozataivá lényegültek az állami narratívában. Ezzel szemben Magyarországon a halott katonák az elvesztett háborút és országot is reprezentálták egyben a közéleti diskurzusban. A dolgozat fő kérdése, hogy ez a folyamat hogyan olvasható le az emlékművekről, illetve mi módon válhat kutathatóvá?

Egyrészt vizsgálni kell az emlékművek implicit tartalmát, vagyis az elhelyezkedésüket és térbeli kontextusukat. Másodsor az explicit tartalmat, vagyis a vizualitást kell megragadni. Ennek legfontosabb kérdése az, hogyan használható a kép és forma mint történeti forrás? Első lépésként célszerű megszámlálhatóvá tenni az adatokat az ikonográfia nagyszámú elemzéséhez. Emiatt választottam első lépésben a tartalomelemzés metódusát. Azonban az így nyert eredményeket ki kell egészíteni esettanulmányokkal és az írásos kontextus elemzésével, hiszen így lehet elkerülni az adatok szubjektív és anakronisztikus értelmezését.

Így született egy cseh és egy magyar tartalomelemzés az két főváros első világháborús emlékeiről, amelyek értelmezési keretét részletes kvalitatív esettanulmányok és szöveges források elemzésével határoztam meg. A dolgozat végső célja az volt, hogy az ily módon megismert cseh és magyar emlékezet összehasonlíthatóvá váljon, és kiderüljön, milyen eltérések és hasonlóságok állapíthatóak meg a közép-európai első világháborús emlékezetben a két ország példáján keresztül.

Table of Contents

Abstract (English)	2
Abstract (French)	3
Abstract (Czech)	4
Abstract (Hungarian)	5
Acknowledgments	9
1. Introduction	10
1.1. General introduction	10
1.1.1.The basic theoretical framework	11
1.1.2.The structure of the dissertation	14
1.2. Introduction to the WW1 Memorials of Budapest and Prague. How to Examine them?	16
1.2.1.The commemoration of the WW1 in Europe	16
1.2.2.Questions and methodology.....	18
1.2.2.1.Who for whom?.....	18
1.2.2.2. Where?.....	20
1.2.2.3. How? The methodology.....	22
1.2.2.3.1.The collection and selection of the memorials	23
1.3. Understanding Czech and Hungarian Nationalism	25
1.3.1. A short historical overview	25
1.3.2. From the ethnic core to the modern nation in theory	27
1.3.3. The Habsburg Empire: From imperial patriotism to nationalism in Hungary	28
1.3.4. The Czech national revival and its impact on the national iconography.....	30
1.3.4.1. The periods of the Czech nationalism	31
1.3.4.2. The role of the religion in the Czech nationalism.....	32
1.3.4.3. The representation of the nation	32
1.3.5. Conclusion.....	33
2. The Czech case	34
2.1. City and Nation in the Czech Commemoration: Case Study of The National Vítkov Memorial	34
2.1.1. Introduction	34
2.1.2 From the Hussites to the First World War.....	36
2.1.3. Who is the Unknown Legionary?	41
2.1.4. The Debate on the Replacement of the Tomb of the Unknown Legionary. Where should he Rest in Peace?	41
2.1.4.1. Nodes and landmarks.....	44
2.1.4.2. The Castle	45
2.1.4.3. A proposed New Parliament building	46
2.1.4.4. Hradčanské Square.....	46
2.1.4.5. Old Town Square	46
2.1.4.6. Wenceslas Square	47
2.3.4.7. Final placement in 1949.....	48
2.1.5. Conclusion.....	50
2.2. The results of the content analysis of the WW1 memorials in Prague	52
2.2.1. Description of the methodology	52
2.2.2. Location.....	53
2.2.2.1. The memorials of the inner city.....	53

2.2.2.2. The memorials of the outer city.....	55
2.2.2.3. The horizontal memory divisions of the inner city	56
2.2.3. 'Statue wars' and disappeared monuments	57
2.2.3. Inscriptions.....	66
2.2.4. Iconography	69
2.2.4.1. Stabat mater – the allegory of women	69
2.2.4.1.1. The mythical heroine	71
2.2.4.1.2. The Czech mother.....	72
2.2.4.2. Floral ornaments	77
2.2.4.3. National and allegorical scenes.....	78
2.2.5. Conclusion.....	82
3. The Hungarian case.....	84
3.1 An Iconographical Case Study: the Sword of God	84
3.1.1. Introduction	84
3.1.2. The initial erecting of the memorials of World War I	85
3.1.3. Proliferation of the layers of meanings	86
3.1.4. The catalogue of the Sword of God.....	93
3.1.5. Conclusion.....	98
3.2. The results of the content analysis of the WW1 memorials in Budapest...100	
3.2.1. Introduction	100
3.2.1.1. Methodology and studied material	100
1.tábla.....	101
3.2.1.2. Subtle irredentism	102
3.2.2. Location and removal.....	103
3.2.2.1. Reasons for the missing memorials	104
3.2.2.2. The role of the location in the memorial constructions	108
3.2.2.3. A node and landmark: the role of the Castle in the WW1 commemoration.....	109
3.2.3. Inscriptions.....	110
3.2.3.1. Vörösmarty's <i>Appeal</i> on the WW1 memorials.....	112
3.2.4.1. The allegory of the Hussar	116
3.2.4.1.1. What is the Hussar? Why is it used?.....	116
3.2.4.1.2. The meaning of the horse and its variations	121
3.2.4.1.3. Carving the imagined continuity.....	124
3.2.4.2. Mythical-historical figures	127
3.2.4.3. The religious symbols and <i>Patrona Hungariae</i>	134
3.2.4.3.1. <i>Patrona Hungariae</i>	134
3.2.4.3.2. The role of religion.....	139
3.2.3.5. Hungarian family and children.....	142
3.2.3.6. General symbols.....	145
3.2.4. Conclusion.....	150
3.3. Towards the comparison: The short case study of the Heroes' Cemetery and War Memorial of Rákoskeresztúr	152
3.3.1. Introduction to the History of the Cemetery.....	152
3.3.2. The Cemetery.....	153
3.3.3. The Memorial.....	155
3.3.4. What is the Reason of the Disappearance? The Transformation of the Notion of Hero	159
3.3.5. Conclusion of the History of the Military Cemetery in Budapest.....	161
4. The comparison and conclusion of the two cases	165
4.1. General comparison	165
4.1.1. Form and location.....	165
4.1.2. Religion and royalism	167
4.1.3. The memory battles in the city	169
4.1.4. Differences in the represented narratives	169

4.2. Conclusion	170
Appendix	175
Codes and subcodes of the analysis (Prague)	175
Codes and subcodes of the analysis (Budapest)	177
Bibliography	180

Acknowledgments

Firstly, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisors Péter Erdősi, Jaroslav Ira and Nicolas Verdier for the continuous support of my thesis and related research.

Besides my supervisors, I would like to thank Luďa Klusáková, Ádám Takács, as well as, the Hungarian, the Czech and the French faculty members for their insightful comments and the administrators for their help.

My sincere thanks also goes to Örs Somfay for offering me his database for further research. I also would like to thank Julie Jägerová and Barbora Kubecová for their help in finding the proper Czech sources.

I must express my very profound gratitude to György Dénes, Jan de Jong, Imre Tarafás for their careful proofreading of the second, third and fourth chapters.

I also would like to thank Gergely Fricz for the technical advices and Emese Gyimesi for her wise comments on my work. My thanks also go to Gergely Szoboszlay for editing the pictures and Martina Reiterová for translating the abstract. Finally, I also thank my family, friends and fellows for their endless support.

1. Introduction

1.1. General introduction

In 2014 thousands of red ceramic poppies flowed out from the windows of the Tower of London. They covered the whole yard, representing the British soldiers who were lost in the Great War. From all over the world more than 16 million people died in the First World War. The commemoration of them has never been more real than now, during the centenary. However, while poppies of the United Kingdom have burst into bloom, Central Europe remained almost mute. In my thesis I attempt to investigate the reason of the discontinuity between the fallen grandfathers and our generation, which is the epoch of the meaninglessly standing memorials. Although they were erected in honour of the dead, nowadays they are only carved signs of ignorance in Central Europe.

The main topic of my thesis is the comparison of the First World War memorials between Budapest and Prague. During my work I analyse the role that the monuments played in the nation-building process between the two World Wars. The reason of choosing Hungary and the Czech Republic as examples is that they represent two different ways of becoming a nation-state in Central Europe after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire. In my opinion these countries are two sides of the same coin. On the one hand, the remembrance of the First World War was connected to the birth of the nation in the Czech case. On the other hand it was remembered as the death of the nation and in the context of the mourning for the country in the Hungarian case. According to my hypothesis these processes can be seen through the iconography of the memorials.

Political power symbolically occupied the public urban spaces by the WWI memorials while expressing its nationalistic propaganda after the Great War. It was an attempt involving sensitive questions since the dead heroes of the nation were dead sons of the families of that time. For this reason the question is connected to the individual and collective grief. In the end, this grief resulted in a glorious narrative in Czechoslovakia, while in Hungary the deaths of the soldiers were represented more in

a nationalist political discourse than in the level of actual mourning. How can this process be characterised and how can it be researched?

On the one hand, commemorations are situated in space. Therefore the space is implicit in the WW1 memorials. As a consequence, it is important to analyse the spatial context of the monuments. On the other hand, the content of the monuments is made explicit by their visual appearance, which I call *visuality*. In order to analyse and compare their iconographic elements, it is useful to transform the symbols into a countable form. In this case, the applicable method is content analysis. Furthermore, for an interpretation of the symbols, it is necessary to understand their historical-temporal, spatial and iconographic contexts. They can be analysed in detailed case studies, which offer the basics for a larger investigation. The final aim is to compare the traces of the two national intentions in the urban memory.

1.1.1. The basic theoretical framework

In my understanding the problem of the WW1 memorials is a complex social and political question of past and present. Therefore, my work requires an interdisciplinary approach, not limited to a merely historical endeavour. My fundamental theoretical framework derives from the fields of Memory Studies and Nationalism Studies.

According to Aleida Assmann's theory, cultural memory has its own dynamics, since it is a perpetuated interaction between remembering and forgetting. Assmann made a distinction between active and passive ways of remembering and forgetting. On the one hand, memories can be erased intentionally from collective memory as a result of active forgetting. On the other hand, they can fall out from the focus of interest in a natural way too. The latter process is, in Assmann's terms, passive forgetting. During active remembering memories remain in the canon, but the passive remembering exiles them into the archive that lies between canon and forgetting. The canon is based on selection; therefore it presupposes a set of decisions and power relations behind it.¹

Assmann pointed out that cultural memory has a strong connection to politics, because history works as the fuel of politics. In her understanding, identity, power, history and memory belong to the same matrix, and they intersect each other in the

¹ Assmann, A. 2008a, 99-104.

national narratives². National memory is formed via dates, commemoration, feasts or symbols. In my study, the First World War memorials are seen as “institutions” for generating active collective memory of the Great War in the period of their inaugurations. Behind this process there was strong political intent to represent nationalism.

I also use Assmann’s definition of myth. “*It may refer to an idea, an event, a person, a narrative that has acquired a symbolic value and is engraved and transmitted in memory.*” In the discourse of memory research, the notion of myth “is used to distinguish between the object of historical knowledge on the one hand and collectively remembered events on the other.” In this view, myth is a collectively remembered history.³ I deal with the iconographical elements of the memorials as mediators representing the myths.

In my hypothesis, the memory of the First World War in Central Europe has been transmitted from canon to archive by now. In my case studies, I suggest that in Hungary the memory of the First World slowly went through the process of passive forgetting. In contrast, in the Czech Republic some parts of its memory, such as the memory of the Czech K.u.K soldiers, were denied with active forgetting at the beginning of the commemorations, therefore these are out of the current canon as well. Yet some elements have survived carried on the back of the nationalism, and as a consequence they can be picked out from the archive. In both cases the stormy history of the recurrent regime changes affected the dynamics of memory politics. In my understanding, these regime changes are the reason why Central Europe has a special situation in the remembrance of the Great War, which differs from the Western European situation.

Since WW1 monuments played an important role in the nation building process, they can be seen as belonging to Hobsbawm’s “invented traditions”.⁴ Moreover they are mass-producing traditions because of their proliferation,⁵ especially in the Hungarian case, whose creation was hurried by law. On the contrary, in Czechoslovakia more attention was given to individual memorials, since their establishing were not legally obligated. However, the nationalist tradition was maybe more even emphatic, as it is described in the following chapters.

² Assmann, A. 2008b, 58.

³ i.m. 68.

⁴ Hobsbawm 1992, 1.

⁵ Hobsbawm 1992, 271.

Márta Kovalovszky, Hungarian art historian, has pointed out that Hungarian WW1 memorials were the results of mass production. They cannot be studied as single pieces of fine art, only as mass products of the applied arts. Only in the cases of significantly prominent places, such as main squares of big cities, was there real competition to choose an appropriate artist and plan to erect a memorial: for example, equestrian statues required more qualified work. Nevertheless, most First World War memorials are of lower quality, both in materials and sculptural work thanks to a kind of flow-production. Kovalovszky called it the “tax of the survivors”.⁶ By this, she means the endeavour to provide a memorial for all the fallen soldiers. As a consequence, the pious benefit was degraded to a simple service.

In Hungary, the reason behind this pattern is in the legal background of the WW1 memorial making. Ákos Kovács, Hungarian historian, divided the dynamics of the inaugurations into three periods. The first one began with the war and ended in 1917. This is the time of the unofficial, unorganized, spontaneous memorials, supported by smaller areas. The turning point was 1917, when a legal act obliged each municipality to erect a First World War memorial.⁷ This was the beginning of the official cult of heroes. Further memorial work was governed by the HEMOB, the Committee of Perpetuating the Memory, which I will go into later. The act was followed by other official proposals, such as the Day of Heroes⁸. In Kovács’ partition, the third period is between 1938 and 1945. Based on his calculations, the number of the erected memorials was 2,000 by this time.⁹

By contrast, in Czechoslovakia there was not an omnipotent institution to govern the memorial system, but occasionally statue-committees organized individual memorial installations. This does not mean that they were free from the topmost political forces. By contrast, the most emblematic memorials got direct political support or direct political orders, such as the Vítkov Memorial, the Monolith in the Castle yard or the Legionary Memorial in Palacký Square.

The direct political aims are the reason for avoiding the term ‘sculpture’. In my understanding the studied objects are memorials, not sculptures. In the view of János Pótó, Hungarian historian, sculptures are for decorating public places. In contrast to

⁶ Kovalovszky 1985, 50.

⁷ 1917/VII. sz. tv.

⁸ 1924/VIII. sz. tv.

⁹ Kovács 1985, 27-30.

this, the function of the memorial is political and not aesthetical.¹⁰ Due to the propagandistic intentions of the commissioners, memorials become semantic ones, so not each of them is a unique piece of art¹¹. This helps to analyse them in categories, established by scholars.

According to Pótó, the place and size of a memorial is the proof of its actuality (relevance). Therefore while studying memorials, it is necessary to use the framework of the studies on urban planning. In my work, I build on the theory of Jérôme Monnet regarding the images of the “*centrum*” of the city.¹² In addition to that, I briefly use the city elements described by Kevin Lynch to define a memorial place in the city¹³. I have chosen the two capitals for the analysis for the same reason. As the most prominent parts of their countries, they represent the highest level of significance. Consequently, the impact of the central political will is the largest on the image of their public spaces.

I look upon these factors from the perspective opened by the new wave of war history, focusing on the social history of war. In this view, military actions and the wartime life of the homeland cannot be separated from one another. Questions like the gender problem, the children during the war, the mourning and the commemoration enter the mainstream of the research. The main figures of this research field are Annette Becker¹⁴, Stéphane Audoin-Rouzenau,¹⁵ Jay Winter¹⁶ and Antoin Prost.¹⁷

The interpretation of my results need an even more distinct theoretical framework, which I will introduce at suitable points of this work. The methodological issues and theories connected to them are detailed in chapter 1.2.

1.1.2. The structure of the dissertation

In the first chapter I present the basic categories and methodology for analysing the memorials of the cities. Then I introduce the historical turning points and elements of the national mythologies which later impacted the WW1 commemorations.

¹⁰ Pótó 2003, 20.

¹¹ i.m. 20.

¹² Cf. Monnet 1993.

¹³ Cf. Lynch, 1960.

¹⁴ Cf. Becker 1988; 1994. Audoin-Rouzenau – Becker 2006.

¹⁵ Cf. Audoin-Rouzenau 2001; 1995.

¹⁶ Cf. Winter 2014; Prost - Winter 2004.

¹⁷ Cf. Prost 1977.

At first, the Czech case is detailed. The first case study deals with the National Vítkov Memorial. Through this example I attempt to explain Czech nationalism, essential to the memory of the First World War. That way the connection between the Legionary and the Hussite traditions, the Catholic and Hussite memories and the memory-politics of the First Republic, the Nazi and Communist occupation can become clear. The analyses of a source about the debate on the final Tomb of the Unknown Legionary will possibly help discover Prague's mythical history, which helps to understand the urban planning questions of the memorial establishment. Being aware of all this symbolical complexity is necessary for the further study of the First World War memorials.

The case study is followed by the interpretation of the result of the content analysis conducted on the WW1 memorial in Prague. At first, this section deals with the question of location, with special regard given to the question of the 'statue wars' and the disappeared monuments. Then during the investigation of the inscriptions the altering terms used for the fallen of the Great War affected by the different national intension is highlighted. I present the iconographical interpretations in great detail. Firstly, the allegorical female figures are discussed. The topos of the mourning mother, the lack of the representations of the mythical heroine and the concept of the Czech mother were touched. Then I study the connotations of some floral ornaments, especially the role of the linden played in the Czech nationalism. Finally, national and allegorical scenes appearing on the memorials are shown and interpreted.

In the third part the Hungary case is presented. The first Hungarian case study is about the construction of the Hungarian Sword of God symbol. For this work I choose the first Hungarian WW1 memorial sample book as a source. Since the Sword of God was integrated into the corpus of the Hungarian mythological symbols, it provides a good opportunity to analyse the origins of the basic iconographical elements. Therefore from Attila the Hun through the Holy Crown to the Turul bird the Hungarian motifs are discussed. With that knowledge understanding Hungarian WW1 monument iconography becomes easier in the later part of the thesis.

The interpretation of the results of the content analysis of WW1 memorials in Budapest follows a similar structure to the Czech one. In the first part the reasons of the constructions and removals are given, with special regard to the physical characteristics of the city. In the section about the inscriptions, the Heroes cult was explained as well as the reinterpretation of the texts of national romanticism. During

the analysis of the occurring iconographical elements, the allegory of the Hussar and the role of the mythical-historical figures in the perpetuation of the continuity between the glorious past and the tragic present of the interwar period were discussed. Then the use of the religious symbols in order to maintain the resurrection narrative is introduced. In this part I also analyse the different understandings of the figure of *Patrona Hungariae*. Finally, the allegory of the Hungarian family and the suggested duty of the children is described.

The last short case study is a comparative work. Briefly rolling up the history of the forgetting the largest Hungarian war cemetery and memorial in Rákoskeresztúr can enucleate the effect of the regime changes on WW1 memory and the transformation of the notion of hero. It also provides an opportunity to shortly compare the Hungarian case to the Czech situation with its contrast to Olšany cemetery.

In the final part the comparison of the Czech and Hungarian cases is elaborated. Here it can be seen what differences and similarities are experienced in the aims and forms of the commemoration of the Great War in two major Central European capitals. In the following pages the methodological considerations are presented.

1.2. Introduction to the WW1 Memorials of Budapest and Prague. How to Examine them?

1.2.1. The commemoration of the WW1 in Europe

In Western Europe the research of the WW1 memorials is in a progressed state. Therefore it is already revealed that the basic elements of the First World War memorials are identical all over Europe.

Jay Winter already focused on the transition from private mourning to public mourning. He used an international approach to discover various natures and layers of the commemoration, from the public mourning ceremonies to the business built on it. He concluded that the traditional language of the memorials better helped personal mourning.¹⁸ His work however dismisses the role of the up-down nationalism that blocks the process of real mourning.

¹⁸ Winter 2014.

Also from the Anglo-Saxon side, Catherine Moriarty deepened the interdisciplinary approach, since she interpreted the war memorials as sources of social history based primarily on the methods of art history.¹⁹ Furthermore, the British research is generally advanced in the field of the Great War commemoration.²⁰

In Germany Reinhardt Koselleck gave great thought to the question of WWI memorials. His main theory was that the memorial could not serve more identities than the identity of the fallen soldiers. According to him all the other political and social identification will disappear in time.²¹ I however disagree with Koselleck. In my understanding, because of all the other national and political identifications, which overwhelm the memorials, the memory of the dead will be forgotten. As a result, neither the political message nor the respect of the dead remains alive as the heritage of the WWI memorials. This is the reason why it is necessary to uncover and distinguish the original messages of the monuments.

From the French side the research of the WWI memorials is based on war history and memory studies. Here the discussion of Annette Becker's result is necessary but sufficient.²² Her analysis into French memorials shows great similarities with my Central European result. Based on this comparison the European WWI memorials have common characteristics. For example, the soldier figures are so detailed that it is possible to recognize the uniforms.²³ In contrast to the realistic men, the female figures are frequently symbolic. They can be an allegory of the victory, liberty or republic. According to Becker in France this symbolization was inherited from the French Revolution.²⁴ It is also parallel with the Hungarian case when the basics of the national memorial schemas originated in the revolutionary period. Another similarity is the use of the symbol of the family on the memorials as the representation of the men's duty in wartime. In this narrative the children have to follow their fathers to war.²⁵ The use of archaism is also common all over Europe.²⁶

Becker dedicated a separate volume only to the role of the religion in the war. For the present analysis it also offers some elements that tend to be similar to the

¹⁹ Cf. Moriarty 1995; 1991.

²⁰ Cf. Some works related to the present study: Fussell 1975; Connelly 2002; Archer 2009; Borg 1991; Evans – Lunn 1997; Kidd – Murdoch 2004; King 1998.; McIntyre 1990.

²¹ Koselleck 2002, 289; 324 – 326.

²² Becker 1988.

²³ Cf. Becker 1988, 21.

²⁴ i.m. 59.

²⁵ i.m. 64.

²⁶ Cf. i.m. 10.

Hungarian case. The most prominent parallelism can be found in the use of the resurrection narrative. It means that the iconography of the memorials refer to Christ.²⁷ In France this process resulted in the notion of the martyr of the homeland and the creation of a civic martyrology.²⁸ In the Czech case a similar process of martyrisation can be observed, which seems to be a characteristic of the victorious countries. In contrast, in Hungary the resurrection narrative refers to the experienced loss, as can be seen in the chapters on the Hungarian case.

However, Annette Becker also highlighted the difference between the victorious and defeated narrative. Based on her research the representation of actual death is not prevalent on French WW1 memorials. According to Becker, maintaining the victorious narrative is more important than the realistic representation.²⁹ Therefore the picturing of the arms on the memorials can be understood as a sign of death.³⁰ In the present study these changing narratives are looked at in detail.

It can be concluded that the basic pattern of the memorials and the tools for researching them are identical all over Europe. However, in the present study I have sought to prove that traditional war memory and its symbols differ slightly from nation to nation in order to serve national interests. Basically, the Western European and Eastern European narrative alter as a result of the different regimes which succeeded the Great War. Furthermore, even the seemingly similar WW1 memorials within Central Europe carry different intentions and messages.

1.2.2. Questions and methodology

1.2.2.1. Who for whom?

The basic questions of the study are *Who? Where? How?* and *For* whom were these memorials constructed. Starting with the latter, the commemorated persons are the fallen soldiers. They involve the problematic of the notion of national hero as well as the public and private grief into the investigation.³¹ Here the basic paradox of war grief is shortly presented.

²⁷ Becker - Bergounioux 2014, 155.

²⁸ i.m. 158., Becker 1988, 10.

²⁹ Becker 1988, 32.

³⁰ Becker 1988, 41.

³¹ For the changing notion of national hero see Eriksonas 2004.

The starting point is that the war grief is not a natural mourning. Firstly, it is not the result of natural death³². Secondly, it happens not in the natural order (old-young), but in reverse.³³ According to Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker this reversed grief causes larger trauma than it normally would. It is strengthened by the lonely deaths they suffered, because the mourning relatives miss the rites prior to death, which delays the acceptance of death.

Moreover, the rites cannot be completed even after death, because in most cases the corpses are left on the battlefield. Therefore symbolizing the death is essential during wartime grief. It is more of a metonymy, when the meaning is transferred from the corpse to the grave or memorial. It makes it possible for the bereaved to transfer their grief to an object that can replace the dead.

For example, this function was mooted in one of the analysed sources. Endre Liber, deputy mayor of Budapest, described the function of the memorial in his inauguration speech of the Premsyl memorial in 1932 this way:

*“This symbolic sacrifice of flowers follows the example of classical civilisations who placed a memorial above empty graves of those lost on the battlefield to stop the deceased’s soul wandering around the afterlife.”*³⁴

This completely contrasts the process in the case of the war memorials. The confrontation is caused by the notion of “dying in action”. That way the fallen members of family also become the fallen members of the homeland. It means that the dead will be treated as hero in the eye of both of the society and the family.³⁵ Therefore Becker states that the narratives similar to the “died for the Homeland” are controversial, because they elongate the process of mourning due to the idealisation of the dead.³⁶

Koselleck counters Audoin-Rouzeau and Becker’s theory, stating that the exceptional status of the war dead prove to the survivors that they were not lost in vain.³⁷

³² Cf. Koselleck 2002, 287-288.

³³ Cf. Audoin-Rouzeau – Becker 2007.

³⁴ „Jelképes virágáldozat ez, szinte a klasszikus népek példája szerint, akik az eltűntek, az elveszettek üres sírja fölé is emléket állítottak, hogy az elhunyt szelleme ne bolyongjon szanaszéjjel a túlvilágon” Liber [1932] in Liber 1934, 421.

³⁵ Audoin-Rouzeau – Becker 2006, 173.

³⁶ Becker - Bergounioux 2014, 177.

³⁷ Koselleck 2002, 287.

Nevertheless, scholars agree that grief cannot be analysed through historical sources, therefore the discipline of psychology has the right to decide the question posed by contemporary research. However, there have been remarkable attempts to research the grief in a retrospective historical view.³⁸

In this context the question of grief poses another question. Who controls the memory? It is those who construct the memorials who decide the balance between public mourning and state propaganda. In the analysis this balance is also touched upon.

1.2.2.2. Where?

The spatial question is one of the most important sides of researching war memorials for several reasons. The urban public space has a special role in commemorations.

Becker pays attention to a spatial dichotomy in connection with war memorials. It means that the dead are generally not commemorated in the place where they spent their lives.³⁹ However, this practice is common only in countries that were at one-point frontlines and where the memorials of the battlefield could have an actual cult.⁴⁰ In Central Europe this commemoration is transferred to public spaces.

In Koselleck's opinion it can be understood as a sign of modernity that the commemoration of the dead changed from cemeteries to public spaces.⁴¹ According to Becker it resulted in the war memorials bringing the experience of the battlefield into the heart of the hinterland.⁴²

Concerning the urban space the spatial side of the memorial constructions, two questions are posed. Póto described that the actuality (relevance) and significance of the memorials should be distinguished according to their location. It means that there is two-way correspondence between the importance of a memorial and its location.⁴³

The second problematic deals with the interaction between time and history. The memorial stands in continuity with the history of its location that can have an impact

³⁸ For example see Adouin-Rouzenau 2001.

³⁹ Becker 1988, 10.

⁴⁰ Commemoration on the battlefield is a separate angle of research of war memorials, but it is worth the comparison between the memorials standing in the cities and on the battlefields. This volume attempts to grasp the two angles at the same time: Sørensen - Viejo-Rose 2015.

⁴¹ Koselleck 2002, 291.

⁴² Becker - Bergounioux 2014, 178.

⁴³ Póto 2003, 19.

on its meaning.⁴⁴ Therefore the meaning and usage of a memorial depend both on the physical and historical characteristics of its location.

At the moment dissertation spatial case studies and plans showing the allocation of the memorials are written in order to better understand and compare the spatial frames. Only the two capitals, Budapest and Prague, entered the investigation. In the following paragraphs I argue in favour of this choice.

This decision was made because the capitals were the most influential cities for the inaugurations. Erecting a memorial is a political act, so it is necessary to focus on the hubs where political intentions have stronger effects rather than community pressure. The capitals and large cities were frequently places for erecting memorials as propaganda, while in the villages it was a more local problem.

French geographer Jérôme Monnet presented an example of this in his book on the images of the city. In his view the city simultaneously consists of geographic and imaginary elements. Therefore the city has two images; an internal and an external.⁴⁵ That way it plays a mediator role and with discourse analysis it can be revealed who controls the representation of the space.⁴⁶ In his research on Mexico City it turned out that the heritage and the memorials served to create a national image.⁴⁷

According to Monnet's thesis the political power focuses on the centre rather than the periphery on the scale of the city. As a result, the centre is occupied by political intentions. That way the state made its power evidential by sacralising the centre. Based on these results Monnet stated that any transformation of the space reflect the dominant norms.⁴⁸ The manipulation of the symbols and symbolical places are in the heart with this approach. These symbols are on the geographical field of power and politics.⁴⁹

For these reasons the capitals were chosen for analysis. They have a central role and are therefore in the focus of the political will. The constructions and removals led by the political decision makers reflect their actual political ideas. That way the WW1 memorials situated in the capital give insight into the intentions of their creators.

⁴⁴ Cf. György 2007.

⁴⁵ Monnet 1993, 12.

⁴⁶ i.m. 12-14.

⁴⁷ i.m.184.

⁴⁸ i.m. 11.

⁴⁹ i.m. 15.

1.2.2.3. How? The methodology

The discipline of art history has already conducted a long theoretical debate on the iconography, starting from Panofsky until the present day.⁵⁰ Since my main approach is a historical one, I have no intention of getting deeply involved in art historical theoretical problems. Therefore my main question regarding the methodology is how the iconographical elements can be used as historical sources.⁵¹ In this endeavour I build on the theory of Peter Burke.

Peter Burke presented the basic elements of Panofsky's theory and his critics, while looking at different approaches connected to the use of visual sources. He also explained the different approaches in practice using case studies. Based on these pillars he formulated some summarizing results.

First, images give society access only to views of the analysed world, which is always a representation created by image-makers. Secondly, the testimony of images should always be interpreted together with its various contexts. Thirdly, a series of images are more reliable than individual images.⁵² Finally, the historian always has to read between the lines and look into the details for discover the intentional and unintentional clues referring to the analysed world.⁵³

My methodology is based on these principles. For being able to understand and compare images a qualitative and a quantitative methodology is used. First, it is necessary to collect all the analysable monuments in order to have a representative result for the capitals. In the next step, a way has to be found in which the visual meanings could be grasped and measured on this large corpus of memorials. Therefore the symbols have to become countable. The most suitable method for solving the mentioned problems is the content analysis, which makes it possible to encode a large amount of data.

However, in this case new problems occur during the interpretation of the results. Namely, it is necessary to avoid the anachronism and subjectivism during the interpretation of the symbols. For this reason, the content analysis is complemented with case studies, which give frames of understanding. The only way to understand the iconographical elements on the memorials in a non-anachronistical way was to

⁵⁰ Cf. Panofsky 1984.; Pál et al. 1986.

⁵¹ Cf. Jordanova 2012.

⁵² Burke 2007, 187.

⁵³ i.m. 188.

interpret the results of the content analysis together with the case studies, the written sources and secondary sources.

1.2.2.3.1. The collection and selection of the memorials

In the case of Prague I used the database of the Ministry of Defence, which fortunately already listed the country's standing war memorials. I added more information to this list with the help of the photo-archives of the Military Archive and City Archive of Prague. Regarding Budapest my work is based on the already existing collection of Örs Somfay who offered me the results of his dissertation for further research.⁵⁴ However, it was necessary to restrict and control the pre-existing lists.

Örs Somfay, in his dissertation, entitled *Hungarian First World War memorials in public spaces and communities. [Az I. világháború Magyar vonatkozású köztéri, valamint közösségi hősi emlékei és ezek adatbázisa]*, attempted to collect all the WW1 memorials in Hungary and create an online database of them. He devoted ten years of research to look up the so far unrevealed sources and photos of about 3500 WW1 memorials. He identified them all over Hungary and clarified the details of their constructions, locations and renovations. As a result of his work, all the collected memorials became searchable on the hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu site. At some points, new research can modify or add to this database, but it can be considered the hitherto most complete collection. Although Somfay created some statistics from the collected material, his main purpose was to collect and not to interpret the memorials. Therefore his work is a great starting point for further research with an emphasis on iconographic analysis: this is the distinctive feature of my own work.

In contrast to Somfay's almost comprehensive collection, in the case of Prague I was able to collect only the memorials situated in public spaces. It does not modify the reliability of the analysis, since the focus of the research is on the public spaces. It resulted in both the visual and spatial analyses being asymmetric, because in Prague 73, in Budapest 106 (visual analysis) and 171 (analysis of the location) became integrated into the research. Nevertheless, the results are representative for the public places of the two cities, and in the case of Budapest they are representative both for the public places and the institutions. In the following some typology possibilities are shown, which could be a basis for selection. First of all, I excluded the memorial

⁵⁴ Cf. Somfay 2012. For the database see Somfay 2011- 2016.

tables without relief from the visual analysis, because they do not carry analysable visual information.

Another question of the categorisation should be mentioned. This is the frontier between the civic and sacred ways of commemoration. Antoin Prost typologised the WW1 memorials based on their location, form and inscription. He found that the WW1 monuments are seemingly only religious, whereas in fact they are laic and civic memorials. However, these memorials can be classified as patriotic-civic and funeral-civic. On the one hand, the first type is situated in public places, and they carry the heroism and glory in their semantics. On the other hand the funeral-civic memorials are in connection with death in their symbolism.⁵⁵

In contrast to Prost, Becker claimed that the two types [*monument funéraire* and *monument patriotique*] could not be really divided. In her understanding the representations observed on WW1 memorials are inseparable, because on the battlefield the two notions – patriotism and death – are also inseparable in reality.⁵⁶

Although my analyses straitened the last idea, general results, which are reliable for the whole of Europe, cannot be used to answer this question. I found that the balance and the role of the grief, the patriotism and even the use of the religion alters from country to country based on the aims and the circumstances of the commemoration. There is only a thin frontier between them, therefore the strict categorisation of the patriotic and religious memorial is misleading. Instead of that, the patriotic, funeral or religious intentions should be analysed on a smaller scale, namely on the level of the iconographical elements which can occur on both types.

Although I treated cemeteries as public spaces, I analyse tombs exclusively when they are not ornaments of a grave, but were removed and understood as independent memorials. In these cases they have a public and not private function.

I think concentrating on public spaces is an important aspect of the research, as they were the forums of the everyday visuality in the post-war times. This experience provided those who were able construct memorials in public spaces a podium to spread their visual messages.

It should be also mentioned that selection process was different in the two cases. These are detailed in the introductions of the two analyses. After selecting the analysable memorials, I organized the gathered information into tables with the

⁵⁵ Prost 1984, 200 – 202.

⁵⁶ Becker 1988, 22.

following information when they are available: place (present and past) date of erecting (and renovation or removal where possible); artist, architect, sculptor; history; inscriptions; sources and iconographical description. That way my database used for the research was formulated and ready for the content analysis. The applied method is always described in the corresponding chapters.

Finally, it is essential to know that because of the different characteristics of the two cities it was necessary to use different codes during the analyses.⁵⁷ The main structure of the observation remained the same: location, inscriptions and iconography. But the subcodes are formulated for fitting the specialities of the Czech and Hungarian material. For this reason these specialities are elaborated in details in order to deeply understand the singularities of the two cases. It helps to focus on the main differences and similarities during the comparison in the last chapter.

1.3. Understanding Czech and Hungarian Nationalism

In this chapter I show the basic historical turning points that are necessary for understanding further analysis. In defining ‘nationalism’, I use Miroslav Hroch’s theory, who thought nationalism to be the movement leading to the formation of the nation.⁵⁸ After the historical overview his thoughts are presented briefly. In the third subsection the identity forming attempts of the Habsburg Empire are drawn with a special focus on the use of Hungarian national myths. Then the question of Czech national revival and its heritage is detailed. Finally, the main points that played an important role in the later commemoration of the First World War are highlighted.

1.3.1. A short historical overview

The Hungarian and Czech lands got involved in First World War as parts of the Habsburg Empire. The lands of the Bohemian Crown became declared as Habsburg Hereditary Lands after the battle of *Bíla Hora* [White Mountain] in 1620. The Habsburg domination in Hungary started after the Battle of *Mohács* in 1526 when Louis II, the last Jagello on the Hungarian throne, died and was followed by Ferdinand of Habsburg. However, they could rule only the Northern and Western parts of the Hungarian land, because the Hungarian territories were divided between

⁵⁷ The codes of both analyses can be found in the Appendix.

⁵⁸ Cf. Hroch 1993.

the Habsburgs, the Ottoman Empire and the Principality of Transylvania until the 18th century.⁵⁹

The absolutist monarchy of 18th century Hungary was followed by the National Revolution and Liberation War in 1848-49. The Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 had intended to end tensions and provide a partial sovereignty to the Hungarian Kingdom by establishing a dual monarchism.⁶⁰ That way the suppression of the Czech lands and the minorities living in Hungary continued.

During the First World War Czech volunteer soldiers turned against the Austro-Hungarian army, who the majority of the Czech soldiers belonged to, and joined the French, Russian and Italian legions.⁶¹ After the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire independent Czechoslovakia, which was also a confederation between the Czech and Slovak nations, was proclaimed under Tomas Masaryk presidency.⁶²

Between 1939 and 1945 Czechoslovakia was occupied by Nazi Germany before being liberated by the Soviet army. In 1948 Czechoslovakia became a communist one-party state under the influence of the Soviet Union.⁶³ The tensions resulted in the so-called “Prague Spring” in 1968. Finally in 1989, due to the so-called Velvet Revolution, Czechoslovakia became a democracy again.⁶⁴ The Czech Republic and Slovakia separated in 1992.⁶⁵

In contrast to Czechoslovakia, Hungary had to face an enormous loss after the end of the Great War. Following the war the short-lived communist Council Republic was founded by a coup d'état between 1919 and 1920.

Due to the Treaty of Trianon, which was signed on 4 June 1920, three-quarters of the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, containing two-thirds of its population, was allocated to its neighbouring countries. As a result of the peace treaty 3.5 million of 10 million native Hungarians became minorities in foreign lands.

This loss determined the interwar period. After the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty in 1921, governor Miklós Horthy ruled the country as a regent.⁶⁶ Starting from the 1930's Nazi Germany had an impact on the governance. During the

⁵⁹ Cf. Pálffy et al. 2009.

⁶⁰ Cf. Cornwall 2002.

⁶¹ Cf. Bradley 1991; Bullock 2009.

⁶² Cf. Seton-Watson 1945.

⁶³ Cf. Abrams 2004.

⁶⁴ Cf. Williams 1997; Cottrell 2005.

⁶⁵ Cf. Wehrlé 1994.

⁶⁶ Cf. Ungváry 2013.; Romsics 1982.

Second World War Hungary was an Axis power. Following the war the communist regime was established with the help of the Soviet army.⁶⁷ Communist rule of Hungary can be divided into two periods; the first period was led by Mátyás Rákosi and ended in the Revolution of 1956. A softer form of Communism under the rule of János Kádár followed the revolution. The softening of the regime ended in the Hungarian Regime Change in 1989.⁶⁸

1.3.2. From the ethnic core to the modern nation in theory

In this part the theoretic framework of the Central European nationalism is briefly introduced. According to Anthony D. Smith the roots of a former nation can be found before modernism. He called this origin the ethnic core.⁶⁹ The Hungarian and Czech ethnic cores come from the Middle Ages, when the states were founded and took up important roles in European politics.

According to Hroch, after the Middle Ages, in the modernist era nationalisation can be divided into two parts. In the Western world the dominant ethnical group gathered civil rights and therefore the nation become the community of equal citizens. On the other hand in Eastern and Central Europe a dominant ethnic group ruled a suppressed ethnical group, which had a territory without autonomy. In the case of Hungary and the Czech Republic this was the period of the Habsburg domination. The aim of the national movements was to gather all of the pre-conditions required to become a nation⁷⁰.

Hroch argued that this progress could be divided into three parts. In period A the cultural elite of a nation realises the purposes. The authoring of political programs is found in period B⁷¹. Period C is the point when every social class realises the aim and joins the movement.

Based on the theory of Miroslav Hroch the modern nations have three necessary elements: the common past, the common language and culture, and thirdly the modern institutions, civil and liberty laws⁷². The common past constitutes the myths that are central to national feelings. In my further analyses these mythical elements

⁶⁷ Cf. Balogh - Jakab 1986.

⁶⁸ Saxonberg 2001.

⁶⁹ Smith 1991,19-27.

⁷⁰ Hroch 1993, 6-7.

⁷¹ Idib.

⁷² Hroch 1993, 5.

are highlighted. There were three important turning points in the Hungarian history until the 19th century, which could form the basis for their national myths: the kings of the Middle Ages, the Ottoman invasion and the Habsburg domination.⁷³

1.3.3. The Habsburg Empire: From imperial patriotism to nationalism in Hungary

The nationalism of the interwar period inherited several elements from the preceding eras, mostly from the 19th century. In this part the attempts of Habsburg Empire to form an imperial identity and its confrontation with national attempts is shown. In this subsection the focus is on the presentation of the national mythology used especially in Hungarian national art.

Regarding identity, living in a nation under Habsburg-rule was a very unique situation. The Czechs and Hungarians were living under the Austrians and the Slovaks under the Hungarians. Therefore two parallel processes, *Germanisation* and *Magyarisation*, could be observed in the middle of the 19th century. It resulted in the spread of the pan-Slavic idea, which later tried to unite the Czechs and Slovaks after the First World War and helped the formation of the Czechoslovak legions.⁷⁴

At the very beginning of the symbioses the Empire wanted to invigorate the solidarity among the empire's nations. Benedict Anderson pointed out that the Habsburgs did not attempt to fuse their empire's nations together, so there was no official nation⁷⁵. With this, they intended to create patriotism for the empire. This progress can be called imperial patriotism.⁷⁶

With this goal in mind, among other things they collected elements of the Hungarian and Czech national past and published texts connected to them in German. Secondly they chose heroes from the Hungarian and Czech past who were appropriate symbols for the Habsburg monarchy. These were, among others, the state-founder king, Saint Stephan, and Zrínyi Miklós, who fought against the Ottoman Empire while the Ottomans and Habsburgs shared Hungarian territory. However this patriotic

⁷³ Cf. Palffy 2009.

⁷⁴ Petitova 1995, 44. For the question of the Czech and Slovak identities in the Habsburg Empire see Petitova 1995, 43- 50. Slovakia is intentionally not analysed in this study. Because of the territorial and ethnical tension caused by the Treaty of Trianon the comparison of Hungary and Slovakia would need an other approach.

⁷⁵ Anderson 2006 [1983], 83-84.

⁷⁶ Cf. Szentesi 2000, 73- 101.

intent failed as the symbols can easily be converted to form a basis for the Hungarian nationalism.

However this imperial effort also tried to involve the Czech nation. The first editions of Josef Hormayr's patriotic periodic, in which the common heroes were presented, were dominated by Czech heroes such as Ottokar II or Jan Žižka. Nevertheless, in the Czech case an identical process caused the failure of the imperial patriotism, just as in Hungary.⁷⁷

Katalin Sinkó, Hungarian art historian and expert in national representations, divided up the periods of Hungarian national art. According to her, until the 1840's the great historical figures, the aristocratic view and the imperial patriotism dominated art. Then due to the aggressive imperial conception and the failure of the liberation war there was a change in the 1850's. In these years the representations were smeared with anti-Habsburg narratives. She claimed that because of a liberal-theological concept of nation, which characterised the Hungarian politics at that time, national art gained a novel pathos that impacted on the further representation of heroes.⁷⁸ I will look at this process in detail with the use of examples.

After the failure of the Hungarian liberation war in 1849, the aforementioned symbols played an important part in national resistance. For instance, while the same representation of King Saint Stephan could symbolise the domination of the Carpathian Basin for the Habsburgs, it can also be interpreted as the symbol of the Hungarian autonomous kingdom for the Hungarians. During the period of the punishment that followed the loss of the liberation war, many heroes were brought back from the national past to manifest the Hungarian resistance against the Habsburg domination.

Therefore in that time the figure of heroes were painted from Felician Zach, who attacked the royal family to take revenge on the rape of her daughter, to Ladislaus Hunyadi, who was the brother of the next great Hungarian king Mathias Corvine and was killed by the preceding Habsburg king. Moreover not only fine art, but also literature, generated the cult of these national mythical heroes.⁷⁹

After the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867 and with the creation of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy a new palette of national myths were born. Namely the

⁷⁷ Szentesi 2000, 78-79.

⁷⁸ Sinkó 1983, 189-190.

⁷⁹ Cf. Szentesi 2000, 527 – 546.

celebration of the Millennium had the largest effect on national feelings when it was not forbidden to celebrate the thousand-year-old past. For example, the monumental Millennium memorial can be mentioned, which canonised dozens of heroes while creating the Heroes' Square, one of the most important public spaces in the Hungarian capital. The Millennium Memorial became a First World War memorial as well, since the memorial stone or empty tomb of the Unknown Soldier was placed in the middle of the square⁸⁰. A similar pattern can be observed in the case of the later detailed Czech National Vítkov Memorial. In the Czech example this helped bond nationalism with the celebration of the Hussite Wars during and after the Great War.

From the agreement of the Consolidation the Czech lands were not seeing any benefits. Therefore the progress of Czech nationalism alters from the Hungarian one. In the following subchapter the draft of the Czech National Revival can be seen.

1.3.4. The Czech national revival and its impact on the national iconography

In this chapter I present the turning points of the Czech National Revival and their impact on the national narratives and iconography.

Hungarian historian Éva Ágh-Ring argued that although the Czech national movement overlapped with Hungarian nationalism, the social stratigraphy was similar to the Western form of nationalism because of the lack of the leading aristocracy. However, it was the national progress of the non-dominant nations described by Hroch. Therefore it shares several similarities with the Hungarian process, but there are some outrageous differences as well. In the case of the Czechs, there were neither political programs for national interests nor political parties or organisations.

In the first periods of the Czech nationalism the aristocrats were involved due to the territorial understanding of the notion „*natio bohemia*”. Although the movement was mostly steered by vernacularisation and cultural reforms, the concept of the nation based on common origins, language and culture appeared only in the final part of the Revival. In the following section these periods are presented in detail.

⁸⁰ Cf. Gerő 1990.

1.3.4.1. The periods of the Czech nationalism

Although in Bohemia and Moravia the 19th century was the age of nationalism,⁸¹ its roots should be searched in the 18th century. The thoughts which were born that times originated in the period of the Battle of Bítva u Horá and in the Counter Reformation.⁸²

Éva Ágh-Ring, Hungarian researcher of the Czech history, separated four generations in the history of the Czech national revival. The members of the first generation were born before 1740, they were the forerunners of the Revival. The second generation covered those who had been born between 1741 and 1760. The half of them was clerical person. They still generally wrote not in Czech, but in German and Latin. The representatives of the third group were led by Josef Jungmann and they were born between 1761 and 1780. The last generation is the František Palacký's generation and consist of those who were born between 1781 and 1800.⁸³

The two first generation was characterised by the theory of bohemism, which was compatible with the traditional aristocratic patriotism, since under the notion of „natio Bohemia“ those were understood who were subjected to the Czech crown. In this period the cultivation of the products of the intelligentsia in any language of the lands was in the centre of the program. In contrast to the Hungarian situation from the bohemism the incorporation of the imperial patriotism was lacking. Being loyal for the Empire was not part a national obligation.⁸⁴

The leading figure of the second generation was Jungmann, who was responsible for the Czech vernacular agitation. In 1813 he literally stated that only the Czech speakers are Czech.⁸⁵ The last generation František Palacký played a big role. While the linguistic nationalism was formulated by Jungmann's generation, its historic side was founded by Palacký. In his historical writings he was interested in the glorious Middle Ages of the Czech lands and in the Hussitism. He had an attempt to highlight the role of the Czechs in the European culture and their democratic nature contrasted to the German. His ideas affected the national narratives also in the further periods.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Bradley 1984, 101.

⁸² Ághné Ring 1996, 58.

⁸³ Ághné Ring 1996, 69-74.

⁸⁴ Ághné Ring 1996, 71.

⁸⁵ Ághné Ring 1996, 72.

⁸⁶ Ághné Ring 1996, 73-74,

1.3.4.2. The role of the religion in the Czech nationalism

The question of religion has a special place in the Czech National Revival. Although the progress was started by the Catholic Church and numerous representatives of the clerics were key to the revival, Catholicism gradually became a side note to the main ideas behind the movement. As a result the clerics lost their interest in nationalism.

The contradiction of the role of religion in nationalism was completed in the opposition of the protestant and catholic movements. From 1905 a *Cyrrillomethodican* movement started to be popular in Moravia.⁸⁷ Also in the 19th century the Hussitism versus *Nepomukism* debate became present in the Czech national narrative. The main question posed was whether it was Jan Huss or Saint John or Nepomuk who was the leading religious hero of the Czech nation. The outcome decided which denomination would characterize the Czech nation: the protestant or the catholic.⁸⁸

Palacký took Hussitism into the mainstream of the Czech national historical narrative.⁸⁹ Alois Jirásek created the background of the Hussitism in the literature to help spread it all over the Czech lands. In the interwar period Masaryk also helped elaborate the cult of the Hussits.⁹⁰ The role of the division of the protestant and catholic memory is deeply touched in the following chapters of the analysis.

1.3.4.3. The representation of the nation

The national goals started to be manifested in historical paintings and monuments only in the late nineteenth century. The beginning of this direction could only be seen through architecture. The first important step was the construction of the Czech National Theatre in the 1860s-1880s as well as the decoration of town halls and other public or private buildings which referred to great Czech heroes and mythical stories.

Regarding the monuments, the statues of Jan Hus gained most political relevance in the 1880s. It paralleled the spread of monuments for Joseph II representing the territory's German nationalism. Hroch and Malčková claim that the differentiation of national identity and separation of the concepts of national history in Bohemia were clearly seen by this dualism of popular monuments.⁹¹

⁸⁷ Bradley 1984, 85.

⁸⁸ Ághné Ring 1996, 74., Cf. Paces 2001,

⁸⁹ Bradley 1984, 92.

⁹⁰ Bradley 1984, 91.

⁹¹ Hroch – Malčková 1999, 110.

According to Hroch and Malčėková, after 1918 the main representation of the nation was dominated by the 200 year passion of the Czech nation suffering from German domination. Orzoff also emphasised the role these *dark ages* played in national self-expression.⁹² In contrast to the mournful German dominated periods, the glory of the Czech Middle Ages was highlighted in the national narratives. The impact of these ideas on the WW1 memorials can be seen in the further analysis.

1.3.5. Conclusion

For the present study the different heritage of the Habsburg domination in the life of the Hungarian and Czech nation should be highlighted. On one hand, there are the Hungarians whose liberation war failed but gained an exceptional position in the final dualist monarchy. It resulted in a corpus of heroes and symbols which express ambivalent feelings towards and against the Imperial view.

On the other hand, there is a permanently suppressed nation, which formulates its elements through cultural revolutions. The Czechs could find their golden age in the Middle Ages, therefore their national pantheon was also rooted in that period. I now start my analysis of the Czech case.

⁹² Orzoff 2009, 28.

2. The Czech case

2.1. City and Nation in the Czech Commemoration: Case Study of The National Vítkov Memorial

The first Czech case study introduces and discusses the National Monument on the Vítkov hill. The National Vítkov Memorial can be understood as a spatial representation of the twentieth-century Czech history.⁹³ Although the Memorial evidentially consists of several parts and layers, in this dissertation I will only be focusing on a single aspect of this diachronically overwhelmed place, namely on the time of the replacement of the Unknown Soldier's Tomb.⁹⁴ Through this example the way can be observed in which the physical location and the history of a location influenced the memory politics.

2.1.1. Introduction

For the study of this slice of history I use Kevin Lynch's categories, but Jérôme Monnet's theory. I chose Lynch's theoretical toolbar because of its applicability to differentiate between physical characteristics of the city.⁹⁵ In the following it is shortly presented.

Lynch divided the image of the city into five components. These are the paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. He defined paths as lines and channel for traveling: streets, walkways, transit lines, canals or railroads. The edges are direct boundaries such as walls, buildings as well as shorelines. Districts are larger sections of the city, and they can be distinguished by their different attributes. Nodes, which play an important role in the case study on Vítkov Hill, are focus points, intersections in the city that have strategic importance. They can be the cores of the districts. Landmarks define the perceptible shape of the city and serve as external reference points. These consist of the basic shapes as buildings or mountains. Obviously these elements depend on the scale of observing.⁹⁶

⁹³ Malý 2012a, 47.

⁹⁴ Because of the later elaborated cult of legionaries, in the following the Unknown Soldier's Tomb is referred as the Unknown Legionary's Tomb.

⁹⁵ See Lynch 1960.

⁹⁶ i. m. 48.

However, in my hypothesis a place consists of more vertical layer of meanings due to its history. Observing one layer in only one moment of the time is not standing alone without its historical context. The observed place in the given moment stands on the top of the covered layers. In the view each level can be understood as a part of the history of the memorial place, and concentrating only on one period invokes all the others in the background. It means that despite of observing the city only in its synchrony, its diachronic cannot be ignored. Therefore, there will be an apparent contrast between the physical and historical understanding of the Tomb during the investigation of the history of the Vítkov Hill.

In the current situation ignoring the historical setting of the monument affects the analysis and questions the validity. Jerome Monnet pointed out the same critique concerning Kevin Lynch's theory. Monnet in his book, *Le ville et son double*, argued that a city always has two images. The physical, objective one described by Lynch and a reflected image which is generated by politics and history.⁹⁷ The debate of the Unknown Soldier's final place is located at the very heart of this tension between the physical and historical meaning of the city.

For this reason, I discuss numerous questions related to the history of the place first, before conducting my analysis on the chosen moment of history, which is the year of the debate. I start by giving a quick introduction to the history of Vítkov hill from the battle in 1420 until today, covering the period of the state foundation, the Nazi occupation and the communist regime. Following this timeline, the controversial connection between the Hussite and legionary tradition and the formation of the notion of the Unknown Legionary are reached as well.

Lastly, it is necessary to see the memorial place in its complexity: the two monumental buildings serving as a Pantheon, the equestrian sculpture of Jan Žižka, the Tomb of the Unknown Legionary, as well as the hill with its whole landscape. All of the mentioned elements of time and space define the finally studied moment in the life of the memorial.

⁹⁷ Monnet 1993, 11.

2.1.2 From the Hussites to the First World War

In order to gain a better understanding of the Post WW1 era, the Hussite wars provide a good starting point to study Czech history. A detailed description of the historical events is unfortunately outside the scope of this dissertation⁹⁸, but for the purposes of this discussion, it is sufficient to mention that on Vítkov Hill on 14th July 1420 Jan Žižka had his first victory against the united army of the Holy Roman Empire and the Hungarian Kingdom under the leadership of Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg⁹⁹. This victory gave the hill a connotation, which prevents one from looking at the place as tabula rasa. Interestingly, the creation of the memorial place was delayed for almost four centuries.

Although the figure of Jan Žižka got into the pantheon of the Czech mythological heroes, his main cult in Prague had not manifested in architecture until the end of the twentieth century. Three monuments from the four main memorials of Prague were already in place around the start of the First World War: František Palacký, the so called 'Father of Nation', Saint Wenceslas, the Catholic patron saint, and Jan Hus the father of the Czech reformation were remembered. Their memorials through their mythology had already defined the places where they stood.¹⁰⁰

But what was the reason for the lack of Žižka's memorial? According to Galandauer, Czech historian, the explanation can be found in regionalism. Scholars agreed that whilst the construction of a memorial is always a political act¹⁰¹, but it is financial question as well. The fact that Žižka was a national hero apparently was not actual or relevant enough for the state to finance a huge plan of remembrance. Although in 1882 the society for creating the Žižkov memorial in Žižkov (*Spolek pro zbudování Žižkova pomníku na Žižkově*) was founded, for the politicians it remained a regional question of Žižkov, which was not the part of the capital at that time yet.¹⁰²

Finally the First World War gave sufficient relevance to the commemoration of the Žižkov hill battle and Jan Žižka¹⁰³. In order to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the Hussites and the First World War, the role of the

⁹⁸ For this see Bartoš - Klassen 1986.

⁹⁹ Galandauer 2014, 9.

¹⁰⁰ Galandauer 2014, 23.

¹⁰¹ see Hojda- Pokorný 1996,18; Póto 2003, 17-19.

¹⁰² Galandauer 2014, 25.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

Czechoslovak legions played in the birth of the autonomous Czechoslovakia needs to be further discussed. During the First World War Czechoslovak legions were formed in Russia, Italy and France to fight against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy not just as a part of the War, but as a liberation war.¹⁰⁴ As the legions wore and used symbols of the Hussites, their role also got associated with the old traditions¹⁰⁵. Tomas Masaryk in 1917 in his letter written to the Czechoslovak brigade in Zborov addressed them as new Hussites.¹⁰⁶ This nationalist activity against the Monarchy and especially Austria served as the basis of the similarity with the Hussite wars for the commemorators.

Immediately after the First World War and the foundation of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the image of the legions cult was constructed under the ideological leadership of President Tomas Masaryk. It is interesting that not only the concept of the reformation and the legions fighting for the nation melted together in this stormy period of the Czech history, but the perception of Catholicism and Austrian traditions merged as well. This was the reason for the nationalists mobbing¹⁰⁷ of the Marian Column from the Old Town Square¹⁰⁸ and the disappearance of the Radecky sculpture from the Malostranske Square after the fall of the Monarchy.¹⁰⁹

There is a controversial fact around this aggressive memory forming process. It is understandable that the long-standing tradition of the Habsburg Empire got suppressed, but in fact the number of the legionaries was not even close to the Czech soldiers fallen in the uniform of the K und K army. Actually thirteen per cent of the Imperial Army consisted of Czech soldiers.¹¹⁰ After the proclamation of the Republic they were forgotten, and the cult of the legionnaires started as the official First World War commemoration.

In 1919 the institution of *Památník odboje* [Resistance memorial] was founded, with the aim to collect written and material sources celebrating the resistance against the Monarchy. In 1920 it became an independent military institution with the

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Volkov 2014.

¹⁰⁵ Galandauer 2014, 26.

¹⁰⁶ Galandauer 2014, 27.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Sinkó 1992, 67-79.

¹⁰⁸ Paces 2009, 1-4 ; Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 21-33.

¹⁰⁹ Hojda- Pokorný 1996, 44-53.

¹¹⁰ Malý 2012a, 48.

leadership of Rudolf Medek, Russian legionary. It was working together with the abovementioned *Spolek*, and finally the two institutions were united in 1926.¹¹¹

The purpose was clear: creating a monumental memorial place for the Legions, which can serve as the manifestation of the glory of the Republic. It is well expressed by the following short story. While Masaryk put down the first stone of the memorial in 1920 he stated: *veritas vincit*. [Truth conquers]¹¹² (Fig. 2.1.1.). The construction of the Museum buildings started in 1927 after the plans of Jan Zázvorka, a former Russian legionary. Originally the first building was supposed to be a pantheon of the leaders of the resistance. (Fig. 2.1.2.) The other building under the hill was planned as an administrative one; at present this is the Military Institute.¹¹³

The title of Galandauer's book written on the topic of Vítkov captures this controversy very expressively: *Chrám Bez Boha Nad Prahou* [Church without God above Prague]¹¹⁴. As later seen, the place was thought to be a kind of national pilgrimage place. Beside this function, its monumental form also closely resembles a church. This modern monumentality, which is close fairly to the totalitarian architecture, provides a kind of sacredness. It is not even far to think the building as an inverted Saint Vitus Cathedral.¹¹⁵

This sacredness leads to the question of religion and nationalism. In the Czech situation one is faced with a less catholic, and more secularized way of remembrance, the same sacredness of nation can be also observed like in the Hungarian case presented in the Chapter 3.1.¹¹⁶

Over three unsuccessful tenders, the plan of Bohumil Kafka was chosen for the Jan Žižka sculpture in 1931. The plan put a great emphasis on realism, following the pattern of the equestrian sculptures in Prague¹¹⁷: Saint Georges, Charles IV and evidentially Saint Wenceslas. In my opinion the last one is an antithesis of the discussed sculpture of the Hussite leader. It maybe shortly mentioned since there is a tension between the Hussite and Catholic memory on the public spaces. Finally due to the stormy history of the hill the sculpture was only finished in 1950.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ Malý 2012a, 48-49.

¹¹² Galandauer 2014, 27.

¹¹³ Malý 2012a, 49.

¹¹⁴ Galandauer 2014.

¹¹⁵ See Wytkovsky 2001, 54.

¹¹⁶ Cf. Paces 2009, 2-3, See Smith 1999, 349.

¹¹⁷ Malý 2012a, 47.

¹¹⁸ Wytkovsky 2001, 43.

The Memorial place of Vítkov hill was opened on the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic in 1938¹¹⁹, only to be desecrated a couple of years during the Nazi occupation. The Germans considered the Vítkov Memorial a sign of betrayal and made use of it as storage for the Nazi army. Later during the communist regime the function of the Memorial changed again, rethought as a communist Pantheon.¹²⁰ This fact shows once more a difference with the Hungarian First World War memory.

During the introduction of the Memorial of Rákoskeresztúr in the comparative chapter it is declared that for the Hungarian communists the memory of the First World War meant the memory of the Monarchy. In contrast, through the example of the Vítkov Memorial it can be seen that for the Czech communist power the legionary memory was transformable into an antifascist and pro-soviet ideology, since it was used as the first revolutionary movement.

However, after the Regime Change in 1989 the place was forced to get back to its originally intended national and military narrative regardless the passed times. Although it became the part of the Czech National Museum, the place lost its sacredness. In my observation it is due to its location in the city, which is discussed in the following sub-chapters.

¹¹⁹ Malý 2012a, 49.

¹²⁰ Cf. Kohout 1951.

58650/3



Fig. 2.1.1. The first Jan Žižka memorial on Vítkov from 1920. Military Archive of Prague. 58650/3.



Figure 2.1.2. The National Vitkov Memorial today. Own photo.

2.1.3. Who is the Unknown Legionary?

Before the introduction of the debate on the Unknown Legionary's final Tomb it is necessary to present and discuss the roots of this question.

The concept of the Unknown Soldier was born with the Great War, in a time of history when France and England had to first experience the burden of numerous anonym bodies. On the front it was not always possible to identify the fallen victims.¹²¹ This was the reason for the creation of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier that represented the loss of the land.¹²²

The intriguing name difference of the cult in the different countries should be highlighted. In France he is the Unknown Soldier, in England the Unknown Warrior, while in Czechoslovakia he became the Unknown Legionary. This fact also emphasises the already mentioned process of creating the cult of the legionary tradition as the sole way to remember the Great War in Czechoslovakia.

The tradition began in 1920's in Czechoslovakia, when in 1922 Rudolf Medek suggested the creation of a national pilgrimage place for the heroes of the battle of Zborov, where on 2 July 1917 many Czech legionaries fell. First a decision was made to construct a Tomb for the Unknown Legionary, who was felt in Zborov, in the chapel of the Old Town Square (Fig. 2.1.3.). It was always meant as a temporary measure, the Tomb was planned to be moved to its final place later.¹²³ Unfortunately during the Nazi occupation in 1941 the Tomb was demolished, as it got declared as the commemoration place for traitors and as a relic of the legionary ideology (Fig. 2.1.4.). The debate on the future of the Tomb was only reopened after the fall of the protectorate.¹²⁴

2.1.4. The Debate on the Replacement of the Tomb of the Unknown Legionary. Where should he Rest in Peace?

The Military Archive of Prague saved a report on the debate of the Unknown Soldier's final tomb among politicians, artists and historians from 1934. I use this document as a source of the arguments that describe the inhabitants' reception of the

¹²¹ Prost - Winter 2004, 228.

¹²² Vilain 1933, 23.; cf. Le Naour 2002.

¹²³ Galandauer 2014, 87.

¹²⁴ Galandauer 2014, 92.

cognitive map of their own city and their relationship to its mythical past. In my understanding the debaters are the urban planning power that can be understood as the strategy-makers with terms of de Certeau.¹²⁵ It is demonstrated in this section how the strategy of the power and the tactics of the inhabitants disagreed, resulting in a failure of the remembrance of the Vítkov Memorial.

First of all, it is worth observing the declared national idea behind the construction of the memorial.¹²⁶ The memorials themselves do not carry an ideology, they gain it through their context, such as speeches and the inscriptions on them. Below I present an extract from the report of the debate that literally reveals the ideology here.

„The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior is the symbol of the collective national heroism and the liberation” [stated the writer of the report] „This is the reason why it is necessary to grab this basic idea through a memorial, which can adore each Unknown Hero of the passed Great War, which was governed in the name of democracy for the liberation of the suppressed nations; and this is the reason why for the further generations the relationship must be kept alive with that sovereign national force, which was unbreakable sometimes against the hostility of most of the World, and with the help of it after centuries the nation emerged from the chains of the foreign government and under the foreign domination.”¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Cf. de Certeau 1990.

¹²⁶ Cf. Chapter 3.1 and the Hungarian symbol of the Sword of God.

¹²⁷ Anketa 1934, 1. Own translation.



Figure 2.1.3. The inauguration of the Tomb of the Unknown Legionary on the Old Town Square. Military Archive of Prague. 859.



Figure 2.1.4. The Tomb of the Unknown Legionary after the Nazi occupation. Military Archive of Prague. 10847.

Even this short extract makes the purposes of the memory formation of the Great War clear in the case of the Czech political elite between the two wars. Nonetheless, in the same period in Hungary the style of public speeches were similar, but the content was different. The greatness of the nation¹²⁸, was replaced by mourning of the losses of the country. However, it is worth reading the following part of the source as well:

*„This is our gratitude for everybody who has shed his blood for the highest idea of the humanity, and their sacrifices were not in vain. Yet to maintain their sacred heritage and preserve it for the coming generations is also obligated”.*¹²⁹

In contrast to Hungary, Czechoslovakia experienced the Great War as a successful liberation war with necessary sacrifices, putting heroism to the core of the remembrance after the war. Czechoslovakia was celebrating its birth through the First World War memorials, while Hungary was waiting for a rebirth like a Phoenix rising from its own ashes.

2.1.4.1. Nodes and landmarks

With a solid understanding of the importance and the meaning of the Tomb, the debate of its replacement is now presented.

The international tradition is the first mentioned example for the new location of the Tomb. *„Where mostly the state buried its Unknown Warriors often among sovereigns, members of the dynasties and the greatest national heroes. This is why the English Unknown Warrior dominates Westminster Abbey, and the French Unknown Warrior is under the Arch of Triumph.”* – argued the source.¹³⁰ This is the reason why the debaters were looking for an already glorious place in the city to relocate the grave, and why the soldier is called Warrior and not Legionary yet.

The discussion considered historically significant spaces in the capital, which can be called nodes in Kevin Lynch's terminology¹³¹. Regarding the nodes the most important proposals were the Old Town Square, the Castle and the Saint Wenceslas

¹²⁸ Cf. Section 3.1 on the Sword of God.

¹²⁹ Anketa 1934, 1. Own translation.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ Lynch 1960, 46.

Square. Less popular, but mentioned nodes were Malostranske Square and Mariankse Square in front of the City Library. The source does not mention it, but the most important building here is the New City Hall, which connects the Square to the pattern of the previously discussed governing nodes. The proposal of the Gunpowder Tower in the Republic Square can be understood as a node and a landmark at the same time¹³². Nevertheless Kevin Lynch emphasised that his categories can turn into each other depending on the scale of observation.¹³³ However, the nodes were really considered as serious plans. (Fig. 2.1.5.)

The other group of ideas of replacement focused on landmarks, therefore, for instance the hill of Vyšehrad was also thought to be an appropriate place for the Tomb. Only in this context was Vítkov hill listed, which is its final place at present.¹³⁴ In an earlier period of the debate the Říp hill, as an originally national pilgrimage place, was also mentioned as the location of the Tomb of the Unknown Legionary.¹³⁵ In this example it is clear that a landmark does not have to necessarily belong to the city to be considered a part of it. This was the reason why suburbs and the area surrounding Prague were considered as a location during the debate.

Let us now discuss the arguments pro and contra for the proposed places.

2.1.4.2. The Castle

The first option was offered by Jan Bedřich Novák, Czech historian, and supported by President Masaryk. According to this plan the place of the Tomb would be the third courtyard of the Castle in connection with the Monolith¹³⁶, which was erected as a WW1 memorial. It is interesting to observe that the representation of the Czech monarchy, the Castle hill was integrated into the notion of the republic. The Castle serves even today as a governing place in Prague, in contrast to the Hungarian situation, where it only had cultural roles after the wars. Placing the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior to the Castle would have created a direct connection between the past and present, because through the sacrifices of the legions the Czech nation was

¹³² Anketa, 1934, 1-3.

¹³³ Lynch 1960, 48.

¹³⁴ Anketa 1934, 3.

¹³⁵ Galandauer 2014, 88.

¹³⁶ Anketa 1934, 2.

able to become a republic. Masaryk could support this idea, because he personally made a point of transforming the Castle into the symbol of the republic.¹³⁷

2.1.4.3. A proposed New Parliament building

Following the same thoughtprocess there was another proposal which supported the relationship between the Unknown Soldier and the governing power. Namely there was a plan for constructing a new building for the Parliament. It was suggested that the Tomb could be placed in front of this new representative building.¹³⁸ Since the new Parliament has been never built, the grave was not transferred in front of it. Nonetheless, the basic idea behind it was the same, like in the case of the Castle courtyard, the representation of the Republic.

2.1.4.4. Hradčanské Square

Still in close connection to the Castle, an earlier option is worth mentioning. Galandauer in his excellent book hinted at a previous debate when the Hradčanské Square was taken into consideration as a place for the Tomb. This place was refused because of the shadow of Přemysl Oráč [the Ploughman], whose statue was intended to be there. He was a mythical figure who married Libuše, founder of Prague according to the traditions. He is held as the dynasty founder of the Přemyslids.¹³⁹ However, it was not enough for him after the First World War to stay in the interwar national pantheon. He was declared to be the symbol of peasants; therefore a place connected to him was not appropriate for the Unknown Soldier¹⁴⁰.

2.1.4.5. Old Town Square

The second most serious plan in 1934 was leaving the Tomb in the Old Town Square. According to the report the majority of the proposals suggested locations close to the memorial of Jan Hus or even its original place in the chapel of the Town Hall. Nonetheless, the last one was not widely supported. The reason of the rejection is declared literally already in the beginning of the report:

¹³⁷ Cf. Orzoff 2009.

¹³⁸ Anketa 1934, 3., See Orzoff 2009.

¹³⁹ For the myth see Demetz 1998.

¹⁴⁰ Galandauer 2014, 87.

„Its current place is not acceptable for the grave of the Unknown warrior [...] The remains cannot be placed here, only for temporary period, because it would be the detriment of the piety felt for the great martyrs, who gave their dearest lives for the liberation of the homeland and the independent state. [...] The Tomb of the Unknown Warrior is the symbol of collective national heroism and of liberation.”¹⁴¹

Therefore, the provisory location of the Tomb in the Old Town chapel was not thought to be representing the autonomous nation sufficiently, besides being the most busy node of the city. One of the reasons was the bloody memory of the executions, which were held on the Square in the seventeenth century. The other explanation is a practical one, because chapel was too narrow for holding commemorations. Nevertheless, not everybody disagreed with the Old Town Square as a location for the Tomb.

For example, Jan Štursa, respected Czech sculptor, who was already dead at the time of the debate, previously had advised to locate the Tomb in a calm corner of the Square. His actual intention was to put his own work, the sculpture of *Raněný*, the wounded soldier above the Tomb. The proposal was refused. The reasoning of the refusal was that the image of the tragic sacrifice did not fit the image of glorious resistance. *„Then it was obvious that we have to treat the Tomb of the Hero separately”* – stated the report.¹⁴² Nonetheless, the *Raněný* was recreated after 1990, and today it stands in the Vítkov Memorial and in the artist’s hometown, in Nové Město na Moravě.¹⁴³ (Fig. 2.1.6.)

2.1.4.6. Wenceslas Square

After the mentioned conclusion of the report it might seem surprising that the Tomb was not treated separately from the places overloaded with historical meaning during the debate. the Tomb was not treated separately from the places overloaded with historical meaning during the debate. The Wenceslas Square was also suggested as a

¹⁴¹ Anketa, 1934, 1-2. Own translation.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Štursa created the bust of President Masaryk and the sculpture of František Palacký. For Jan Štursa’s biography and work see Mašín- Honty 1981, Wittlich 2008.

final location of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Vojtěch Kerhart architect advised that the grave should be connected to the Saint Wenceslas sculpture of Josef Václav Myslbek. Unfortunately, the source does not state the exact reason of the refusal, yet it indicated some 'communicational problems' during the debate. The only other explanation was the Wenceslas Square being too crowded because of the transportation, so this is not a peaceful location for a grave¹⁴⁴.

The other proposal for Wenceslas Square included the closer connection with the National Museum standing at the end of the Square behind the sculpture of Saint Wenceslas. The location would be the hall of the Museum called Pantheon, which consists of busts and statues of the great Czech intellectuals. Furthermore, the walls of the hall are decorated with paintings on the Czech history. This arrangement would have resulted in the soldier resting in peace among the greatest Czechs, but „*his peace cannot be disturbed by such painful events from the past, but it should represent always the everlasting life.*” This was the reason of the rejection of the proposal.¹⁴⁵

2.3.4.7. Final placement in 1949

The described debates represented one horizontal cut of the map of the city in the year of 1934. However, the final location of the Tomb was decided only in 1949. The situation clearly changed with the passing time. The Second World War and the Nazi occupation radically changed the image of the city and the usage of the public places. Although, the landscape of Prague remained almost constant due to the planned renovations¹⁴⁶, the history of the places become more overwhelmed than before.

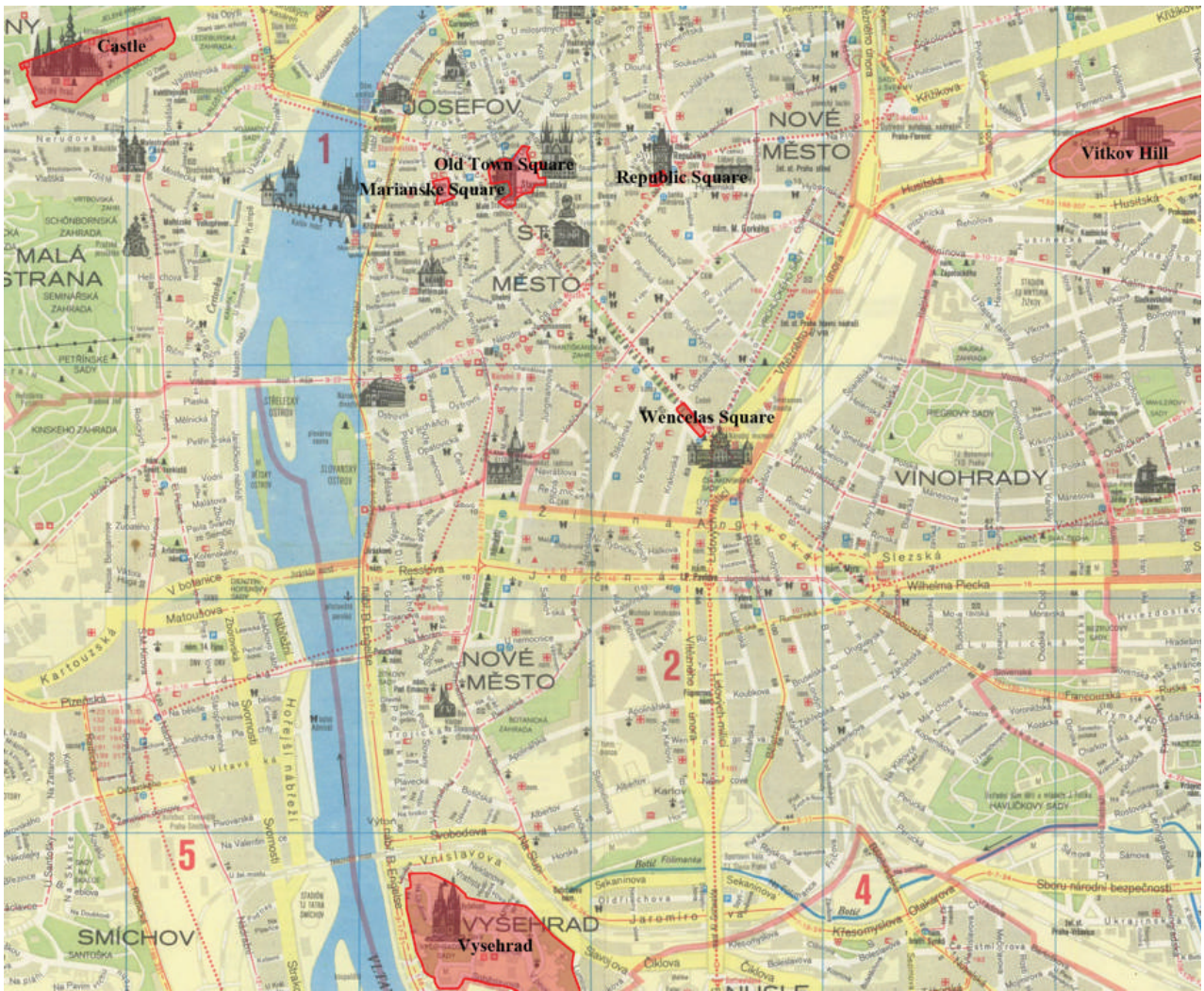
Even the Tomb itself was desecrated when the Nazis demolished it, because the inhabitants treated it as the symbol of their resistance. After this abuse the Tomb could be considered as just an effigy. In Western Europe in the Middle Ages an effigy represented the immortality of the kingdom after the death of the king and preceding the crowing of the new king¹⁴⁷. The shadow of the empty Tomb had this mediating role after the destruction of the remains.

¹⁴⁴ Anketa, 1934, 2-3.

¹⁴⁵ Anketa, 1934, 3. Own translation.

¹⁴⁶ Paces 2009, 7.

¹⁴⁷ See Kantorowicz 1997.



2.1.5. The mentioned places on the map of Prague.



Figure 2.1.6.
The Raněný in the chapel of the Vítkov Memorial.
Own photo.

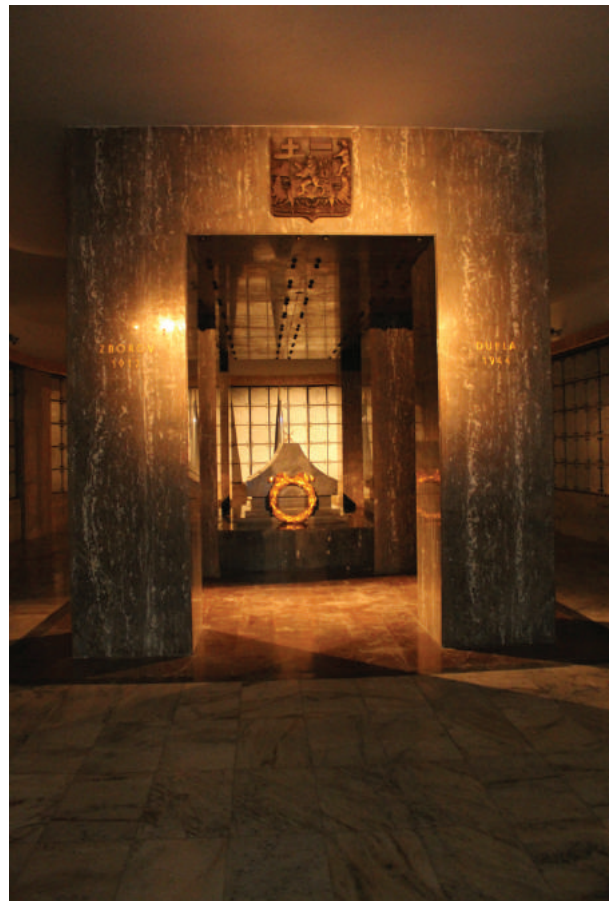


Figure 2.1.7.
The Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Vítkov nowadays.
Own photo.

However, the new Unknown Soldier who was placed into the Tomb was the dead of the Second World War¹⁴⁸, the idea that his body carried remained the same. He refilled the wrecked Tomb with the ideology of resistance after the end of the protectorate as well.

At last, the communist political power closed the debate. In 1949 the Tomb found its place in the also Nazi-occupied and desecrated Vítkov hill, under the statue of Jan Žižka. There is no place here to discuss the communist history of the Vítkov Memorial, which was considered to be a proletarian pantheon, and later a mausoleum for Klement Gottwald, Czech communist leader.¹⁴⁹ Nowadays inside the Tomb two soldiers' bodies remind us to the stormy past of the hill.¹⁵⁰ The side of the stone grave functions as a columbarium.¹⁵¹ (Fig. 2.1.7).

The final place is still not a value-neutral location even without paying attention to the evidential communist point of view. It is worth mentioning that at present the Tomb is directly connected to a Hussite sculpture and not to a Catholic one, as it was considered in the case of the Wenceslas Square. However, as Paces argued, the memory of Saint Wenceslas did not contradict the celebration of the Hussites, like Saint John of Nepomuk or the Virgin Mary did in the nationalist memory-politics. The reason of the tolerance was Wenceslas' martyrdom for the land, and Masaryk supported this myth from the beginning.¹⁵²

2.1.5. Conclusion

After looking through the main turning points of the history of the Memorial, now it is possible to see the image of the city from the planners' perspective with the help of the theory of Kevin Lynch. The largest difference between the plans mentioned in the debate and the final place is in the form of the location, not only in its ideological background. The Vítkov hill is not a node, while the previous debate had mostly articulated around nodes of Prague: Old Town Square, Castle courtyard, Republic Square or Wenceslas Square. It is not a landmark combined with a node either, such

¹⁴⁸ Galandauer 2014, 125

¹⁴⁹ Cf. Galandauer 2014, 139, 218. cf. Kohout 1951.

¹⁵⁰ Galandauer 2014, 125.

¹⁵¹ Wytkovsky 2001, 56.

¹⁵² Paces 2001, 221-222.

as the Gunpowder Tower, the Castle or the Old Town Hall. The Vítkov hill is a classical landmark, and can be classified even as more of an edge. (Fig. 2.1.5.)

The theoretical reason for choosing a landmark is understandable. It is an emblematic sign in the city, noticeable from far away by the observer. In contrast to a node it is not crowded or noisy. Therefore, it provides a place for silent piety. Indeed, climbing a hill is a physical suffering, which stands for expressing the respect for the visited object. In that sense reaching a mountain landmark is a small pilgrimage. The idea behind the final replacement sounds almost reasonable, but it also entails several issues.

Ivan Malý, Czech historian, claimed that the Vítkov hill is a place for non-remembering. In his article he described how the Vítkov Memorial had slipped away from the memory of the city. Malý blamed the communist regime for this process when the Monument got its communist layer of meaning, therefore nowadays many inhabitant of Prague perceive it as a communist memorial¹⁵³. This is one explanation for refusing the commemorations on the hill.

Besides, in my opinion this process is similar to Aleida Assmann's notion of passive forgetting¹⁵⁴. The reason for not remembering is not a forced memory political intention for erasing the memory of all the symbols that are represented on the hill. Rather it was due to its unfrequented location. It is not easy to reach the Vítkov hill by transport and it is hard to be approached; as a result it is not visited often. Due to the shape of the hill there is not enough place around the Tomb to hold huge celebrations, thus participation on the anniversaries and commemorations is limited. As a conclusion of this forgetting process the Vítkov hill has moved from memory to history¹⁵⁵. As Malý argued the Vítkov Memorial has become a dead spot,¹⁵⁶ to an extent where the TV-tower and not the Memorial could be argued to have become the main landmark of. The always winner Vítkov hill has lost this battle in the communicative memory¹⁵⁷.

¹⁵³ Malý 2012b, 12.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Assmann, A. 2008, 99.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. Nora 1984.

¹⁵⁶ Malý 2012b, 12.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Assman J. 1992.

2.2. The results of the content analysis of the WW1 memorials in Prague

In this chapter the results of the content analysis made on the WW1 memorials of Prague are presented and interpreted.

As indicated in Chapter 1.3 the methodology used in the thesis is based on qualitative and quantitative research. The bases of my analyses are the memorials which are visual sources. The interpretations cannot be ad hoc descriptions, as detailed knowledge of their context is required. Therefore, case studies based on written sources support the quantitative content analyses in order to understand the memorial in their own context and avoid anachronism and subjective misinterpretation of the symbols. In case of the Czech memorials the previous chapter on the National Vítkov Monument intended to frame the present content analysis. It is necessary to keep in mind the conclusions and details of the mentioned case study, as well as, during the interpretation of the result each occurring symbol is elaborated in the understanding frames of the Czech nationalism.

2.2.1. Description of the methodology

Before presenting the outcome it is essential to present the detailed methodology of the analysis. Content analysis is used in social sciences as an unobstructive research method. It is applicable for examining a large amount and scale of *texts*. In this meaning the word *text* should not be understood only as a set of written sources, but as any kind of material consisting of structured signs, such as films, news or photos.¹⁵⁸ The robustness of the method is clearly demonstrated by James Duncan in his pioneer work, *The city as text*, where implicitly he used a form of content analysis for analysing the city.¹⁵⁹ In the present study my research material is the corpus of the WW1 memorials of Prague.

The content analysis consists of three parts. These are firstly the creation of the codes, which will be applied on the collected material, secondly the process of encoding, and finally the interpretation of the results. I classified (encoded) 73 memorials in 31 main categories and more subcategories according to their form, iconographical elements, location, dating, inscriptions, financial supporters, as well as

¹⁵⁸ For the details of the method see in Babbie 2012.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Duncan 1990.

aims and objects of commemoration. Related to these main categories several subcodes were developed in order to achieve the desired level of details during the research.¹⁶⁰ Preceding the content analyses the 73 memorials were collected together with all the known information about them into a table, and they were located on maps for spatial analysis.

The main challenge of content analysis is to remain valid and reliable at the same time.¹⁶¹ Therefore I used two types of categories (a more objective and a more subjective) for reaching both conditions. I focused mainly on reliability by creating objective codes describing the iconographical details, but I also attempted to catch the subtle meaning of the iconography of the memorials in order to fulfil the requirement of validity with the help of more subjective codes. These codes focus on the monument as a whole picture rather than a set of separated elements. In the following sections I show the results of the analysis while framing them into the context of the Czech nationalism.

2.2.2. Location

As part of the content analysis, I first observed the spatial relations of the examined monuments (Fig. 2.2.1.). Jérôme Monnet, French geographer, who studied the politics of the urban memory, underlined the role of the *centrum* and periphery in the research of the image of the urban power. According to Monnet, occupying the centrum is the interest of the authority.¹⁶² Therefore I paid particular attention to the locations relative to the city centre of Prague.

2.2.2.1. The memorials of the inner city

The analysis of the location of the WW1 memorials in Prague resulted in interesting findings. On Map 2.2.1. it can be noticed that the inner city of Prague which is considered as the core districts of the later *Velká Praha* before 1922¹⁶³, is almost empty. (Fig. 2.2.2.) From the originally here erected six memorials only one can be declared as a clear First World War monument. The others were removed or reinterpreted.

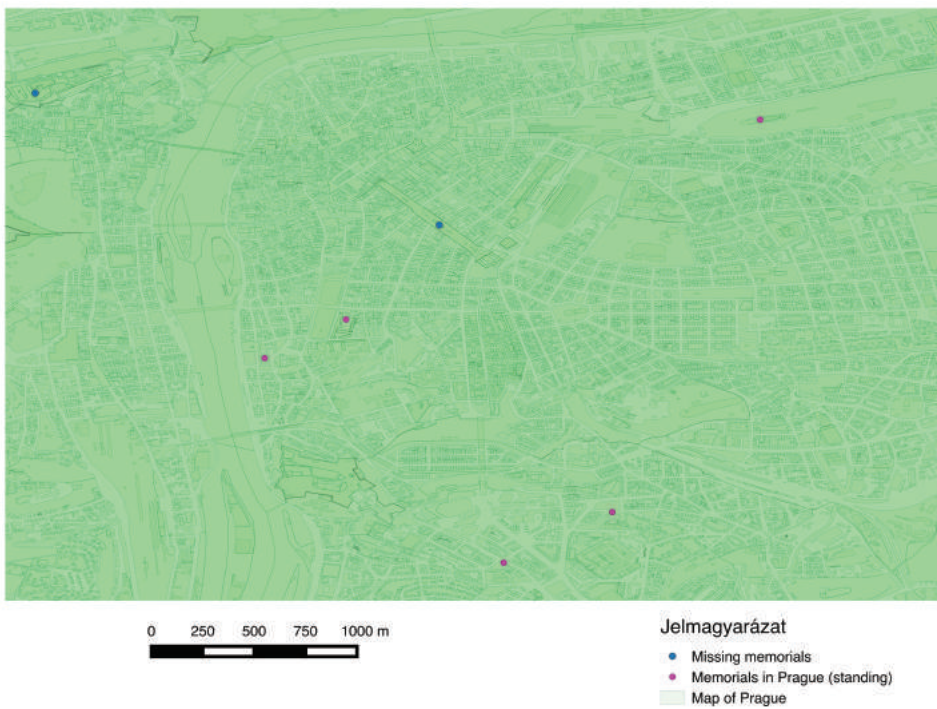
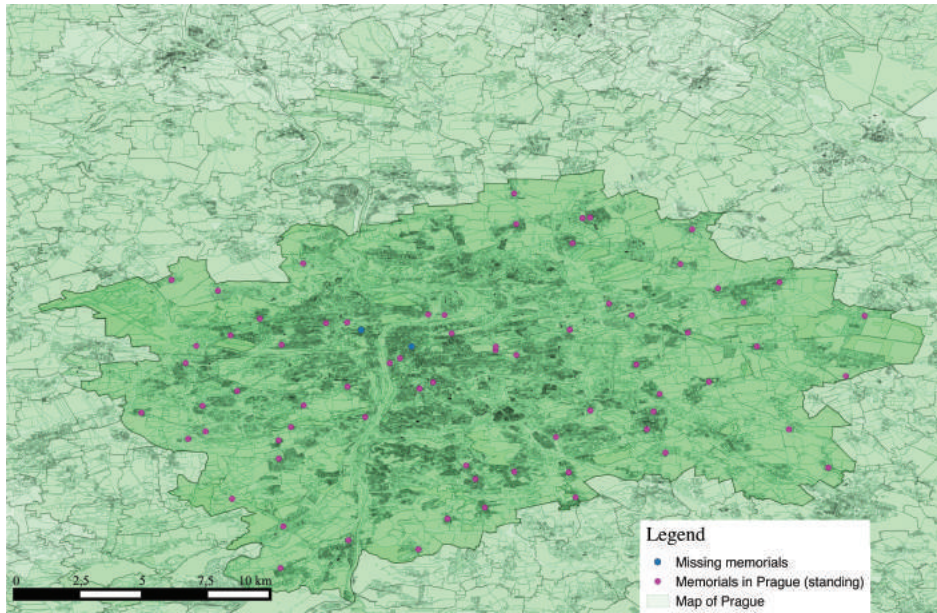
¹⁶⁰ See the list of the codes in the Appendix.

¹⁶¹ For the details of the problem of the validity and reliability concerning the content analysis see Babbie 2012, 112-118.

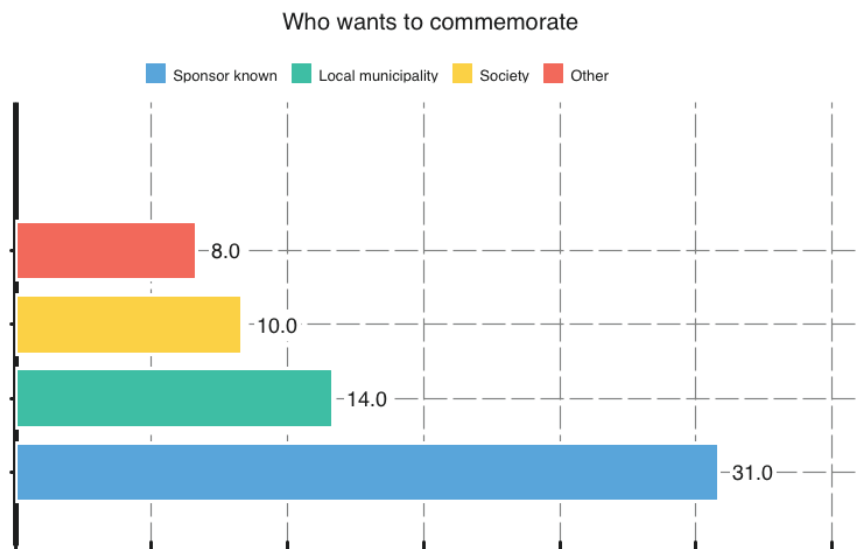
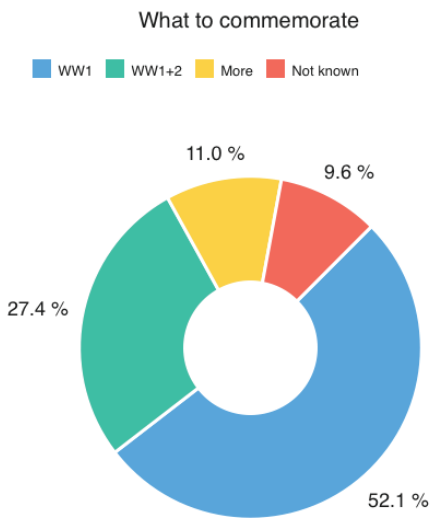
¹⁶² Monnet 1993, 184.

¹⁶³ For the construction of the bigger city in 1922 and its consequences see Paces 2009, 86.

2.2.1. All the WW1 memorials constructed in Prague. Own map.



2.2.2. All the WW1 memorials constructed in Prague. Inner city. Own map.



2.2.3. Diagram on the distribution of the commissioners.

2.2.4. Diagram on the distribution of the commissioners.

By now, from the original six memorials two were removed. Two of them are surrounded by fences, therefore they do not carry a direct message to the public space. Those ones which deliver the message, were standing on prominent places such as the Castle or the Vítkov hill, functioning as landmarks. However, the memorial in the Castle, the so-called Monolith is not purely a WW1 memorial, since it was reinterpreted by its location close to the Castle. The situation is even more complicated in the case of the second example, the Vítkov hill, due to the complicated history of serving the memory politics of subsequent regime.

After this selection only one monument dedicated directly to the legionaries remained in the inner city. However, looking through the history, it can be later seen that this legionary monument has not been standing on the same spot over the regimes. Consequently there were years in the history of Prague, when there was a lack of the direct WW1 memorials on the public places of the inner city.

In contrast to Budapest, there was not a single act for allocating the memorials after the war in Prague. The most significant memorials standing in important public spaces were ordered and erected by the government, serving propagandistic aims.

2.2.2.2. The memorials of the outer city

According to the inscriptions, the other founders can be the municipalities of the villages and small towns that surrounded Prague before the union of Velká Praha, as well as societies or private groups and persons inhabiting these territories. In the mentioned situations there can be other explanations to the inaugurations of the memorials than state propaganda. In the outer districts of the current Prague two different intentions can reflect on the inaugurations of the monuments. (Fig. 2.2.3)

On the one hand, it is the spontaneous commemoration that signifies the smaller societies, such as villages. In these communities the locals influenced by their own grief ordered and financed the monuments dedicated to their fallen. Although after 1922 these villages melted into Prague, their value system did not turn into a metropolitan lifestyle suddenly. Therefore in the set of analysed materials there are excellent examples of memorials inspired by personal mourning.

On the other hand, the monuments erected by municipalities may confirm the basic hypothesis of this paper on the visual representation of national feelings. According to Moriarty, British historian, the unveilings are the rites of the process in which the personal grief is transformed into collective mourning. She claims directly that grief turns into pride.¹⁶⁴ In my view this progress can be seen on the monuments erected by municipalities. While they are close to the lost citizens, they adapt and incorporate the propagated governmental narrative of the commemoration. In my opinion, the two views are compatible, reaching a compromise where in practice while the erectors want to commemorate their dead, their intentions and expressions met the demands of the officially suggested commemorative discourse.

After the question of the centrum and periphery, my analysis focused on the contest of the urban memories in the inner city of Prague, where a lateral or horizontal memory division can be observed. In the 19th century the secular monuments started to replace the religious statues.¹⁶⁵ From those times to the Great War there was a monument boom in Prague.¹⁶⁶ At the turn of the 20th centuries the basic occupation of the public spaces by the national memory was almost finished. This process created strict and separated districts for the horizontal urban commemoration close to each other.

2.2.2.3. The horizontal memory divisions of the inner city

It resulted in urban places ruled by mythical and historical national figures and symbols, such as St. Wenceslas (1912)¹⁶⁷, Jan Hus (1915) and the leaders of the National revival like František Palacký (1911)¹⁶⁸, Alois Jirásek and Josef Jungmann (1878),¹⁶⁹ or the Castle, which can be understood as symbol of the Czech crown and the medieval kingdom. Later this repertoire was extended, for example, with the Jewish memory or the remembrance of Jan Palach. This status quo was disturbed by the so-called 'statue wars', as described in the next section. Where a stratigraphy of memories can be noticed, there is usually a memory-conflict. In these cases, beside

¹⁶⁴ Moriarty 1997, 135.

¹⁶⁵ Paces-Wingfield 2005, 108.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

¹⁶⁷ Hojda – Pokorný 1996, 114.

¹⁶⁸ See Paces-Wingfield 2005, 108.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. Hojda – Pokorný 1996, 57.

the spatiality, the temporality should get more attention during the analysis. Consequently, for the WW1 memory the inner city was not a *tabula rasa*.

In contrast, the memory of WW2 was able to find free places for itself in the inner city. If you imagine the city as text, a where the particular memorials of the city are the words that create commemorative sentences, but the WW2 monuments are the spaces among the words. They are between the lines everywhere, and the sentence has always a subtle meaning because of their rhythm. The memory of the WW2 covers Prague as a net. It means that while being a *flâneur* in the city some significant memorials can catch the eyes, but on every corner one can face with WW2 memorials.

The reason for it may be that the city suffered directly during the Second World War with almost the entire Jewish population getting deported. For the city itself the Second World War was a more shocking experience than the previous war. The staggering difference in the number of WW1 memorials compared to the WW2 monuments can be also observed on Map 2.2.1. Moreover, one third of the WW1 memorials were also WW2 memorial at the same time. (Fig. 2.2.4)

It was necessary to looking through the spatial relations of the WW1 memorials, since they cannot be read out of context. In the next chapter it can be seen that the political and social power which was in charge of the arrangement of the public memory had an attempt to solve the memory contest with cleaning the public spaces and not with erecting memorials.

2.2.3. 'Statue wars' and disappeared monuments

Most of the WW1 memorials of Prague were erected in the first decade of the First Republic. However, they were not constructed in a vacuum of memory, but as a part of urban and memory politics. In the time of their constructions, in the 1920s one can talk about, with the worlds of Paces, some kind of 'statue wars'.¹⁷⁰ The beginnings of the statue wars took place immediately after the proclamation of the republic. Looking through the intentions behind these removal some essential national questions of the Czech memory politics can be highlighted.

There were various conflicts in the commemoration on the public places. There was a tension between the German (e.g. the statues of Joseph II) and the Czech,

¹⁷⁰ Paces- Wingfield 2005, 108.

the Habsburg and the national, the religious and the secular, the catholic and the protestant memories. After the proclamation of the republic in 1918 the transformation of the public places started as an attempt to solve these conflicts.¹⁷¹

The first and most known mobbing of a statue happened in 1918, when the crowd coming from the commemoration of the Bílá Hora (White Mountain) battle wrecked the Column of Virgin Mary (*Mariánský sloup*) on the Old Town Square. Understanding the historical and symbolical complexity of this case may require some additional explanation.¹⁷² At first, the lost battle of Bílá Hora in 1620 meant for the Czech the declaration of the two hundred years of Habsburg domination and became the symbol of the suppression of the nation.¹⁷³ Secondly, the seemingly neutral and religious monument of Virgin Mary was erected as a sign of the Habsburg victory in the Thirty Year War.¹⁷⁴ Generally, the Virgin Mary and the catholic saints together with the baroque style were connected to the Habsburg dynasty in the urban commemoration.¹⁷⁵ In practice the Czech clergy was protesting against the common idea of melting together the Imperial and the catholic memory, but eventually they lost this memorial war. The solution for this tension is presented in the following passages.

Since 1889 there was a committee formed by Czech nationalists in order to construct a Jan Hus memorial in Prague.¹⁷⁶ For them Jan Hus represented purely the battle for the use of the Czech language, but the catholic clergy feared the commemoration of the Czech reformation. They had contested for 25 years against the sharing of the most important square of the Czech lands between the catholic and protestant memory.¹⁷⁷ Nevertheless, in 1915 the Jan Hus memorial was inaugurated next to the Mariánský Column on the small Old Town Square.¹⁷⁸

They lived together only for three years. The mobbing of the Mariánský Column was declared a form of iconoclasm by Paces.¹⁷⁹ In her understanding, the extreme nationalists found the newly created official national symbols unsatisfactory,

¹⁷¹ Paces- Wingfield 2005, 115.

¹⁷² i.m. 116.

¹⁷³ Hojda – Pokorný 1996, 117.

¹⁷⁴ According to Hojda and Pokorný, it was understood as a 'Bíla Hora memorial'. Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 30.

¹⁷⁵ i.m. 114.

¹⁷⁶ Hojda – Pokorný 1996, 81.

¹⁷⁷ For the whole debate see Hojda – Pokorný 1996, 79-91.

¹⁷⁸ Paces-Wingfield 2005, 115.

¹⁷⁹ Paces-Wingfield 2005, 115.

and they expressed it by attacking the catholic memorials in the name of the Czech Hussitism.¹⁸⁰ However, it was just the beginning of the statue wars.

The history of the statues of Saint John of Nepomuk can prove that this process was straight against the Catholic Church. Saint John of Nepomuk was declared a national saint by the counter-reformation. However, in the 20th period his figure was treated as part of the Habsburg propaganda.¹⁸¹ The removal of his baroque statue from Dobruvice is an emblematic story, since it involved official institutions taking part in the removal process.¹⁸² There are several conclusions worth discussing here. Firstly, the national-religious feelings worked separately from the religion, since the 90% of the Czech population was catholic due to the aggressive recatholisation.¹⁸³ Secondly, the artistic value was overwritten by the political meaning. This second conclusion is one of the most important principals during the study of the memorials.

In the 1920s the Dobruvice incident was followed by more atrocities mostly on the German habited boarder areas. The main targets of removing the movements were the memorials of Joseph II and some statues of the catholic saints.¹⁸⁴ These mobbing incidents ended in physical violence between the Czech, the German and the Jewish populations, and many times the former legionnaires were involved as aggressors.¹⁸⁵ In 1920 this clash reached Prague as well. The conflict was solved by authorities favouring the interest of Czech nationalism. In 1923 an act was made on the removal of any statues that can be connected to the Habsburg or Hohenzollern dynasties from the public spaces, in order defend the republic.¹⁸⁶

Beside the statues of the previous regimes, the WW1 memorials also had to suffer from the removal actions of the later regimes. Because of the restricted topic of this study, I only discuss a few instances of this political *damnatio memoriae*. These examples are concentrated around the most significant public places of Prague.

As already emphasised in the beginning of this chapter, the central location of the memorials is crucial. The memorial of the *cadets*, present on archive photos, disappeared from the Castle district. (Fig. 2.2.5.). From Smíchov district the Germans

¹⁸⁰ i.m. 116

¹⁸¹ i.m. 117.

¹⁸² Cf. Hojda – Pokorný 1996, 30., Paces-Wingfield 2005, 117.

¹⁸³ Paces-Wingfield 2005, 108.

¹⁸⁴ For more removing actions see Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 44-53, 136-143.

¹⁸⁵ Paces – Wingfield 2005, 120.

¹⁸⁶ Sbírký zákonů a nařízení státu československéhoho 50/1923. (Prague 1923). 207-17. [Law for the defence of the Republic]. Cf. Paces-Wingfield 2005, 121.

removed a memorial in 1940; its destruction is documented by photos in detail. (Fig. 2.2.6 a-d.) The memorial was restored since then, but not on its original place.

Hojda and Pokorný elaborately analysed the so-called *Praha svým vítězným synům* [Prague for its victorious sons] memorial, the only memorial in the inner city dedicated only to the legionaries which does not function as a grave or cenotaph. It would be wrong to assume that it have been always on its current spot. On the contrary, it is only a realistic replica of the original memorial, which was reconstructed after fragments, drawings and photos in 1998. (Fig. 2.2.7.).

Originally, this memorial was erected on the anniversary of the proclamation of the Republic in 1932. (Fig. 2.2.8.). The sculptor was Josef Mařatka, who had already planned WW1 memorials for Czechoslovakia by that time.¹⁸⁷ The legionary memorial in front of the Emmaus monastery in Prague consists of a granite obelisk surrounded by bronze figures. The story of the obelisk deserves further attention. The 16-metre-high stone pillar was originally designed for the legionary memorial in the Prague Castle. However, during the transportation it has broken. The broken part was donated by President Masaryk for the new legionary memorial.¹⁸⁸

There are eight figures on the memorial: one Italian, two Russian and four French legionaries and a woman holding a flag composed of linden leaves. The interpretation of these elements is detailed in the sub-section 2.2.4. written on iconography. At this point it is sufficient to mention, as Hojda and Pokorný pointed it out, that these sculptures were the direct opposite of the intentionally simplified soldier representations. The sculptor Mařatka paid attention to every detail, while so far the soldier figures were mostly generalized.

Hojda and Pokorný argued that it followed the clear path that was founded by the crystallized ideology of the First Republic by that time. It was the idea of the independent Czech land which was born from the sacrifices of the legionaries who turned against the Imperial army. Nevertheless, for this reason during the Nazi occupation the memorial contrasted with the German image of the city, therefore the most important legionary monument was removed, and was absent from Prague for more than half a century.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 171-172.

¹⁸⁸ Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 173.

¹⁸⁹ Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 174.



2.2.5. Memorial of the cadets. Military Archive of Prague. 58327.



2.2.6. a. Removing the reliefs of the memorial in Smíchov. Military Archive of Prague.



2.2.6. b. Relief of the memorial in Smíchov. Military Archive of Prague. 58330.



frontový relief

2.2.6. c. Relief of the memorial in Smíchov. Military Archive of Prague. 58330.



bojový relief

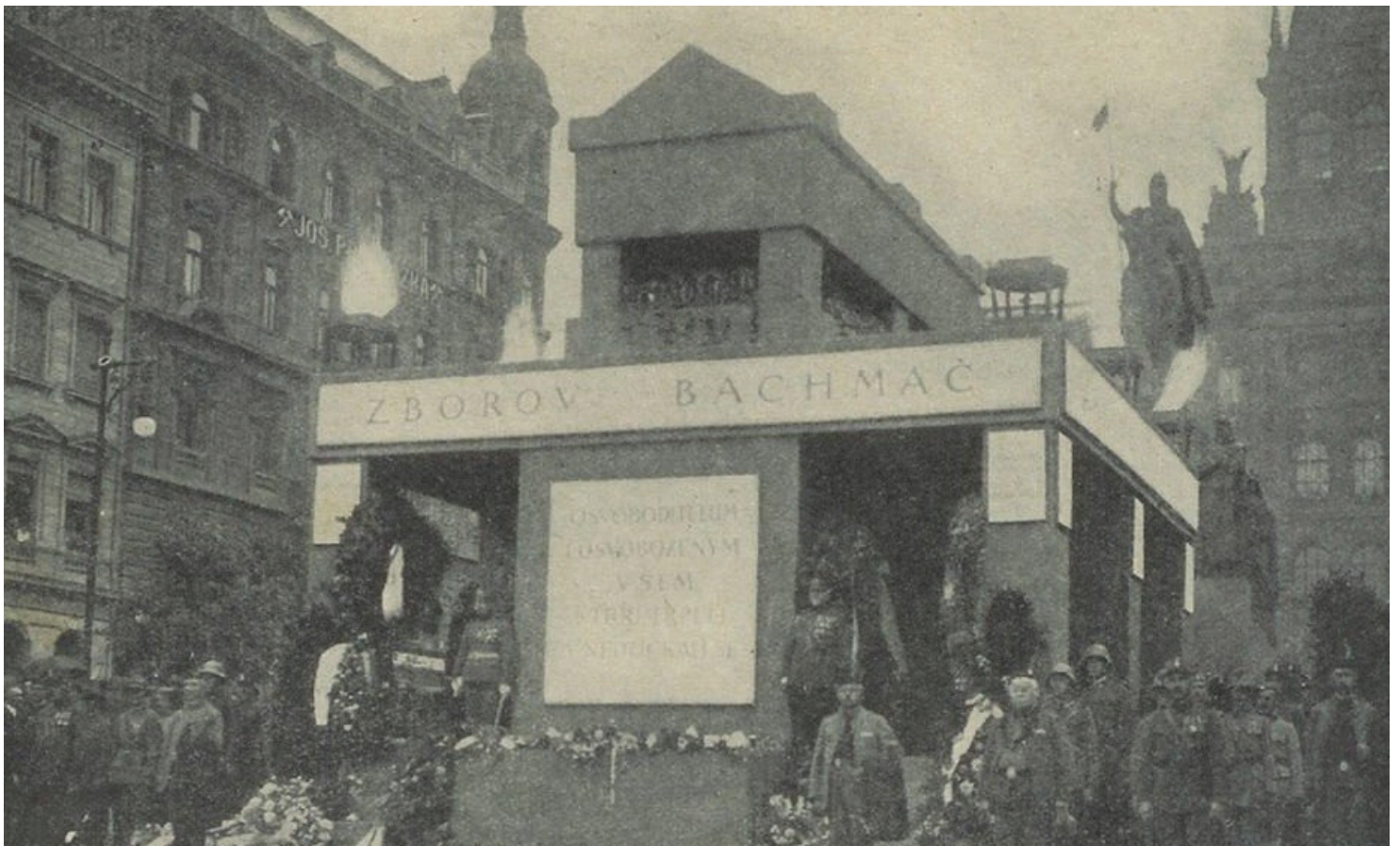
2.2.6. d. The memorial in Smíchov. Military Archive of Prague. 58023.



2.2.7. The Legenary memorial. Praha svým vítězným synům. Own photo. 2015.



2.2.8. The Legenary memorial. Praha svým vítězným synům. Military Archive of Prague. 53011.



2.2.9. The temporary cenotaph on the Wenceslas Square.

Source: <http://www.vets.cz/vpm/mista/obec/237-praha-1/> Downloaded on 30.06.2016. 21.42.



2.2.10. The second cenotaph on the Wenceslas Square.

Source: <http://www.vets.cz/vpm/mista/obec/237-praha-1/> Downloaded on 30.06.2016. 21.42.

A significantly located, but ephemeral WW1 monument was erected in front of the statue of Saint Wenceslas. Two memorials followed each other on the square, as observed on archive photographs. (Fig. 2.2.9.) The temporary one was inaugurated in 1918 with second memorial replacing it, intended to be a more permanent one. (Fig. 2.2.10.). Both of them followed the same scheme with monumental sarcophagi or cenotaphs surrounded by huge oil lamps. Its most important element was its relationship with its place. The actual and almost physical correspondence with the St. Wenceslas memorial cannot be ignored. The two memorials, the legionary and the saint king's were built closely next to each other. As a result, the legionary memorial caught the eye first, since it was constructed in the very front of the St. Wenceslas statue.

The St. Wenceslas square is the second most remarkable square in Prague. Now it is perhaps worth remembering what happened between 1915 and 1918 on the most important square of Prague, on the Old Town Square during the memory competition of the Jan Hus memorial and the Maria Column (*Mariánský sloup*). The situation on the Wenceslas Square may seem to be the second match of the same contest. Previously it could be seen that the religion-based national memory occupied the space of the also religion-based memory attributed to the Habsburgs. The initial religion war became a national liberation war on the narrow place of the square. The Catholic Church finally lost the game, and the square has been dominated by the memory of Jan Hus since that. The wrecking of the Mariánský Column was an unofficial mobbing, but it did not really have official consequences. The city simply overlooked this atrocity.

The inverse of this story can be seen on the Wenceslas Square. On the square of the catholic national memory, the most monumental legionary memorial so far was erected. In 1918 only the main battlefields were inscribed on the memorial, later the '*For heroes and martyrs*' inscription was added. Previously the relationship between the Hussites and the legionary memory was shown. The construction of this memorial can be considered as some kind of transition of power above the square. Nevertheless, it can be also seen as a mollifier intention, like the bonding of the two different national narratives.

This question cannot be utterly decided without further sources, but solving this problem could be crucial for a deeper understanding the relationship between the legionary and the catholic memory. The only certain fact is the disappearance of the monument. Based on archive photos the memorial was no longer on St. Wenceslas Square in 1922, because tram transportation crossing its earlier spot.¹⁹⁰ The statue of St. Wenceslas exclusively dominates the square, meaning that the legionary memorial disappeared between 1919 and 1922, and had an extremely short life.¹⁹¹

It is worth to remember the archive debate from 1933 presented in the previous chapter, which discussed the pro and contra claims regarding the final place of the Unknown Soldier. In this document the Wenceslas square was not supported as the location of the Tomb. In this debate in 1933 it was not even mentioned that ten years earlier there already stood a memorial with similar functions. In this argumentation the transportation and the painful memory that is connected to the National Pantheon of the National Museum standing in the end of the square were mentioned against the relocation of the Unknown Legionary's tomb to the square. In the previous chapter I interpreted this argumentation as a subtle protest against the connection of the legionary and the catholic memory. However, my previous interpretation is complicated by the fact that there already stood a cenotaph on the square. Unfortunately, without knowing the further details about this memorial, these possibilities could only be discussed; a final conclusion cannot be offered.

2.2.3. Inscriptions

The explicit and implicit content of the memorials were classified during the analysis.

Explicit content is the appearance of the memorial, which can be divided into iconography and inscriptions. In this subchapter I analysed the most direct content of the memorials, namely the inscriptions. So far the implicit content, the location was discussed.

Moriarty during her research on the British WW1 monuments touched the question of inscriptions, declaring that the written name is a great honour in itself. According to her, through the carved names of the fallen soldiers the private loss become publicly sanctified. With the words of Moriarty, the *„name which brought*

¹⁹⁰ For the picture see Vojta 1925.

¹⁹¹ Cf. Fiala – Heyduk 2009.

private sorrow was transformed by a commemorative ritual to bring civic pride".¹⁹²

This question is elaborated in the Introduction.

The explicit content could be a proof of the nationalist message. Nevertheless, with the exception of the coat of arms, this kind of direct nationalist reference is rare. In the content analysis of the inscriptions the words related to *nation* [*národ*] (2 times) and to *Czechs* [*čeština, československý, etc.*] (5 times) were underrepresented, and expressions referring to *homeland* [*vlast, domov, etc.*] appeared 6 times. However, it can be concluded that the literally direct references to the nation are only exceptions among the inscriptions.

The analysis of the expressions used for the fallen is more fruitful. The most prevalent name used for the commemorated dead on the memorials is *victims* (*oběti*) (14 times). Moreover, in the Czech language the officially used term for the First World War memorials is *pomník obětem*, which means 'monument for the victims'. *Oběť* refers to victim and sacrifice at the same time. It may express the narrative that fallen soldiers were the sacrifices made for the liberated Czech lands. In the comparative chapter it is contrasted in details to the generated hero's cult in Hungary. However, for the Czech the fallen was barely a hero as it can be seen in the statistics of the inscriptions (3 times). The narrative of the victims is strengthened with the „*They died for our liberty*” inscriptions, which often (10 times) appears in different forms [*osvoboditelům, osvobozeným, osvobození, svoboda, etc.*]. When the word „*martyr*” occurs on the memorials it can function in the same way. It is a significant contrast with the Hungarian generated heroes' cult.

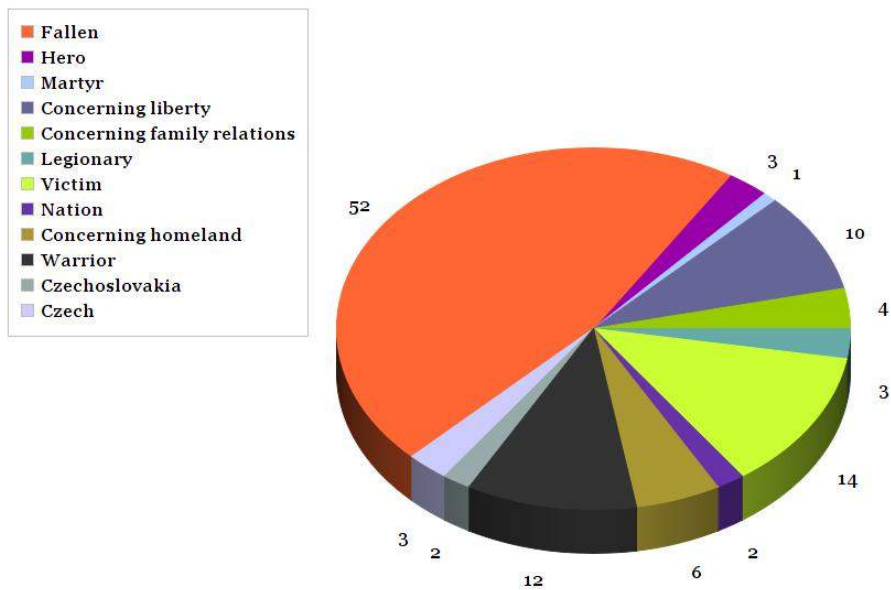
The second most frequent term for the fallen is *warrior* (*bojovník*). Firstly, it gives a more aggressive, more active meaning to the memorials. Secondly, it helps to evade using the terms 'legionary' or 'soldier'. This is important because of the ignorance of the Czech *K und K* soldiers in the commemorations mentioned in the previous chapter. The *K und K* soldiers are listed with their names and titles only in the cemetery.

Iconographically there is only one case, the memorial of the military doctors, when the *K und K* uniform can refer to the imperial army. It is worth mentioning because on most images of the soldiers, the uniform is clearly recognisable. It can be easily decided whether the soldier is a Russian, French or Italian legionary. Another

¹⁹² Moriarty 1997, 138.

interesting solution is the '*For the legionaries and the fallen*' inscription. In this case although the legionaries are highlighted, the other soldiers are not excluded either from the commemoration. The same solution is using only the expression "*For the fallen*" [*padlym*] (Fig. 2.2.11.)

2.2.10. Inscriptions (52 cases)



2.2.4. Iconography

In the following paragraphs the results of the iconographical analysis are presented. As it was already declared concerning my methodology, in order to avoid the anachronistic and subjective interpretation it is always essential to examine the context of the appearing symbols. Therefore following the quantitative research of the symbols, the results are interpreted in a qualitative way.

First of all, it is useful to classify the monuments in general groups. As it can be seen on the diagram 2.2.12, half of the monuments have a simple form, such as obelisk, rock or a form imitating the graves. The other half of the memorials represents a more complex iconography. Nevertheless, it does not mean that the figurative memorials have a better quality. Generally they are carved from cheap materials, like artificial stone or sandstone – bronze statues are rare. As it was discussed in the general chapters, although these figures are rich in symbols, they do not have real artistic value, since they are following schemas. (Fig. 2.2.12.) In the next part these patterns are discussed.

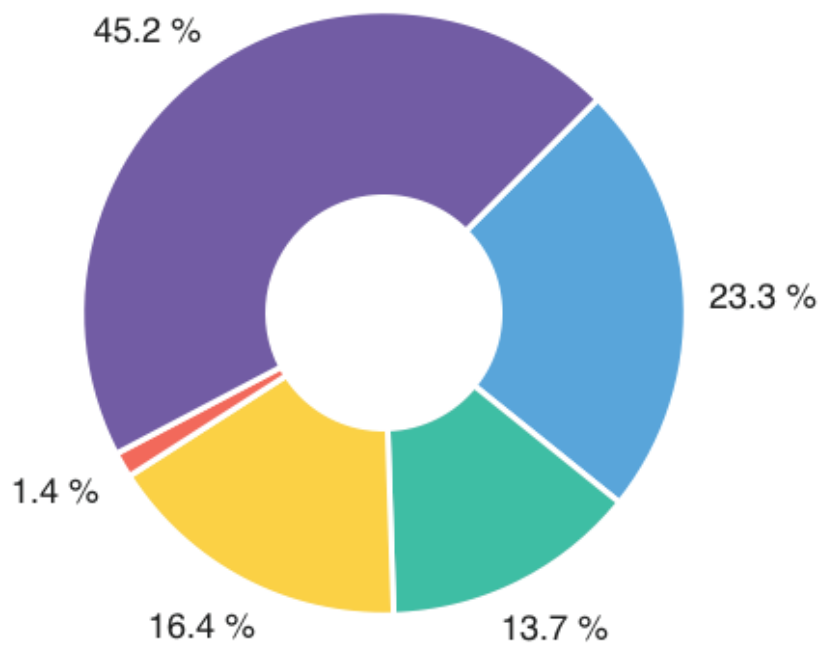
In the following some prevalent iconographical element and their literal context is elaborated. At first, the role of the female figures, than semi-national symbols like the lion or the linden, and finally some allegorical scenes are presented.

2.2.4.1. Stabat mater – the allegory of women

On one third of the monuments the figure of a woman appears. However, this woman is mostly a broken-hearted widow or mother, and generally immortalized in a submissive position, on her knees. (Fig. 2.2.13.). It is contradictory with nineteenth century Czech nationalism which incorporated the image of the powerful woman into its narrative. The war stopped and overwrote this progress of emancipation, and it was commemorated as the history of men. In this subchapter I elaborate this controversy concerning the status of women in the Czech nationalism and their image in the remembrance of the war.

Form of the WW1 memorials in Prague

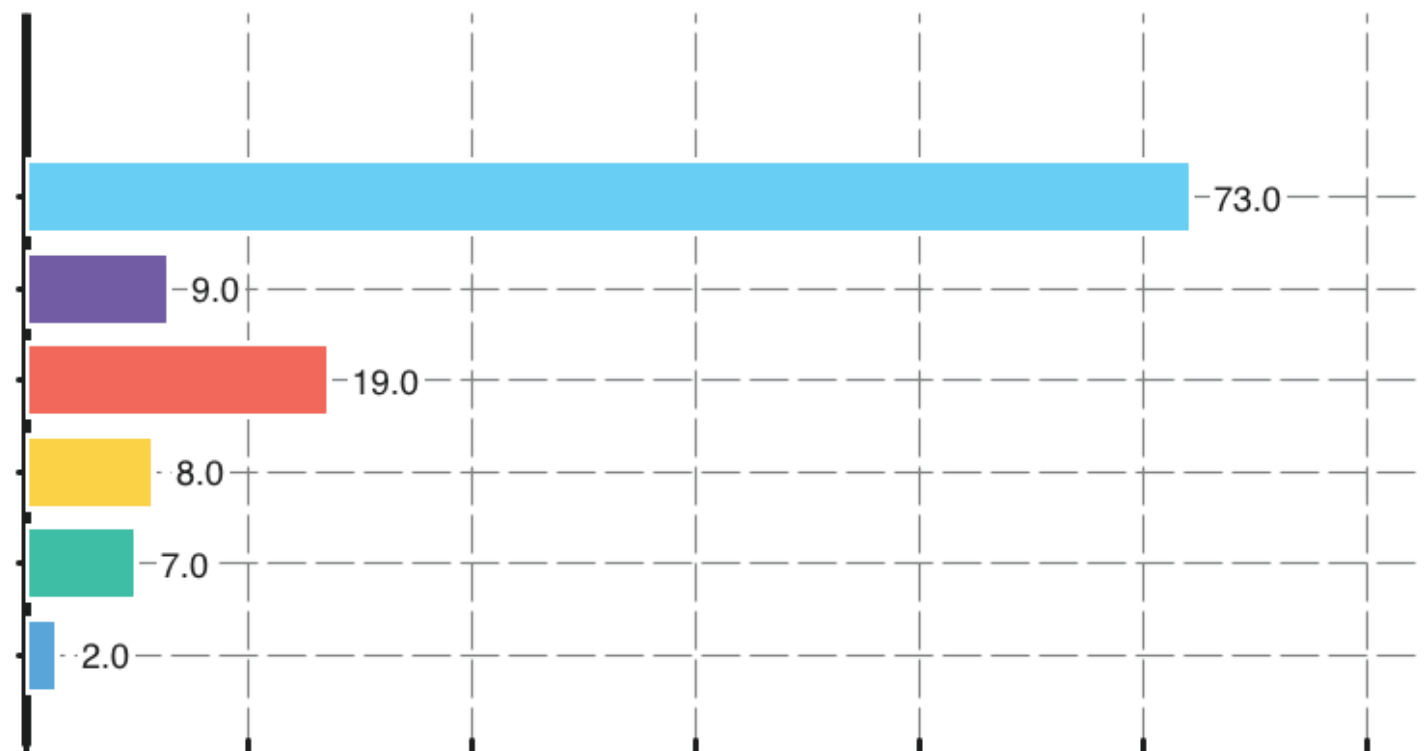
Simple obelisk Simple rock Gravelike Memorial relief More complex



2.2.12. Diagram on the form of the memorials.

Women

Whole family Mother Women on their knees Women Women in peasant dress All memorials



2.2.13. Diagram on the female figures.

2.2.4.1.1. *The mythical heroine*

In the discourse of the National Revival, women had a double role. On the one hand, the real emancipation served as an evidence for the democratic character of the nation. On the other hand, the figures of the mythical heroines were used for constructing national narratives.

The stages of the National Revival were detailed in the Introduction. The participation of women started becoming important for the male national agitators in the phase of the Revival starting from 1820. Malečková considered this period the second stage of the national movement¹⁹³. It is the era of the transmission from Hroch's B phase to the C one, when the aim of the nationalist movement is gaining the larger support of the population.¹⁹⁴

It could be already seen that the former mythical historical heroes were gaining importance in the eyes of both the Revival and the Liberator movements. Therefore it is not surprising that the mythical heroines also gained attention. The two most important mythical female figures were Libuše and Vlasta.

Princess Libuše was presented in the previous chapter. According to the myths she founded Prague, and together with her husband, the ploughman Přemysl Oráč, they founded the ruling medieval dynasty¹⁹⁵. In Chapter 2.1, the commemorators relationship with the dynasty founding pair was already discussed. However, before elaborating this relationship, it is necessary to mention the other female heroine, Vlasta, who was the leader of a women's revolt against male rule after Libuše.

Their integration into the national mythology and their representations were not coherent and were often contradictory. Malečková shows the way in which the construction of femininity was gradually modified according to the expectation of the stages of the national movement. In the beginning of the Revival their story was known, but it was not incorporated into national narrative. Their role became important for the Revival movement in its second part. This process consists of more components.

¹⁹³ Malečková 2000,296.

¹⁹⁴ Cf. Hroch 1993, 6-7.

¹⁹⁵ Demetz 1998, 22-24.

The alleged discovery of the so-called Manuscript of Zelená Hora in 1817 is a common reference point and a good place to start the analysis.¹⁹⁶ In the early 19th century, the forgery of the manuscripts that could support the national narrative about the glorious Czech Middle Ages was a repeated phenomenon.¹⁹⁷ In the Manuscript of Zelená Hora the legend of Libuše gained an important position, since it constructed the beginning of a national narrative, while creating the image of a powerful woman in the national context.¹⁹⁸ This picture was further elaborated over the years of nationalism. Finally, Libuše's role in the cultural nationalism can be well described by the fact that the National Theatre staged Bedřich Smetana's opera called Libuše on its opening night in 1881.¹⁹⁹

In contrast to Libuše, who was accepted as a historical figure, the historians accepted Vlasta only with reservations, even though both of them served as proof of the glorious Czech nation.²⁰⁰ Their image could be adapted not only to the cultural dimensions of nationalism, but also to aggressive nationalism. During the revolution of 1848 the image of the female warrior was able to find its frames.

For these reasons it might be surprising that in spite of the use of other historical-mythical figures, the images of Libuše and Vlasta were avoided in the spatial or iconographical context of the WW1 memorials. As mentioned earlier concerning the final place of the unknown warrior, during the debate the locations connected to Libuše and Přemysl Oráč were refused. As a result, the commemoration of the liberated Czech nation and WW1 did not have spatial connections to the memory of the warrior woman. Instead, another female *topos* was emphasised iconographically, the mother of the nation.

2.2.4.1.2. *The Czech mother*

Malečková differentiated between two types of female images related to nationalism. The first one is the fighting woman, who actually did not rebel against the men, but

¹⁹⁶ Text of Manuscript of Zelená Hora. The text was translated by A. H. Wratislaw in 1851. Online: <http://www.rukopisy-rkz.cz/rkz/english/rzen.htm>. Downloaded 05. 05.2016. 20:47. Cf. Šmahel 2011.

¹⁹⁷ Šmahel 2011, 245.

¹⁹⁸ Šmahel 2011, 247-248.

¹⁹⁹ Šmahel 2011, 249.

²⁰⁰ Malečková 2000, 301.

against the Empire, which was blamed for the lack of women's emancipation. The second image is the men's supporter, especially the mother.²⁰¹ (Fig. 2.2.14.)

These two pictures are easily convertible into each other. Malečková pointed out that in multi-national empires similar to the Habsburg Empire, women had the role of transferring the national feelings to the children. However, women cannot serve this aim if they are suppressed. This is the reason for melting the national and woman rights into each other notably in the Czech case.²⁰²

In my observation, in terms of nationalism the figure of the mother has a different meaning before and after the Great War. Before the war the patriotic men see the role of the mother as teachers of a new generation. According to Malečková, the mother was responsible to pass on the national values and identities to the following Czechs.²⁰³ Besides, there was the aforementioned cult of some strong national heroines. After the war, this strong female figure is missing from the memorials, and only a non-dominant female image remains. However, her picture is one of the most often used element on the monuments. In the following her figure is detailed.

In the angle of the Czech mother, Božena Němcová has an important role for two reasons. Firstly, she was the first successful female writer, therefore, she individually represents an important step of emancipation. Secondly, she created the *topos* of the Czech mother. She literally indicated the importance of mothers in the liberation war in her poem titled as *To Czech Women (Ženám českým)*.²⁰⁴ According to her with the lack of sword and physical power of men, women had just their heart and their children.²⁰⁵ Furthermore, it is necessary to mention that Němcová created the most popular woman figure in the Czech literature, the *Babička*, the Grandma, who is the archetype of the Czech mother.²⁰⁶

The image of this peasant woman is still reflected on the memorials. In her simple dress and with her agricultural attributes the figure of this accessible nationalism is slightly recognizable on the analysed monuments. Nevertheless,

²⁰¹ Malečková 1996, 147-148.

²⁰² Malečková 1996, 149.

²⁰³ Malečková 2000, 148.

²⁰⁴ „Ženy české, matky české!/ Jediná nám budiž slast/ vychovati naše děti/ pro tu slavnou, drahou vlast”. Němcová 1843.

²⁰⁵ „Muž, ach, ten má meč svůj ostrý,/rámě, sílu – muž má všecko;/ ale outlá, slabá žena/jen své srdce a – své děcko.” Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Cf. Němcová 1955.

another image has a stronger representation, namely the mournful mother, who characterizes the general post war female schema.

More studies were conducted on the question of grief following the First World War. This attempt is part of the new wave of First World War studies that focuses on the social side of the war stating that the military history and the social history of the hinterland cannot be separated from each other. As a part of this angle on military history, for example, Jay Winter (1995) or Audoin-Rouzeau (2001) provided useful works on the question of mourning. Jay Winter and Antoin Prost claim that the role of women in the memory of the Great War was mostly mourning, and they represented the Pietà.²⁰⁷ This position, the mournful mother is the most frequented schema of the women appearing on the Prague memorials.

Prost and Winter states that the mourning brought women into the cultural history of war.²⁰⁸ Moriarty highlighted regarding the British memorials that the private and the collective grief were melting together, since all the soldiers are the sons of mothers.²⁰⁹ Audoin-Rouzeau refined this picture by showing the different types of grief. In most of these narratives the love of the homeland cannot relieve the pain of the personal loss.²¹⁰ Therefore there is a contradiction between the represented propaganda and the sociohistorical findings.

The grief in connection to the war memorial is already discussed in the introductory chapter. Here it is sufficient to mention that there is not a single explanation of mourning. Audoin-Rouzeau kept this fact in mind while he was contributing his thrilling book about the mourning in the war. In his chapter titled as *Stabat mater* he detailed the human face of this carved *topos* with the help of a case study.²¹¹

On the WW1 memorials of Prague the previously mentioned national mothers can be noticed in various forms: the crying mother above the grave (Fig. 2.2.15.), the wife with her children in her arms reaching for her husband in the far (Fig. 2.2.16), the widow with the orphans. In one case there is a whole family, a man, a woman and a child, standing above the relief of the battling legionary. (Fig. 2.2.17) This reinforces the already discussed narrative: one must die for the future of the nation.

²⁰⁷ Prost - Winter 2004, 229.

²⁰⁸ Prost – Winter 2004, 229.

²⁰⁹ Moriarty 1995, 138.

²¹⁰ Cf. Audoin-Rouzeau 2001.

²¹¹ Audoin-Rouzeau, 2001, 203-251.



2.2.14. Family with kneeling woman. Prague 6th. district.
Own photo. 2015.



2.2.15. Mourning mother. Olšany military cemetery.
Own photo. 2015.



2.2.16. Mother looking to the far with child.
Prague 4th district.

Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>.
Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.30.



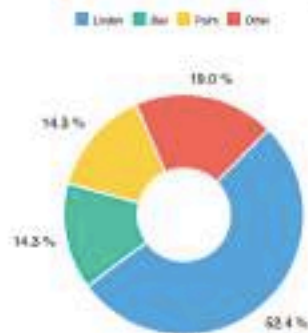
2.2.17. The memorial in Smíchov with the
reconstructed reliefs.

Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>.
Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.31.



2.2.18. Dying soldier hold by a woman with flag and oak. Prague 6th. district.
 Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>. Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.33.

Floral symbols on the WWI memorials in Prague



Floral symbols on the WWI memorials in Prague



2.2.19. a. - 2.2.19. b Diagram on the distribution of the floral ornaments.



2.2.20. Woman in antic dress with palm leaves. Prague 5th district.
 Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>. Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.34.

However, sometimes the figure of the woman is more allegorical, and cannot be connected to the nation. They can represent the liberty and peace, for example in the case of letting a dove, but sometimes they can be the allegory of death who grabs the soldier. (Fig. 2.2.18)

2.2.4.2. Floral ornaments

I also examined the appearance of the floral symbols on the memorials. The importance of floral symbols might not be obvious at first glance, however this problematic is far from being bagatelle. This floral symbol on the monuments in the most cases is not just simple ornament. It covers the field of symbols from the consensual general patterns, such as the bay laurel of the glory or the palm of the piece and liberty, to the national symbols. In the Czech case this element is the linden leaf, which is the most usual floral symbol on the monuments of Prague (Fig. 2.2.18.; Fig. 2.2.19a-b.).

During the First World War, linden was considered an official national symbol, originating from the national literary mythology. It occurred, for example, in the aforementioned *Královédvorský* and *Zelenohorský* manuscripts. In 1848 the Pan Slav Congress in Prague chose it as an official national symbol as a reaction to the Frankfurt parliament, where the oak was declared to be a German symbol.²¹²

The category of the national tree is part of the notion of the national landscape, of which function in the memory was exhaustively discussed by Schama.²¹³ In case of the Czech lands one can even remark the existence of the so-called memorial trees.²¹⁴ The national tree is also known in the German national landscape, since the oak functioned as a complementary for the Czech linden.²¹⁵ The 20th century inherited the binary opposition from the 19th century, since the hostility between the Czechs and Germans just intensified after the Wars and the Nazi occupation.

For these reasons, the linden that became the national symbol, already occurred around the coat of arms by the time of the Great War, as ancillary elements on the figurative memorials or independent symbols dominating the whole monument. Moreover, knowing the fact that its nature was originally pan-Slavic, the linden is

²¹² Hrušková 2005, 82-84.

²¹³ See Schama 1995.

²¹⁴ Hrušková 2005, 115.

²¹⁵ Cf. Wilson 2012.

applicable for referring also to the Czechoslovak unity. It is worth mentioning that Czechoslovakia as a direct inscription is especially rare on the memorials, and it appears only on the monuments which were erected before or after the interwar period.

Beside the linden, other more general floral symbols can be noticed on the memorials. Concerning the woman the corn-ear was already noted as a sign of the agriculture and the countryside. (2.2.16.) The bay laurel, which is also a regular pattern in the European iconography, refers to the triumph and victory from the antic periods. In Christian iconography the palm which is a memorial symbol as well, functions the same way, while it was also thought to be an attribute of the martyrs.²¹⁶ (2.2.20.)

2.2.4.3. National and allegorical scenes

The group of the things representing the Czech nation can be enlarged with special conjoined elements which are named as national scenes in this paper. These are, for example, the *Jan Hus and the lion*, the *victory over the two-headed eagle* or the *lion breaking its chains* scenes. In the following paragraphs these scenes and the symbols connected to them are discussed.

The monument which is the combination of the statue of Jan Hus and the relief for the legionaries on its base catches the eye immediately. The role of the Hussites in the Czech nation building was already discussed in the previous chapter on the Vítkov memorial. Therefore the actual carved connection between the memories seems logical. On this memorial Jan Hus holds a book in his hand. This item may refer to the vernacularisation, since Jan Hus was treated as a historical figure supporting the Czech language.²¹⁷ On the side of Hus a lion holds the coat of arms of the Calixtin Hussits. The base of the figure is decorated with the reliefs of legionnaires surrounded by linden and laurel. (Fig. 2.2.21.)

The importance of the frames of the interpretation cannot be neglected either in case of the implicit or the explicit symbols. It is highlighted in the examination of the lion as a memorial pattern, which was used 10 times (5 times out of the heraldic context). An expressive scene is the lion breaking its chains, representing the Czech nation, liberated from the Habsburg domination. (2.2.22.)

²¹⁶ cf. Hassett 1911, 31.

²¹⁷ Paces – Wingfield 2005, 113.



2.2.21. Legionary memorial with Jan Hus and the lion.
Prague 18th district.

Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>.
Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.36.



2.2.22. Lion breaking its chains.
Prague 6th district.

Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>.
Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.39.



2.2.23. Lion carved with plate tracery. Prague 21st district.

Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>. Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.45.

The lion is one of the most frequent symbols on the WW1 memorials of Prague, also occurring as a Czech heraldic on the coat of arms. Furthermore, it can also be seen without the blazon, but in the heraldic posture, sometimes designed with different technics, such as mosaic or plate tracery. (Fig. 2.2.23.). Finally, in some cases the lion dominates the memorial as an independent figure.²¹⁸

Nevertheless, it is necessary to emphasise that the lion is one of that general elements which are widely used by the memorial statuary or heraldic by choice. This again emphasises the importance of context during the interpretations. For example, let us have a look at the British lion and its connection to the WW1 memorials. The *Ashton under Lyne* war memorial was erected on 16 September in 1922. Its monumental middle part is sided by two huge bronze lions that represent the British army. Although, both in the Czech and in the British cases the triumphal and proud meaning of these lion cannot be doubted, their national narrative frames are different. As a conclusion it can be stated that it is always necessary to respect the context of the iconographical elements even in the case of the markedly obvious patterns, such as the lion. Since it is seen that changing the national context the simple symbols can gain different meaning.

The third considered scene is almost equivalent to a national epical scene. In this stirring picture a legionary sticks a two-headed eagle to death with a flag. (Fig. 2.2.24) The reference to the defeat of the Habsburg Empire is not in the need of long explanations. In this instance an aggressive - victorious narrative is manifested. While the two-headed eagle was intentionally removed from the buildings and public spaces,²¹⁹ it was placed into an overtaken narrative on the mentioned memorial.

However, the eagle is used in more contexts on the memorials. On the one hand, it appears as the heraldic figure of the Moravian coat of arms. On the other hand, it occurs outside the Moravian context, where it is used mostly because of its aggression, for example, the attacking eagle, or its force, such as the open-winged eagle. (Fig. 2.2.25.) During the comparison it will be seen that the same open-winged eagle in the Hungarian context reflects Hungarian national overtones. Besides, similarly to the lion, the use of the eagle is also general in the heraldic and the memorial statuary. In the case study on early Hungarian war memorial iconography, the question of the generality of the eagle is discussed in a more detailed way.

²¹⁸ For a further lion image in the Czechoslovak discours see Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 176.

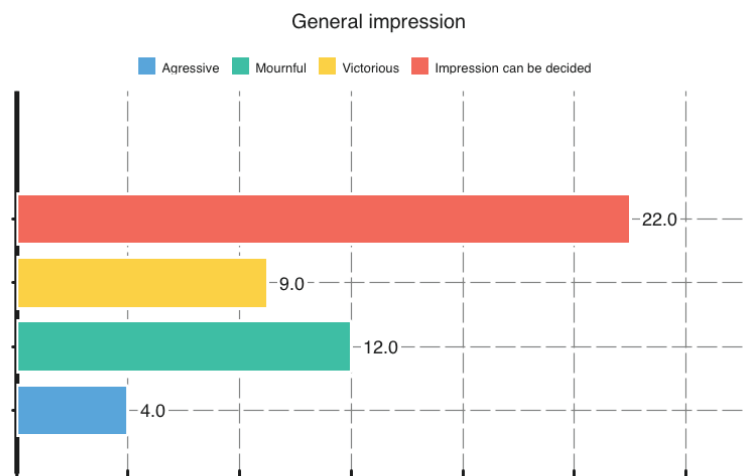
²¹⁹ Paces - Wingfield 2005, 108. For pictures see Taylor 1988, 190.



2.2.24. Legionary fighting with the two-headed eagle. Prague 14th district.
 Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>. Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.46.



2.2.25. Eagle-like bird. Prague 4h district.
 Source: Ministry of Defence. <http://evidencevh.army.cz/>.
 Downloaded on 03.03.2015. 12.47.



2.2.26. Diagram on the general narrative of the WW1 memorials.

The status of the dove in the analysis is similar to the palm discussed above. Since it cannot be connected directly to the Czech national discourse it should be understood in its universal European interpretation frames connected to peace and liberty. However, it is worth knowing that in the interwar period it was not declared officially as the sign of peace, since Picasso's Dove was chosen as a pacifist symbol only for the World Peace Congress in 1949.²²⁰ Besides, sometimes an allegorical scene can be observed on the Czech memorials. It seems to be a returning scheme that a kneeling woman dressed in antic-like clothes let a dove free. This scene fits into the above-mentioned general pattern, therefore further discussion is not needed.

Sometimes, the quantitative content analysis on the iconography of the monuments can be contrasted to the qualitative case studies. For example, while the religious symbols are underrepresented on the iconography of the war memorials in Prague, the importance of the religion and its controversial relation to the nationalism is revealed during the research of the introduced interpretation frames. Among the memorials standing in cemeteries the use of the religious motifs is obvious, such as the crucifix or the Star of David. Other more subtle religious images are the church or the willow-tree. Moreover the location also refers to the religious frames, for example the memorials placed in the garden of the churches. However, all of these elements are more connected to the above discussed wartime grief, than to the previously analysed national-religious correlations. (Fig. 2.2.26).

2.2.5. Conclusion

In the first part of this chapter the role of the location in the memorial constructions were presented. A horizontal memory contest of the inner city of Prague was shown, while the ideological background of the so-called statue wars were discussed.

As a second step the inscriptions were shortly mentioned. It was noted that the expression used for the fallen of the war are differing based on memory political aims. In the case of the Czech, they are mostly called victims and warriors and not heroes as in Hungary. According this narrative they were glorious warriors who scarified themselves for the liberty of the homeland.

²²⁰ Walther 2000, 64.

Regarding the iconography, at first the allegories of women appearing on the memorials were detailed. Concerning these allegories the lack of the mythical heroines from the symbols of the post-war period and the topos of the Czech mother were touched.

Secondly, the interpretation of the floral ornaments, especially the role of the linden in the Czech national iconography was explained. Finally, some national and allegorical scenes were interpreted considering the previously observed national narratives.

3. The Hungarian case

3.1 An Iconographical Case Study: the Sword of God

3.1.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to illustrate different layers of nationalism through an early iconographical element of Hungarian First World War memorials. This symbol, called “the Sword of God,” can be found in the first Hungarian WWI memorials. The aim of the study is to provide an overview of the history and meaning of this symbol, as well as to define its place in the Hungarian commemoration of the First World War.²²¹

The study attempts to show how the complexity of some deeply rooted Hungarian symbols were integrated into this new, politically constructed and ultimately short-lived symbol. First, the broader context of Hungarian WWI memorials is introduced. In the next part a materialised rather than a merely planned example of the Sword of God is presented, which can serve as the basis for the interpretation of its mythical elements. Then the examples from the official sample book of the Sword of God memorials from 1916 are classified and analysed. During the analysis an attempt is made to find the origins of the used symbols in order to show their transformation during the war and after the Treaty of Trianon.

In this paper, the concept of national symbols is not limited only to the legally codified ones, such as flag, coat of arms, national holidays or major memorials. A less narrow and more abstract definition of national symbols by Anthony D. Smith is used. He classified as a national symbol “all those distinctive [...] ways of acting and feeling that are shared by members of a community of a historical culture.”²²² From such a perspective, the question can be formulated whether one can force a national symbol without the general acceptance of a society.

The other term that needs to be defined is ‘myth.’ Aleida Assmann’s definition of myth is the most suitable for this paper. She argues that “it may refer to an idea, an event, a person, a narrative that has acquired a symbolic value and is engraved and

²²¹ This chapter have been already published. See Kocsis 2016.

²²² Smith 1991, 77.

transmitted in memory.”²²³ In the discourse of memory research the notion of myth “is used to distinguish between the object of historical knowledge on the one hand and collectively remembered events on the other.”²²⁴ In this view the myth is a collectively remembered history. I deal with the iconographical elements of the studied memorials as mediators that represent and convey these myths.

3.1.2. The initial erecting of the memorials of World War I

First, it is necessary to look at the beginning of the construction of the First World Memorials in Hungary. It is important to highlight that the Great War monuments have two layers of function: they are political symbols and signs of piety and grief at the same time.²²⁵ Therefore they can be seen as a result of political propaganda as well, while they are thought to be a gesture for the relatives of the fallen soldiers.

As early as the first year of the war a spontaneous movement to erect monuments took hold in the countryside, preceding the effort to create an institutionalised one in the capital. Yet in 1915 the Committee of Perpetuating the Memory of the Heroes, the so-called HEMOB²²⁶ was established as a part of this institutionalization which replaced the former statue-committees. Statue-committees were temporary and local institutions, whereas HEMOB worked throughout the country, coordinating the establishment of monuments and spreading the ideology and war propaganda of the government.²²⁷ With the establishment of HEMOB and the law obliging the erecting of memorials (laws 7 of 1917 and 8 of 1924) by every municipality in Hungary, spontaneous remembrance turned into an official and mandatory one.

The other society which played an important role in the construction of WWI memorials was OMIT, the Hungarian Society of Applied Arts. In 1914 it announced the first invitation for designs for WWI memorials. This first invitation was unsuccessful, but the symbol of the Sword of God could be already found among these initial applications to build memorials.

²²³ Assmann 2008, 68.

²²⁴ Assmann 2008, 68.

²²⁵ Szabó 1985, 65.

²²⁶ Abbreviation of the Hősök Emlékét Megörökítő Bizottság.

²²⁷ Kovács 1985, 27.

This motif was so successful that in the following year this became the central topic of the tender announced by the Association of Hungarian Architects. The aim of the competition was to create a standardized type of memorial suitable for the whole country. From these applications the first published sample catalogue of memorials, namely the *Sword of the God - Memory of Heroes*, was derived in 1916 by the HEMOB and the Association of Hungarian Architects. The catalogue served as a template for the subsequent official catalogues of WWI memorials.

On the one hand, it is crucial to emphasize that only the HEMOB, a politically motivated organization, had the right to construct these memorials, therefore they were politically intended ones. On the other hand, the symbols used on the monuments were sometimes quite universal and eternal, like the lion or the eagle. For the correct interpretation of these controversial memorials a historical methodology of iconographical research is needed.

As it was seen, according to Peter Burke, the testimony of images needs to be placed in a series of contexts (cultural, political, material and so on), including the interests of the artist and the original patron or client, and the intended function of the image.²²⁸ Therefore for avoiding the anachronistic interpretations of the presented motifs, the task is to understand the own context of the analysed images, that provides us information as to their meaning in the period of their establishment.

In my hypothesis, the symbols that originated in the 19th century not only became official, as shown by the state-led project of WWI memorials, but also acquired new meanings between the two world wars, linked in particular to the Hungarian irredentism.

3.1.3.Proliferation of the layers of meanings

What did the Sword of God mean for the Magyars during the First World War, before the Treaty of Trianon? The inaugural speeches and official descriptions are useful sources for understanding the political intentions manifested in the memorials. Following this, in order to answer the above question it is useful to carefully read the prologue of the catalogue. This was written by its editor Ferenc Herczeg, a man who later became the leader of the Hungarian Frontier Readjustment League, and one of

²²⁸ Burke 2001, 187.

the main intellectual figures for revisionist politics between the two world wars.²²⁹ Regarding the reasons for creating memorials, Herczeg emphasized their public significance, explaining that “*the war gives a new image to death. [...] Who dies in war, [...] will be the dead of the nation. The death, which was private so far, have become public.*” The question to be solved was “*how to explain this idea in a language that is understandable for everyone.*”²³⁰ According to him the Sword of God was the perfect solution. As he advocated:

*“This was the weapon of the God of Wars, which was growing out of the ground of Turan, and allowed its carrier to become the lord of the world. If we translate this Hun myth to modern language, the Sword of God is nothing less than the Unity of the Nation, which can do miracles and make the land unconquerable against its enemies.”*²³¹

In his view the symbol of the Sword of God is Hungarian, clear and meaningful, while also easy to use for creating variety of memorials. It can be made from cheap material for a village as easily as it can be built for an expensive mausoleum for the aristocrats. Moreover, it does not offend any religion. Herczeg concluded it this way: “it will be the symbol of pain and glory forever and everywhere.”²³²

Before analysing the samples in this catalogue it is worthwhile to have a look at a realized, but later removed example of a monument figuring the Sword of God so as to understand the hidden meanings of this symbol. The Sword of the God was illustrated in a detailed manner in the Heroes’ Cemetery of Rákoskeresztúr, which has since been demolished. In 1917, in the middle of the cemetery in a suburban district of the Hungarian capital, a temporary memorial was erected.²³³ This was a six-meter-high wooden sword which was covered with tin. Behind this stood a short marble

²²⁹ Zeidler 2007, 93–103.

²³⁰ Herczeg 1916, 4. Texts are translated by the author. Original text: „*A háború azonban új arcot adott a halálnak. Aki a háborúban leli halálát [...] az a nemzet halottja. [...] A kérdés: hogyan fejezhetjük ki ezt a gondolatot mindenki által használható és mindenki előtt érthető nyelven?*”

²³¹ Herczeg 1916, 4. “*A hadak istenének fegyvere volt, amely a turáni pusztaság talajából nőtt ki, és viselőjét a világ urává tette. Ha a hún mítoszt lefordítjuk magyar nyelvre akkor ISTEN KARDJA nem egyéb, mint a nemzeti egység, amely csodákat művel és minden ellenségével szemben legyőzhetetlenné teszi az országot.*”

²³² Herczeg 1916, 4–5. “*Minidg és mindenütt a fájdalom és a dicsőség jelképe lesz.*”

²³³ Liber 1934, 434.

cross, flanked on both sides by huge copies of the so-called “Attila-treasure” standing on little mounds. In front of the cross were two eagles or *Turul* birds, the role of which in the national mythology will be detailed later, made from poor quality faux-marble. In 1927 the Conservancy of the Hero’s Cemetery replaced the mounds with a triple-mound (Fig. 3.1.1).

In this monument a complex mix of symbols can be found that carry not just broadly national, but also irredentist meaning. The triple-mound is the part of the iconography of the Hungarian coat of arms which symbolizes the three mountains (Mátra, Tátra, Fátka) of the Hungarian territory preceding the Treaty of Trianon in 1920.²³⁴ As most of these mountains remained in the newly created states and thus beyond the borders of Hungary after Trianon, the pattern got another layer of meaning after this event, namely that of loss and vindication. Moreover, according to Hungarian sociologist Elemér Hankiss, Christianity and the so-called civil religion melted together more intensively than before.²³⁵ Hankiss was the first to adopt this American concept of ‘civil religion’ to the Central European situation. According to Weed and von Heyking one view of civil religion is “an acknowledged set of beliefs, drawing on familiar religious symbols and language, which sustains and reinforces a society’s more political beliefs.”²³⁶ Therefore, in the irredentist rhetoric the triple-mound can be recognised as a reference to the biblical Golgotha.²³⁷

It is also evident, and worthy of mention that the Sword of God can be understood as the sword of Attila the Hun. The origins of the mythical image of Attila go back to texts written already during his lifetime.²³⁸ It comes from the notes of Priscus of Panium who was on a diplomatic mission in Attila’s court,²³⁹ while the first Western source of it is Jordanes who wrote the history of the Goths.²⁴⁰ During the Middle Ages the stories were translated in German, Italian, French, and Hungarian chronicles as well. In the Hungarian mythology the medieval kings are distant heirs of the figure of Attila. According to the *Gesta of Simon of Kéza*, the Huns and Magyars are the same tribe, and Árpád, who led the Magyar conquest of the Carpathian Basin

²³⁴ Cf. Kumorovitz 1934.

²³⁵ Hankiss 1985, 46.

²³⁶ Weed–Von Heyking 2010, 2.

²³⁷ Hankiss 1985, 46.

²³⁸ I use the term ‘myth’ in Aleida Assmann’s sense. In her view the myth is a collectively remembered history regardless to its validity. Assmann 2008, 68.

²³⁹ Eckhardt 1986, 150.

²⁴⁰ Eckhardt 1986, 154.

and founded the later royal dynasty. In the *Gesta of Anonymus* he is descend from Attila.²⁴¹ This imagined relationship gave importance to the figure of Attila in the context of Hungarian nationalism before and after the First World War. However, the archaeology of the Hun period has never confirmed the myth.²⁴²

According to myth,²⁴³ Attila got the Sword from the God of War to rule the whole world. This god was named as Ares by Priscus,²⁴⁴ but Jordanes interpreted it as Mars in his work.²⁴⁵ The uses of the story in the national mythology are an interesting mixture of paganism and Christianity. On the one hand, the Sword was the gift of the God of War. However, from the Christian perspective the barbarian Attila's mission was to punish the guilt of Christianity.²⁴⁶ This is the reason why his figure and his weapon were melted together, and Attila got the name of 'flagellum Dei.'²⁴⁷ Attila's paganism was not celebrated either by the medieval kings before the 13th century.²⁴⁸ Accordingly, the pagan part of the story has slowly been forgotten over the centuries. Ares's shadow exists only in the background, giving the symbol a more military understanding than a pagan aspect.

The tradition of preserving Attila's Sword in the Árpád dynasty existed even in the eleventh century.²⁴⁹ In fact, this object is a richly ornamented, prestigious sabre from the tenth/eleventh century. The mother of King Salamon (1063–1074) donated it to Prince Otto Nordheim, thus transferring the sword to the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. Finally, in the nineteenth century it was transferred to Vienna.²⁵⁰

²⁴¹ Eckhardt 1986, 185; Bozóky 2012/2013, 40–46.

²⁴² Kovács 1987, 8–9.

²⁴³ For the full legend and history see Bozóky 2012; Bouvier–Ajam 2000; Bäuml–Birnbäum 1993.

²⁴⁴ Eckhardt 1986, 151.

²⁴⁵ Jordanes 2013, 102.

²⁴⁶ Eckhardt 1986, 150.

²⁴⁷ Eckhardt 1986, 186.

²⁴⁸ Cf. Eckhardt 1986, 190.

²⁴⁹ Eckhardt 1986, 187.

²⁵⁰ Kovács 1987, 8–9; cf. László 1967, 81; Makkay 1995.

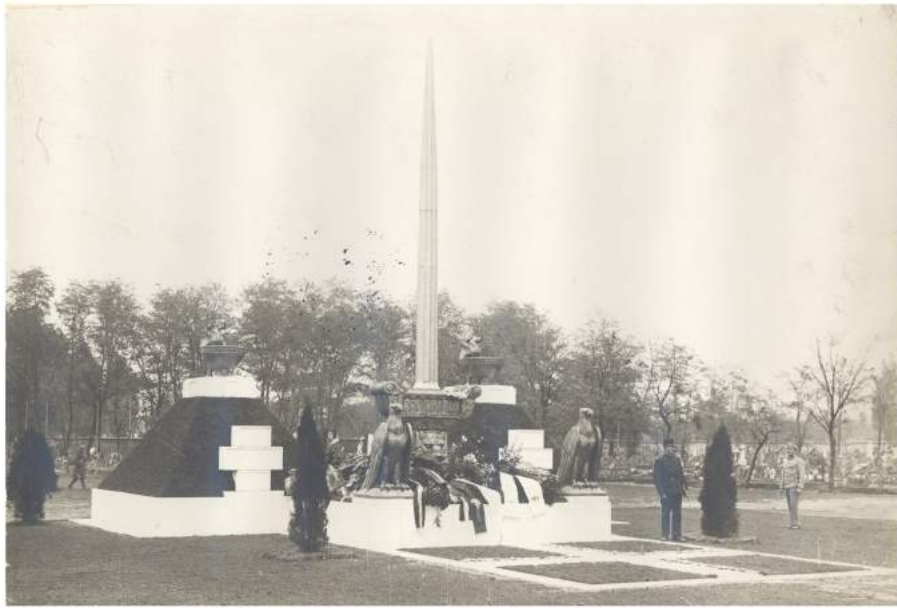


Figure 3.1.1. Sword of the God in the Hero's Cemetery of Rákoskeresztúr, Budapest. 1916. FSZEK.

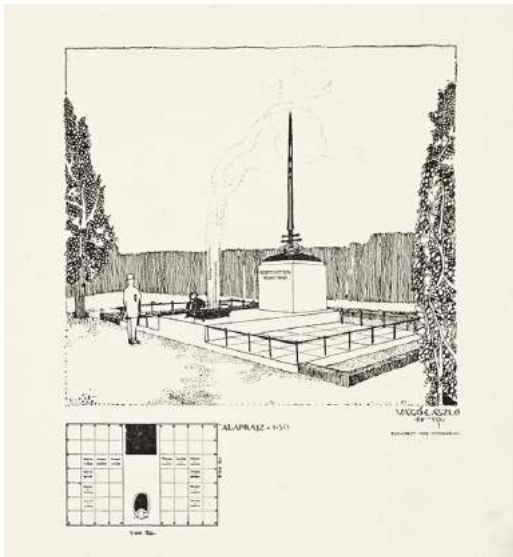


Figure 3.1.2. Plan no. XI.
Herczeg 1916.

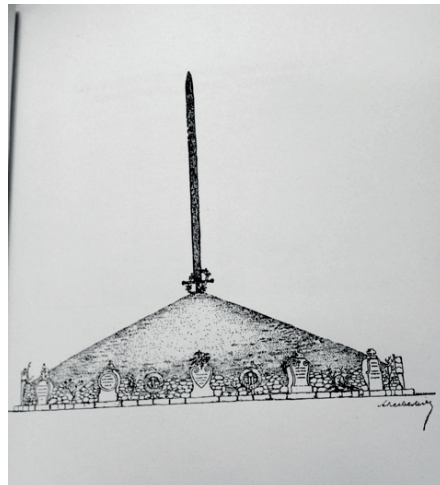


Figure 3.1.3. Plan no. XLI.
Herczeg 1916.

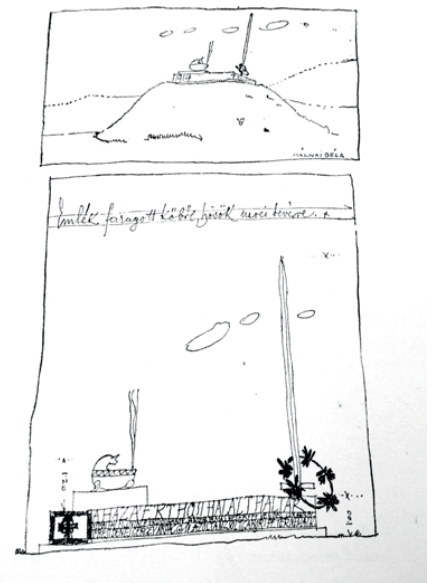


Figure 3.1.4. Plan no. XXXIV.
Herczeg 1916.

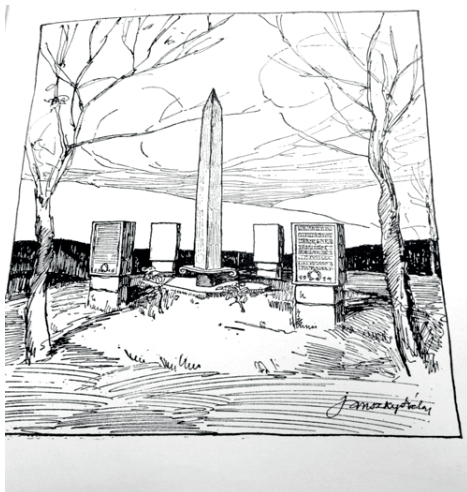


Figure 3.1.5. Plan no. XL.
Herczeg 1916.

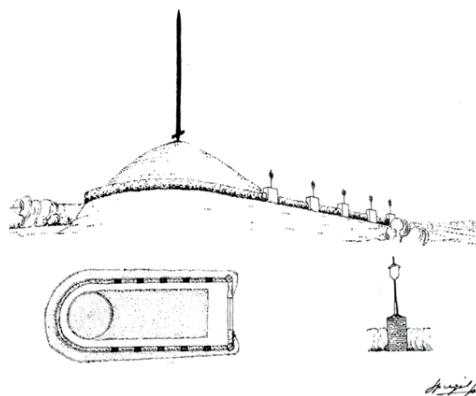


Figure 3.1.6. Plan no. XXXIX.
Herczeg 1916.

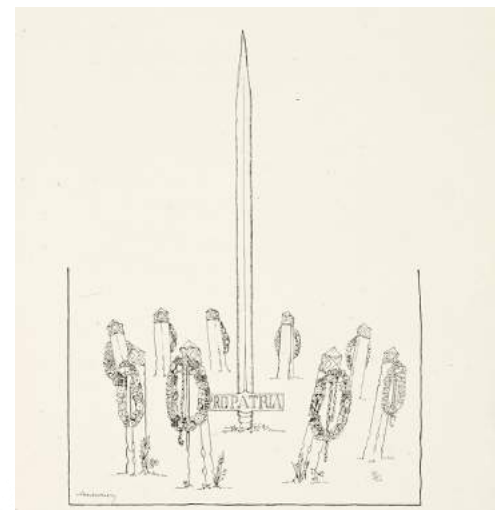


Figure 3.1.7. Plan no. XXIX.
Herczeg 1916.

Today the so-called Sword of God, Sabre of Vienna, or Sword of Stephan can be seen in the Weltliche Schatzkammer of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. It is interesting to notice that this sword did not serve as a model for the planners of the Sword of God memorials. Rather, in my view, the Sword of God seems to be the inverted version of the commonplace First World War ceremonial swords from around the world.

Historian Miklós Szabó discussed the Sword of God not only as a war symbol, but he connected it through Attila the Hun to the concept of Turanism.²⁵¹ After the Trianon-treaty, during the Horthy-era, the Turanist ideology, which linked Hungary with the East rather than with the West, became popular among the Hungarian populist politicians.²⁵² For most of the period, the Turanist ideology carried the promise of reunion of the broken parts of the land following the decline of the Western countries.²⁵³ In concluding the explanation of the complexity of these symbols, it is enlightening to cite Miklós Szabó's opinion: "For the common nationalist of the Horthy-era, the Turul, which embellished the memorials, and the Turan-train²⁵⁴ that carried the governor, was the same."²⁵⁵

Furthermore, it is not easy to separate the figure of the Turul bird from this symbol's complexity. The Turul is an imaginary bird that has origins in the Magyar mythology, in which it led the Magyar tribes to the Carpathian Basin and became the totem of the first royal dynasty.²⁵⁶ However, when its wings are closed, iconographically the Turul cannot be distinguished from an eagle; over time the representation of the Turul evolved into the figure of an open-winged eagle on the memorials. However, the original image of the Turul is not known to archaeologists.²⁵⁷ The reason of this uncertainty is the popularity of the eagle-like birds on the prestigious artefacts of the migration period. It is therefore impossible and unnecessary to distinguish between them, because it is enough to think of the

²⁵¹ Szabó 1985, 71.

²⁵² Turanism was a political movement based on the mythical past of Hungary. Its supporters wanted to strengthen the Hungarian and Inner Asian connections. Between the two wars it became a popular, but unofficial political agenda due to the Treaty of Trianon. It got its name after the Central Asian area, Turan, where the considered ethnic groups, such as Finnish, Hungarian or Turkish were thought to come from. See Paikert 1922; Paikert 1937.

²⁵³ Kincses Nagy 1991, 40–49.

²⁵⁴ Between the two wars there was a private train provided for the governor Miklós Horthy, called Turán.

²⁵⁵ Szabó 1985, 71.

²⁵⁶ Fodor 2010, 177.

²⁵⁷ Bálint 2002, 5–7.

eagle as a general status symbol.²⁵⁸ Nonetheless, the Turul is one of the most frequent symbols on Hungarian WW1 memorials, especially after the Treaty of Trianon.²⁵⁹

A third element that can be observed in the above-mentioned example, is the symbol mistakenly referred to as the “Attila-treasure.”²⁶⁰ This is actually a bull-headed cup which is the thirteenth piece of the Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós. The treasure is an important collection of twenty-three barbarian or early medieval gold vessels found in the 18th century close to the city Nagyszentmiklós.²⁶¹ Whereas the treasure was transferred to Vienna just after the excavation, Nagyszentmiklós was ceded to Romania after the Treaty of Trianon. To the Hungarian mind after 1920, the treasure could therefore symbolize the division of the land. On the one hand, it can be thought of as the reason for the symbol’s frequent usage on memorials. On the other hand the treasure already carried nationalist meaning before the Treaty of Trianon, when it was traumatised only by the war, not the territorial loss. The already present nationalist meaning of this symbol was just augmented with the end of the war.

In that nationalist sense it is possible to interpret a figure as a Turul bird on the 7th piece of the treasure.²⁶² In the scene a woman and a bird are visible. This could be identified as a moment from Hungarian ancestral mythology, recorded by Anonymous’ *Gesta Hungarorum* when the Turul visited Emese, the Magyar tribe-leader’s wife, in her dreams. After this visitation Álmos, the father of the abovementioned Árpád, was conceived.²⁶³ It is important to note that modern scientific research has established that the treasure uses byzantine iconography with Avar technique.²⁶⁴ Therefore, the represented scene in fact is more likely from the Ganymede legend, which comes from the Hellenistic Middle-Asia.²⁶⁵ This would indicate the aforementioned woman figure actually cannot be Emese, and is so only for the supporters of Hungarian nationalism and extreme right-wing politics before and after the Treaty of Trianon.

The relationship between the mentioned symbols can be clearly observed on the Sword of God in the Hero’s Cemetery of Rákoskeresztúr. Furthermore, using the

²⁵⁸ Fodor 2010, 177; cf. Dienes 1972.

²⁵⁹ Voight 1985, 55.

²⁶⁰ The wrong name comes from Hampel 1884, 1–117. Cf. Ekhardt 1986, 188.

²⁶¹ Erdélyi–Pataky 1986, 33.

²⁶² Bálint 2002, 5–7.

²⁶³ Fodor 2010, 177.

²⁶⁴ Bálint 2004, 469.

²⁶⁵ Bálint 2002, 7.

“Attila treasure,” or to correctly use its official name, the treasure of Nagyszentmiklós, in the iconography of the WWI memorials is not unusual, as they can be seen on the later described plans by László Vágó, Béla Málnai, as well as on other manifested examples.²⁶⁶

3.1.4. The catalogue of the Sword of God

It is now possible to classify other officially planned symbols that are connected to the Sword of the God. The word ‘officially’ is emphasized, because the last page of the catalogue declares that only the HEMOB has the right to erect the listed memorials. It is interesting to observe that these are the very first proposals for war memorials in Hungary, and from them all others originate. Furthermore, one should keep in mind that the Treaty of Trianon and the end of the war were not expected in the period in which the catalogue was published. As a consequence its national symbols were affected only by the war, and not yet by the trauma of 1920. In the following the main types of the memorial shown in the catalogue are distinguished.

First, the cheapest and simplest options for the Sword of God are the single blades standing in the ground or on a small mound. These blades can be monumental as well as impressive (no. XLIV). An even easier solution is a memorial tablet that could be hung or painted on walls (no. XVII, no. XX). The latter variant became an accepted model in later years, whereas the former ones were commonly erected from the beginning. It was arguably their cheap price that made them popular.

There are two intentionally created new categories which are mentioned in the second prologue of the catalogue by the architect Frigyes Spiegel, namely the pantheons and the sacrificial places.²⁶⁷ As used by Spiegel, the pantheons can be understood as community places. This effort is a really modern intention in the history of memorials. It is based on the users of the monuments who also can be the creators in some way. These are similar to the spontaneous commemoration places which were created by small communities from the beginning of the war in the countryside.

For example, in the case of plan number XI by László Vágó (Fig. 3.1.2.), there is a memorial in front of a cemetery, and on the floor below this, every hero has a little table with his name. According to Spiegel’s text these little cubes can come from

²⁶⁶ Nagy 1985, 77.

²⁶⁷ Spiegel 1916, 8–9.

donations.²⁶⁸ In plan number XI, the memorial is combined with the above-mentioned Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós used as an oil-lamp. Another community-based proposal can be observed in plan number XLI (Fig. 3.1.3.). It consists of a Sword of God which is erected on a mound. This mound is supposed to be built from the soil of each village in the county. Around it there are separate memorials for each village. Through these efforts the memorial can get closer to the observer.

The sacrificial memorials form another group of plans. In Spiegel's opinion they are intended for being visited on a given day of the year, when people dressed in their best clothes to listen to a priest's speech and sing patriotic songs. The design of the memorials has to be suitable for these purposes. This is the reason for erecting altars as war memorials. The mentioned pattern will be popular later as well, for example in the case of the second memorial of Rákoskeresztúr. In the studied catalogue number XXXIV (Fig. 3.1.4.) is an example. According to the designer of the memorial this is a place for remembering a battle. The altar is on the middle of a mound with a Sword of God and a lamp representing the Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós. On plan number XL by Béla Janszky (Fig. 3.1.5.), the Sword of God is surrounded by altar stones. Another sacral pattern is Calvary. In plan number XXXIX by Frigyes Spiegel (Fig. 3.1.6.) there are small memorial pilasters dedicated to individual heroes on the way to the mound on which the Sword of God stands. The sacral memorial became widespread later as a common pattern among the First World War memorials.

The usage of the so-called 'kopjafa' on the memorials is especially interesting. The kopjafa is a type of carved wooden grave-marker which is usually found in Transylvania and Eastern-Hungary.²⁶⁹ After the Treaty of Trianon, when Hungary lost the territory of Transylvania, the kopjafa become an irredentist symbol, because it represented the death of the land. However, the kopjafa got a new layer of meaning when it started to be used as a memorial of the martyrs of the Revolution in 1956 against the communist regime.²⁷⁰ Moreover, the Hungarians living outside the borders of Hungary in Slovakia used the kopjafa as a symbolic occupation of territory.²⁷¹ Finally, it has become a sign of Hungarian identity as a grave marker today.²⁷²

²⁶⁸ Spiegel 1916, 8.

²⁶⁹ Sütő-Bali 2002, 277–278.

²⁷⁰ Boros 1997, 81.

²⁷¹ Juhász 2005, 173.

²⁷² Sütő-Bali 2002, 277–286.

It is interesting to conclude that already in 1916, before the Treaty of Trianon, the designers of the first WW1 memorials realised the national power of this death-symbol. For example, in the memorial in plan number XXIX (Fig. 3.1.7.) the Sword of God is surrounded by kopjafas. In the case of memorial number LV (Fig. 3.1.8.), the Sword of God is protruding from the kopjafa. This shows that the kopjafa was used as the sign of those who died for the country before the end of the war.

Other Hungarian symbols also could be integrated into these very first memorial designs. One example is the abovementioned triple-mound, which is combined with a triple arch in the case of memorial no. XXX (Fig. 3.1.9.). It is useful to mention that the pattern of the arch is also widely used for the here detailed purposes. The most monumental variation of it is the triumphal arch (no. XLII, Fig. 3.1.10.; no. XLVII, Fig. 3.1.11.).

Geographical patterns are also important in the list of Hungarian symbols. In plan number XXXIII (Fig. 3.1.12.) by Frigyes Spiegel the memorial is carved from the rocks of the Carpathian Mountains. Hungary later lost these mountains due to the Treaty of Trianon, and this is also why later irredentist groups liked to use the symbol of mountains. In this case too, the appearance of the symbol already before the Treaty of Trianon makes it clear again that the irredentist motifs built upon an already established basis. Instead of being entirely new symbols, they were pre-existing images integrated into a circle of understandings, which redefined and gave them new meanings. It should be also pointed out that the landscape served as a national motif in several other national imaginaries.²⁷³

The Sword of God can also be combined with official national symbols such as the Hungarian coat of arms. On the one hand the simple Hungarian coat of arms, the so-called 'Kossuth coat of arms,' referred to as the 'little coat of arms' if depicted with a crown on the top, is a widely used pattern (no. LI, Fig. 3.1.13.; no. LIX ; no. LXV, Fig. 3.1.14.). On the other hand, the extended, so-called 'middle coat of arms' can also be found (no. LXVII, Fig. 3.1.15). This is an interesting fact because this emblem was only just institutionalized in 1915 and as such was a recent invention at the time.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Cf. Schama 1995.

²⁷⁴ Kumorovitz 1965, 209–234.

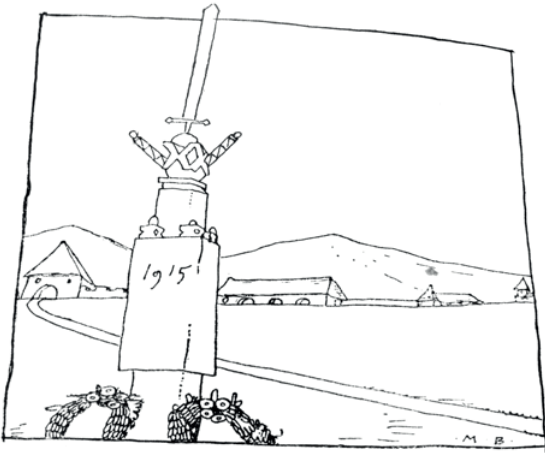


Figure 3.1.8. Plan no. LV. Herczeg 1916.

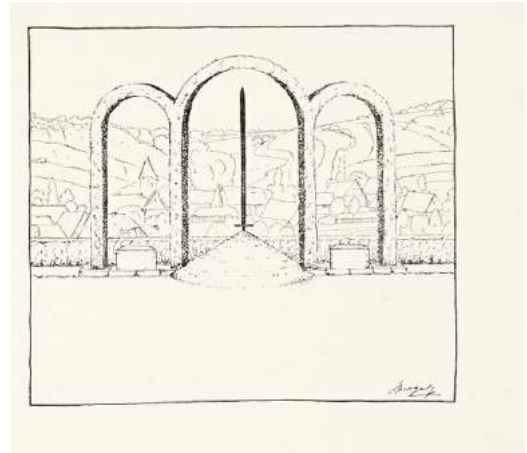


Figure 3.1.9. Plan no. XXX. Herczeg 1916.



Figure 3.1.10. Plan no. XLII. Herczeg 1916.

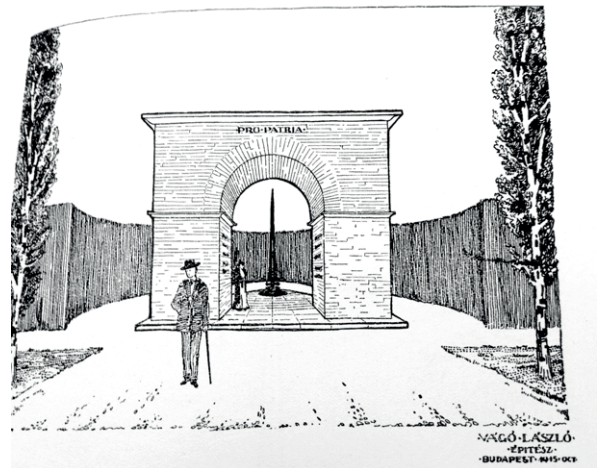


Figure 3.1.11. Plan no. XLVII. Herczeg 1916.

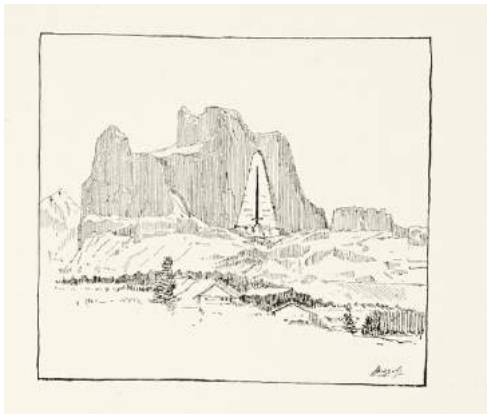


Figure 3.1.12. Plan no. XXXIII. Herczeg 1916.

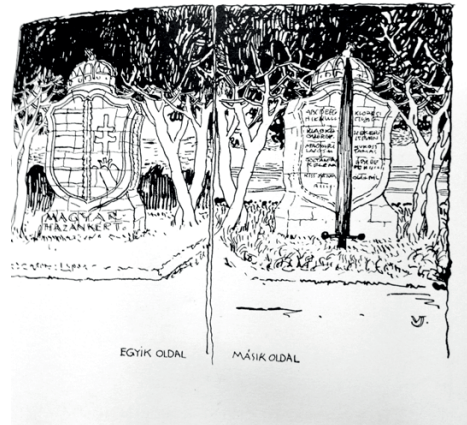


Figure 3.1.13. Plan no. LI. Herczeg 1916.

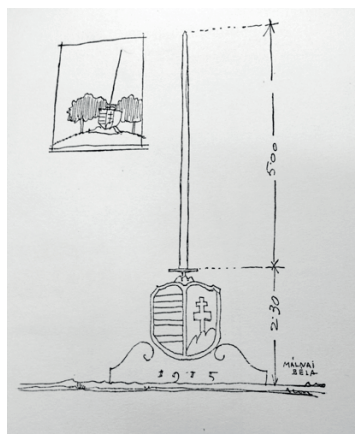


Figure 3.1.14. Plan no. LXV. Herczeg 1916.

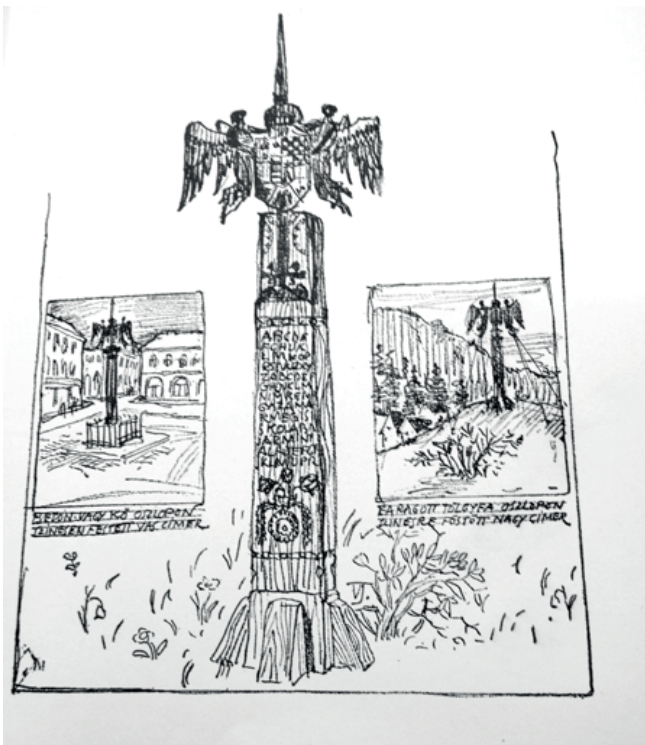


Figure 3.1.15. Plan no. LXVII. Herczeg 1916.

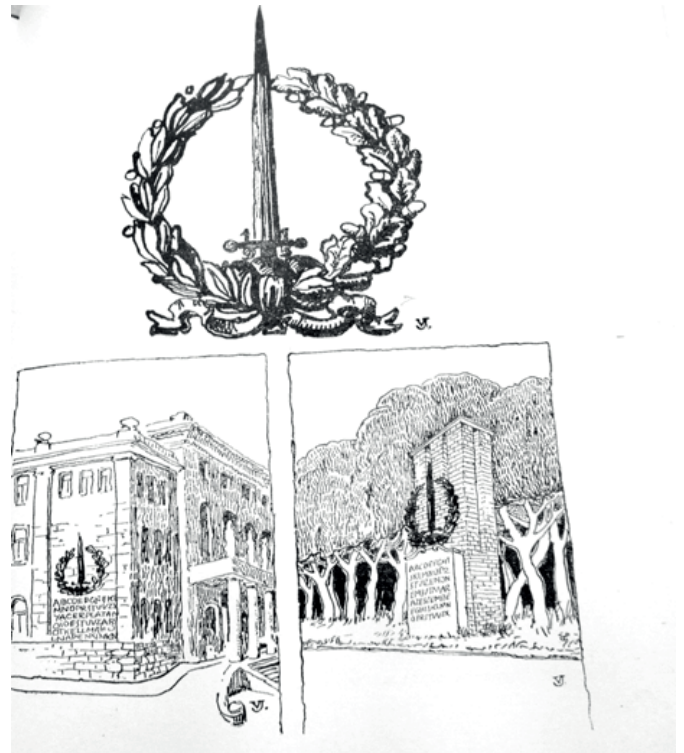


Figure 3.1.16. Plan no. XVI. Herczeg 1916.



NAGY KOSZORU FUTÓNÖVÉNYEKBŐL, BENNE
ISTEN KARDJÁVAL

Figure 3.1.17. Plan no. LVII. Herczeg 1916.

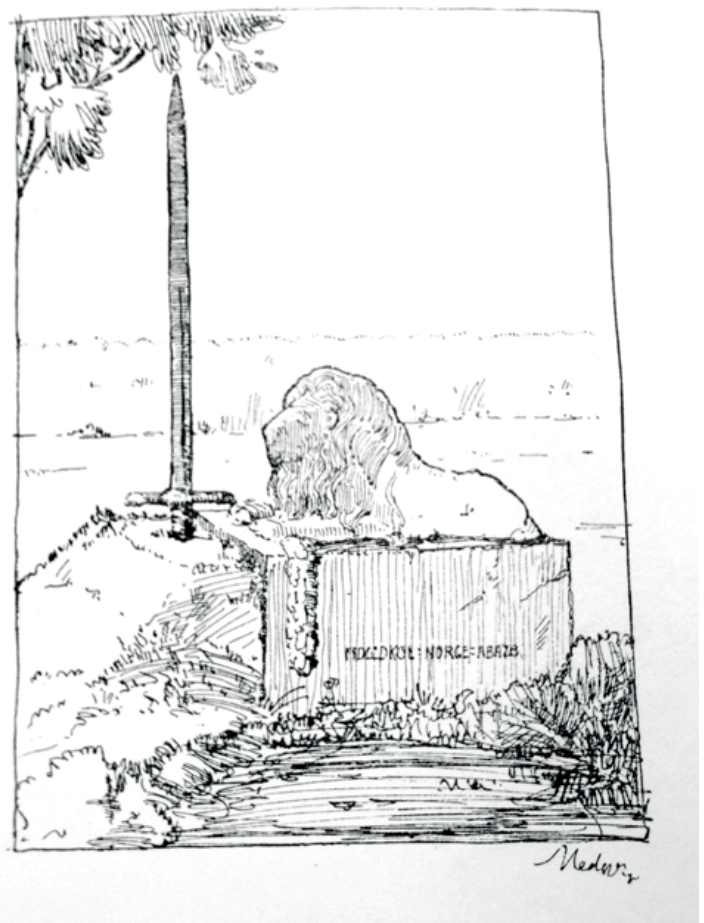


Figure 3.1.18. Plan no. XXXVIII. Herczeg 1916.

Although the Sword of God did not gain the popularity that was hoped for, some complementary symbols have actually spread in the country as First World War memorials. The most common WW1 symbol in Hungary is the wreath (no. XVI, Fig. 3.1.16.; no. LXII, Fig. 3.1.17.; no. LXIII., etc.). An extreme example is plan number LVII, in which a huge wreath includes the Sword of God. The wreath is rooted deeply in war iconography, which is why the usage of this motif is not very surprising.

The last symbol worth mentioning has distant origins and an equally well-established future as well. There is no space in this paper for listing the roots of the image of the lion, but as a part of iconography of the Hungarian sceptre it can be connected with the national iconography as well.²⁷⁵ During and after the First World War the lion was a widely used pattern symbolizing power and courage. Additionally, the lion is usually part of the national emblazonry of different countries, which is why it is generally used also as a memorial. In the catalogue the lion can be found in almost every plan (no. XIII, no. LIX).

On a plan by Alajos Medgyes a lion guards the Sword of God on a flat and even country (no. XXXVIII, Fig. 3.1.18.). This brings up the symbol of the *Alföld*, the Hungarian plains, the use of which as a national symbol started in the very beginning of Hungarian nationalism during romanticism.²⁷⁶ Just like in the case of the Carpathians, this motif is also strongly connected to the concept of national landscape.²⁷⁷ After the great success of the Hungarian lowland as a national landscape in the 19th century, the image of the lost mountains symbolising the territorial wishes again became more dominant in the 20th century.

3.1.5. Conclusion

In this research, after discussing the background of the Sword of God in the initial period of the construction of the Hungarian First World War memorials, an attempt was made to define its layers of meaning through the example of the Sword of

²⁷⁵ Pál-Újvári 1997.

²⁷⁶ Albert 2010, 179–212;

²⁷⁷ Schama 1995.

God in Rákoskeresztúr. In the next part of the paper an analysis of the sample catalogue of the Sword of God memorials was made, and its types were classified.

This study attempted to show how the complexity of some deeply rooted Hungarian symbols were integrated into the Sword of God, this new, politically constructed and ultimately short-lived symbol. It can be concluded that the Sword of the God was clearly a political symbol created in the very first years the war, when the death of citizens was a recent shocking experience. It could be argued that due to its aggressive nature, this symbol properly represented neither the grief nor the piety of the relatives of the fallen soldiers. This could explain why it did not spread widely as a First World War memorial.

Although the hopes of its creators were high, the Hungarian society did not integrate this top-down symbol, though it could be combined with other widely used national symbols. This is the reason why from the more than two thousand WWI memorials only 175 known Sword of God memorials were ordered in the country.²⁷⁸

Besides the low number of the Sword of God memorials, the analysis of its sample catalogues is still interesting, since it shows an interplay of historical myth and symbology with contemporary political events. For example, the Sword of God can be seen as a reference to the sword of Attila the Hun, which connoted a group of national-mythical symbols. On the memorials these images reflected notions such as national landscape, religiosity, and even a concept as modern as community-based memorials.

These symbols were again given new meanings in the inter-war period, when they took on meanings related not only to the loss of life in WWI but also to the loss of territory after the Treaty of Trianon in 1920. In that sense, the images reflecting the national landscape became symbols of a landscape that is lost, while symbols that were merely marking death started to mark the death of the integrity of pre-1920 Hungary. It can be concluded, that these symbols, which were later extensively used in Trianon-based memorials as well, were not created *ex nihilo*, but rather built upon previously established symbols such as the ones described in this research.

²⁷⁸ Somfay 2012, 185.

3.2. The results of the content analysis of the WW1 memorials in Budapest

3.2.1. Introduction

3.2.1.1. Methodology and studied material

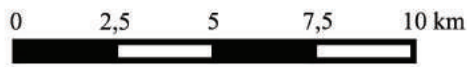
In this chapter the interpretation of the content analyses on the Budapest WW1 memorials is presented. I used the same methodology that was already presented in the chapter 2.2. Basically, I coded the symbols occurring on the memorials, then I counted their prevalence. In the final step I interpreted the results based on the literal context of the studied interwar period.

My research was based on the collection of the WW1 memorials in Budapest. This database was formulated for ten years as a part of the doctoral dissertation by Örs Somfay, who kindly offered his collected material for further research.²⁷⁹

To apply Somfay's database, I first had to filter the items for the iconographical analysis. I took under consideration all the memorials with available visual sources and iconographical content regardless of their location. As a result, this analysis deals with memorials situated both in public spaces and in institutions in contrast to Prague. Altogether 106 memorials were used in the content analysis. The quantitative results were interpreted and contextualized with the help of texts from the interwar period and secondary literature written on the years between the two world wars.

Secondly, the visual sources were not necessary for the location analyses. For this reason I used Somfay's whole database together with the memorial tables without reliefs as well as the erased memorials left behind without visual sources. Only the gravestones were excluded from the research, because in my understanding they are not public memorials, their primary purpose is to serve private grief. The aim with the location analysis was to follow the spatiality of the memorial constructions, removals and transmissions. In this research on the location 165 memorials were involved.

²⁷⁹ Here I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Örs Somfay for offering me his database for further research. Somfay 2011-2016.

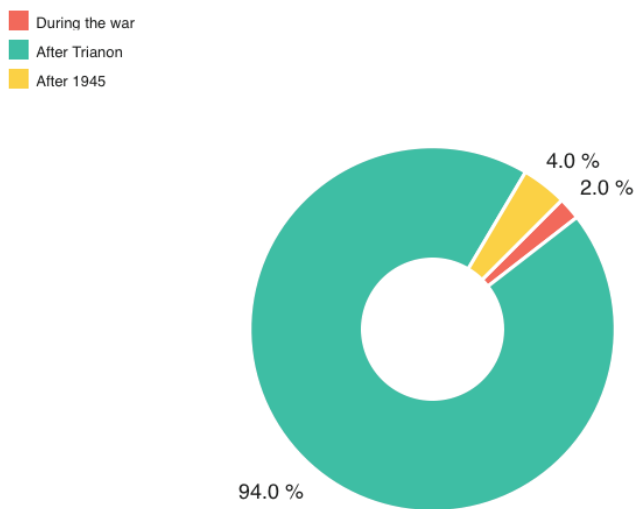


Legend

- Removed or destroyed
- Removed, then reconstructed
- Relocated
- Standing WW1 memorials in Budapest
- Map of Budapest

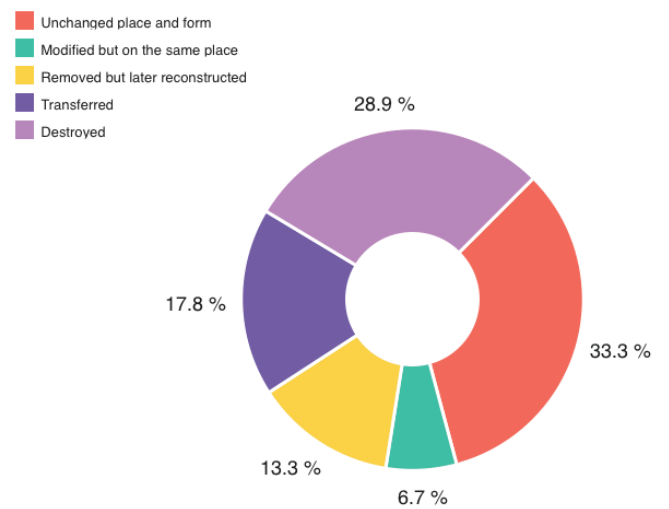
3.2.1. The WW1 memorials on the map of Budapest.

Period of the construction of the WW1 memorials in Budapest



3.2.2. Diagram on the dates of the WW1 memorial constructions in Budapest.

Status of the WW1 memorials in Budapest



3.2.3. Diagram on the statuses of the WW1 memorials in Budapest.

3.2.1.2. Subtle irredentism

Only the WW1 memorials were concerned, and not all the memorials connected to the First World War and its consequences, like the National Flag memorials, irredentist memorials or the Trianon memorials. As mentioned earlier, the Treaty of Trianon meant a fracture in the Hungarian nationalism. Discussing the forms of irredentism and revisionism after the treaty in detail is unfortunately outside the scope of this paper. Miklós Zeidler, Hungarian historian exhaustively discussed their forms and appearances in the Hungarian public life.²⁸⁰

Irredentism had its own memorials and occupied public spaces in Budapest in the interwar periods. These were the *Irredentist Memorial* [Irredenta emlékmű], the *Sculpture of the Hungarian Sorrow* [Magyar fájdalom szobra], the *Sculpture of the Hungarian Justice* [Magyar igazság szobra], the Relic National Flag [Ereklyés Országzászló] and the further National Flag memorials or memorials in connection with persons, such the Bandholtz or Jenő Rákosi. Because their revisionist message was out of doubts, the following communist regime directly attacked against them and without any hesitation.²⁸¹

Nevertheless, in the form they barely differed from the memorials dedicated only to the Great War, due to the shared common symbols. As an example, consider the erased Irredentist memorial that was standing on the present Liberty Square. On this memorial four groups of sculptures refer to the lost parts of the land in the four directions. These sculpture were exaggerating the same figures which occur on the WW1 memorials, such as *Patrona Hungariae*, the *Turul* bird, *Prince Csaba* or the *Lord of the Wars*. Later all of them are discussed in a detailed way, since they are present on the usual WW1 memorials. Consequently, the proved revisionist context of these symbols results that their prevalence on the WW1 memorials carries identic messages within the same context. Apart from these concrete symbols, János Pótó, Hungarian historian, stated that the latent irredentism is present on the WW1 memorial in general.²⁸²

It would be interesting to observe and contrast the messages on the WW1 memorial made prior to the Treaty of Trianon, however, there is insufficient material for this comparison. The WW1 memory boom in Budapest started only in the 1920's.

²⁸⁰ Cf. Zeidler 2002.

²⁸¹ Cf. Pótó 2003 60-61, Zeidler 2002, 33.

²⁸² Pótó 2003, 78.

Therefore almost all the monuments in Budapest were erected after the peace-treaty. (Fig.3.2.1.) Moreover, as presented in the conclusion of the case study on the Sword of God, the symbols rooted in the 19th century became aggressive and extremist when they were reinterpreted after the Treaty of Trianon.

The subtle irredentism of the WW1 memorials is more explicit in the inauguration speeches and reports. Take as an example the revisionist's slogan, the „*No, No, Never*” [Nem, nem soha] which was sung on several inauguration ceremonies. From the most significant memorials such the *Heroes' Memorial Stone* to the less important ones like the Heroes memorial in *Rákosfalva*²⁸³, inauguration ceremonies ended with this line.²⁸⁴ Furthermore, the main theme in most of the speeches was the reunion of the lost country. In the following chapters this theme is recognisable on the iconography as well.

First the issues around the locations of memorial constructions and removals are presented. Then based on the inscriptions the questions of the hero's cult and the belief in the resurrection of the former country are discussed. Finally, the interpretation of the iconographical elements is detailed.

3.2.2. Location and removal

In this subchapter the role of the location in the construction and removal of the WW1 memorials are discussed. As demonstrated in the Prague analysis, knowing the location of the monuments is essential for their understanding, as it provides additional context for the memorials. Based on the studied inauguration speeches, the WW1 memorials in Budapest were dreamed to stand for the eternity, and they promoted the resurrection of the former country. The inaugurators could not know about the destruction and mutilation of the monuments that happened two decades later, carried out based on the same idea. The other thing they could not have known is that the resurrection of the nation, which they were dreaming of, will never come.

Since in Hungary commemoration was obligatory by law,²⁸⁵ the existence of the memorials is not a highlighted question. Nevertheless, their exact location on the squares and in the districts can be a topic of research. Here I am using the physical

²⁸³ Part of the 14th district of Budapest in West-Pest.

²⁸⁴ Cf. Liber 1934, 353.

²⁸⁵ Cf. Jakusch 2015, 138

frames of the city described by Lynch²⁸⁶, as well as, the question of spatial context defined by the history of the places detailed in the chapter written on the Czech example.

In contrast to Prague the majority of the WW1 monuments were concentrated in the inner districts, while they number was reduced in the outer districts of the present Budapest. (3.2.2.) The reason of this phenomenon on the one hand is that some of the districts were attached to Budapest in the middle of the 20th century. Therefore they were treated as the smaller settlements by the memory politics, that way they were out of the focus. On the other hand in the centre of Budapest not only the municipalities initiated the erection of the monuments, and various societies could erect a memorial. Memorials were devoted to military units, to fallen with different professions, from institutions and schools. In the centre were commemorated also the fallen of the land which did not belong to Hungary after the Treaty of Trianon.

Based on the abovementioned thoughts in this chapter the reasons of the location and the removal of the WW1 memorials is presented concerning their physical place and their ideological content. The Castle, a place outstanding both in its physical characteristics and its historical meanings is discussed in detail.

3.2.2.1. Reasons for the missing memorials

The history of the memorials is discussed in reverse chronological order, starting with their disappearance, as it can help to identify the message carried by them. Significant memorials are erected and removed from significant places, such as nodes²⁸⁷, which are frequented and visible intersection points. Many times the removals did not have an ideological reason.²⁸⁸ János Pótó argues that after the second world war, in the dawn of the communist regime the removal of monuments depended also on financial questions and on the physical conditions on the memorials. He called these claims *relevant [aktuális] conditions*.

However, the diagram built on the analysis on the location of the memorials shows that most of the WW1 memorials in Budapest were mutilated, transferred,

²⁸⁶ Cf. Lynch 1960, 48.

²⁸⁷ Cf. Lynch i.m.

²⁸⁸ Pótó 2003, 110.

destroyed and later restated, or finally destroyed by now. (Fig. 3.2.3.). Therefore it is necessary not to ignore the question of removals and take it more seriously.

According to Pótó, right after the Second World War the new regime had three options to choose from: reconstructing, not reconstructing, and removing the memorials. The deciding factors were often actualities, sometimes supported by ideological frames.²⁸⁹

Although the monarchist ideology of the WWI memorials was not supportable for the new communist regime, it was not sufficient for justifying their destruction. The First World War was so present in the communicative memory fulfilled with personal grief and sorrow that the *damnatio memoriae* would be more disadvantageous for the communist propaganda. Therefore only the directly revisionist and monarchist memorials were intentionally destroyed,²⁹⁰ such as the *Memorial of the Military Navy*²⁹¹, which was directly connected to the governor of the Kingdom, Miklós Horthy. Sometimes only the details were changed, for example in the case of the *Memorial of the Maria Theresa 32th infantry regiment [Mária Terézia 32-es gyalogezred]*,²⁹² where the references connected to the Habsburgs were removed. Pótó explained that in most cases it was enough not to invest into the reconstruction of these memorials, because in the post-war chaos they could disappear easily.²⁹³

Nonetheless, some direct removals are known from the communist period. There is one significant case when the physical characteristics of the locations were as important as the ideological unsupportability. Ironically, official aesthetical reasons were stated for the destruction of the *Memorial of the 1st Territorial infantry regiment [1. Népfelkelő gyalogezred]* standing on the Fővám square in 1947. On this memorial the bronze figures of a soldier and a territorial warrior were in attack and were throwing a grenade. Pótó proved that the real reason for the destruction of the memorial, which was unpleasant for the communist officials, was actually its embarrassing location. The newly built soviet liberation memorial on the Gellért Hill and the abovementioned memorial of the territorials could be seen together from a

²⁸⁹ Pótó 2003, 100.

²⁹⁰ Pótó 2003, 110.

²⁹¹ Constructed in 1937. Plans by István Szentgyörgyi. Destroyed in 1944. All the data of the memorials in footnotes are from Somfay 2012-2016.

²⁹² Constructed in 1933. Plans by István Szentgyörgyi.

²⁹³ Ibid.

certain angle.²⁹⁴ This conjoint visual communication in the middle of the capital was not tolerable for the regime.

However, the physical characteristics of the city sometimes could save the memorials from removal. Occasionally they were just transferred to a less charismatic location, such as the *Memorial of the Nameless Heroes*²⁹⁵, which was relocated from a square to a courtyard of a building.²⁹⁶ The *Monument of the Officer Heroes*²⁹⁷ also can be mentioned as an example. According to László Prohászka, researcher of the Hungarian memorials, it could only survive as it was constructed a courtyard of a building.

The relocation of the *Memorial of the National Self-abnegation*²⁹⁸ is a special case. Originally it was erected on one of the most important nodes of Budapest, on the Deák Square in 1915.²⁹⁹ Moreover, in this period the main road crossing the square was named after Emperor Wilhelm as a symbol of Hungarian-German cooperation. The memorial did not only have a commemorative function. The locals could pin small metal flakes on it, and with the price of the flake they could support the widows and orphans of the fallen soldiers. During the short-lived Council Republic the statue was not removed from the square, but it was hidden by a folding screen.³⁰⁰ In 1924 it was replaced to the courtyard of the cavalry academy, the so-called Ludovica Academy.³⁰¹ Unfortunately memorial is no longer in the courtyard, but some parts of it can be found in museums.

The theoretical reasoning of the removal argued its bad and mutilated state.³⁰² According to the contemporary descriptions not only did the Council Republic abuse the memorial, but the locals were also collecting the flakes from it.³⁰³ It was not treated untouchable and sacred. The lesson of this story is that here propaganda and the living memory often differ. It is essential to keep in mind that during the research of the memorials and their literal context only the suggested propaganda can be

²⁹⁴ Pótó 2003, 107.

²⁹⁵ Constructed in 1924. Plans by János Horvay. Today on the Üllői road in the 8th district. For picture see Ajtay - Bachó 1930, 849.

²⁹⁶ Prohászka 2007, 77.

²⁹⁷ Constructed in 1928. Plans by Viktor Vass. Ajtay - Bachó 1930, 847.

²⁹⁸ Constructed in 1915. Plans by Ferenc Sidló. Locations: Deák square, Ludovica Academy. Removed. Liber 1934, 307-308.

²⁹⁹ Liber 1934, 308.

³⁰⁰ FSZEK BGy Képtár 021455., FSZEK BGy Képtár 020421.

³⁰¹ Liber 1934, 308., Ajtay - Bachó 1930, 849.

³⁰² Liber 1934, 308.

³⁰³ i. m.

understood and not the real social context. For that kind of investigation, the use of other sources is necessary.

Although based on the theory of Póto the carried ideology is just one of the many possible reasons for removing memorials, there are some purely ideological removals as well. The *Memorial of the Military Navy* is a suggestive example for the ideological destructions. It was erected in 1937 on the bridge named after governor Miklós Horthy. Standing on the beak of a stone ship two bronze figures, a marine and a *Niké* were peering at he far. Above them was a small replica of the lighthouse of Fiume [Rijeka].³⁰⁴

This memorial was problematic for the new regime for many reasons. First, Fiume was referring to the sea of the former kingdom. Secondly, it was standing on the bridge of the governor. Moreover, the whole institution of the military navy was overshadowed by the figure of Horthy. Póto claims that the context of the memorial was intolerable for the new communist regime.³⁰⁵

At the same time, it cannot be ignored that the context of the meaning is in a constant flux, an observer might not be able to understand the original visual message. The connotation could easily change by the time of the removals. A nice example is the history of the *Memorial of the Jaeger infantry* [Tábori vadászok emlékműve].³⁰⁶ Originally on this memorial two bronze figures, a soldier wearing a helmet and a jaeger wearing the characteristic feathered hat of the corps, were shaking hands with. In 1949 the head of the jaeger was replaced by a soldier with a shako.³⁰⁷

The explanation of this modification is that the initiator of the exchange misinterpreted the jaeger hat. He considered it as a gendarme headwear because of the feathers, and the gendarmerie had a bad reputation in this period.³⁰⁸ As a conclusion it can be stated that there is a difference between the intended message of a memorial and its reception, especially during changing regimes.

³⁰⁴ FSZEK BGy Képtár 001408.

³⁰⁵ Póto 2003, 39-40.

³⁰⁶ Constructed in 1941. Plans by Zsigmon Kisfaludi Strobl.

³⁰⁷ Póto 2003, 101.

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

3.2.2.2. The role of the location in the memorial constructions

In this section the reasons for choosing the locations of the memorials is discussed with the help of a few example. For instance, a significant decision was made between the physical and historical characteristics of the city when the *Heroes's Memorial Stone* [Hősök emlékköve], which function as the cenotaph of the Unknown Soldier, was erected in front of the national pantheon of the Millennium Memorial.

The original plans intended to transform the most emblematic hill of Budapest, the Gellért hill, into a memorial place for the WW1. It would be a visible and monumental commemoration on a significant *landmark*³⁰⁹ of the city. Instead, a *node* was chosen as the location of the memorial stone. It was not only a functional decision, documents state that the soldier's memory was deliberately connected to the memory of the mythical-historical figures. This attempt was based on the examples of the European tradition of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier as detailed in the Chapter 2.1.

It is an important consequence that the square where the Millennium Memorial and the Heroes' Memorial Stone stand was named as Heroes' square in 1932. Endre Liber, the mayor of Budapest in that period, stated that the square got its name after the memorial stone and not after the famous figures of the Millennium memorial.³¹⁰ In this act the transformation of the notion of hero can be seen. The Hero is not a great historical persona anymore, but he is the unknown, nameless soldier dying for the homeland.

Naming the public places based on the WW1 memorial standing on them became a practice in Budapest. The name *Heroes square* tends to appear also in less important parts of the city, like in Békásmegyér³¹¹ or in Pesthidegkút.³¹² The abovementioned *Monument of the Maria Terezia 32th infantry regiment* also had an impact on its square, because it was named as the *Square of the 32th*.

However, blindly following the question of the *actuality*³¹³ of the places can be misleading. Some of the memorials with declared central function cannot be found actually in the centre. For example, two central memorials are known from

³⁰⁹ Cf. Lynch 1960, 48.

³¹⁰ Liber 1934, 364.

³¹¹ Today it is part of the 3rd district in North-Buda.

³¹² Today it is part of the 2nd district in West-Buda.

³¹³ In Pótó's sense the actuality is used as the relevant significance of the given place in a given time. Cf. Pótó 2003, 19.

cemeteries, which are necessarily at the *edge* of the city. One of these was a huge tumulus-like pyramid decorated with crosses standing in the so-called Kerepesi Cemetery. The other one was a monumental obelisk with a stone coffin standing in the Heroes' Cemetery in the New Public Cemetery of Rákoskeresztúr. The last one is detailed in a small case study in the comparative chapter. The relation between public places and cemeteries, as discussed in the introduction, highlights that it is not always necessary to have significant places for important memorials.

It is worth mentioning that the constructions of monuments were often connected to the already existing institutions, such as schools or churches. The memorials closed inside the school buildings would be out of the focus of the present investigation, since they are not standing on public places. However, they had a role in visually stimulating generations of locals in Budapest. Therefore they are part of the iconographical analysis of the Budapest case. After presenting the role of the location the aforementioned visual stimulus is deconstructed to textual and visual elements.

3.2.2.3. A node and landmark: the role of the Castle in the WW1 commemoration

Holding a map of the memorials it may be easily noticed that from the castle a large number of monuments are missing (Fig. 3.2.2.). The Castle is a significant location both for the inaugurations and for the removals. Four independent WW1 monuments and several memorials connected to two institutions can be mentioned among the erected ones close to the Castle. Here the disappearance of only two is mentioned in details. The outstanding and now existing memorials, which still can be found in the castle, are detailed according to their iconography in later sub-chapters.

The first monument, which was removed from the Castle, was standing behind the Castle building. It was a monumental (19 metres long) stone memorial, dedicated to the horse-artillery.³¹⁴ A great misfortune was that the memorial was decorated with 24 coat of arms of cities of the former Hungarian Kingdom³¹⁵. The debate on the removal of the strongly injured memorial went on for decades. Finally, its spot got occupied by the memorial of György Dózsa in 1960.³¹⁶ He was the leader of the peasant's revolt in the 16th century, fitting both into the national, the anti-imperial and the communist narrative.

³¹⁴ Constructed in 1937. Plans by Ligeti Miklós. Removed in 1959.

³¹⁵ Pótó 2003, 37.

³¹⁶ Pótó 2003, 38.

In the territory of the Castle a concentration of memorials could be found in the former Palatine Barrack³¹⁷, which was declared to be the Military Museum by the end of the war, as well as in the Garrison church. The history of the Military Museum cannot be elaborated in a detailed way in this thesis, but it is necessary to mention its function.³¹⁸ In the Museum the memorial tables of the allocated parts of the former country were inaugurated. This was the reason for hiding them during the communist period.³¹⁹

Besides, it can be stated that the war memory had its own church in the Castle. The former Maria Magdalene church was one of the most monumental buildings of the Castle district. It was built during the Middle Ages, when it was used as the parish for the Hungarian citizens of the old city of Buda. After the reoccupation of Buda from the Ottoman, the church became the sacred place of the garrison soldiers³²⁰. Here more memorial tables, monuments and chapels were devoted to the fallen of the Great War born in the former Hungarian territories.

The church was heavily damaged during the Second World War, which provided an excellent reason for the communist regime to destroy the church in 1952.³²¹ Although it could have been renovated, it was considered to be the church of the imperialism and revisionism in the eye of the communists. Therefore its presence was intolerable, especially in such a *haut-lieu*³²², like the Castle. The question of the sacred places in the commemoration is detailed in the later subchapters.

Other WW1 memorials from the Castle are discussed during the presentation of the results of the iconographical analysis. These are the equestrian memorial of the Székely Hussars, which was also mutilated, and the so-called András Hadik Statue, which is a Hussar and WW1 memorial in one. Before introducing the iconographical analysis, it is necessary to shortly discuss the written contents of the monuments.

3.2.3. Inscriptions

In this chapter the results of the content analysis of the inscriptions are presented. I highlight the problems connected to the mostly used words and to the most

³¹⁷ The palatine was the highest office below the king in the Hungarian kingdom.

³¹⁸ Cf. Ságvári 2005.

³¹⁹ Sallay 2007, 23-26, Cf. Ságvári 2005.

³²⁰ Végh – Szebeni 2002, 427 – 457.

³²¹ Sallay 2007, 26.

³²² In Pierre Yves Saunier 's understanding. Cf. Pierre Yves Saunier 1993.

surprising inscriptions. The WW1 monuments in Budapest are rich in textual content in contrast to the Czech example. They express their nationalism explicitly, verbally with the repetition of the expressions like *nation*, *home/fatherland* or *Magyar*.

However, the most frequent and important term that occurs on the memorial is „*Hero*”. Based on the Czech case it is already clear that the term used for the fallen is not evidentially given. In Hungary there was an officially generated cult of heroes. Acts were made for the mandatory memorial erections and for the commemoration on the Heroes’ day.³²³ The sources, like the inauguration speeches, the press, placards and newsreels are cluttered with the variations of the word *hero*. They are used not only as the definitive nouns for the fallen, but also as modifiers of the valorous deeds, the death or even the memory. It also has to be mentioned that the way in which the WW1 memorials are referred in different languages is not identic and depends on the cultural context. For example, it is *monument for the victims* for the English or *monument to the dead* for the French. The syntagm of *Heroic dead/fallen* is not commonly used in English, but this dissertation is relying on it to be loyal to the Hungarian original [hősi halott].

What can be the reason for the forced usage of the concept of hero in the Hungarian context? Although the heroes’ cult started during the war, it proliferated only after it. Perhaps, while during the war it can be just the part of the war propaganda carrying the promise of the honoured death, after losing the war and the larger part of the country, it may be the symbol of moral victory. The Heroes are seen as glorified warriors rather than failures. This idea is expressed by Jenő Sipőcz, the mayor of Budapest, on the inaugurations of the Heroes’ Memorial Stone with these words: “*Glory is independent from success*”³²⁴

Although almost in all the cases the language of the inscriptions is Hungarian, the memorials connected to schools and universities often carry message in Latin. For example, on the top of the memorial in front of the central building of the Eötvös Loránd University (1930³²⁵) the „*Pro Patria Mortuis 1914-1918!*” words are written, which is only the common formula of the „*For those who died for Fatherland*” in

³²³ Cf. Jakusch 2015, 140.

³²⁴ „A dicsőség független a sikertől.” Own translation. Sipőcz in Liber 1943, 364.

³²⁵ Liber 1934, 379.; *Magyarság képes melléklet*, 1930. 45., 4. *Képzőművészet*, 9. (1931), 78.

Latin. On the bottom of the memorial it is specified: „*juvenibus academicis/virtutis aemula statuit/viva juventus academica/1919-1930.*”³²⁶

Furthermore, one can find another interesting inscription on this memorial. It is a modified line form Mihály Vörösmarty’s poem, *Patriotism*. The inscription in literal translations reads: “*Endure what hurts, be that hardship, pain or death. But never withstand, never bare if your bloodline is disgraced*”³²⁷ Mihály Vörösmarty (1800-1855) was a Hungarian poet in the 19th century. He is an outstanding figure of the Hungarian literal national romanticism. His role in the commemoration is revealed through a small case study in the following subchapter.

3.2.3.1. Vörösmarty’s *Appeal* on the WW1 memorials

One of Vörösmarty’s most important lines can be found on several memorials, such as the Memorial of the Nameless Heroes (1924), the Memorial Sculpture for the Heroic Fallen of the Politechnic University (1927) or the Memorial Table of the 22th Infantry Regiment of Marosvásárhely³²⁸ [today Târgu Mureş].

„*It cannot be that all in vain so many hearts have bled.*”³²⁹

This sentence is the part of Vörösmarty’s most popular poem, called *Appeal* [Szózat], which has a special role in the Hungarian ceremonies. It is used almost as a second anthem, by today becoming the closing song of the Hungarian official events.

The poem was born in the wave of the national romanticism in 1832, before the Hungarian National Revolution and Liberation War. The main thesis of the poem is that the thousand years of Hungary, starting from *Árpád the Conqueror* through *Hunyadi* (who was fighting against the Ottoman Empire) cannot all be in vain, and all the blood shed for the homeland cannot be wasted. Although at the end of this poem the vision of the nation’s death appeared, but only as an exaggerated national sorrow. However, this death of the nation is not a distant vision anymore after the Treaty of Trianon in the interwar period. For this reason, the poem was re-interpreted.

An interesting example of the reinterpretation of this poem can be observed in an inauguration speech of the National Heroes’s Memorial Stone, which functioned as

³²⁶ *Following the young university students’ valour constructed the living youth of the university.* Own translation.

³²⁷ „Tűrj érte mindent, ami bánk, kint, szenvedést és halált, de el ne szenvedd el ne tűrd véred gyalázatát.” Dénes György’s translation.

³²⁸ Liber 1934, 321.

³²⁹ „Az nem lehet, hogy annyi szív hiába onta vért”.

the cenotaph of the Unknown Soldier in front of the monumental Millennium Memorial. The speech of Prime Minister István Bethlen (1921-31)³³⁰ follows the structure of the *Appeal* with one exception: in the 19th century the death of the nation was only a far vision, which was expressed in the following way by Vörösmarty:

*„Or there shall come, if come there must,
a death of fortitude;
and round about our graves shall stand
a nation washed in blood.*

*Around the graves where we shall die
a weeping world will come,
and millions will in pity gaze
upon the martyrs' tomb.”³³¹*

In contrast to it, the dilacerated country surrounded by the other nations of the World is not the end, but the starting point of Bethlen's speech. Then he states: „For the thousand-year-old Hungary died so many Hungarian.”³³² In the case of Vörösmarty this claim is written in the following way:

*„This is the country that your sires
have shed their blood to claim;
throughout a thousand years not one
but adds a sacred name.”*

Then the poem continues this way:

*„Twas here brave Árpád's mighty sword
ordained your land to be,
and here the arms of Hunyad broke
the chains of slavery.”*

The same thought can be observed in Bethlen's speech while he used an enlarged national Pantheon with more dynasties and the main Hungarian politicians and poets of the 19th centuries:

*„But could it really be that all the Árpáds, the Anjous, the Hunyadis and the Rákóczi,
the princes of Transylvania, Széchenyi and Kossuth³³³, Petőfi and Arany³³⁴ lived and
died for would be all just a lie and injustice?”³³⁵*

³³⁰ Cf. Romsics 2005.

³³¹ Vörösmarty Mihály: *Appeal*. Translated by Theresa Pulszky - John Edward Taylor. In: *Hundred Hungarian Poems*. Ed. Thomas Kabdebó. Albion Editions, Manchester, 1976. Not referred later.

³³² „Az ezeréves Magyarországért halt meg annyi magyar”. Own translation. Bethlen in Liber 1934, 362.

³³³ Two outstanding Hungarian politician in the 19th century.

³³⁴ Two great Hungarian national poets from the 19th century.

After this the refusal of the vainness, as well as, the possibility of hope appear twice in the poem of Vörösmarty:

*„It cannot be that all in vain
so many hearts have bled,
that haggard from heroic breasts
so many souls have fled!*

*It cannot be that mind and strength
and consecrated will
are wasted in a hopeless cause
beneath a curse of ill!*

*There yet shall come, if come there must,
that better, fairer day
for which a myriad thousand lips
in fervent yearning pray.”*

The prime minister put forward the same question: *„Was it in vain that hundreds of thousands of Hungarians, the flowers, the youth of the nation fought and died on the battlefield?”*³³⁵ Then he replied immediately: *„Hungarian heroes, you did not die for the home in vain”*³³⁷ This was the conclusion of the Prime minister’s speech, while he drew on the promise of the rebirth of the nation and denied the threat of the death of it.

Evidentially, the Appeal is just a representation of the idea that the thousand-year-old heroic battle of the nation cannot disappear in vain. However, through the presented inauguration speech it can easily be seen how such ideas can be reinterpreted in the public speeches and on the public spaces with the help of the WW1 memorials after the Treaty of Trianon.

³³⁵ „De vajjon lehetséges volna-e, hogy mindaz, amiért az Árpádok, az Anjouk, a Hunyadiak és a Rákócziak, az erdélyi fejedelmek, Széchenyi és Kossuth, Petőfi és Arany éltek és meghalni tudtak, hazugság és igazságtalanság volna?”. Own translation. Bethlen in Liber, 1934, 363.

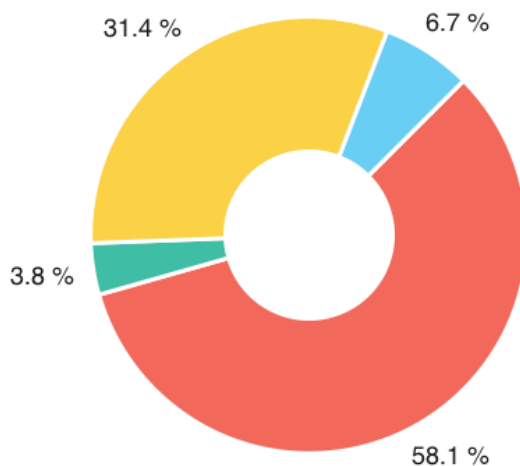
³³⁶ „Hiába küzdött, hiába halt-e meg a csatatéren annyi százezer magyar, a nemzet virága, ifjúsága?” Own translation. i.m.

³³⁷ „Magyar hősök, ti nem haltatok meg hiába a honért!” Own translation. i.m.

Form of the WW1 memorials in Budapest

3.2.4. Diagram on the forms of the WW1 memorials in Budapest.

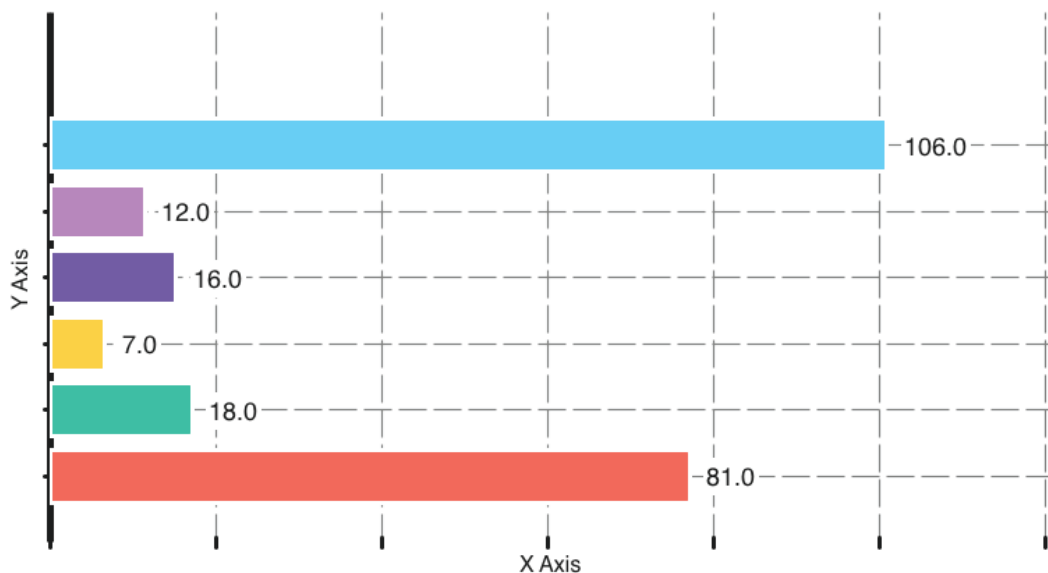
Figural Building or building-like Memorial table with relief Simple geometrical form



3.2.5. Diagram on the human figures of the WW1 memorials in Budapest.

Human figures on the WW1 memorials in Budapest

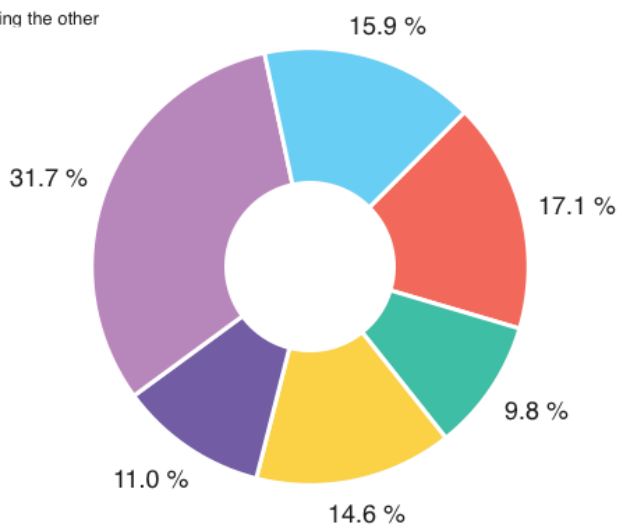
Soldier in uniform Man without uniform Young boy Woman Child All the memorials



3.2.6. Diagram on the soldier figures of the WW1 memorials in Budapest.

Soldiers on the WW1 memorials

Fallen but alive Dead Victorious Mourning or supporting the other Fighting Other



3.2.4. The occurring iconographical elements

In this chapter the occurring symbols are elaborated. The 58 percentages of the WW1 memorials in Budapest are figurative ones. (Fig. 3.2.4.). These figures are generally soldiers in uniform (Fig. 3.2.5.), whose one third is pictures during battle. (Fig. 3.2.6.) These soldiers are altering from the Czech ones. While on the Czech memorials the legionaries have a special role, in the case of Budapest the Hussars appear. At first, their role is detailed.

Later the mythical-historical figures, the religious symbols with a special focus on *Patrona Hungariae*, the few female figures and scenes and finally the general elements are presented. Their roots, variations and possible interpretations is presented.

3.2.4.1. The allegory of the Hussar

3.2.4.1.1. *What is the Hussar? Why is it used?*

On the largest portion of the memorials, the figure of a Hussar can be seen identifiable from the unique uniform and the majority of them was directly devoted to hussar units. This Slavic rooted light cavalry became significant during the wars against the Ottoman Empire in the 16th-17th centuries, and the transformed corps had a role even during the second world war. The hussars lived their golden age in the 18th century, especially during the rule of Maria Theresa.³³⁸ Later, they gained an important national popularity during the Liberation War in 1948-49.

The Hungarian hussar has a long tradition in the national military history, until in the First World War it became clear that this corps is useless against modern firearms and warfare without changes. However, the hussars gained also prominence, for example, with defending Cracow in the battle of Limanova.³³⁹ Regardless a few similar success, the history of hussar corps overall was not successful in the Great War, resulting in a huge amount of casualties. Tradition took priority and the corps was not modernised in time.³⁴⁰ For example, they started the war in their colourful uniform. Although it was representative, it meant a visible target in the age of the grey

³³⁸ Zachar 2000, 5-10., 101 - 115.

³³⁹ Cf. Molnár 1932.

³⁴⁰ See Zachar 2000, 115.

uniforms on the battlefield. During the war their uniform, arm and warfare were rethought, and by the end of it they fought in a way similar to the infantry.

The interesting question is, why were Hussars still essential for the WW1 memorials in Budapest? Besides their few successful movements, the reason for their cult can be searched in their tradition. What did the Hussar mean for the interwar Hungarian? The forewords of works on the meaning of the Hussar from the interwar period can be helpful for answering these questions. I had an attempt to contextualise this phenomenon with the help of the abovementioned sources.

First of all, the Hussar was a Hungarian symbol even in the frames of the imperial army. In 1936 István Horthy summarized this thought in the following way: „*The Hussar is the child of the Hungarian land*”.³⁴¹

The debate on the origins of the hussar started in the 1930s.³⁴² The scientific research had already revealed the Slavic heritage of the expression and the phenomenon,³⁴³ but a number of critiques heated by national feelings in the interwar period were to be faced.³⁴⁴

Sándor Zsuffa argued in 1935: “*A Hungarian man cannot accept the hussar’s Slavic origins.*”³⁴⁵ Beside false linguistic claims, he only had emotional explanations: “*We must insist on our word Hussar, on this (...) ancient Magyar military expression, because it contains all the glory and all the tragedy of our nation*”.³⁴⁶

This strong opposition was rooted in the fact that the interwar common sense treated the light cavalry hussar as the inheritance of the conqueror Magyars. The figure of the conqueror Magyar cavalryman became an archetype through the centuries.

A nice example of this cult is the sentence which became an adage in the 19th century: „*a sagittis Hungarorum libera nos, Domine*”³⁴⁷. It refers to the prayers a German prayer born in fear of the ancient Hungarian horse-archers. This sentence

³⁴¹ Horthy I. in Szakonyi et al. 1936, Foreword [Előszó] without page number.

³⁴² Cf. Tóth 1934.

³⁴³ For the newest research see B. Szabó 2010.

³⁴⁴ Cf. Zsuffa 1935.

³⁴⁵ „*A Magyar ember a Magyar hussar szláv eredetét nem ismerheti el*”. Own translation. Zsuffa 1935, 15.

³⁴⁶ “*A huszár szavunkhoz, ehhez az (...)ősi Magyar katonai kifejezéshez mégis görcsösen ragaszkodnunk kell, mert ebben benne van nemzetünk egész történelmének minden fénye, de minden tragédiája is.*” Own translation. Zsuffa 1935, 111.

³⁴⁷ „*From the arrows of the Hungarians deliver us, oh Lord*”. Own translation.

may be a modification of a 10th-century western European source³⁴⁸. However, in the present form it is only a myth, which appeared at first in Lajos Kossuth's communication, who was an influential politician of the 19th century. The heritage of this mythical-historical horse-archer was seen in the Hussar. Colonel Lajos Szakonyi, who collected the historical sources of the Hussars in the 1936, solved this problem in the following way:

„The whole spirit and the warfare tactics of the conqueror fore-fathers lives on in the souls and the in the temperament [véralkat] of the Magyar, like ember under the ashes”³⁴⁹

The Hussar who is „defending the thousand-year-old frontiers”³⁵⁰ is not only referring to the Magyar origins, but it also represents national values and a personality, a national feeling such as „valour” [vitézség], „Magyar-like willpower” [magyaros akaratérő], „persistence” [kitartás], „sense of duty” [kötelességteljesítés].³⁵¹

According to István Horthy, the ideal Hussar acts the following way:

„His personality stands on the strongest foundation, because he is down to the earth, and his imagination does not fly with the wind except when it comes to victory.”³⁵²

Theoretically, becoming a Hussar does not depend on privileges, all the men of the nation can be a Hussar assuming the abovementioned national qualities: *„In its order there could the most aristocratic lord and the simplest peasant”³⁵³* However, the Hussar acts much like a nobleman: *„The hussar's aristocratic [úri] mentality inhere helping the weak, the poor and the orphans.”³⁵⁴*

³⁴⁸ Halmágyi 2007, 142-147.

³⁴⁹ „A magyar nép lelkében, véralkatában a honfoglaló ősök szelleme és harcmódora csorbítatlanul tovább élt, mint parázs a hamu alatt.” Own translation. Szakonyi et al. 1936, Introduction [Bevezetés], without page number.

³⁵⁰ Szakonyi et al. 1936, Introduction [Bevezetés], without page number.

³⁵¹ Horthy I. in Szakonyi et al. 1936, Foreword [Előszó] without page number.

³⁵² „Egyénisége a földön, mint a legbiztosabb alapon áll, és képzelete nem száguld a felhők szárnyán, csak egy esetben, ha győzelemről van szó.” Own translation. Horthy I. in Szakonyi et al. 1936, Foreword [Előszó] without page number.

³⁵³ „Sorai között a legelőkelőbb főúr és a legegyszerűbb jobbágy” Own translation. Szakonyi et al. 1936, Introduction [Bevezetés], without page number.

³⁵⁴ „A magyar huszár úri gondolkodásához hozzátartozik az, hogy a gyöngébben segítsen, a szegényeket és az árvát felkarolja.” Own translation. Horthy I. in Szakonyi et al. 1936, Foreword [Előszó] without page number.

From this point of view, the idea of the chevalier can be explored in the figure of the ideal-typical Hussar. The archetype of the virtuous Magyar cavalryman originates from the notion of the knight-king, who is the prefiguration of the mixture of the knight and the lord, such as Louis the Great or Saint Ladislaus. Some of the memorial table plans of the previously discussed HEMOB were ornamented with his figure. Furthermore, he had a sculpture in the Ludovica Cavalry Academy. This chevalier idea also occurs in the further description of the Hussar's characteristics:

„Since he has the mentality of a nobleman, he does not pursue his own agenda, and when facing the enemy, he neither counts their numbers.”³⁵⁵

Moreover, the connotation of the concept of the Hussar involved the promise of the resurrection. According to the sources the past legitimates that the *„heroic fight for the thousand-year-old frontiers”³⁵⁶* makes the Hussar eternal:

Whatever the future may bring, there will be the Magyar hussar as long as there are Magyar men, because the Magyar plain [róna] bear the Magyar Hussar, and the Magyar Hussar defends this adored motherland [szülő].³⁵⁷

The observable melting of the Hussar and the Homeland is apparent. In the Great War the modern warfare obviously caused the star of the Hussar to fall. Dozens of the units perished, resulting in huge casualties. The belief in the resurrection of the army was as blind and negotiatory as the belief in the resurrection of the mutilated country. Endre Liber, mayor of Budapest, expressed this thought regarding the memory of the Maria Theresa 32th infantry regiment this way: *„The regiment did not cease to exist. The regime was just renewed.”³⁵⁸*

By now the meaning of the Hussar appearing on the memorial is more understandable. In the following paragraphs the question of the equestrian sculptures are presented through some different examples. In the end of the chapter direct and indirect Hussar memorials are shown, while demonstrating their attempt to represent continuity with the past with the help of their formal characteristics.

³⁵⁵ *„Mivel uri gondolkodású, nem azt nézi, hogy mi szolgálta tulajdon önös érdekét, de ha ellenséggel kerül szembe, azt sem nézi, hogy azok hányan vannak.”* Own translation. Horthy I. in Szakonyi et al. 1936, Foreword [Előszó] without page number.

³⁵⁶ *„Ezeréves határokért vívott hősi küzdelem”* Own translation. Szakonyi et al. 1936, Introduction [Bevezetés], without page number.

³⁵⁷ *„Bármit is hozzon a jövő, magyar huszár lesz, amíg csak magyar ember lesz, mert a magyar róna termi a magyar huszárt és a magyar huszár védi ezt az imádott szülőt”* Own translation. Szakonyi et al. 1936, Introduction [Bevezetés], without page number.

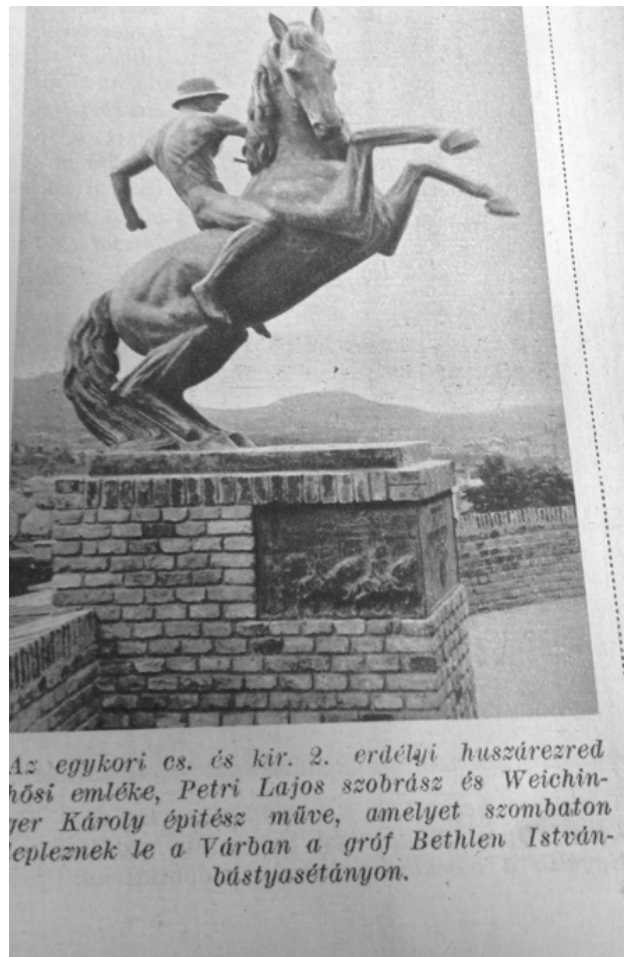
³⁵⁸ *„Az ezred nem szűnt meg, csak megújult”* Own translation. Liber in Liber, 1934, 431.



3.2.7. Memorial of the Unknown Horses.

Source: Somfay 2012-2016.

Onilne: hosiemek.kozterkep.hu Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 15.32.



3.2.8. The memorial of the 2th Transylvanian Hussar Regiment.

Source: Képes Pesti Hírlap. 45. 108. (1934).

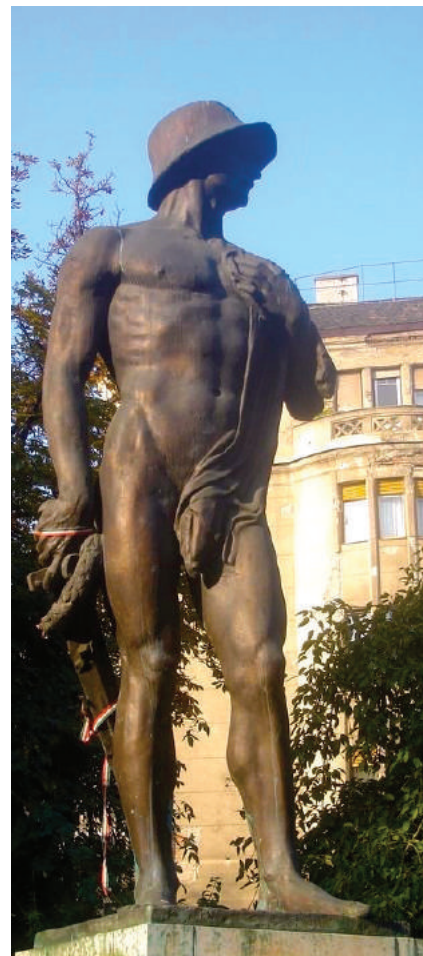


3.2.9. a. The Monument of the University of Politechnics.

A model. Source: Somfay 2012-2016.

Onilne: hosiemek.kozterkep.hu

Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 15.39.



3.2.9. b. The Monument of the University of Politechnics.

Own photo.

3.2.4.1.2. *The meaning of the horse and its variations*

In Budapest the majority of the memorials were devoted to concrete military units, generally to cavalry or infantry regiments. Among them direct and indirect Hussar memorials can be distinguished. The direct Hussar monument is devoted in its name to the Hussars or figures a Hussar. In the indirect cases the hussar or cavalryman is just a complementary figure or only the uniform of the appearing soldier refers to the mean of arms.

The figure of the Hussar is not always connected to the appearance of a horse, however the horse may indicate the Hussar in connotation. The explanation of this anomaly is that during the war more infantry hussar corpses were established.³⁵⁹ The reason of the Hussars losing their horses can be found in their hopeless fight against the firearms and in the huge mortality of the horses. Nonetheless, the horse remain an important symbol of the soldier fighting for the Hungarian values. Nine times were horses on the memorials, but with their overall appearance is higher due to the battle scenes.

It was already mentioned that the horses played an important role in the image of the ancient Magyar conquerors. However, based on archaeological results³⁶⁰ the strong role of the horses in the life of the early Magyars was not only a myth. Horses were only as important for the Magyar tribes as for all the Barbaric groups in that period. Yet for the interwar spirit it was thought to be a Magyar speciality. István Horthy described it in the following way:

*“Our fore-fathers occupied this land on the back of horses, and the Magyar had always a strong friendship with their horses, because they knew that the bravery of the Hussar’s heart and the speed of the Hussar’s horse together is able to conduct such valorous deeds, to which everybody have to make a bow even in the age of the machines”.*³⁶¹

³⁵⁹ Zachar 2000, 115.

³⁶⁰ Cf. Révész – Wolf 2013.

³⁶¹ „Ezt a földet őseink annak idején lóháton foglalták el, és a magyar mindenkor szoros barátságban élt a lovával, mert tudta azt, hogy a huszárszív bátárossága és a huszárló sebessége együttesen még a gépek korában is olyan vitézi tetteket hajthat végbe, melyek előtt mindenkinek meg kell hajolnia., Own translation. Horthy I. in Szakonyi et al. 1936, Foreword [Előszó] o.n.

Later he refers to the tragedy of the Hussar when he stated that the Hussars had to continue their life on foot „saying goodbye to their closest brother-in-arms, their horse.”³⁶²

By now it can be seen why has horses have an emblematic role on the monuments. It has to be also mentioned that for the artist the equestrian sculpture is a challenge, therefore it needs professionalism.³⁶³ For this reason it is generally more expensive than a monument without a horse sculpture. This fact gives the equestrian sculptors *actuality (relevance)* and *significance* in the period of their construction.³⁶⁴ In the following paragraphs some of these WW1 monuments are presented.

In Budapest there was an independent monument devoted to horses. The *Memorial of the Unknown Horses* was a bronze horse turning its head, which was removed in 1945 from its original spot.³⁶⁵ In its renovated form it can be seen in a not frequented, almost hidden garden, while a copy of the sculpture is known in the countryside.³⁶⁶ (Fig. 3.2.7.).

On a bastion of the Buda Castle stands the sculpture of a naked soldier wearing a helmet on the back of a jumping horse. It is the memorial of the Transylvanian cavalry regiment, facing the direction of Transylvania.³⁶⁷ Its basement was sided by bronze reliefs, which were removed during the communism because of their reference to the former Kingdom. (Fig. 3.2.8.)

There is an equestrian sculpture, which is slightly different from the ones discussed so far, but still has to be mentioned. This is *Memorial of the National Self-abnegation*, on which a wooden neo-renaissance style heavy-armed cavalryman sits on the horse. It directly refers to Andrea Verocchio's Don Colleoni sculpture,³⁶⁸ however it is modified to fit into the Hungarian context. In its neo-renaissance style the heritage of János Hunyadi is intentionally implied, who saved the Kingdom from the Ottoman attack. Moreover, it recalls King Matthias Hunyadi, legendary 15th

³⁶² „Legkedvesebb bjtársaiktól, a lovuktól is búcsút véve”. Szakonyi et al. 1936, Introduction [Bevezetés], without page number.

³⁶³ Nagy 1985, 81.

³⁶⁴ cf. Pótó 2003.

³⁶⁵ Constructed in 1935. Plans by Mészáros László. Rédey 2007, 79.

³⁶⁶ Ibid.

³⁶⁷ Constructed in 1934. Plans by Petri Lajos.

³⁶⁸ Constructed in 1915. Plans by Ferenc Sidló. Locations: Deák square, Ludovica Academy. Removed. Liber 1934,307-308.

century Hungarian king and son of János Hunyadi, whose 19th-century equestrian sculpture³⁶⁹ became an important piece of the national romanticist art.

In the above example it can be seen that the heavy armed cavalymen can also carry national ideas. Furthermore, this idea is strengthened by the trappings and harness of the horse, which are decorated with similar motifs to the Hungarian royal jewellery. However, it was already mentioned, that the memorial was relocated from the crowded Deák Square to a more hidden courtyard in the interwar period, before it finally disappeared.

In their form both memorials, the monument of the Transylvanian Hussars and the *Memorial of the National Self-abnegation* tend to be archaistic. The last one implies it with its fake renaissance style, the first one is made more archaic by the figure of the naked hero. The nakedness is a general reference to the antiquity, which makes the art timeless and classic. The nakedness therefore can indicate wisdom, for example on two university memorials. These are the University memorial for the fallen of the Trefort campus, and the memorial of the polytechnic university.

It is interesting that the nakedness of the soldier sitting on horse in the case of the Transylvanian Hussar was not scandalous, while the standing soldier on the memorial of the politechnicians had to be modified.³⁷⁰ On the maquette the soldier was not wearing anything, while the constructed bronze sculpture got a veil in order to cover its private parts. (Fig. 3.2.9. a-b.) That way the figure is standing in *contraposto* covered with a veil, tenderly touching his heart. This movement, touching the heart, was generally understood as a sign of mortal injury. But this unreal position, the not natural movement and pose make the memorial more archaic in contrast to the other memorials picturing fatally injured soldier in their natural reality.

The number of these kinds of antic references on the memorials was 13. Nonetheless, the catalogue of HEMOB, from which the already planned memorial could be ordered, had a larger focus on the antique elements, such as veiled figures, ancient Greek-style helmets and battle scenes. At the same time the references to the Middle Ages appeared often in the catalogue. With some exceptions, like the figure of Saint Barbara in connection to the artillery memory, it had a less impact on the

³⁶⁹ Cf. Sinkó 1983.

³⁷⁰ Constructed in 1927 by Bory Jenő. Liber 1934, 326. Present address: 11st district. 2. Budafoki road. Cf. Wehner 1998.

constructed memorials. It seems that during the years which passed between the formation of the catalogue and the main wave of the construction of the WWI memorials in Budapest, the focus was shifted from the Middle Ages.

3.2.4.1.3. Carving the imagined continuity

The monuments and their literal context had an attempt to create continuity between the successful periods of the Hungarian military and their unsuccessful present. In this section this occurring continuity is shown on the example of a cavalry and an infantry monument.

An emblematic direct Hussar memorial is the *András Hadik* monument standing in front of the Old City Town of Buda facing with the Matthias church. Its location can be considered *significant* in Pótó's sense. András Hadik was the general of Maria Theresa, queen of Hungary and Empress of the Habsburg Empire. Hadik gained glory by laying siege to Berlin. His bronze figure is dressed in 18th-century ceremonial Hussar uniform, having a sabretache with the sign of Maria Theresa and a Hussar sword, on his head wearing the Hussar shako. His victorious figure is sitting on his horse.³⁷¹ (Fig. 3.2.10.)

As previously discussed, the traditional hussar with the obsolete modern military technology was an archaic phenomenon in itself during the Great War. On the memorials this archaism is intentionally highlighted. In the present example the memory of the 18th-century figure is connected to the memory of the fallen of the First World War. It is represented through the physical appearance of the bronze figure as well as in the name of the memorial.

There are some instances when this forced continuity with the 18th century is emphasised in written form on the memorials. Beside the Hadik memorial it can be also seen on the *Memorial of the Maria Theresa 32th infantry regiment*, where the *1714-1918* inscription can be noticed.³⁷² (Fig. 3.2.11.)

The mutilation of this monument was mentioned already. Surprisingly, the reliefs on the sides of the basement referring to Maria Theresa were not removed

³⁷¹ Constructed in 1937. Plans by. Ifj. Vastagh György, Location: 1st district, Uri street. Prohászka 1990, 24.

³⁷² For picture see Képes Pesti hírlap 54. 99.

during the communism, only the remains of the Maria Theresa sculpture.³⁷³ One of these scenes was the traditional *Vitam et Sanguinem* scene, where the Hungarian lords swore loyalty to Maria Theresa, raising their swords. At this point it is useful to recall the idea of the imperial patriotism mentioned in the introduction. In the 18 to 19th centuries Imperial patriotism was expressed through images like the *Vitam et Sanguinem*. (Fig. 3.2.12.) It was already discussed that the attempt to create a collective imperial identity through the choice of a common historical pantheon failed due to the nationalism of the non-dominant nations.³⁷⁴ However, in the WW1 memorials of Budapest this idea often returned.

The monarchist point of view remains in the Hungarian public spaces alloyed with nationalism. Evidentially, the two years of Council Republic, which broke the continuity between the pre-war Monarchy and the post-war kingless monarchy, cannot be ignored. However, it is clear that the Hungarian nationalism occurring on the WW1 memorials is basically royalist, and the image of the Hungarian liberty can live together with the respect of the Habsburg traditions in the interwar period. This may seem surprising after the official dethronement of the Habsburgs in 1921.³⁷⁵

This monarchism makes a clear-cut distinction between the Hungarian and the already seen Czech WW1 memorials. The same contrast appears on the politics of the public spaces as well. The most expressive example is the story of the sculpture of Maria Theresa in Pozsony [Bratislava]. After the proclamation of Czechoslovakia the memorial of the Empress was mobbed in Pozsony.³⁷⁶ One of its pieces was brought to Hungary and became the part of the *Monument of the 32th infantry regiment*.³⁷⁷

Moreover, there is one more interesting intersection point with the Czechs in the history of the Maria Theresa monument. For the spot of the sculpture a bronze roaring lion with a Czech coat of arms made by Bohumil Kafka, the creator of the already discussed Žižka Sculpture in Vítkov, was constructed in order to express the Czechoslovakian unity. Today the copy of this lion can be found in the courtyard of the Strahov monastery in Prague.³⁷⁸

³⁷³ Pótó 2003, 107.

³⁷⁴ Cf. Szentesi 2000.

³⁷⁵ Cf. 1921/XLVII. sz. tv.

³⁷⁶ Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 176.

³⁷⁷ Pótó 2003, 107., Liber 1934, 431.

³⁷⁸ Hojda - Pokorný 1996, 179



3.2.10. The Hadik memorial. Own photo.



3.2.11. The memorial of the 32th Infantry Regiment.

Source: Somfay 2012-2016. Onilne: hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu

Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 16.04.



3.2.12. Vitam et sanguinem on the 32th memorial.
Own photo.

Finally, it can be concluded that both the infantry and cavalry memorials attempted to show continuity with the more glorious periods of the Hungarian military history. This idea was expressed in figural and written element, as well as, in historical locations.

3.2.4.2 Mythical-historical figures

The myth of the ancient Magyars and their symbols appears directly on the memorials 21 times. The case study in Chapter 3.1 introduced the rootless, newly constructed national symbol, the Sword of God connecting *Attila* and *Árpád*, which has not become popular, and only a few such memorials were actually erected. In Budapest as a main symbol on an independent memorial only one Sword of God can be found. In the previous chapter one example, which was removed from the Heroes' cemetery of Rákoskeresztúr in the thirties, was discussed. Nowadays in the same cemetery, just in its Jewish part, stands one of the four Sword of God symbols in Budapest.

This memorial is also unique as it is the few standing in Budapest which was apparently ordered from the catalogue of the HEMOB. It might mean that the public spaces in the capital were actually so significant that the purchasers of the memorials preferred paying the higher price for original plans coming from well-known artists. Orders from the catalogue were infrequent.

The memorial of the Jewish cemetery was erected after the 36th plan of the HEMOB catalogue drawn by József Vágó and named as the *1st independent memorial – Sword of the God of the Wars*.³⁷⁹ It is a long sword entwined with a wreath standing on its grip, which can be hanged on walls. On the drawn plan it decorated an obelisk. The memorial in the Jewish cemetery actually materialized identically to the plans. Additionally, the memorial of the Jewish cemetery could be less expensive than it was indicated in the catalogue, because it was carved from stone, not from metal.

Not much memorial seems to be ordered from the HEMOB catalogue. For instance, the memorial of *Rákosliget*³⁸⁰ also pictures a Sword of God in a wreath and

³⁷⁹ I. szabadon álló emlék, Hadúr kardja. Own translation. Hornyánszky 1916. Plan 36.

³⁸⁰ Rákosliget is oart of Budapest 17th district in southeastern Pest.

with a *Turul* on the top.³⁸¹ It was also carved after the plans of the catalogue, but it was not frequented. (Fig. 3.2.13.)

Concerning the Sword of God the figure of the *Turul* bird was already discussed in the previous case study. Its variations can be found on the WW1 memorials in Budapest: 13 *Turul* or eagle-like bird appeared on them. For example, it can appear closed (3 times) or spread-winged (10 times), grasping a sabre or a broken sword (7 times), standing on the top of a globe or protectively covering the other figures with its wings (1-1 times). Generally, they are complementary figures and not the main characters of the scenes.

Mythical-historical persons are also visible on the studied memorials in Budapest five times. They can occur as independent figures or in connection with the figures of soldiers. They are also mentioned in the literal context of the memorials. For example, the mythical-historical personas who occur often in the inauguration speeches are *Álmos*, *Árpád*, *Prince Csaba* and *Lehel*. *Álmos*, the ancestor of the medieval *Árpád* dynasty, and *Árpád*, the leader of the confederation of the Magyar tribes, were already presented in details in the previous case study.

Prince *Csaba* is a purely mythical figure who was born from more historical characters.³⁸² According to the legend, based on the chronicle of Simon Kézai³⁸³, he was the son of Attila, the king of the Huns. He led the Huns to victory in his life and miraculously even after his death. His figure became popular in the 19th-century literature by the works of János Arany.³⁸⁴

Prince *Csaba* is the main character of the WW1 memorial of Rákoscsaba³⁸⁵. Maybe unsurprisingly, since according to the legend the district got its name after the Hun prince. Here the pedestalled figure of *Csaba* is carved from stone. His dress reflects how romanticism imagined the early Middle Ages. He is wearing a long dress with a mantle, on his head there is a peaked helmet with a chain-mail. His figure looks strong, his hair is braided and he wears a long moustache.³⁸⁶

It is worth mentioning that this style was generally attributed to the old Magyars. Referring back to the subchapter on the hussars, wearing moustache was not a speciality, but a general characteristic of the Magyar hussar image. In contrast to the

³⁸¹ Constructed in 1938. Based on a plan of the HEMOB catalogue.

³⁸² Cf. Györffy 1983.

³⁸³ Kéza 2001, 101 -102.

³⁸⁴ Cf. Arany 1982.

³⁸⁵ Today part of the 17th district of Budapest.

³⁸⁶ Constructed in 1925. Plans by Ferenc Sidló.

Czech memorials, the soldier figures in Budapest are often pictured with a moustache. In the case of the Csaba sculpture this is further exaggerated by the vision of the 19th century on the forefathers. The mythical-historical figures appearing on the WW1 memorials inherited this imagined look. Besides the fact that in the army wearing moustache generally had a long tradition, therefore it can be understood as simple a symbol of the guerre. However, it was not a characteristic of the Czech memorials in contrast to the Hungarian monuments.

On the WW1 memorial of Rákoscsaba, the figure of Csaba is leaning on a sabre with his right hand. On the other side he is standing against a coat of arms. . (Fig. 3.2.14.) The Hungarian coat of arms was shortly mentioned in the chapter 3.1. The discipline of heraldry had a long debate on the first appearance of the elements of the Hungarian coat of arms.³⁸⁷ These are the so-called Árpád stripes in the dexter, consisting of four silver and four red stripes. In the sinister a silver double-cross stands on a green triple-mound on a red base. Studies on the coat of arms showed that it is more than anachronistic to connect the figure and age of Csaba to the Hungarian coat of arms. An explanation for this myth can be the intent to create a continuity between the past and present of the Hungarian nation.

While the figure of Csaba can be identified easily on the memorial of Rákoscsaba, in *Pesthidegkút* only a symbolic object refers to another mythical-historical Hungarian figure called Lehel. His name is appearing in the oldest gestas of Hungary, for example, in the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonymus.³⁸⁸ However, the most famous legend connected to Lehel is mentioned at first in the end of the 13th century in the chronicle of Simon Kézai³⁸⁹ and is later elaborated in the *Chronicon Pictum* in the 14th century.

According to the legend written in the *Chronicon Pictum*, Lehel was captured during the battle of Lechfeld. When Lehel was lead in front of Emperor Conrad of the Germans, as his last wish he asked to be allowed to sound his horn one last time. Instead though, Lehel struck the emperor on the head, making Conrad his servant in the afterlife according to his beliefs.³⁹⁰

Nonetheless, the story in this form is not true. In the period of the Battle of Lechfeld in 955, the Holy Roman Empire did not exist, therefore there could not be

³⁸⁷ See Körmendi 2011, Takács 2011.

³⁸⁸ See Anonymus 2001, 46.

³⁸⁹ See Kézai 2001, 104 - 106.

³⁹⁰ Kálti 1959, 88-89.

no emperor present. The leader of the German side in that battle was Otto who later became the emperor. Although prince Conrad died in that battle, his fatal injury was coming from an archer.³⁹¹ Yet for the 19th century Hungarian myth formation the question of reality was not of upmost importance when this story could demonstrate some resistance against the German.

On top of this, by the 19th century Lehel's horn was thought to be found.³⁹² Although it became a cultic artefact by now, the origins of this prestigious object are still the question of scientific debate.³⁹³ It exhibits Avar or Byzantine technology, but it surely did not belong to Lehel.³⁹⁴ Again, this fact does not influence the cult of the horn.

The horn is the only sign which connects the figure appearing on the memorial of *Pesthidegkút* to the person of Lehel. On this memorial a soldier can be seen in Hussar uniform, but in a helmet, in his hands there is a flag, while his arm is released to his legs.³⁹⁵ In his right side there is another figure with long moustache, wearing Middle-age-like clothes, peaked helmet and a chain-main. He is blowing into a horn, which looks like a simplified version of „*Lehel's horn*” (Fig. 3.2.15.a.)

There is another allegory similar to this monument: on the Memorial of the Officers a bronze figure of an ancient Magyar warrior holding a horn stands by a lion and a coat of arms. (Fig. 3.2.15.b.).³⁹⁶ On the inauguration of the memorial the map of the former Great Hungary was drawn by flowers on the ground as a reference to the resurrection of the country³⁹⁷

To reinforce the identification of Lehel we can observe the inauguration speech as well. Lehel is mentioned in the mayor's speech in front of the Heroes' memorial stone:

*“The Hungarian Heroes of the World War were battling with the same valour, dauntlessness and devotion as our heroic ancestors. For them Lehel's horn provided the quarters, and in their heart was Álmos' and Árpád's soul beating.”*³⁹⁸

³⁹¹ The Battle of Lechfeld was on 10 August 955. Otto I the Great, King of East Francia, over the Hungarian. It is often seen as the closing event of the Hungarians' incursions into Western Europe. Cf. Négyesi 2003.

³⁹² Illésy 1898, 261 – 265.

³⁹³ Cf. Blénessy 1937.

³⁹⁴ For the debate see Csemegi 1956; Csalog 1955; Erdész 1955; Csajághy 2008.

³⁹⁵ Constructed in 1927. Plans by István Gách and Lajos Berán.

³⁹⁶ Constructed in 1928. Plans by Viktor Vass. For archive picture see Ajtay - Bachó 1930, 851.

³⁹⁷ Ajtay - Bachó 1930, 851.

³⁹⁸ „*A világháború magyar hősei ugyanazzal a vitézséggel, elszántsággal és önfeláldozással küzdöttek a hazáért, mint hősi elődeink, nekik is Lehel vezér kürtje fujta a riadót, bennük is Álmosnak, Árpádnak lelke dobogott.*” Sipőcz Jenő, in Liber 1934, 364.

The use of his figure in connection to the WW1 can be surprising, because his main deed was killing the German emperor. This representation does not fit into the previously discussed imperialist point of view, but it refers more to the question of Hungarian liberty. It may also be that the scene is only the result of archaizing, since the military bugle horn is a frequent symbols appearing on the WW1 memorials in Budapest (7 times) (Fig. 3.2.15.c.). Maybe this ancient horn in the hand of the ancient soldier next to the world war soldier is only a reference to the so far emphasised imagined continuity between the past and present.

This chain between the ancient heroes and the fallen of the WW1 can be noticed in numerous inauguration speeches. It was already mentioned that the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier was placed in front of the Millennium Memorial, because there it could be close to Árpád.³⁹⁹ In governor Miklós Horthy's speech in front of the memorial stone this though was explicitly highlighted:

*Our father, Árpád, who lead our fore-fathers to conquer this country, and you, Unknown Hero, who was died for this home with honour and : I know what my duty is.*⁴⁰⁰

In my understanding emphasizing the continuity between the ancient Magyar leaders and the fallen soldiers of the Great War was the tool of legitimation. The thousand-year-old past offered a base for regarding the war as a legitimate defence of the old borders of the Kingdom and for having the right to revise the Treaty of Trianon. Highlighting the long Magyar heritage provided a possibility to forget the fractures in the only seemingly continuous history of the country.

³⁹⁹ Liber 1934, 360.

⁴⁰⁰ „Árpád apánk, ki őseink élén ezt az országot elfoglaltad és te névtelen hős, ki becsülettel és lekesedéssel tudtál meghalni a hazáért: tudom, mi a kötelességem.” Horthy in Liber 1934, 364.

3.2.13. The memorial in Rákosliget.
Source: Somfay 2012-2016.
Online: hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu
Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 16.44.



3.2.14. The memorial in Rákoscaba.
Own photo.

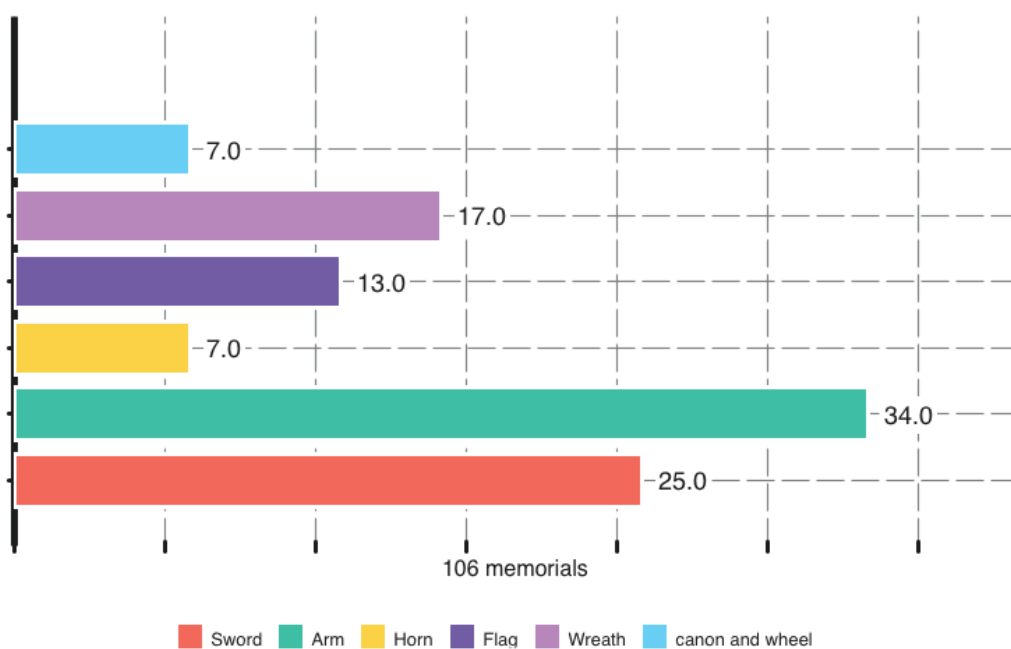




3.2.15. a. The memorial with the ancient Magyar and the horn. Source: Somfay 2012-2016. Onilne: hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 16.57.

3.2.15. b. The memorial of the officers. Source: Somfay 2012-2016. Onilne: hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 20.06.

Objects on the WW1 memorials in Budapest



3.2.15. c. Diagram on the objects appearing on the WW1 memorial in Budapest.

3.2.4.3. The religious symbols and *Patrona Hungariae*

The mythical history leads forward to the discussion of the religious symbols appearing on the memorials. The best example of the fusion between the mythical and religious symbols is the figure of *Patrona Hungariae*. By the time of the interwar period this female character melted together with the Christian Virgin Maria cult and with Hungaria, the embodied representation of the country. In the following paragraphs the question of this woman figure is elaborated, who can be found 5 times in the Budapest memorials. Looking on the chart on the female figures it turns out that from the few pictured woman one third part is *Patrona Hungariae*. (Fig. 3. 2.16.)

3.2.4.3.1. *Patrona Hungariae*

The myth of *Patrona Hungariae* is rooted in the Middle Ages. The legend of Saint Stephan⁴⁰¹ contains a scene in which the state-founder King dedicates his country to the Virgin Mary. The first period that breaks the continuity of the Virgin Mary's cult in Hungary is the Reformation. However the topos of the dedication returns during the Counter-Reformation, for example in the speeches of its characteristic figure, Péter Pázmány.⁴⁰²

The Baroque period was the golden age of this cult, since the Virgin's figure could be seen on altars and statues all over Hungary. Moreover, Leopold I von Habsburg repeated the dedication of the land to Saint Mary.⁴⁰³ By the 19th century the figure of *Maria Immaculata* and *Patrona Hungariae* blended together. Nonetheless, her representation was not stable, but it was in continuous change, affected by the sacral art, the numismatic and heraldic transformations.⁴⁰⁴ The latter ones can be considered static therefore it is easier to follow them. *Patrona Hungariae* can be traced from the coins of King Mathias to the coins of Miklós Horthy.⁴⁰⁵

Patrona Hungariae can be portrayed as a standing or sitting figure, with or without a crown, with or without a halo, standing on a half-moon or by a coat of arms.

⁴⁰¹ The so-called Hartvik and Small Legends. See Érszegi 2004, 11 -27.

⁴⁰² Szalontay 2002, 16.

⁴⁰³ i. m. 27.

⁴⁰⁴ Cf. Szalontay 2002, 30.

⁴⁰⁵ See Huszár 1979.

This figure can be nationalised in wartimes. For example, the flags of the Rákóczi Liberation War and the 1848/49 Liberation War were decorated with her figure.

Nonetheless, in my view it is important to highlight the fact that regardless of the origins of this figure, the Maria cult occurring on the altars or Maria columns should not be confused with that nationalist *Patrona Hungariae* image which overspread the public spaces and common talk after the Great War. This interwar cult carries more from the tradition of *Hungaria*. Therefore *Patrona Hungariae*'s general attributes on the WW1 memorials in Budapest are the easily recognizable Hungarian Holy Crown or a peaked helmet, armour or chain-mail and a cloak or a large veil.

Trying to understand who *Hungaria* actually represents, we need to consider two alternatives. The first explanation belongs to János Pótó, who uses a slightly different terminology from mine, which has a different thought process behind. He claims that *Hungaria*, who occurs on the interwar memorials, is the mixture of *Patrona Hungariae* and the pagan Goddess.⁴⁰⁶ This specific parallel pagan and Christian view was detailed in the chapter on the Sword of God.

Katalin Sinkó, Hungarian art historian, approaches the problem from another direction. In her understanding the figure of *Hungaria* is coming from the topos of the body of the nation. Therefore *Hungaria* is not only the patron, but the manifestation of the country. That way after the Treaty of Trianon, the mutilated body of *Hungaria* evidently represents the mutilated country.⁴⁰⁷

For this reason one can find allegories of the „Chained *Hungaria*”. The most extreme example of this allegory is the Crucified *Hungaria* appearing on the Irredentist Memorial. Her abused image is represented on some WW1 memorials as well, such as in the 21th district of Budapest. On this memorial *Patrona Hungariae* stands above a dying soldier and two boys. She is not wearing the Holy Crown, but a peaked helmet. Her hands are bound, that way she can be considered a version of chained *Hungaria*. (3.2.17.a.)

Nevertheless, the broken image is not the exclusive representation of *Patrona Hungariae*. In most of the cases she is standing in a patronising way over the soldier figures. In this form she is always strong and masculine, often wearing armour. Her figure is generally larger than the soldiers. In this variation she represents the wartime version of the patron of the country.

⁴⁰⁶ Pótó 2003, 61.

⁴⁰⁷ Sinkó 1996, 267 – 269.

There is a transitional form between the variations of *Patrona Hungariae*. This version of *Hungaria* is laying a wreath on the fallen soldier, while she still seems to be the strong and dominant warrior patronising the soldiers. For instance, the *Memorial of the Fallen of the National Casino* is an excellent manifestation of this setup. This monument found its present place in the fourth district of Budapest after numerous relocations.

On this work of sculptor György Zala, two pedestaled bronze figures can be seen. A dying soldier wearing an open blouse touches his heart while he is lying on a broken Hungarian coat of arms. Above him *Patrona Hungariae* on one knee, wearing the Hungarian Holy Crown, an armour and a large cloak is visible in the moment of holding a laurel wreath above the soldier's head. In this scene she is sharing her glory with the fallen unknown soldier, while she does not lose her power and rigidity.⁴⁰⁸ (Fig. 3.2.17.b.)

Patrona Hungariae appears most human in her third form represented on the WWI monuments in Budapest. (3 times). On these memorials *Patrona Hungariae* represents the mother in sorrow who holds the soldier between her arms. This position was exhaustively discussed in the chapter on the memorials in Prague, namely the *Pieta*. As an example, the *Memorial of the Nameless Heroes*⁴⁰⁹ (Fig. 3.2.18.) or the *Memorial of the Postmen* (Fig. 3.2.19.) can be mentioned.

Katalin Sinkó stated that the Hero's death is a general topos in the Hungarian Romanticist art. In this period the Hero's death was represented, for example, through the figure of Miklós Zrínyi, who died at the siege of *Szigetvár*, or János Hunyadi, who died as a consequence of the battle of *Nándorfehérvár* (Belgrad) while defending Europe from the Ottoman invasion. Sinkó argued that the composition of the Hero's death became more sacred after the National Liberation War.⁴¹⁰ The *Finding of the body of King Lajos II* painted by Székely Bertalan is a picturesque example of the process of the sacralisation of the hero, since on this picture the body of the King recalls the figure of Christ.⁴¹¹

⁴⁰⁸ Constructed in 1931. Plans by György Zala. Today 4th district. Tanoda Square.

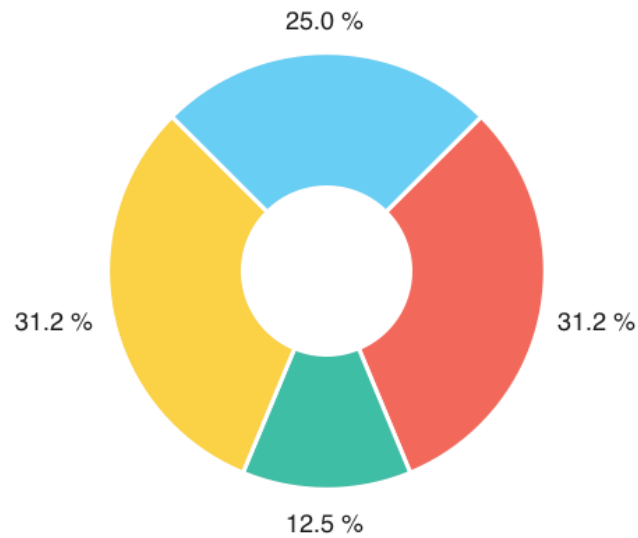
⁴⁰⁹ Constructed in 1924. Plans by Horvay János. Today on the Üllői road in the 8th district. Cf. Ajtay - Bachó 1930, 849. On the top of the memorial there is a Roman-style coffin. It may be a hint of a reference to Saint Stephen's sarcophagus. A more evident reference to the medieval archaeological artefacts on the WWI memorials is the already discussed National Heroes' Memorial Stone which is similar to the tomb of King Andrew I.

⁴¹⁰ Sinkó 1985, 16.

⁴¹¹ Cf. Sinkó 2000, 600-601.

Female figures on the WW1 memorials in Budapest

■ Patrona Hungariae
 ■ Maria Theresia
 ■ Non dominant woman
 ■ Other allegorical woman



3.2.16. Diagram on the female figures of the WW1 memorial in Budapest.



3.2.17. a. The National Resurrection Memorial. Own photo.



3.2.17.b. Memorial of the Fallen of the National Casino. Own photo.

3.2.18. The memorial of the Nameless Heroes.
Source: Somfay 2012-2016.
Online: hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu
Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 16.57.



3.2.19. The memorial of the Postmen.
Own photo.



According to Sinkó the Pieta position in the context of the Hero's death carries the tragedy and the promise of resurrection at the same time. She also pointed out that the representations of the national sorrow became popular due to reproduced images and statuettes.⁴¹² Therefore they were well-known by the time they were constructed on the public spaces. At this point it may be useful to look back on the figure of the tortured *Hungaria*, since her chained, bound or outstretched figure was already a common image in the visuality of the period.⁴¹³

As a conclusion, Sinkó emphasized that the sacred shade of these images became an important question in the Hungarian cult of Heroes.⁴¹⁴ The mentioned sacredness pervades the WW1 heroes' cult as well. Mayor Jenő Sipőcz in 1929 expressed this thought in the following way in one of his inauguration speeches: „*Although this stone means the thousand-year-old sorrow, there is so much glory in this grief.*”⁴¹⁵ The concrete manifestation of the sacredness on the memorials is elaborated in the next subchapter.

3.2.4.3.2. The role of religion

In this part the sacred elements appearing on the WW1 memorials of Budapest and their possible meanings are discussed. The religious symbols are not limited to the figure of Virgin Mary and its variations. For example, Christ can be considered the most surprising one among these symbols.

Picturing Christ on the monuments directly refers to the previously mentioned resurrection narrative, which is also noticeable in the inauguration speeches. Based on this narrative there is a link between the image of the country and the picture of Christ. For instance, Prime Minister István Bethlen (1921-1931) formulated the idea of resurrection in 1929 by saying: „*The soul, which breaks out again from the deceaseds' virtues (...) is the token for the rebirth of the nation that is to come.*”⁴¹⁶

⁴¹² Sinkó 1983, 191.

⁴¹³ Cf. Ferenczy István *lelancolt Hungária című képén is 1850-55.* Sinkó 1983, 191.

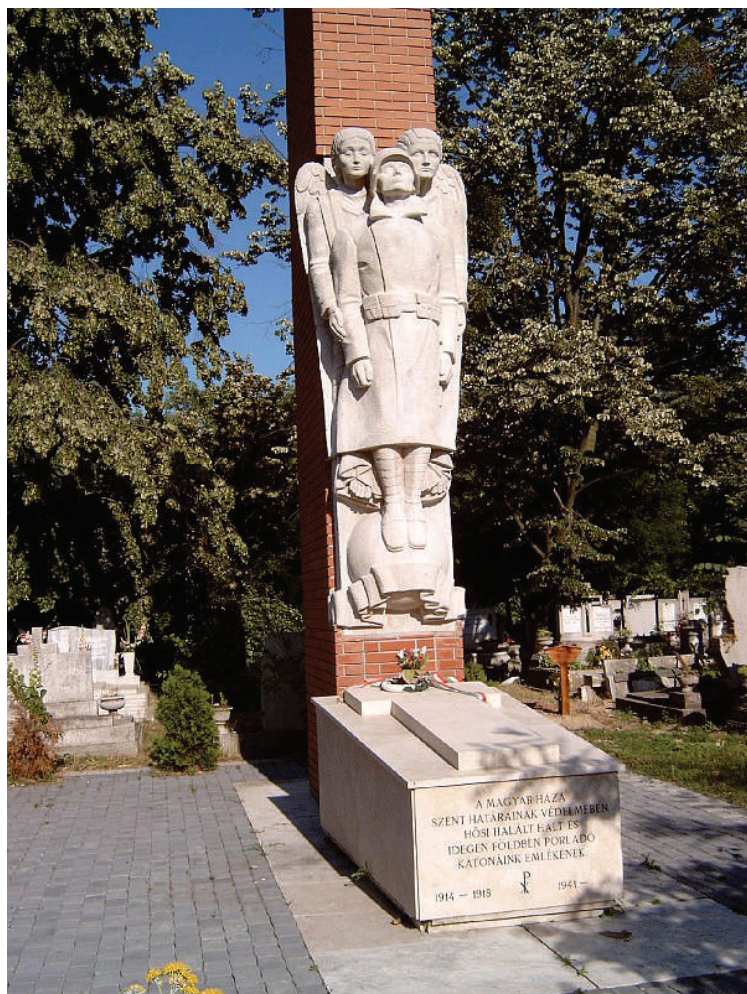
⁴¹⁴ Sinkó 1983, 191.

⁴¹⁵ „Ez a kőlap az ezeréves nemzeti szent fájdalmat jelenti: mégis ebben a gyászban mennyi felemelő dicsőség van.” Own translation. Sipőcz in Liber 1943, 364.

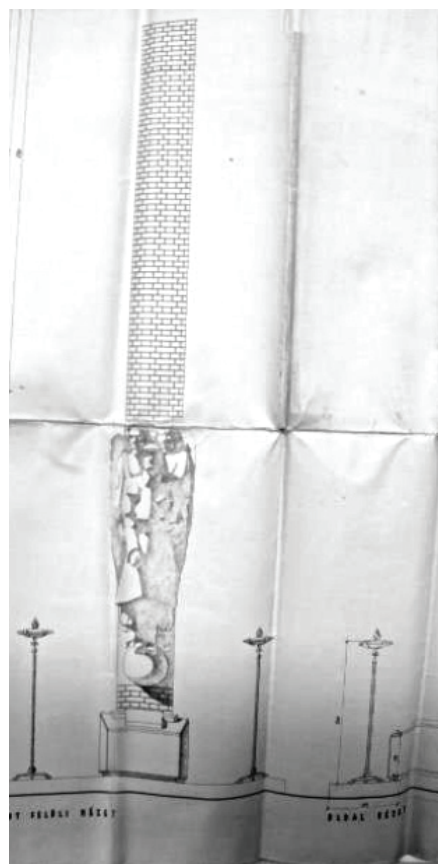
⁴¹⁶ „A lélek, amely az elhunytak erényeiből újrasarjad (...) a biztosítéka annak, hogy a nemzet majd újjászületik.” Bethlen in Liber 1934, 364



3.2.20. The memorial on the wall of the church standing on the Szervita Square. Own photo.



3.2.21. a. Memorial of the
Heroes resting in peace abroad.
Own photo.



3.2.21. b. The plans of the
Memorial of the Heroes resting in peace abroad.
Source: HU BFL XV. 17. d. 328. KT. Te 10/14.

The faith in the resurrection of the nation can be symbolised by Christ's figure on the memorials. In the example of the *Memorial table of the 7th Hussar regiment* the crucified Christ pulls the fallen soldier from his horse to the heaven.⁴¹⁷ (Fig. 3.2.20.) In an other situation, on the *Memorial of the Heroes resting in peace abroad* [Idegenben nyugvó hősök emléke] the dead soldier is carried to heaven by angels.⁴¹⁸ (Fig. 3.2.21. a-b.). In both cases the soldier experiences resurrection, therefore the dying and resurrecting soldier becomes the metonymy of the whole land. Interestingly this picture shows a level of equality where the glorious death does not only belong to the privileged, but also to the nameless hero dying for the homeland.

The fallen hero is further made sacred with a special type of memorials called the *Heroes' temple*. In the country three of them were constructed, two of which are situated in Budapest. They have special statues among the religious memorials of the Great War in Budapest, altering from the seemingly dominant catholic shade of the interwar commemorations. Its denominations are Jewish and Protestant.

The Jewish memorial „temple” stands on the land of the largest synagogue of Budapest. It was dedicated to the fallen Jews of the Great War, before the holocaust. This building is an interesting memento from the short period when there was an existing memory of the Jewish heroes preceding the commemoration of the Jewish victims. The other building, the Heroes' church is an impressive memorial, also functioning as a protestant church in the 7th district of Budapest, dedicated to the Heroes of the Great War.

Two previously discussed places should be mentioned within this context. It is useful to recall the story of the Garrison church and the Heroic “chapel” of the Military Museum situated in the Castle. The concept of the Heroes' church alters from those, because these churches were originally built for being devoted to the memory of the WW1 soldiers.

A few times saints are also appearing in connection to the WW1 memorials, but their usage is infrequent. The sculptures of Saint Ladislaus as the patron of the infantry, Saint Christopher as the patron of the cavalry and Saint Barbara representing

⁴¹⁷ Constructed in 1930. Plans by János Istók.

⁴¹⁸ Constructed in 1942. Plans by Éva Lőte. Comparing the plans of this memorial with its present form it can be stated that its obelisk was also reduced similarly to the other obelisk standing in the same cemetery. HU BFL XV. 17. d. 328. KT. Te 10/14., HU BFL XV. 17. d. 328. 0004479. See in the Chapter 3.3.

the artillery stood in the courtyard of the Ludovika Academy.⁴¹⁹ Based on an archive photo of a model it seem that the figure Saint Barbara was carved also as an independent WW1 memorial. On this model a woman dressed in mediaeval-like holds the attributes of Saint Barbara, the book and the tower.⁴²⁰

The context of the memorials is maybe more religious than the symbols appearing on them. The inaugurations generally contained catholic masses and during the ceremonies the head of the different churches were present. The so-called *Hungarian credo*,⁴²¹ the poem, which is the suggestive manifestation of the exhaustively discussed belief in the resurrection of the Great Hungary, was sung regularly, for example during the inauguration of the *Memorial of the Polytechnic university*⁴²² or the *Heroes' memorials stone*.⁴²³

3.2.3.5. Hungarian family and children

In this part the less abstract, more human figures of the memorials are discussed. Ildikó Nagy, Hungarian art-historian hinted that there is an allegory called Hungarian family on the memorials.⁴²⁴ In my view the focus of these scenes are the duty of children and women. First, the scene can be a whole family of the soldier, such as the memorial of *Rákospalota*.⁴²⁵ (Fig. 3.2.22.) Secondly, the moment of the leave, like on a relief of the memorial of the 32th infantry regiment. Thirdly, only the woman with the children, like memorial table and finally the lonely child or young, such as the memorial of *Soroksár*.⁴²⁶

On these memorials a similar process to the case of the Czech mother can be seen. The role of the woman appearing in these scenes is to support their children and their husband in being part of the army. Iconographically, it is clearly visible in the movements of the pictured children. In the following paragraphs, some examples of these positions are presented.

⁴¹⁹ Prohászka 2007, 78.

⁴²⁰ Cf. Ferguson 1959, 107.

⁴²¹ It is usefeul to confer it with Hankiss's theory on civil-religion presented on the previous chapter. Hankiss 1985. Cf. Sinkó 1996. See Zeidler 2002, 52.

⁴²² Liber 1934, 327.

⁴²³ i.m. 364.

⁴²⁴ Nagy 1985, 79-81.

⁴²⁵ Today part of the 15th district of Budapest in North-Pest.

⁴²⁶ Today part of the 23rd district of Budapest in South-Pest.



3.2.22. The memorial in Rákospalota. Own photo.



3.2.23. The memorial table in the Péterfy Hospital.
Source: Somfay 2012-2016. Onilne: hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu
Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 19.08.



3.2.24. The memorial of the Eötvös Loránd University. Own photo.



3.2.25. The memorial in Soroksár.
Source: Onilne: wikipedia.com
Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 19.20.

On the memorial table hanging in the Péterfy Hospital a family is visible who had lost the father. Multiple generations of women appear on the plaque. The first one is the figure of an older woman wearing a veil on its head hiding a baby in her arms. Secondly, a younger woman is standing while lifting a naked baby holding a piece of oil tree in the baby's hands. In front of them there is another baby in a moses basket. Among them a little boy is pretending to be a soldier wearing a shako and holding a sword. In the background the figure of another young boy is visible. The small boy with the oil tree touches the inscription that reads: „*Nameless hero! Who died for the home with honour and valour. I know what my duty is.*”⁴²⁷ In this scene the expectation that the next generation's duty is to follow the fallen in the army is visible both in written and in carved form. In this context the role of the woman is raising children who can then fight for the country.⁴²⁸ (Fig. 3.2.23.)

On the example of the memorial situated in the Heroes' square of Soroksár⁴²⁹ a bronze figure of a boy meets *Patrona Hungariae*. It seems that the boy was previously working on the fields. He wears an upturned shirt, while a sheaf and a scythe are placed to his legs. In the scene he grabs the sword which is held by *Patrona Hungariae* wearing the Hungarian Holy Crown. On the armour on her chest there is the triple-mound with the double-cross.⁴³⁰ (Fig. 3.2.24.)

In this scene the boy leaves everything behind to receive the sword from *Hungaria*, making his new obligation to fight for the country represented by *Patrona Hungariae*. The mother has to accept, even support this idea. This thought is written on the memorial directly: „*Mother, ease the sorrow of your heart here.*”⁴³¹ However, it is useful to recall Adouin-Rouzenau's analysis on the grief of the mother, and keep in mind that all the results presented here refer only to the intended propaganda, and not to the reality surrounding the memorials.

During commemoration of the young soldiers, the obligation for the homeland and the fallen soldier's glory was emphasized in the schools. Therefore nurture of the young continued also in the spaces of these institutions. Visually it is represented, for

⁴²⁷ „Névtelen hős !...ki becsülettel és vitézséggel haltál meg a hazáért...tudom , mi a kötelességem”
Own translation.

⁴²⁸ Constructed in 1929. Plans by László Hűvös.

⁴²⁹ In the 23th district of Budapest.

⁴³⁰ Constructed in 1927. Plans by Iván Szentgyörgyi.

⁴³¹ „Anyá, itt enyhűjön szívednek fájdalma.” Own translation.

instance, on the Memorial of the Eötvös Loránd University. On this monument the students are trying to catch the arm of the shot and falling soldier.⁴³² (Fig. 3.2.25.)

The interesting question of these memorials is that they were constructed after the end of the war. Therefore there should have been more place for grief and less for the perpetuation of war. Ildikó Nagy stated that the WW1 memorials show a dynamics of mood starting from the aggressive picture during the war, then the mournful one right after Trianon, and finally the more aggressive image in the 1930s heading towards the Second World War. Although on my material in Budapest I was not able to prove this assumption,⁴³³ the general aggression of the memorials around the 1930's may serve as an explanation to the picture of the perpetuated war. Another explanation can be connected to the previously elaborated resurrection narrative. Namely, the lost parts of the country can be regained only by fighting for them.

3.2.3.6 General symbols

In the last subchapter I present some general symbols which appear on the WW1 memorials or directly refer to the country without doubts.

The one with the most abstract connotation is the representation of the physical form of the country. These can be the silhouette of the former Great Hungary, parts of maps, like on the *Memorial table of the 15th territorial and Hungarian soldier [honvéd] infantry regiment*, or city landscapes, such as the view of Pozsony [Bratislava] on *the Memorial table of the 72th infantry regiment of Pozsony*. In connection to the silhouette of the country usually the rays of the rising sun can be seen (5 times), as in the case of the memorial of *Pesthidegkút*. The common meaning of all these signs can be again the faith in the rebirth of the former country, since all these elements are referring to the dislocated territories.

The general symbol which directly refers to the countries is the coat of arms. It was used 43 times on 13 memorials. Of course, they also can be carved in a way to be able carry the previously discussed trauma of the Treaty of Trianon. For instance, the dying hero is laying on a broken Hungarian coat of arms on the Memorial of the fallen of the National Casino. The most common coat of arms pictured on the memorials in Budapest is the one with the triple-mound and the double cross. It is

⁴³² Constructed in 1930. Plans by György Zala.

⁴³³ She did not presented the number of the analysed monuments, nor the method. Cf. Nagy 1985.

useful to remember the importance of the national context, since the same combination represented the Slovak nation on the Czechoslovak memorials.⁴³⁴ The double cross was pictured 8 times in the WW1 corpus of Budapest.

During the analyses of the Sword of God the heraldic question was already mentioned, discussing the problematic relations between the triple-mound and the Hungarian civil-religion.⁴³⁵ Here I only present the possibility of the schematisation of this national symbol. In some cases the triplet layout and settling of the memorial may refer to the well-known triple-mound. For example, on the *Memorial of the Nameless Heroes*⁴³⁶ the stone basement is arranged in the form of the triple-mound. A similar situation can be observed in the case of the *Memorial of the Fire-fighter Heroes*.⁴³⁷

In contrast to the coats of arms, the flags are not recognisable on the WW1 monuments in Budapest, the reference to the Hungarian tricolour is missing in each case. However, the position of the flag can suggest the tone of the memorial. It can either stand victoriously upwards (7 times), sometimes decorated with flowers, like in the soldier's hand standing in the memorial of *Békásmegyer*. (Fig. 3.2.26.) Alternatively it can face the ground on the mournful monuments (4 times). In some cases it's even broken in the hand of the dying soldier, like on the memorial of *Budafok*.⁴³⁸ (Fig. 3.2.27.)

Among the general floral ornaments, such as the wreath or the bay laurel, one leaf can be observed regularly on the WW1 memorials in Budapest (12 times). The frequented prevalence of the oak leaf, sometimes full oak branches or trees seems to carry a more special meaning. (Fig. 3.2.26, 3.2.28.b.) As a general symbol, the oak originates from the Old Testament where it represents the power, as well as it is a usual heraldic element in the European tradition.⁴³⁹ Yet its overuse suggests a deeper meaning in this case. Unfortunately, I was able to find only the present role of the oak leaf in the military iconography. In the current Hungarian military regulations oak is used together with oil tree as symbols of particular military offices.⁴⁴⁰

⁴³⁴ The role of the double cross is elaborated in a detailed way in Szilárdfy 1996.

⁴³⁵ Cf. Hankiss 1985.

⁴³⁶ Liber 1934, 321.

⁴³⁷ Constructed in 1942. Plans by Ditrói Siklódy Lőrinc. Location: 4th district. Szentlászló Square.

⁴³⁸ Budafok is part of the 22nd district of Budapest on the southwest.

⁴³⁹ Cf. Újváry-Pál 1997.

⁴⁴⁰ Cf. Szabóné Szabó 2000.



3.2.26. The memorial in Békásmegyer.
Heroes Square. Own photo.



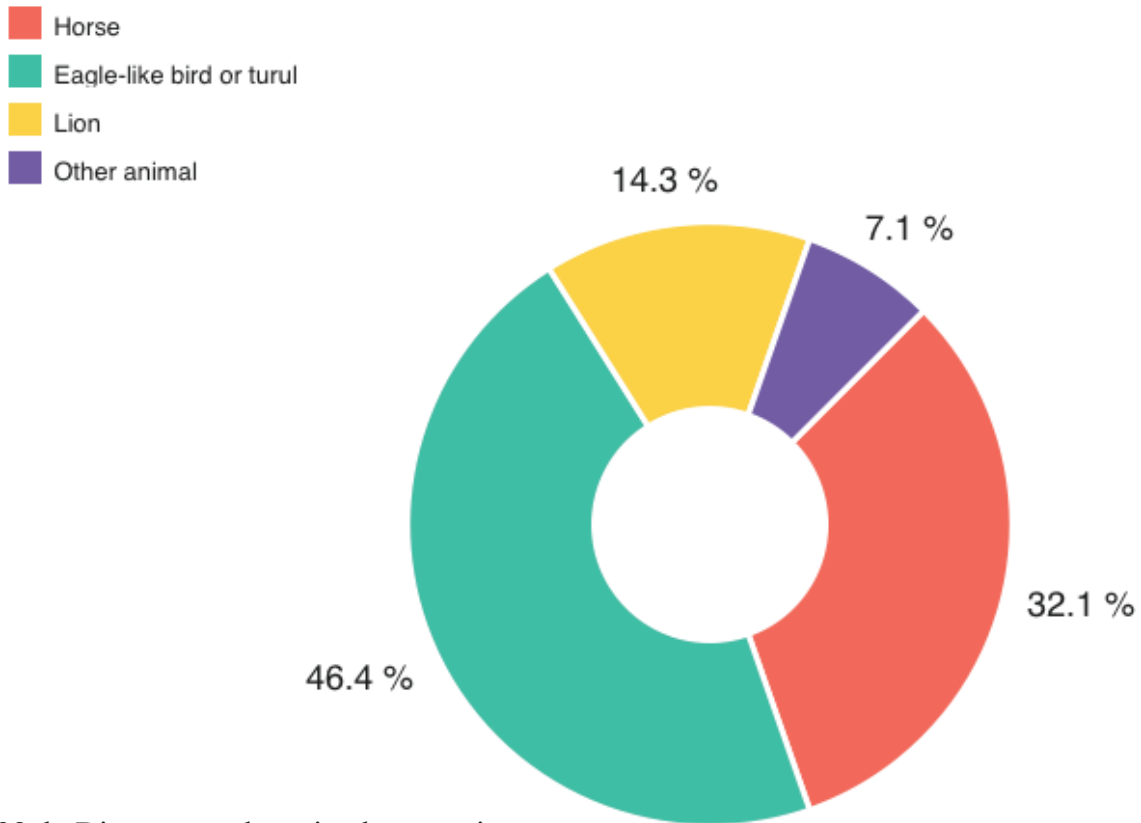
3.2.27. The memorial in Budafok.
Source: Somfay 2012-2016.

Online: hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu Downloaded: 06.06.2016. 19.20.



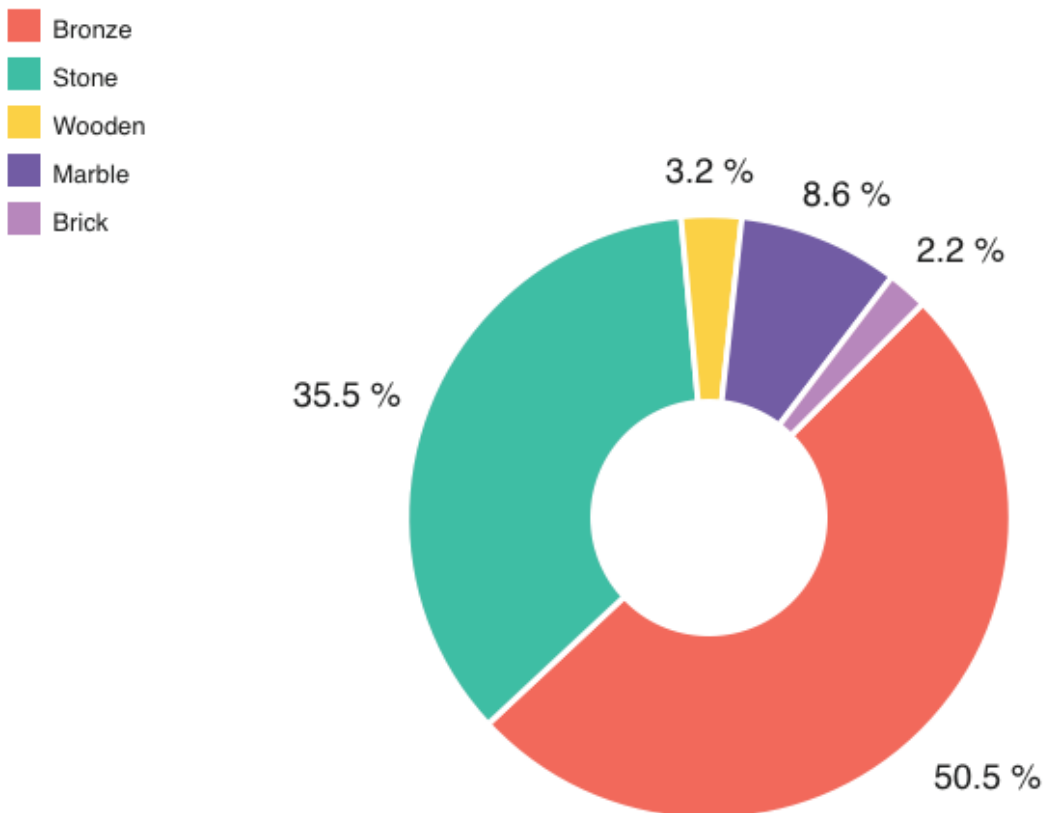
3.2.28. a. The Przemysl memorial. Own photo.

Animals on the WW1 memorials in Budapest



3.2.28. b. Diagram on the animals appearing on the WW1 memorial in Budapest.

Main materials of the WW1 memorials in Budapest



3.2.29. Diagram on the materials of the WW1 memorial in Budapest.

However, its contrast with the use of the linden in the case of Prague cannot be ignored. There it was clearly seen that the linden had been used as a national symbol in contrast to the German oak on the memorials. According to my hypothesis, the use of the oak leaf on the WWI memorials in Budapest is also rooted in the German military tradition. It does not mean evidentially that it refers directly to the German nationalism or the imperialism. Maybe only the heritage of the Austro-Hungarian army should be seen in this question, since in the German military tradition the oak was often used as a sign of merit.⁴⁴¹ Therefore the Hungarian WWI memorials, which are basically military memorials, inherited and reinterpreted this originally great German national symbol.

The last symbol to be mentioned is the lion, of which different uses were already mentioned in the study. (Fig.2.28.a.) The lion was shown in more national context so far, but now I take an example when the lion represents only its traditional meaning: bravery and courage. This suggestive example is the Przemysl Memorial, which is dedicated to the ones who died during the siege of the fortress of Przemysl, which was taken in 1915.⁴⁴² On this monument situated next to the Margit Bridge in the heart of Budapest, standing on a 4,5 metres high base a roaring lion steps on a canon. (Fig. 3.2.28.b.) The „*They fought like lions*”⁴⁴³ inscription describes undoubtedly the context of understanding the memorial. Deputy Mayor Endre Liber in his inauguration speech made the same gesture: „Here stands this huge stone and the lion on it. It reminds us to the lion of the lions”⁴⁴⁴ All these signs indicate towards bravery as the interpretational frame.

Nevertheless, this monument is also a sign of another important issue, namely the living memory of the period. The monument was initialled, planned and inaugurated by the survivors of the war and in most of the cases the commemorated siege. The condition of the tender for the memorial was that the designer must be a veteran. Finally, Szilard Szódy's plan won the tender, and the memorial was inaugurated in 1932. Liber explained the story of the memorial in his speech this way:

⁴⁴¹ Cf. Zabeczki 2014.

⁴⁴² Prohászka – Ravasz 2007, 72.

⁴⁴³ „*Küzdöttek oroszlánként*” Own translation.

⁴⁴⁴ „*Itt áll ez a hatalmas kőtömb s rajta az oroszlán, emlékeztetőül az oroszlánok oroszlánjára*” Own translation. Liber 1934, 421.

„those who came back erected it for those who remained there unburied or who rest in the lost cemetery of a sorrowful Siberian small village, where there is nobody who could throw a flower to their sinking graves.”⁴⁴⁵

The Przemysl memorial hence points beyond national state propaganda and its over-nationalized iconography which was discovered on the WW1 memorials in Budapest. At this point from behind the mask of the Hungarian Hero outcrops reality. These abstract figures, exploited according to the interests of the state, were actually individuals who had belonged to somebody before their death. This is the point where the personal and public grief confronts, and maybe this is the reason why this memorial does not carry any subtle nationalism, but only the courage of the fallen soldiers of Przemysl.

3.2.4. Conclusion

In this chapter the interpretation of the content analysis of the WW1 memorials in Budapest was presented. Most of the memorials situated in the capital were erected in the interwar period and after the Treaty of Trianon. Usually they were made from expensive materials such as bronze, and rarely were created from cheap stones. (Fig. 3.2.29.) Generally they were the results of invitation for tenders, and they did not follow the pre-planned catalogue of HEMOB. Most of them had a figural form, and only in a few cases had a simple form.

It was seen that although these monuments are not explicitly irredentist memorials, but the ones erected between the two wars carry the irredentist ideas. It was articulated not only in their literal context, but also in their iconography. However, it is important to note that their iconography was built from traditional elements which were well-known in Hungary even before the Treaty of Trianon. Iconographically this process was shown by the case study of the Sword of God or by the example of the Irredentist memorials on the Liberty Square. In the written sources it could be followed, for example, in the changes of Ferenc Herczeg's nationalist narrative who edited the analysed catalogue during the war and later became the president of the Hungarian Revisionist League.

In the first part of the study the question of the location in the removals and the further reason of the removals were discussed. It was concluded that although the

⁴⁴⁵ Liber 1934, 422.

communist regime based on ideological reasons attacked directly only the explicitly revisionist elements of the memorials, their relocation to less popular places was still common practice. Regarding the inscriptions, the generated heroes' cult was underlined. The Heroes' cult in Hungary was supported also by law.

Concerning the iconographical elements the most frequent figure is that of a soldier. These figures were prepared with care, their uniform and equipment recognizable, but they are placed into allegorical scenes. Based on the uniform most of the depicted soldiers are hussars. During the Great War it was not necessary for a hussar to belong to the cavalry, therefore sometimes the hussars are shown without a horse. In the subsequent subchapter I detailed the importance of the notion of the hussar in the relevant period, as it was thought to be a carrier of the traditional Magyar values.

The question of archaism was looked at as well. Besides, the realistic representation of the soldier, the archaized look and elements also were mentioned. With the use of the archaistic symbols as well as the mythical-historical figures the aim was probably the creation of the continuity between the glorious times of the Hungarian history and the interwar period.

A transition between the mythical-historical and religious symbols is the figure of *Patrona Hungariae*, whose origins and the variations of her figure on the WW1 memorials were detailed in the study. With regards to the other religious symbols it was stated that their use on the memorials and in their literal context served the narrative of the resurrection of the country. Moreover the sacred nature of the concept of the hero was also pointed out.

Beside *Patrona Hungariae* or Empress Maria Theresa less dominant woman complementary figures also appeared on the WW1 memorials. Based on their and the children's position occupied in the scenes it turned out that the woman's duty is to teach their children the glory of falling for the homeland, while the children's obligation is to take the baton from their fathers died in the war according to the ideology of the memorials. In the last part this state ideology was confronted with the commemoration of the survivors. It can be concluded that the WW1 memorial in the capital served almost exclusively the state propaganda and hardly the remembrance of the dead citizens.

3.3. Towards the comparison: The short case study of the Heroes' Cemetery and War Memorial of Rákoskeresztúr

3.3.1. Introduction to the History of the Cemetery

In the following short case study, I focus on the disappearance of Hungary's largest war cemetery and war memorial standing there. This chapter is a summary of a previous work of mine; therefore it contains only the main sources, argumentation and conclusions of the complicated history of the memorial in question.⁴⁴⁶ At the end of the chapter, I will make a brief comparison between the Hungarian military cemetery and the Czech Olšany cemetery. In a further stage of the research, it would be fruitful to elaborate the comparison of the two cemeteries.

The keyword of this chapter is absence. I attempt to investigate the reasons why sufficient sources concerning the disappearance of Hungary's largest war cemetery and war memorial were not preserved, possibly due to the regime changes. The memory of them has not been transmitted from the communicative memory to the collective memory⁴⁴⁷.

This part of my research is based on archival material. Nevertheless, one has to face the fact, that the moment of the demolishment was not even mentioned in the documents over a period of one hundred years in four Hungarian archives. Moreover, I did not find any witness who recalled the memorial. In this chapter, it is not possible to discover all the aspects of the silenced memory of the monument. It is enough to indicate that its disappearance was not documented neither in the Hungarian National Archives, in the Budapest City Archive, in the Military Archive, nor in the archives of the relevant Budapest districts or the cemetery. The last time when the memorial was mentioned in a catalogue of Budapest was 1934⁴⁴⁸, immediately after its inauguration. Since then, it has disappeared from the map of Budapest both in a practical and a symbolic sense.

In my view, the history of this memorial is about the identifications and changes of its functions.⁴⁴⁹ Reinhart Koselleck claimed that the political meaning of a war memorial is changeable, while the identity of the dead, which should be

⁴⁴⁶ For the entire research see Kocsis 2014.

⁴⁴⁷ cf. Assmann 1992, 15-26.

⁴⁴⁸ Liber 1934, 434.

⁴⁴⁹ Koselleck 2002, 228.

manifested in the memorial, can be erased or saved. I cannot entirely accept Koselleck's opinion in that the political cult of a war memorial disappears with the death of the last relative. In my opinion, the meaning of a memorial is forced to change and this changing uses the empty memory of the dead after the death of the last relative. Therefore the destruction of the Rákoskeresztúr memorial and cemetery caused the destruction of the memory of almost 20.000 soldiers buried there.

Although the studied war memorial, which is sometimes called *Altar of Heroes*, can be understood as an extension of the cemetery above the ground level, it is also important to separate them from one another. The reason of this division is that the dead persons buried there raise questions of piety and grief, while the history of the memorial depends on actual politics. Therefore, I discuss their history in separated sub-chapters.

3.3.2. The Cemetery

First of all, it is necessary to define the topic in time and space. The New Public Cemetery of Budapest was opened in 1886. In the final phase of the Second World War *Rákoskeresztúr*, the district of the cemetery in the capital, had become a battlefield⁴⁵⁰. During the communist period, especially in the 1950s, political victims of the regime were buried there. The martyrs of the Revolution of 1956 were secretly buried in parcel 301. After the Regime Change in 1989, the mentioned fact provided the New Public Cemetery with a prominent role in memory politics.

The military part of the cemetery operated from 1903 to 1955. At the beginning, it was confined to only four parcels of the New Public Cemetery, and subsequently it was enlarged. The Hungarian and international victims of the First World War, the dead of the former and now closed war cemeteries, moreover war prisoners, and the fallen soldiers during the siege of Budapest in the Second World War were buried there. In the 1950s the Ministry of National Defence cancelled the service of military graves. This was the beginning of the destruction of the cemetery, and it resulted in the destruction of more than 20 thousand graves.⁴⁵¹ The mentioned act contradicted the Geneva Conventions prohibiting the demolition of soldiers' graves. Later on, the decline of the cemetery could not be avoided.

⁴⁵⁰ Csernus-Lukács et al. 1999, 65-69.

⁴⁵¹ Zsigmond 2001, 6.

During the softer period of the communist era, in 1976, the cemetery tried to hide the chaotic view of the former parcels of the Heroes' cemetery with a columbarium fencing it and with a row of high trees. The archival documents mention this process as "cemetery reconstruction".⁴⁵² In my opinion, the reconstruction was made in order to keep the left-behind war cemetery in secret.

However, the exhumation and transferring of the military graves happened in an impious way in the 1990s, after the fall of communism. One can consider it the most embarrassing point of the history of the cemetery, since that period could have been the first occasion to solve the piety problems without ideological implications. Although the place of the war cemetery is now tidy, no sign shows the graves of the wartime heroes who had previously lied there. Nowadays the deceased of the 2000s are buried in this place without any reflection to preceding times.

It was already argued that in 1961, the graveyard of Rákoskeresztúr became a politically risky public space. Imre Nagy, prime minister of the revolution of 1956, condemned and executed in 1958, was secretly buried in parcel 301 under a fake name, at the farthest end of the yard⁴⁵³. Therefore, around the Regime Change, in 1989, parcel 301 became an area to be rehabilitated soon. The remembrance of the martyrs of 1956 among the democratic political circles continued during the new regime. The victims of the First World War, together with those of the regime of the Habsburgs or the era of governor Horthy, were forgotten. As a result of this specific attention on the revolutionary martyrs, other parts of the New Public Cemetery, such as the Heroes' cemetery, were ignored and badly treated.

The management of the cemetery attempted to fix the most urgent military question, namely the question of the international relations. The existence of so many international war parcels in the territory of the cemetery can be explained by the Hungarian international politics of the 1980s and 1990s. For example, during the communist period, the Romanian and Turkish relations brought about the demand for the renovation of the war graves.⁴⁵⁴ After the Regime Change, additional international military graveyards were established.

Only the ground is the same in the landscape taken in 1933 and 2015 at the middle of parcels 3 to 6, the former location of the war memorial in question. The

⁴⁵²Budapest, Budapest City Archives (HU BFL) XXIII.126.a 327. [56]

⁴⁵³Pajcsics 1993, 92-100.

⁴⁵⁴MOL K. IV. 1983.116. 152-28.

disordered and frowzy place of the war cemetery was hidden by walls used as columbarium until the Regime Change (Fig. 3.3.1.). Today, walking along this wall, one reaches the empty space of the memorial. In this emptiness, the figure of a soldier, made by Hungarian sculptor Jenő Körmendi Frim, stands on the underside of the missing memorial with a broken table signed '1914-1918' (Fig. 3.3.2.). The sculpture was erected originally in parcel 2. It was impiously transferred here. The names of the soldiers buried in parcel 2 can still be read on its side.

3.3.3. The Memorial

In the cemetery, the first provisory memorial was erected during the First World War. WW1 monuments weres scrutinized by an ideological jury in Hungary, providing the adequate political and irredentist message to them.⁴⁵⁵ This first memorial was called *od's Sword*. In front of it, there were reproductions of *Attila's* historical treasures and a *turul* bird. All the listed motifs contained Hungarian nationalist meaning, as it was already discussed in the Chapter 3.1. In 1927, the first memorial was turned into an even more irredentist one as a result of the newly added triple-mound, another Hungarian national symbol that I had already mentioned⁴⁵⁶. It is again a testimony of revisionist sentiments during the aftermath of the Treaty of Trianon.

⁴⁵⁵ cf. Kovács 1985, 26-35.

⁴⁵⁶ Liber 1934, 434.



Figure 3.3.1. The place of the heroes' cemetery is hidden by a columbarium fence and trees. Own photo.



Figure 3.3.2. The place of the old memorial and the new memorial nowadays. Own photo.



Figure 3.3.3.a.
The reconstruction of the memorial of Rákoskeresztúr
based on its plans. Ágoston Takács.



3.3.3.b. A Hősi emlékmű a Hősök temetőjében.
Liber 1934, 434.



3.3.3.c. 1934 all hallow's day in the Heroes' cemetery. . In: Képes Pesti Újság. 56. (232).

Since the first memorial was not a stable one, there was a tender for a new permanent monument. According to it, the memorial had to be simple but monumental and building-like. After a long dispute, Transylvanian painter Ferenc Márton was commissioned to plan the monument. His personal Transylvanian origins could increase the irredentist content of the memorial. It was his first sculpture, but later he created many First World War memorials all around the country. However, there is not any memorial comparable to this one among his works⁴⁵⁷. By now, all of his works has disappeared from Budapest: this fact gives us a reason to suppose that the person could be also considered problematic in the times when the Rákoskeresztúr war memorial was removed from the cemetery.

The *Altar of Heroes* was erected in 1934 in the presence of Miklós Horthy, governor of Hungary. The memorial was a seventeen-meter high stone pillar with a cross on the top (Fig. 3.3.3.a.b). In front of it, there was a stone coffin. Its style was significantly modern, and altered from the general figural WW1 memorials. It seems to support the view, held by Koselleck, that war memorials are signs of modernity themselves.⁴⁵⁸ When compared with examples from other countries, its form is more similar to the Anglo-Saxon memorials, than to the German or French ones. Furthermore it is ahead of its time, because its shape is close to the iconography of the Second World War memorials.

From another aspect, the modernism of this memorial is the reflection of fascist memorial architecture. In connection to this similarity, it is necessary to mention that in the same year an Italian war memorial was erected next to the *Altar of Heroes* in the neighbouring parcel. Moreover, it was the extreme right wing politician Gyula Gömbös to cover half of the construction expenses⁴⁵⁹. His offer serves as an explicit proof of the extremely nationalist understanding of the memorial. Therefore, the similarity with the fascist elements is not surprising.

Furthermore, based on Antoin Prost's distinction⁴⁶⁰ this memorial can be seen as a hybrid one. Prost divided war memorials to sacred and civic ones. The studied monument is both sacred and civic with its stone coffin and monumental stele. Nevertheless, in Hungary these functions could be separated from each other, because

⁴⁵⁷ cf. Szabó 2009, 47-50.

⁴⁵⁸ cf. Koselleck 2002, 287-290.

⁴⁵⁹ Liber 1934, 434

⁴⁶⁰ Prost 1984, 196-197.

God and homeland had to be mentioned together in the researched period. In the era of the inauguration, the Christian and patriotic feelings generally went hand in hand. In addition to that, patriotic elements could provide the basis for symbols of nationalism. Nonetheless, in the discussed case, it is its nationalist tradition that makes the memorial an irredentist one, and not its iconography.

3.3.4. What is the Reason of the Disappearance? The Transformation of the Notion of Hero

According to János Pótó's account, behind the commission, erecting and removal of memorials there is a direct political intention.⁴⁶¹ Moreover Pótó emphasised that the location and the size of memorials are testimonies of their actual significance. The Altar of Heroes with its seventeen-meter high size was one of the most monumental WW1 memorials, which can be the evidence of its significance.

Furthermore, its location and context are also important features. Cemeteries are in the intersection point of tradition, history and personal pasts, therefore they can be examined as *lieux de memoire*.⁴⁶² In that sense the material, functional and symbolic signs of this particular place of memory changed together with the transformations of the political regimes. The material and functional signs belonging to it totally disappeared, since the time when the memorial had been removed.

The question is that does or does not want to keep a cemetery remembered. In the 1940s, the victims' relatives were still alive, so they were able to visit the place expressing their personal grief. Grief is an significant and complex layer of the studied problem. It is about losing the individual, losing the war, and losing the parts of the land in this context. Therefore this memorial was a monument of losers, not of winners. In connection to the place, it is also important that the cemetery is also a political scene, so it can provide opportunity to the act of the *damnatio memoriae*. Along with the destruction of the physical remains, symbolic layers can be also erased. It is the political intention behind the demolition.

According to Pótó, memorials, which have importance during both their inauguration and destruction, can be divided into four parts in Hungary in the first period of communism. These categories are the following: First World War memorials; the communist memorials from the era between 1918 and 1919; the

⁴⁶¹ Pótó 2003, 19-20.

⁴⁶² cf. Nora 1984, 674.

irredentist memorials; and the sculptures of politicians. The *Altar of Heroes* is a First World War memorial carrying revisionist ideas, which was created by a Transylvanian artist. Although these could be sufficient reasons for its removal in the Rákosi-era, the memorial survived this severe period of communism, ending with 1956. Surprisingly, it disappeared only later, in the subsequent Kádár regime.

Based on war maps and aerial photos, it seems to be sure, that the memorial disappeared some time between 1962 and 1977. Moreover, there is a catalogue of Budapest memorials, surviving as a manuscript from 1977, which mentions Ferenc Márton's stone coffin in the cemetery.⁴⁶³ If it is not a misunderstanding, and only the stone coffin stood, which is just a part of the entire memorial, while the seventeen-meter high column did not, it means that the memorial changed its function and meaning by that time. It was already argued that the location and size of a memorial can provide meaning to it. It is more than probable that it had lost its original context with the erasing of the war cemetery. Then, the decrease of its size decreased its significance as well. As a consequence, its whole actuality passed by the time. By the end of this process, the memorial was nothing but a decorative element in the cemetery.

This result generates a number of questions. If it is true that only the obelisk was removed by the 1970s, where is the stone coffin now? If the memorial has survived the severest first years of the Hungarian communism, what was the reason for removing it in the 1960s or 1970s from a place that was barely frequented by that time? The first question is still not answered, but there is an explanation for the second problem.

It seems more rational not to search a political intention behind the removal, because, in the 1960s and in the 1970s, it was not common to remove First World War memorials from public spaces. In my solution, the reason of the disappearance of the memorial is the testimony of what was important for the age when it was removed. In other words, the memorial was removed because it was not significant anymore, it did not carry any meaning. It was in contrast to other commemorations that were more emphasized. Therefore, if other memories are over-cultivated, the memory of the Great War evidentially slipped out from the collective memory by passive forgetting.

⁴⁶³ FSZEK BGy. 1977. BQ 0910/389.

For an understanding of this process, it is necessary to refer to the transformation of the concept of hero. The year of 1962 saw the establishment of a special Reverence Committee within the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party for the remembrance of the communist heroes of the preceding periods⁴⁶⁴. Since its establishment, the dead of the communist movement were in the forefront of exhumations, reburials and memorial inaugurations. Therefore, the hero to be remembered was not the hero of the war anymore, but the hero of the communist party.⁴⁶⁵ As a conclusion, there was no place for remembering the victims of the First World War, because their role was replaced by that of the soviet and communist dead.

3.3.5. Conclusion of the History of the Military Cemetery in Budapest

In my view, the history of the Rákoskeresztúr war cemetery and memorial mirrors the course of the Hungarian twentieth century. It was opened during the Monarchy, and then it entombed an enormous number of dead in the First World War. Between the two wars it was used as a cult place celebrating nationalism through the notion of war hero under the governance of Miklós Horthy. This was the attribute that provided a negative value to the area during the communism. In the totalitarian first period of Hungarian communism, the Rákosi-era, the war cemetery was neglected, because the remembrance of the WWI heroes was equal with the memory of the Monarchy.

The question of the following Kádár-era, the Hungarian soft communism, is more complicated. In this, period the monumental memorial, the Altar of Heroes has disappeared without a trace. This is surprising because while the Rákosi-era had generally cleaned the public places through memorial removals, the Kádár-era has not practiced it so explicitly. They used to cover the transformation with some fake activities. In my opinion, the cemetery reconstruction in 1976, when the columbarium wall was built to hide the neglected military cemetery, was a covering act. Nevertheless, the lack of saving sufficient sources from the late twentieth century, is a failure of the Hungarian archive system.

It cannot be proved that this was the time when the memorial was removed, but it is the most probable possibility. If it is supposed to be true, that in 1977 the stone coffin, mentioned in the manuscript of the memorial catalogue of Budapest,

⁴⁶⁴ MOL. 288. f. 22. /1962/10

⁴⁶⁵ Cf. Zempléni 2009.

which was left out from the published version ten years later⁴⁶⁶, was still observable, then maybe only the monolith was demolished by that time. The only sure fact is that it can be observed in 1962 on an aerial picture (3.3.4), but it is not indicated in 1977 on the military map of the cemetery.

It is more important to decide whether this removal was due to intentional or unintentional memory-politics. I have suggested that the final demolition of the military cemetery was the result of a slow transformation of the notion of hero. With the establishment of the Reverence Committee of the communist party, the cult of the communist and soviet hero became official. Later, after the Regime Change mostly the martyrs of the revolution of 1956 were celebrated. In my opinion, this was the reason behind the forgetting of 20.000 dead WW1 soldiers.

As a closing remark, it is worth to compare the observed pattern with the Czech case. In Prague, the *Olšany* Cemetery had a similar function to that of the Cemetery of Rákoskeresztúr. However, it was opened centuries before Rákoskeresztúr, and the Czech military cemetery seems to show the same picture as it was in the interwar Hungary, since this was the largest resting place for invalid and captured Czech and foreign soldiers. The difference is in the way in which the cemetery has been treated after the wars. Nowadays the military cemetery is well maintained and respected. There is not a significant difference on the archival and the contemporary pictures of the graveyard, while in Budapest there is no trace of the war cemetery.⁴⁶⁷ (Fig. 3.3.5. - 3.3.7.)

In my explanation, the reason for this difference is in the different memory politics of the Czech and Hungarian communism. On the one hand, in Hungary the memory of the Great War was thought to be imperialist, since it was connected to the celebration of the Monarchy. On the other hand, the Czech remembrance of the First World War was based on the memory of the legions fighting against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This revolutionary idea could be seen as anti-imperialist movement; therefore it could fit into the image of the Czech communism with some changes of focus. As a result, Czech WW1 memorials and graves had a better possibility to survive the communist period than in Hungary.

⁴⁶⁶ cf. Rajna 1989.

⁴⁶⁷ Cf. Michálková -Michálek 2008.



3.3.4. Légi felvétel 1962. augusztus 1. Rákoskeresztúri temető. Hadtörténeti Levéltár

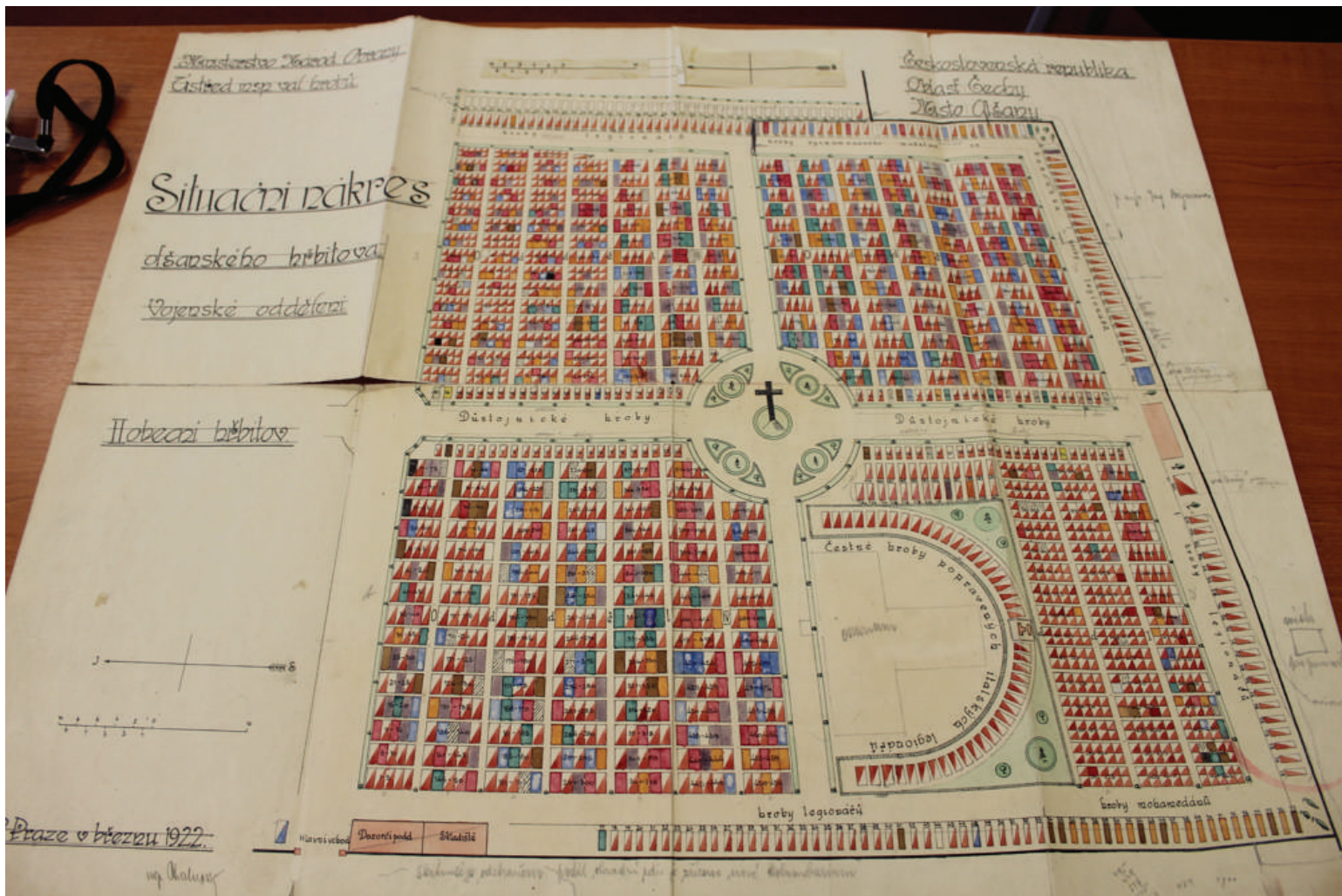


Figure 3.3.5. The map of the Olsany Military Cemetery from 1922. Military Archive of Prague. EVH. box. 96.



Figure 3.3.6. The first World War Cemetery in Olsany Cemetery. Military Archive of Prague. 932.

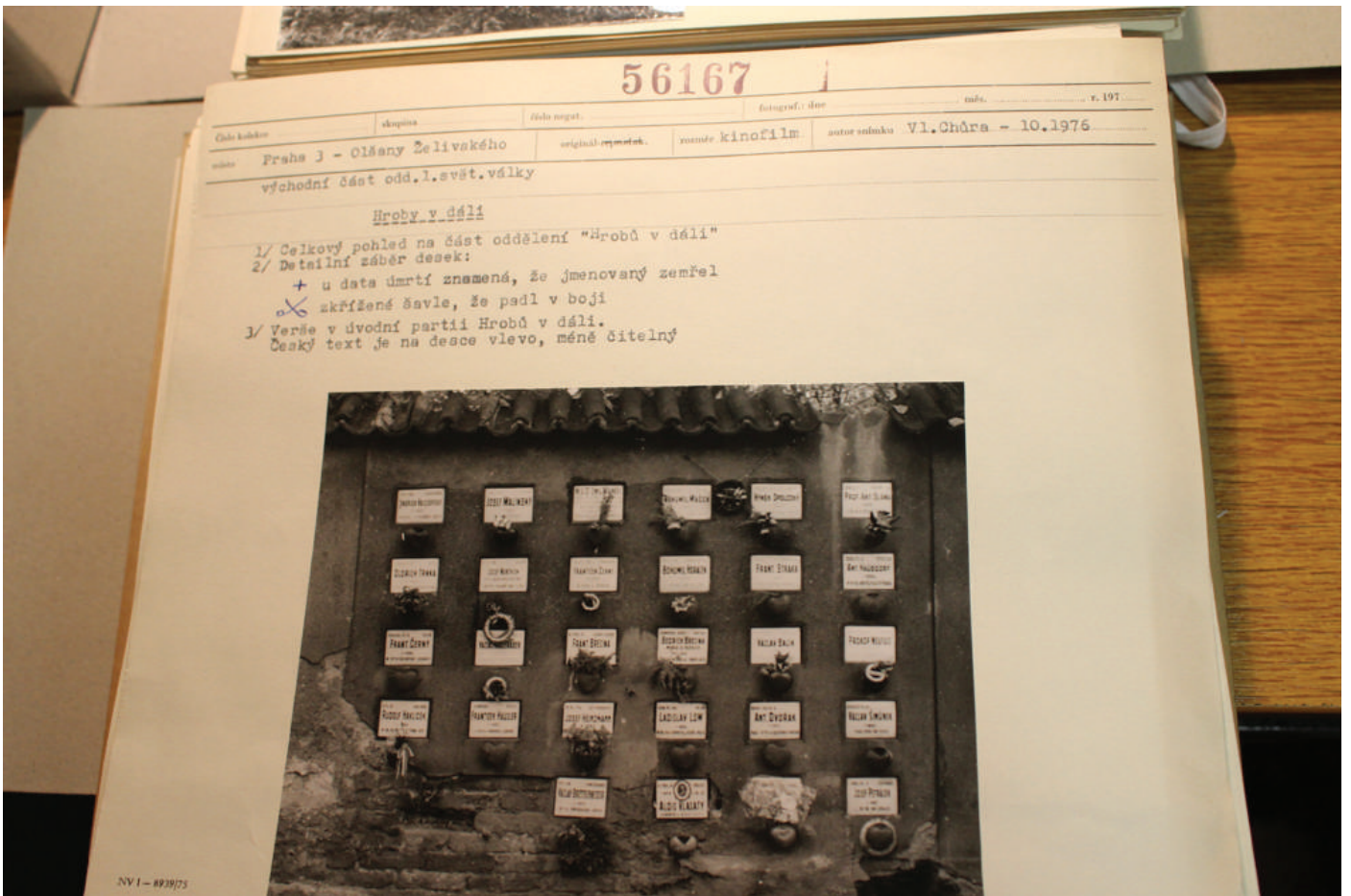


Figure 3.3.7. The columbarium for the not found soldiers. Military Archive of Prague. 56167.

4. The comparison and conclusion of the two cases

4.1. General comparison

In this chapter the Czech and Hungarian situations are compared and contrasted, based on the discussions in the previous examples. The key that connects the two countries is the theme of strong nationalism which is expressed with the help of previous historical and mythical national symbols. The two cities are compared in the following sections from a range of aspects.

4.1.1. Form and location

The most important difference between the commemorations of the two cities is that in Budapest constructing WW1 memorials was mandatory by law for each municipality and district. As a result, in every district there is at least one WW1 monument. Beside the ones erected by the municipalities, several monuments initiated by societies or institutions were constructed. So there is definitely a higher number of memorials than in the Czech capital with a more balanced distribution.

Since Budapest was one of the capitals of the Habsburg Empire, it had a different status than Prague. Its public spaces were dominated more by the imperial memory. In contrast, in Prague the national commemoration on the public spaces was more advanced by the time of the erecting of the WW1 memorials. The main squares were already occupied by the national memory by the beginning of the war. As a result, all WW1 memorials erected in the historically overwhelmed inner city entered a form of dialogue with the spot they occupied. Although the relationship between the already existing national memorials and the WW1 monuments could be found in Budapest as well, for example in the case of the Millennium memorial and the Heroes' Memorial Stone or in the Castle, its occurrence was significantly less frequent.

In most cases the memorials got placed in the outer spaces of Prague. That way the external districts of Prague show a similar pattern to the same areas of Budapest, even though they show a great contrast regarding the inner city. The inner districts of

Budapest were full of WW1 memorials, while in the case Prague it was difficult to find almost any of them.

In their forms the WW1 monuments of Prague and Budapest also differ from each other. More than the half of the WW1 memorials in Prague are not figurative; they have a simple obelisk or stone form, sometimes complemented with small reliefs. Meanwhile in Budapest almost all the monuments and memorials are figurative.

Although the figures of the monuments are very similar all over Europe, there can be small alterations from country to country. In Prague the memorials were more schematic and allegorical. Only in a few cases was realism a priority. One example of realism is the Legionary memorial in Nové Město, however, generally the main emphasis was on carving the uniform of the legionaries to be easily recognisable in order to strengthen the legionary narrative.

In Hungary there were memorial catalogues published by the authorities, which helped the commissioners of the monuments, while they also framed the supported iconography and narrative of the memorials. It was popular on the countryside, but in Budapest its use was rare, and the monuments were ordered via invitations and tenders. As a result, their quality was better than average and were often created by popular sculptors, such as György Zala.

Despite the represented allegorical scenes, the figures usually were elaborated in details and tended to be realistic. The uniform was easily recognisable also in the pictured Hungarian soldier figures, the common representation of the Hussar can be often noticed easily. When the Hussar is complemented with a horse it is also a proof of the more difficult and expensive sculptural work. The equestrian WW1 sculptures, with the exception of the Žižka memorial connected to the Vítkov hill, are perfectly missing from the Prague corpus.

Although in Prague there was no official sample book for planning the WW1 memorial, they followed similar schemas in most of the time, especially in the edge of the city. It is observable, for example, in the positions of the pictured woman who are mostly kneeling or looking into the far holding a child. In case of the few figural WW1 memorials situated in Prague it should be highlighted that a female figure is the most frequent image. Non-figural memorials also follow common patterns.

In Hungary figural monument can be classified into several groups based on similarity. It can be differentiated based on whether it is representing a Hussar or not

Hussar, infantry or cavalry, soldier or civilian. Another classification can be the position of the figures: soldier in *contraposto* with flag or arm, soldier in battle, family scene with soldier or without soldier, dying or fallen soldier with or without *Patrona Hungariae*, mourning scenes. With the higher number of categories the complexity of the iconographic analysis also increased.

Finally, there is one more qualitative difference between the memorials in Budapest and Prague besides the originality of their plans: the materials used for the constructions. The majority of the WW1 monuments of Prague were made from artificial stone or from sandstone. In Budapest the more expensive bronze sculptures are frequent, and the use of the marble is not uncommon either.

4.1.2. Religion and royalism

In this section the differences of the religious and royalist figures and narratives in the two cities are detailed.

In both cases the commemoration of the First World War is connected to other events from the national history. In the Czech situation the connecting points are the Hussite wars and their figures such as Jan Žižka or Jan Hus. They were melted into the memory of the Czech legionary tradition. It is interesting to observe how the Hussite religion is nationalised and understood as the first national revolution against the dominant nation, dismissing the Catholic traditions during this process. Therefore, the national saints like Saint Wenceslas or Saint John of Nepomuk were left out from the memorialization of the Great War.

Additionally, not only Catholicism, but also the royalism was undesirable in the connotation of the First World War. The two phenomena were usually joined, for example in the case of the Virgin Mary, whose cult is missing from the First World War memory of Prague. Although there is a strong cult of Czech kings, like Charles IV, he is also missing from the Great War corpus. Nevertheless, the commemoration seems to be a civil patriotic image, because the peasant Přemysl Oráč was neither considered an acceptable intersection point in the Legionary memorials. In conclusion, not only the figures connected to the Habsburg Empire, but also all the other royal symbols were left out from the WW1 iconography and narrative.

In contrast, in Hungary the traditional Christianity plays a more important role in the First World War memory. The figure of Virgin Mary in the form of *Patrona Hungariae*, is one of the most frequent patterns on the WW1 memorials. Moreover, the saint kings, such as Saint Ladislaus, are also represented in some cases.

There is actually an interesting mixture of paganism and Christianity. This relationship is well demonstrated on the example of the Sword of God, which originates in the mythical history of the migration period. More mythical-historical figure can be mentioned, such as *Csaba* or *Lehel*.

The usage of the mythical past in Hungary is more common than in the Czech case. On the one hand, it is due to the level of the interwar historic research, which was already passed by the present research. On the other hand, the myths, which were already contradicted by historical research, got glorified and raised to an autonomous level in the context of common sense. This is especially true after the Treaty of Trianon, when the old myths like the relationship with Attila's people helped the post-traumatic national integration. It was concluded that the aim of the use of these old figures was perpetuating an imagined continuity between the glorious past and the mournful present.

A remarkable difference can be observed in the relation to royalism and imperialism between the two countries. While the Czechs completely dismissed this question from their WW1 memorials, the Hungarian monuments have an ambivalent position towards the Empire. While from the Czech nationalism the loyalty towards the king was missing, in the Hungarian nationalism it had an important role. During the interwar period it was altering from the Imperial Patriotism, and the crown represented not only the king, but also all the Hungarian land. Moreover, the memory of the Habsburg kings referred to the more glorious periods of the Hungarian Kingdom regardless of their hateful 19th century memory.

All the mentioned factors resulted in an ambivalent situation in which after the dethronement of the Habsburg dynasty in the kingless Kingdom there remained a royalist narrative, which referred back to the previous centuries when the Habsburg monarchs reigned in Hungary. It strengthened the tradition of the society of Orders in the used narrative, which was originated in the medieval and early modern periods and had an important symbol of the political power over centuries. This process can be observed on the WW1 memorials in Budapest.

4.1.3. The memory battles in the city

Both cities had to face aggressive deconstructions of the WW1 memorials in the second half of the twentieth century. However, the identity of the aggressors, who removed the monuments from the public spaces, differed. On the one hand, in Prague the Nazi occupation was responsible for the removals since the Czech legions were considered to be the traitors of the German. On the other hand, in Hungary the communist regime fought against the imperial and revisionist shades of the WW1 memorials.

The common point is the transformation of the memory after the Regime Change in 1989/90. Although during the Hungarian communism the memory of the First World War was suppressed and Czechoslovakia was able to integrate some modified parts of it into the communist ideology, with the end of the communist regime the commemoration was broken. The communicative memory was not able to follow the changes of the forced memory-politics. In other words, in the Czech Republic it is difficult to start the commemoration of the First World War with *tabula rasa* after it was interrupted and reinterpreted by the communist memory. Similarly in Hungary it is hard to start the commemoration after a forty-year gap of remembrance. It is important, because the institutional memory can be stable only when it has a living base to build on.

The heroes' cult is always a result of choice and after the Regime Change the anti-communist heroes were chosen to be commemorated as heroes in both countries, such as Jan Palach or the revolutionaries of 1956. An example of this change in the focus was shown in the case study of the cemetery in Rákoskeresztúr.

4.1.4. Differences in the represented narratives

The question of altering narratives is characterised by the differences between the two commemorations of the nations in how they view the First World War. While in Czechoslovakia the Great War is considered a glorious liberation war with human sacrifices, in Hungarian this was a traumatic loss of the broken nation. The hypothesis of this paper which stated that the different narratives appear in a different way on the war memorial is thereby verified. On the example of the Vítkov memorial it was seen that only a victorious place is acceptable for the Unknown Soldier, his remembrance is only compatible with that of glorious history. In contrary, in the catalogue of Sword

of God, before the Treaty of Trianon, the same aggressive image of the warrior nation is notable. Yet on the example of Rákoskeresztúr the traumatic and nostalgic nationalism is manifested, which expresses the suffering rather than the triumph of the nation. The distinction between representing the Hungarian suffering and the Czech victory is the most striking difference between the two remembrances of the First World War.

The same difference can also be observed through the words and terms used for the fallen soldiers. In the Czechoslovakia and also in the Czech Republic, when they are not titled only as *fallen*, they are mostly called *victims*. They represent the sacrifices which were made by the Czech nation in order to gain the well-deserved liberty. In contrast, in Hungary there was an officially and artificially generated cult of heroes in the law, nomenclature as well as in the rites of commemoration. This narrative started during the war and became widely accepted after the Treaty of Trianon. Therefore, it could possibly be understood as an attempt for compensation. Hungary lost the war, its dominant political role and the bigger part of its former country together with the population living there. Hungary's failure was a tragic failure in the true Aristotelian sense of the words: the hero was in dire need of a catharsis after losing its heroic struggle.

In the Czech case more emphasis was put on mourning, which can be considered the original aim of the memorials. One likely explanation is that Czechoslovakia was not in the need of proving its glory. However, it was an important attempt to maintain the victorious narrative and avoid the connotation of the national tragedies.

Nevertheless, in Hungary the grief was subjected to the state propaganda which attempted to turn the loss of Hungary to a belief in the rebirth of the land.

4.2. Conclusion

The present dissertation aimed to compare the appearing nationalist narratives on the WW1 monument in Budapest and Prague. The main focus was on the iconography of the memorials which were interpreted with the help of the supporting written sources of the analysed interwar period and the already existing literature. A qualitative and a quantitative method was used in order to get a sense of the count of the occurring symbols, while trying to gain a deeper understanding of them at the

same time. That way content analysis and case studies were executed for covering the question of pictured nationalism on the monuments.

For the comparison it was necessary to understand the background of the two nations. First the two cases were presented independently to understand the circumstances and the context of the comparison. Both methods were applied on both cases. The focus of the investigation was the location, the inscriptions and the iconography of the memorials.

At first, in the Czech case study dealing with the National Monument on the Vítkov hill discovered a characteristic Czech example. Getting a look into the ideological complexity of the memorial unfolded more stages of the Czech First World War memory. Such as the WW1 memory in the period of the first republic, its transformation during the Nazi occupation, then the communism and at last after the Regime Change. Moreover, while discovering the connection between the legionary memory and the Czech mythical past other symbols and traditions were discussed. Therefore, from the remembrance of the mythical foundation of the Přemysl dynasty to the commemoration of the Hussite wars the important events were demonstrated. Furthermore, the opposition between historical figures such as Jan Žižka or St. Wenceslas were introduced, whose cult melted into the legionary memory or were intentionally left out from the memorials.

Secondly, the content analysis of the memorials in Prague showed that there is a difference in the distribution of the memorials between the centrum and the periphery of the city. Regarding the iconography and narrative the religious oppositions, the role of the female figures, the use of the semi-official national symbols, such as the lion or the linden were discussed.

In the second part the Hungarian case study was detailed. The analysis of the Sword of God provided a detailed knowledge of the basic Hungarian nationalist iconographical elements of the WW1 memorials. Looking through them the administrative background of the constructions, the intentions behind the beginnings of the inaugurations and the differences between the commemoration before and after the Treaty of Trianon became understandable.

During the content analysis a larger corpus of memorials was analysed than in the Czech case. Their distribution showed a strong concentration in the city centre. They were generally devoted to army units, and in many cases to Hussar corps. That way the meaning of the Hussar in the studied period was detailed. The aim of the

memorials was perpetuating an imagined continuity from the glorious past in the hope of the resurrection of the country. Therefore, more mythical historical figures could be observed on the memorials from *Patrona Hungariae* to Prince Csaba. Because of the resurrection narrative the uses of the Christian symbols were also frequent.

The last case study was a historical approach heading towards the comparison to grasp the main turning points of the First World War memory in the twentieth century Hungary. Through the example of the military cemetery and memorial of Rákoskeresztúr the changing notion of the hero cult was highlighted. Furthermore, the difference between the way the Czech and Hungarian communism treated the memory of the Great War heroes was pointed out in a short comparison with the Olšany cemetery.

In the comparison more differences than similarities were highlighted. Regarding their form, the memorials in Budapest are mostly figural, while in Prague they are manifested in a simple obelisk or stone form. In Budapest they are concentrated in the centre of the city, but in Prague they can be found mostly in the suburbs. The WW1 monuments in Budapest were generally made to a higher quality, from more expensive materials.

In the case of the nation they often express nationalism with the help of the coat of arms, the appearance of a lion or a linden. The female figure was one of the most frequent recurring elements. In contrast, in Budapest the realistic soldier sculptures dominated the WW1 memorials. While in Prague the equestrian sculptures are almost fully missing, in Budapest they are frequently connected to the Hussar narrative.

There is a difference in the use of religion. The Czech memorial tried to perpetuate a continuity with the memory of the Hussitism. The Hungarian memorials favoured Catholicism, and used religion in the resurrection narrative of the land. The two countries differed in the question of the royalist symbols occurring on memorials. From Prague the royalist references is perfectly missing, while in Hungary it represented the tradition of the society of Orders and resulted an ambivalent narrative between nationalism and Habsburg loyalty.

It can be seen that the WW1 memorials in Budapest and Prague followed the European schema with small changes. Both nations interpreted and modified the international pattern for their own purposes and built on their own national iconography and narrative. The research verified that the public memorials in Central Europe are capable of manifesting the highlights of the national narrative propagated

by the state. Evidently, the public space do not reflect reality but the suggested views of the dominant power.

Finally, it must be emphasised that this state governed commemoration repositions the focus from grief and death. From the beginning the primary message of these memorials was not the commemoration of the fallen, but the national state propaganda as a continuation of the previous war propaganda. After all, it is not surprising that through the several regime changes and changing state propagandas it was impossible to return to the theoretical meaning of the WW1 memorials, namely the commemoration of the fallen.

The notion of the national hero is a changeable social construction which follows the aims of the current political power. Its cult is a consequence of a set of decisions. Erecting memorials is one of these decisions, which is an act complementary to forming literature, art, rites, public speeches and even historiography. According to my hypothesis, in Western Europe, especially in England and France, the cult of the First World War heroes could remain unbreakable due to the almost stable national narrative.⁴⁶⁸ Proving this hypothesis can be the subject of further research. In contrast, in the studied countries of Central Europe all the regimes following each other chose other heroes and other narratives. Therefore, the public spaces were redrawn also in each regime.

After the Regime Change in 1989 the chosen heroes of the nation became the revolutionary of 1956, anti-communist personalities and their commemoration was supported by the political system.⁴⁶⁹ A decade later, following the international patterns, the commemoration of the victims of the Second World War gained priority. That way with a century after the First World War the fallen of the Great War, whose memory is not within the borders of the communicative memory and is in the floating gap, the private commemoration is occasional. The public commemorations have no continuity due to the numerous reinterpretations in the history. As a result of this discontinuity and the forced state propaganda connected to the remembrance of the fallen, the commemoration in the years of the centenary seems to be rootless in Budapest and Prague. If the present politics try to capture the originally intended interwar narrative it will be an anachronistic attempt, which misses the actual memory of the dead soldiers.

⁴⁶⁸ For the ambivalence of Vichy see Burrin 1992.

⁴⁶⁹ They also slipped out of the memory since then. See Horváth 2005.

As a conclusion, it is not surprising that in contrast to Western Europe after the storms of the regime changes the living commemoration of the WW1 is missing. The WW1 memorials are standing meaninglessly on the squares of the capitals and they are not really referring to the soldiers who gave their lives for the idea of the nation.

Appendix

Codes and subcodes of the analysis (Prague)

- Form
 - Simple obelisk
 - Simple stone
 - Grave-like
 - Memorial relief
 - Figurative
- Coat of arms
 - Czech
 - Moravian
 - Slovak
 - Other
- Legionary
 - Dead
 - Falling
 - Fighting
 - Other
- Other soldier
 - Dead
 - Falling
 - Fighting
 - Other
- Female
 - Woman on her knees
 - Woman in folk or peasant dress
- Male
- Child
- Antic dress or naked, antic style
 - Man or soldier
 - Woman
- Lion
 - Lion not in coat of arms
- Bird
 - Dove
 - Eagle-like (not in coat of arms)
 - Spread-winged
 - Closed-winged
 - Other
- Wreath
- Arm
- Sword
- Flame
- Historical figure
- National or allegorical scene

- Floral ornament
 - Linden
 - Palm
 - Bay laurel
 - Other
- Religious symbol
 - Cross
 - Other
- Location
 - Inner city
 - Outer city
- Known sponsor
 - Municipality
 - Other society or institution
 - Other
- Known date
 - 1918-28
 - 1928-38
 - 1939-45
 - Later
- For whom
 - Not known
 - WW1 only
 - WW1, WW2
 - More
- Known destruction
 - Full
 - Partly
- Inscriptions
 - Fallen
 - Hero
 - Martyr
 - Words connected to liberation
 - Words connected to family relations
 - Legionary
 - Warrior
 - Victim
 - Nation
 - Homeland/Fatherland
 - Czech
 - Czechoslovak
- Impression
 - It can be decided
 - Aggressive
 - Mournful
 - Victorious
- Monumental
- Direct nationalist reference

Codes and subcodes of the analysis (Budapest)

- Form
 - Figural
 - Building or building-like
 - Memorial table
 - Simple form
- Soldier in uniform
 - Hussar/ in Hussar's wear
 - Not Hussar
- Soldier in action
 - Fallen
 - Dead
 - Mourning or supporting the other
 - Fighting
 - Victorious (position, vowing, etc.)
 - Other
- Other male figure
 - Naked
 - Young boy
 - Other
- Female figures
 - Patrona Hungariae
 - Pietà
 - Tortured
 - Supporting
 - Prostrated
 - Maria Theresa
 - Non-dominant female character
 - Other allegorical woman
- Child
- Whole family
- Sword
 - Sword of God
 - Carried by turul
 - Other
 - Other
- Arm
- Canon/wheel
- Horn
- Horse
- Eagle-like bird or turul
 - Closed-winged
 - Spread-winged
 - On a globe
 - Covering with wings
- Lion
- Other animal
- Religious symbols

- Church/temple
- Christ
- Cross
- Star of David
- Other
- Coat of arms
 - Extended
 - Small
 - Other
- Flag
 - Upwards
 - Downwards
 - Flowered
- Floral ornament
 - Oak
 - Bay laurel
 - Rose
 - Other
- Wreath
- Date
 - During the war
 - After the war
 - After the Treaty of Trianon
 - After 1945
- State
 - Unchanged
 - Modified but on the same spot
 - Removed but reconstructed
 - Transferred
 - Removed
- Material
 - Bronze
 - Stone
 - Marble
 - Wooden
 - Brick
- Inscriptions
 - Home
 - Pro Patria
 - Hero
 - Brother/Son
 - Fellow soldier
 - Hungarian
 - Poem
 - Vörösmarty
- Anticisation/archaisation
- Helmet
- Headwear of the Jaegers
- Uniform and equipment well recognisable

- What to remember
 - WW1
 - WW2
 - More
 - Other combination
- On the inauguration is present
 - Miklós Horthy
 - Archduke
- City landscape
 - Lost territories
- Direct revisionist message
- Double cross
- Triple-mound
- Ancient Magyar figure
- Contour or map of Great Hungary
- Rising sun
- Hungarian Holy Crown

Bibliography

Primary sources

Laws and acts

- 1917/VII. sz. tv. *1917. évi VIII. törvénycikk a most dúló háborúban a hazáért küzdő hősök emlékének megörökítéséről. 1000 év törvényei internetes adatbázis.* [Act on the perpetuation of the memory of the heroes fighting for the homeland in the present war.] <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=7380>
Downloaded: 30. 05. 2015. 22.00.
- 1921/XLVII. sz. tv. *1921. évi XLVII. Törvénycikk IV. Károly Ő Felsége uralkodói jogainak és a Habsburg Ház trónörökösödésének megszüntetéséről.* Online: <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=7503>.
Downloaded: 02.06.2016. 23.07. [Act on the dethronement of King Charles IV and the Habsburg dynasty]
- 1924/VIII. sz. tv. *1924. évi XIV. Törvénycikk az 1914/1918. évi világháború hősi halottai emlékének megünnepléséről. 1000 év törvényei internetes adatbázis.* Online: <http://www.1000ev.hu/index.php?a=3¶m=7597>
Downloaded: 02.06.2016. 22.44. [Act on the celebration of the memory of the fallen heroes in the World War of 1914 and 1918].
- Sbírky zákonů a nařízení státu československého 50/1923. (Prague 1923). 207-17. Sbírky zákonů a nařízení státu československého 50/1923. (Prague 1923). 207-17. [Law for the defence of the Republic] Online: <http://ftp.aspi.cz/aspi/opispdf/1923.html>.
Downloaded: 02.06.2016. 23.04.

Archives and archive photos

- Anketa 1934 *Anketa o umístění hrobu Neznámého vojína v Praze.* Manuscript. Military History Archive (MHA). Památník osvobození (PO). Box. No. 17. [Debate on the location of the Tomb of the Unknown Warrior in Prague.]
- FSZEK BGy 1977. BQ 0910/389 Budapest, Metropolitan Szabó Ervin Library, Rajna György: *Budapest emléktáblái.* 1977. BQ 0910/389. Manuscript. [Memorial tables of Budapest].
- FSZEK BGy Képtár 001408. *A Haditengerészeti emlékmű avatása.* Budapest, Metropolitan Szabó Ervin Library. Budapest Collection. Photo Archives. 001408 1937. [The inauguration of the Memorial of the

- Navy]
- FSZEK BGy Képtár 020421. *Szabó Ervin-szobor 1919 május elsején a Deák téren.* Budapest, Metropolitan Szabó Ervin Library. Budapest Collection. Photo Archives. 020421. [The statue of Ervin Szabó in 1919 on the Deák Square].
- FSZEK BGy Képtár 021455. *A lefedett, körbeépített és dísztribünné alakított Nemzeti Áldozatkészség szobor Lenin szportréjával az Anker-ház előtt, 1919. május 1.* Budapest, Metropolitan Szabó Ervin Library. Budapest Collection. Photo Archives. 021455. [The covered National Self-abregation monument transformed into a tribune in front of the Anker-house. 1 May 1919.]
- HU BF XXIII.126. a 327. [56]. Budapest, Budapest City Archives (HU BFL) XXIII.126. a. 327. [56] „*Budapest X. ker. Kozma uti Új köztemető rekonstrukciója és XVII. ker. temető bővítés telepítési tanulmányterve*”. [The reconstruction of the New Public Cemetery]
- HU BFL XV. 17. d. 328. 0004479. Budapest, Budapest City Archives (HU BFL) XV. 17. d. 328. 0004479 terv adatai. 0001. *Rákoskeresztúri köztemető, hősi temető, ismeretlen helyen elesett hősök emlékműve (1932-1942).* [Documents on the Memorial of the Heroes resting in peace abroad]
- HU BFL XV. 17. d. 328. KT. te. 10/14. Budapest, Budapest City Archives. (HU BFL) XV. 17. d. 328. KT. Te 10/14. *Rákoskeresztúri köztemető, hősi temető, ismeretlen helyen elesett hősök emlékműve a Rákoskeresztúri köztemetőben (1932-1942.) terv.* [Plans of the Memorial of the Heroes resting in peace abroad]
- HU BFL XXIII. 114. 3835/4 1950-51 Budapest, Budapest City Archives (HU BFL) XXIII. 114. 3835/4 1950-51. *Tüzéremlékmű lebontásáról.*
- HU BFL XXXV. 1.a.4. 1969. Budapest, Budapest City Archives (HU BFL) HU BFL XXXV. 1.a.4. 1969. *Román hősi sírok ápolásáról.*
- MNL. 288. f. 22. /1962/10. Budapest, The Hungarian National Archives (MNL). 288. f. 22. /1962/10. *“Jegyzőkönyv a Kegyeleti Bizottság megalapításáról.”*
- MOL K. IV. 1983.116. 152-28. Budapest, The National Archives of Hungary (MOL). *Török hősi írok ápolása.*
- Vojta 1925 Vojta, Tomáš. *Průhled Václavským náměstím k Můstku. V popředí pomník sv.Václava. Vpravo část domu čp. 812 na Novém Městě.* 1925. Prague City Archive. [View from the Wenceslas Square to the Můstek. In the foreground is the monument of St. Wenceslas. On the right side there is the house no. 812 in Nové Město.]

Catalogues and databases

- Herczeg 1916
Herczeg, Ferenc: *Isten kardja – Hősök emléke. 80 vázlatrajz elesett hőseink emlékének művészi megörökítésére.* A Magyar Építőművészek Szövetségének kiadása. [The Sword of God – Heroes' memory. 80 plans for immortalizing our fallen heroes in art]. Budapest: Singer és Wolfner, 1916. [The Sword of God – Heroes' memory. 80 plans for immortalizing our fallen heroes in art]
- Hornyánszky 1916
Hornyánszky, Viktor. *Szabadon álló hadiemlékek, katonasírok, emléktáblák és emléklapok. 1. Sorozat.* Kiadja a Hősök Emlékét Megörökítő Országos Bizottság. Budapest: Hornyánszky Ny., 1916. [War memorials, military graves, memorial table and plaques.]
- Ministry of Defence. Czech Republic. War grave register.
Ministry of Defence. Czech Republic. War grave register. Online: <http://evidencevh.army.cz/Evidence/hledani-hrobu-v-cr>. Downloaded: 01.06.2016. 15.38.
- Somfay 2011- 2016.
Somfay 2011- 2016. Hősi Emlék. Az I. világháború magyar vonatkozású köztéri, valamint közösségi hősi emlékeinek adatbázisa. Online: <http://hosiemlek.kozterkep.hu/> Downloaded: 01.06.2016. 20.14. [*Heroes' Memorial. Hungarian First World War memorials in public spaces and communities.*]

Speeches, forewords and other analysed texts

- Bethlen in Liber 1934
Bethlen István avatóbeszéde a Nemzeti Hősök Országos Emlékkövénel. In: Liber, Endre. *Budapest szobrai és emléktáblái.* Statisztikai Közlemények, Budapest, 1934,362-363. [István Bethlen's inauguration speech at the Heroes' Memorial Stone]
- Herczeg 1916
Herczeg, Ferenc. Prologue. In: Herczeg Ferenc (ed.). *Isten kardja - Hősök emléke,* Budapest: Singer és Wolfner. 1916, 4-5.
- Horthy I. in Szakonyi et al. 1936
Horthy István. *Előszó.* In: Ajtay, Endre, and Lajos Szakonyi. *A magyar huszár; a magyar lovaskatona ezer évének története. Vitéz József kir. herceg, tábornagy arcképével, nagybányai vitéz Horthy István ny. all. lovassági tábornok előszavával.* Budapest: Reé László, 1936, Foreword [Előszó] without page number.
- Horthy in Liber 1934
Horthy Miklós avatóbeszéde a Nemzeti Hősök Országos Emlékkövénel. (részlet) In: Liber, Endre.

- Budapest szobrai és emléktáblái.* Statisztikai Közlemények, Budapest, 1934, 364. [Miklós Horthy's inauguration speech at the Heroes Memorial Stone].
- Liber [1932] in Liber 1934
Endre Liber avatóbeszéde a Przemysl emlékműnél. In: Liber, Endre. *Budapest szobrai és emléktáblái.* Statisztikai Közlemények, Budapest, 1934, 420-421. [Endre Liber's inauguration speech at the Przemysl memorial.]
- Liber in Liber 1934
Endre Liber avatóbeszéde a 32-es gyalogezred emlékművénél. In: Liber, Endre. *Budapest szobrai és emléktáblái.* Statisztikai Közlemények, Budapest, 1934, 431-432. [Endre Liber's inauguration speech at the 32th infantry regiment memorial.]
- Sipőcz in Liber 1943
Sipőcz Jenő avatóbeszéde a Nemzeti Hősök Országos Emlékkövénél. (részlet) In: Liber, Endre. *Budapest szobrai és emléktáblái.* Statisztikai Közlemények, Budapest, 1934, 364. [Jenő Sipőcz's inauguration speech at the Heroes's Memorial Stone]
- Spiegel 1916
Spiegel Frigyes. Prologue of the Association of the Hungarian Architects. In: Herczeg Ferenc (ed.). *Isten kardja - Hősök emléke,* Budapest: Singer és Wolfner. 1916, 6-9.
- Szakonyi et al. 1936
Bevezetés. In: Ajtay, Endre, and Lajos Szakonyi. *A magyar huszár; a magyar lovaskatona ezer évének története. Vitéz József kir. herceg, tábornagy arcképével, nagybányai vitéz Hortby István ny. all. lovassági tábornok előszavával.* Budapest: Reé László, 1936, Bevezetés. Without page number. [Introduction to the Hungarian Hussar].
- Zsuffa 1935.
Zsuffa Sándor. *A huszár szó és a magyar huszárság eredete: hajdani hadszervezeti rendszerünk stb. megvilágításában.* Budapest: Madách Könyvkiadó, 1935. [The word 'hussar' and the origins of the Hungarian hussar corps]
- Narrative sources*
- Anonymus 2001
Anonymus. *A magyarok cselekedetei.* László Veszprémy (ed). Budapest: Osiris K, 2001, 7-81. [Gesta Hungarorum]
- Jordanes 2013
Jordanes 2013. *The Gothic History of Jordanes in English Version.* London: Forgotten Books.
- Kálti 1959
Geréb, László (ed.). *Kálti Márk krónikája a magyarok tetteiről.* Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1959. [Gesta Hungarorum]
- Érszegi 2004
Érszegi, Géza (ed). *Szentek a magyar középkorból. I, Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek.* Budapest: Osiris K., 2004. [Legends from the period of the

- Kézai 2001 Árpád-dynasty.]
 Kézai Simon. *A magyarok cselekedetei*. László Veszprémy (ed). Budapest: Osiris K, 2001, 87-163.

Visual sources from archive periodic

- Képes Pesti Hírlap 54. no. 99. *The memorial of the 32th infantry regiment*. Képes (1934).
 Képes Pesti Hírlap: a Pesti hírlap napi melléklete. 54. no. 99. (1934).
- Képzőművészet 1931. *Zala György: Az egyetemi ifjak hősi emléke*.
 Képzőművészet, 1931, 78. [György Zala: The memorial of the young heroes of the university]
- Magyarország képes melléklet 1930. 45. *A világháborúban elesett egyetemi hallgatók hősi emlékművét vasárnap leplezték le*.
 Magyarország képes melléklet. 1930. no. 45., 4. [The Memorial of the university students died in the Great War was unveiled.]

Literature

- Arany 1982 Arany, János. *Csaba-trilógia*. Budapest: Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1982. [Csaba-trilogy]
- Němcová 1843 Němcová, Božena. *Ženám českým*. 1843. Online: <http://www.muzeumbn.cz/zenam-ceskym/>. Downloaded 31.06.2016. 16:58.
- Němcová 1955. Němcová, Božena. *Babička*. František Vahala, and Jan Petrmichel (eds). Praha: Státní nakl. krásné literatury, hudby a umění, 1955. [Grandma]
- Text of Manuscript of Zelená Hora *Text of Manuscript of Zelená Hora*. The text was translated by A. H. Wratislaw in 1851. Online: <http://www.rukopisy-rkz.cz/rkz/english/rzen.htm>. Downloaded 05. 05.2016. 20:47.
- Vörösmarty Mihály: Appeal Vörösmarty Mihály: *Appeal*. Translated by Theresa Pulszky and John Edward Taylor. In. *Hundred Hungarian Poems*. Thomas Kabdebó (ed). Manchester: Albion Editions, 1976.

Secondary sources

- Abrams 2004
Abrams, Bradley F. *The Struggle for the Soul of the Nation: Czech Culture and the Rise of Communism*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004.
- Ághné Ring 1996
Ághné Ring Éva. *A cseh nemzeti ébredés kezdetei*. in: Diószegi, László (ed). *Magyarságkutatás 1995-96*. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 1996, 53-89.
- Ajtay - Bachó 1930
Ajtay, Endre, and László Bachó. *A Magyar kir. honvéd Ludovika Akadémia története: az Akadémia alapközetételének százéves évfordulója alkalmából ...* Budapest: Magyar Királyi Honvéd Ludovika Akadémia, 1930.
- Albert 2010
Albert Réka. *A nemzet tájképe. Történeti-antropológiai elemzés*. In: Albert Réka, Czoch Gábor, and Erdősi Péter (ed). *Nemzeti látószögek a 19. századi Magyarországon: 19. századi magyar nemzetépítő diskurzusok*. Budapest: Atelier, 2010.
- Anderson 2006 (1983)
Anderson, Benedict R. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London; New York: Verso, 2006.
- Archer 2009
Archer, Geoffrey. *The Glorious Dead: Figurative Sculpture of British First World War Memorials*. Norfolk: Frontier Publishing Ltd, 2009.
- Assmann, A. 2008a
Assmann, Aleida. *Canon and Archive*. In: Erll, Astrid, Ansgar Nünning, and Sara B. Young. *Cultural Memory Studies: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008, 97-108.
- Assmann, A. 2008b
Assmann, Aleida. 'Transformations between History and Memory'. *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 75, no. 1 (2008): 49–72.
- Audoin-Rouzeau - Becker 2006
Audoin-Rouzeau, Stéphane, Annette Becker, and Fisli Éva. *1914-1918, az újraírt háború*. Budapest: L'Harmattan : Atelier, 2006.
- Audoin-Rouzeau – Becker 2000.
Audoin-Rouzeau, Stéphane, and Annette Becker. *14-18, retrouver la guerre*. Paris: Gallimard, 2000.
- Audoin-Rouzeau 1995
L'Enfant de l'ennemi 1914-1918, Aubier, coll. « Historique », 1995, Paris.
- Audoin-Rouzeau 2001
Audoin-Rouzeau, Stéphane. *Cinq deuils de guerre: 1914-1918*. Paris: Éditions Noesis, 2001.
- B. Szabó 2010.
Szabó, János B. *A honfoglalóktól a huszárokig: a középkori magyar könnyűlovasságról*. Budapest: Argumentum K., 2010.

- Babbie 2012 Babbie, Earl R. *The Practice of Social Research, 13th Edition*. 13th edition. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth Publishing, 2012.
- Bálint 2002 Bálint Csanád 2002. 'A nagyszentmiklósi kincs'. *História*. 24. no. 3. (2002), 3-7. [The Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós].
- Bálint 2004 Bálint Csanád. *A nagyszentmiklósi kincs: régészeti tanulmányok*. Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2004. [The Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós].
- Balogh - Jakab 1986 Balogh, Sándor, and Sándor Jakab. *The History of Hungary after the Second World War, 1944-1980*. Budapest: Corvina : Kultura [distributor], 1986.
- Bartoš - Klassen 1986 Bartoš, František Michálek, and John M Klassen. *The Hussite Revolution, 1424-1437*. Boulder; New York: East European Monographs ; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1986.
- Bäuml–Birnbäum 1993 Bäuml, Franz H, and Marianna D Birnbäum. *Attila: The Man and His Image*. Budapest: Corvina, 1993.
- Becker - Bergounioux 2014 Becker, Annette, and Pierre Bergounioux. *Voir la Grande Guerre un autre récit: 1914-2014*. Paris: A. Colin, 2014.
- Becker 1988 Becker, Annette. *Les Monuments aux morts : patrimoine et mémoires de la grande guerre*. Paris:Ed. Errance, 1988.
- Becker 1988 Becker, Annette. *Les Monuments aux morts: patrimoine et mémoires de la grande guerre*. Paris: Ed. Errance, 1988.
- Becker 1994 Becker, Annette. *La guerre et la foi: de la mort à la mémoire 1914-1930*. Paris: Armand Colin, 1994.
- Bertényi 1996 Bertényi, Iván. *A magyar Szent Korona: Magyarország címere és zászlaja*. Budapest: Kossuth, 1996. [The Hungarian Holy Crown].
- Blénessy 1937 Blénessy, János. 'Milyen történelmi szerepet játszott Lehel vezér s hogyan keletkezett mondája?' *Jászberényi Jászmúzeum Évkönyve*. (1937.) 29.
- Borg 1991 Borg, Alan. *War Memorials: From Antiquity to the Present*. London: Leo Cooper, 1991.
- Boros 1997 Boros Géza. *Emlékművek '56-nak*. Budapest: 1956-os Intézet, 1997.
- Bouvier–Ajám 2000 Bouvier-Ajam, Maurice. *Attila, le fléau de Dieu*. Paris: Tallandier, 2000.
- Bozóky 2012 Bozóky, Edina. *Attila et les Huns vérités et légendes*. Paris: Perrin, 2012.
- Bozóky 2012/2013 Bozóky, Edina. 'Attila. L'homme et sa légende'. *Histoire et images médiévales*, 47. déc.-janv. (2012/2013), 40-46.

- Bradley 1984
Bradley, J. F. N. *Czech Nationalism in the Nineteenth Century*. East European Monographs, no. 157. Boulder [Colo.]: East European Monographs, 1984.
- Bradley 1991
Bradley, J. F. N. *The Czechoslovak Legion in Russia, 1914-1920*. Boulder; New York: East European Monographs; Distributed by Columbia University Press, 1991.
- Bullok 2009.
Bullock, David. *The Czech Legion, 1914-20*. Oxford; New York: Osprey Pub., 2009.
- Burke 2001
Burke, Peter. *Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Burrin 1992
Burrin, Philippe. Vichy et la République. In: Nora, Pierre (ed). *Les Lieux de mémoire . conflits et partages tome III vol. 1, tome III vol. 1.*, Paris: Gallimard, 1992, 321-345.
- Connelly 2002
Connelly, Mark. *The Great War, Memory and Ritual: Commemoration in the City and East London, 1916-1939*. Boydell & Brewer, 2002.
- Cornwall 2002
Cornwall, Mark. *Last Years of Austria-Hungary: A Multi-National Experiment in Early Twentieth-Century Europe*, 2nd ed. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002
- Cottrell 2005
Cottrell, Robert C. *The Czech Republic: The Velvet Revolution*. Philadelphia: Chelsea House, 2005.
- Csajághy 2008
Csajághy, György. 'Kérdések "Lehel kürtjéről"'. *História* 30. No. 2 (2008), 65-67.
- Csalog 1955
Csalog, József. 'Hozzászólás László Gyula "Lehel kürtje" című tanulmányához.' *Jászberényi Jászmúzeum Évkönyve*, 1955.dec. 33.
- Csemegi 1956
Csemegi, János. 'A Lehel kürtje kérdéséhez.' *Archaeologiai Értesítő* 83.(1956), 88 - 91.
- Csernus-Lukács et al. 1999.
Csernus-Lukács Lajos, Triff Viktor, Zsigmond János, and Gerle János. *Budapesti temetők*. Budapest: Városháza, 1999. [Cemeteries in Budapest].
- de Certeau 1990
Certeau, Michel de, Luce Giard, and Pierre Mayol. *L'invention du quotidien: Arts de faire*. Gallimard, 1990.
- Demetz 1998
Demetz, Peter. *Prague in Black and Gold: Scenes from the Life of a European City*. First Edition edition. New York: Hill and Wang, 1998.
- Dienes 1972
Dienes, István. *A honfoglaló magyarok*. Budapest: Corvina Kiadó, 1972.
- Duncan 1990
Duncan, James S. *The City as Text: The Politics of Landscape Interpretation in the Kandyan*

- Kingdom*. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Eckhardt 1986 Eckhardt Sándor 1986 (1940). *Attila a mondában*. Németh, Gyula, and Magyar Szemle Társaság. *Attila és Hunjai*. Budapest: Magyar Szemle Társaság, 1940. [Attila in the legend]
- Erdélyi–Pataky 1986 Erdélyi István-Pataky László. *A nagyszentmiklósi "Attila-kincs" lelet körülményei. A Szegedi Móra Ferenc Múzeum évkönyve*. Szeged, 1968, 35–43. [The circumstances of the "Attila-Treasure" finding of Nagyszentmiklós. The Annual of the Ferenc Móra Museum of Szeged].
- Eriksonas 2004 Eriksonas, Linas. *National Heroes and National Identities: Scotland, Norway, and Lithuania*. Peter Lang, 2004.
- Evans - Lunn 1997 Evans, Martin, and Kenneth Lunn. *War and Memory in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford, Oxfordshire; New York: Berg, 1997.
- Ferguson 1959 Ferguson, George Wells. *Signs & Symbols in Christian Art*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.
- Fiala – Heyduk 2009 Fiala, Miloš, and Miloš Heyduk. *Václavské náměstí v proměnách času*. Česká Kamenice: PolArt, 2009.
- Fodor 2010 Fodor, István. *A Turul* In: Lőrinc, László. *Egyezzzünk ki a múlttal!: műhelybeszélgetések történelmi mítoszainkról, tévhiteinkről*. Budapest: Történelemtanárok Egylete, 2010, 177. [The Turul]
- Fussell 1975 Fussell, Paul. *The Great War and Modern Memory*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Galandauer 2014 Galandauer, Jan. *Chrám Bez Boha Nad Prahou: Památník Na Vítkově*. Vyd. 1. Krok, sv. 8. Praha: Havran, 2014. [Church without a god above Prague: memorial on the Vítkov Hill].
- Gerő 1990 Gerő, András. *Heroes' Square Budapest: Hungary's History in Stone and Bronze*. Budapest: Corvina, 1990.
- Györffy 1983 Györffy, György. *István király és műve*. Budapest: Gondolat, 1983. [King Stephan and his work]
- György 2007 György, Péter. *A hely szelleme*. Budapest: Magvető, 2007. [The sense of the place]
- Halmágyi 2007 Halmágyi, Miklós. 'A magyarok nyilaitól ... Egy kósza idézet nyomában.' *AETAS* 22. No. 3. (2007), 142-147. ['From the arrow of the Magyars...' In quest of a citation.]
- Hampel 1884 Hampel József. 'A nagy-szent-miklósi kincs'.

- Archeológiai Értesítő. 18. (1884),1—117. [The treasure of Nagyszentmiklós].
- Hankiss 1985 Hankiss Elemér. *Nemzetvallás. Immanens és transzcendens vallások.* In: Kovács, Ákos (ed.). *Monumentumok az első háborúból: a Múcsarnok és a Népművelési Intézet közös kiállítása.* Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1985. 36-47. [The civil-religion. Immanent and transcendent religions]
- Hassett 1911 Hassett, Maurice. 'Palm in Christian Symbolism.' *The Catholic Encyclopedia.* Vol. 11. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911. 2 Apr. 2016 <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11432a.htm>>
- Hobsbawm 1992 Hobsbawm, Eric J. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780: Programme, Myth, Reality.* Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Hojda - Pokorný 1996 Hojda, Zdeněk, and Jiří Pokorný. *Pomníky a zapomínky.* Paseka, 1996. [Memory and forgetting]
- Horch 1993 Hroch, Miroslav. 'From National Movement to the Fullyformed Nation: the nation-building process in Europe'. *New Left Review*, 198. March-April, (1993), 3-20.
- Horváth 2005 Horváth, K. Zsolt. 'Harc a szocializmusért szimbolikus mezőben'. *Századvég.* 10. no. 35. (2005), 3-30. [Fight for the socialism in a symbolical field]
- Hroch – Malčecová 1999 Miroslav Hroch and Jitka Malečková. 'The Construction of Czech National History', *Historiein* 1, n. 0. (1998), 103-112.
- Hroch 2004 Hroch, Miroslav. 'From ethnic group toward the modern nation: the Czech case.' *Nations and Nationalism.* 10. no. 1-2, (2004), 95–107.
- Hrušková 2005 Hrušková, Marie. *Kult stromů v zemích Koruny české.* Praha: Abonent ND, 2005. [Cult of trees in the Czech lands]
- Huszár 1979 Huszár, Lajos. *Münzkatalog Ungarn: von 1000 bis Heute.* München: Battenberg, 1979.
- Jakusch 2015 Jakusch, Gabriella. 'Hősök emlékezete'. *A hadtörténeti múzeum értesítője.* 15. (2015), 135-151. [The commemoration of heroes]
- Jordanova 2012 Jordanova, L. J. *The Look of the Past: Visual and Material Evidence in Historical Practice,* 2012.
- Juhász 2005 Juhász, Ilona. 'Fába róva, földbe ütve ...': *a kopjafák/emelékoszlopok mint a szimbolikus térfoglalás eszközei a szlovákiai magyaroknál.* Dunajská Streda: Lilium Aurum, 2005. [The

- kopjafa as the symbolic occupation of territory among the Hungarian in Slovakia.]
- Kantorowicz 1997 Kantorowicz, Ernst Hartwig. *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*. Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Kidd – Murdoch 2004 Kidd, William, and Brian Murdoch, eds. *Memory and Memorials: The Commemorative Century*. Aldershot, Hants; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004.
- Kincses Nagy 1991 Kincses Nagy Éva. *A turáni gondolat*. In: Kincses Nagy, Éva, and Károly Aszalós. *Őstörténet és nemzettudat, 1919-1931*. Szeged: József Attila Tudományegyetem, Magyar Őstörténeti Kutatócsoport, 1991, 44-49. [The Turanian idea]
- King 1998 King, Alex. *Memorials of the Great War in Britain: The Symbolism and Politics of Remembrance*. Oxford; New York: Berg, 1998.
- Kocsis 2014 Kocsis, Andrea. A hiány emléke – az emlék hiánya. A rákoskeresztúri hősi temető és emlékmű nyomában. Master's thesis. Eötvös Loránd University. Manuscript. 2014. [Absence of remembrance – remembrance of absence. In quest of the First World War Memorial and Cemetery of Rákoskeresztúr]
- Kocsis 2016 Kocsis, Andrea. *Constructing a National Symbol? The Sword of God*. In: Ira, Jaroslav, Jan de Jong and Imre Tarafás (ed.). *Identity, Nation, City: Perspectives from the TEMA network*. Budapest: Atelier. 2015, 117-136.
- Kohout 1951 Kohout, V. 1951. *Neznámý Československý voják*. In: *Národní Památník Na Hoře Vítkově*. 1. vyd. Vlastivědná knihovna, sv. 1. Praha: Osvěta, 1951. [Unknown Czech Warrior]
- Koselleck 2002 Koselleck, Reinhart. *War memorials: Identity Formations of the Survivors*. In: *Koselleck, Reinhart, and Todd Samuel Presner. The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002, 285- 326.
- Kovács 1985 Kovács Ákos 1985. „Emeljünk emlékszobrot hőseinknek”! Az első világháborús monumentumok eseménytörténetéhez. In: Kovács, Ákos (ed). *Monumentumok az első háborúból: a Múcsarnok és a Népművelési Intézet közös kiállítása*, Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1985, 126-35. [Erect memorials in honour of our heroes].
- Kovács 1987 Kovács László 1987. *Bécsi szablya*. In: Bökönyi Sándor, and Kristó Gyula. *A magyar föld és nép*

- korai történetének enciklopédiája: próbafüzet.* Budapest; Szeged: MTA Sokszo., 1987. [The sabre of Vienna].
- Kovalovszky 1985 Kovalovszky, Márta. *Kegyelet – szolgálatás.* In: Kovács, Ákos (ed). *Monumentumok az első háborúból: a Műcsarnok és a Népművelési Intézet közös kiállítása,* Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1985, 48-54. [Piety – service].
- Körmendi 2011 Körmendi, Tamás. 'A magyar királyok kettőskeresztes címerének kialakulása.' *Turul* 84. no. 3. (2011), 73-83.
- Kumorovitz 1934 Kumorovitz Lajos Bernát. *A magyar címer hármashalma.* Budapest, 1934. [The triple-mound of the Hungarian hatchment].
- Kumorovitz 1965 Kumorovitz, Lajos Bernát: 'A magyar közép- és nagycímer kialakulása'. *Levéltári közlemények* 36. no. 2. (1965), 209–234. [The formation of the Hungarian middle and great coat of arms].
- László 1967 László, Gyula. *Hunor és Magyar nyomában.* Budapest: Gondolat, 1967. [In quest of Hunor and Magor]
- Le Naour 2002 Le Naour, Jean-Yves. *Le soldat inconnu vivant.* Paris: Hachette Littératures, 2002.
- Liber 1934 Liber, Endre. *Budapest szobrai és emléktáblái.* Statisztikai Közlemények, Budapest, 1934. [The sculptures and memorial tables of Budapest].
- Lynch 1960. Lynch, Kevin. *The Image of the City.* MIT Press, 1960.
- Makkay 1995 Makkay, János, and Livia Bende. *Attila kardja, Árpád kardja: irániak, szarmaták, alánok, jászok.* Szeged: Csongrád Megyei Múzeumok Igazgatósága, 1995. [Attila's sword, Árpád's sword]
- Malečkova 1996 Malečkova, Jitka. Women in Perceptions of Uneven Development, Hroch, Miroslav, Luďa Klusáková, Univerzita Karlova, and Ústav světových dějin, eds. *Criteria and Indicators of Backwardness: Essays on Uneven Development in European History.* Prague: Variant Editors for Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 1996. 143-156.
- Malečkova 2000 Malečkova, Jitka. *Nationalizing Women and Engendering the Nation: The Czech National Movement.* In: Blom, Ida, Karen Hagemann, and Catherine Hall (eds.) *Gendered Nations: Nationalisms and Gender Order in the Long Nineteenth Century.* First Edition edition. Oxford: Bloomsbury Academic, 2000, 293-310.
- Malý 2012a Malý, Ivan. *Vítkov. Místo národní paměti,* in

- Galandauer, Jan, Ivan Malý, and Oldřich Kortus. *Národní památník na Vítkově*. Vyd. 1. Praha: Národní muzeum, 2012, 47-66. [Vítkov. Place of national memory]
- Malý 2012b Malý, Ivan 'Památník Vítkov. Místo národní (ne)paměti'. *Tvar* no.12 (2012), 12. [Vítkov memorial. Place of national non-memory]
- Mašín- Honty 1981 Mašín, Jiří, Jan Štursa, and Tibor Honty. *Jan Štursa, 1880-1925: geneze díla*. Praha: Odeon, 1981.
- McIntyre 1990 McIntyre, Colin. *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial*. London: Hale, 1990.
- Michálková -Michálek 2008 Michálková, Irena, and Ladislav Michálek. *Olšany Hrdinské*. Praha: L. Michálek, 2008. [The heroic *Olšany*]
- Molnár 1932 Molnár, Dezső. *Limanova magyar győzelem*. Budapest, 1932. [The victory of Limanova]
- Monnet 1993 Monnet, Jérôme. *La ville et son double : Images et usages du centre, la parabole de Mexico*. Nathan. Paris: Nathan Université, 1993.
- Moriarty 1991 Moriarty, Catherine. 'Christian Iconography and First World War Memorials', *Imperial War Museum Review*, 6 (1991), 69–74;
- Moriarty 1995 Moriarty, Catherine. 'The Absent Dead and Figurative First World War Memorials', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 39 (1995). 7-40.
- Nagy 1985 Nagy, Ildikó. *Első világháborús emlékművek*. In: Kovács, Ákos (ed). *Monumentumok az első háborúból: a Műcsarnok és a Népművelési Intézet közös kiállítása*, Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1985, 74–81. [First World War memorials].
- Négyesi 2003 Négyesi, Lajos. 'Az augsburgi csata.' *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 116. No. 1 (2003.), 2003, 206-230.
- Nora 1984. Nora, Pierre. *Entre mémoire et histoire, la problématique des lieux*. In Nora, Pierre (ed.), *Les lieux de mémoire, I. La République*, Paris: Gallimard, 1984, pp. XVI-XLII.
- Orzoff 2009 Orzoff, Andrea. *Battle for the Castle : The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe, 1914-1948: The Myth of Czechoslovakia in Europe, 1914-1948*. Oxford University Press, 2009.
- Paces 2001 Paces, Cynthia. *Religious Heroes for a Secular State: Commemorating Jan Hus and Saint Wenceslas in 1920s Czechoslovakia*. In: Bucur, Maria, and Nancy Meriwether Wingfield. *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe*,

- 1848 to the Present. Purdue University Press, 2001, 209 -236.
- Paces 2009 Paces, Cynthia. *Prague Panoramas: National Memory and Sacred Space in the Twentieth Century*. 1 edition. Pittsburgh, Pa: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009
- Paces-Wingfield 2005 Paces, Cynthia and Nancy Meriwether Wingfield *The Sacred and the Profane: Religion and Nationalism in the Bohemian Crownlands, 1880-1920*. In: Judson, Pieter M, and Marsha L Rozenblit (eds). *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2005, 107-125.
- Paikert 1922 Paikert, Alajos. *A turáni eszme*. Budapest: Turáni társaság kiadványa, 1922. [The Turanian idea].
- Paikert 1937 Paikert, Alajos: *Turáni múlt, turáni jövő* Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda. 1937. [Turanian past, Turanian future].
- Pajcsics 1993 Pajcsics, József. 'Nagy Imre és mártírtársai sírhelyének felkutatása'. *Rendészeti Szemle*. 31. no. 10. (1993), 89-106. [Finding Imre Nagy's grave.].
- Pál et al. 1986 Pál, József, Sándor Albert, Katalin Kürtösi, and Brigitta Lazur. *Az ikonológiai elmélete*. Szeged: JATE Összehasonlító Irodalomtudományi Tanszék, 1986. [The theory of iconology]
- Pálffy et al 2009 Pálffy, Géza, Thomas J DeKornfeld, and Helen D DeKornfeld. *The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg Monarchy in the Sixteenth Century*, Boulder, Colorado: Social Science Monographs, 2009.
- Panofsky 1984 Panofsky, Erwin. *A jelentés a vizuális művészetekben: tanulmányok*. Budapest: Gondolat, 1984. [The meaning in the visual arts]
- Petitova 1995 Petitova, Anna. *Les Préoccupations identitaires en Tchéco-Slovaquie et l'évolution des critères d'auto- identification*. In: Maslowski, Michel (ed). *Identite(s) de l'Europe centrale*. Paris: Institut d'études slaves, 1995, 43-49.
- Pótó 2003 Pótó, János. *Az emlékeztetés helyei: emlékművek és politika*. Budapest: Osiris K., 2003.
- Prohászka – Ravasz 2007 Prohászka, László and Ravasz, István. *Újjászületett hagyomány – emlékezés a Przemysl-szobornál*. In: Ravasz, István. *Emlékek a Hadak útja mentén: avagy hadtörténelem, kegyelet és társadalom*. Budapest: Hadtörténelmi Intézet és Múzeum, 2007, 72-75.
- Prohászka 2007 Prohászka, László. *A Ludovika Akadémia*

- emlékművei.* In: Ravasz, István (ed). *Emlékek a Hadak útja mentén: avagy hadtörténelem, kegyelet és társadalom.* Budapest: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2007, 75-78.
- Prost -Winter 2004 Prost, Antoine, and Jay Winter. *Penser la Grande Guerre: Un essai d'historiographie.* Paris: Seuil, 2004.
- Prost 1977 Prost, Antoine. *Les Anciens combattants, 1914-1939.* Paris: Gallimard/Julliard, 1977.
- Prost 1984 Prost, Antoine. *Les monuments aux morts: Culte républicain ? Culte civique? Culte patriotique?,* In. Nora, Pierre (ed.): *Les lieux de mémoire I- La République.* Paris: Gallimard, 1984, 195-225.
- Rajna 1989 Rajna, György, and Kornél Léczfalvi. *Budapest köztéri szobrainak katalógusa.* Budapest: Budapesti Városszépítő Egyesület, 1989. . [The catalogue of the public sculptures of Budapest]
- Rédey 2007 Rédey Tamás: Huszáremlékmű-sorsok. In Ravasz István (ed). *Emlékek a Hadak útja mentén: avagy hadtörténelem, kegyelet és hagyományörzés. 2. [köt.]. Budapest: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2007.* 79- 81.
- Révész – Wolf 2013 Révész, László, and Mária Wolf. *A honfoglalás kor kutatásának legújabb eredményei tanulmányok Kovács László 70. születésnapjára.* Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem Régészeti Tansz., 2013.
- Romsics 1982 Romsics, Ignác. *Ellenforradalom és konszolidáció: a Horthy-rendszer első tíz éve.* Budapest: Gondolat, 1982.
- Romsics 2005 Romsics Ignác. *Bethlen István: politikai életrajz.* Budapest: Osiris K., 2005. [István Bethlen: political biography]
- Ságvári 2005 Ságvári György. Tárgyasult emlékezet. Emlékművek, múzeumok a Nagy Háborúról. *Hadtörténeti Közlemények.* 118. no. 1-2. (2005), 83-120.
- Sallay 2007 Sallay, Gergely Pál. *A Hadimúzeum és a Helyőrségi templom I. világháborús emléktáblái* In: Ravasz, István. *Emlékek a Hadak útja mentén: avagy hadtörténelem, kegyelet és társadalom.* Budapest: Hadtörténeti Intézet és Múzeum, 2007, 23-26.
- Saunier 1993 Saunier, Pierre Yves. 'Haut-Lieu et Lieu Haut: La Construction Du Sens Des Lieux. Lyon et Fourvière Au XIXe Siècle'. *Revue D'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine (1954-)* 40, no. 2 (1993): 202–27.
- Saxonberg 2001 Saxonberg, Steven. *The Fall: A Comparative*

- Study of the End of Communism in Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Hungary, and Poland.* Amsterdam: Harwood Academic, 2001.
- Schama 1995 Schama, Simon. *Landscape and Memory.* Vintage Books, 1995.
- Seton-Watson 1945 Seton-Watson, R. W. *25 Years of Czechoslovakia.* London: New Europe Pub. Co., 1945.
- Sinkó 1983 Sinkó, Katalin. 'A nemzeti emlékmű és nemzeti tudat változásai.' *Művészettörténelmi értesítő.* 32. no. 4. (1983), 185-201. [The national memorial and the changes of the concept of nation]
- Sinkó 1985 Sinkó, Katalin. *A nemzeti emlékmű és a nemzeti tudat változásai.* In: Kovács, Ákos (ed). *Monumentumok az első háborúból: a Műcsarnok és a Népművelési Intézet közös kiállítása,* Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1985, 5- 25. [The national memorial and the changes of the concept of nation]
- Sinkó 1992 Sinkó Katalin. *A politika rítusai: emlékműállítás, szobordöntés.* In: György, Péter, and Hedvig Turai. *A Művészet katonái: sztálinizmus és kultúra.* Budapest: Corvina, 1992, 67–79. [The rites of politics].
- Sinkó 1996 Sinkó Katalin. A megsértett Hungária In. Hofer, Tamás (ed.). *Magyarok kelet és nyugat közt: a nemzettudat változó jelképei: tanulmányok.* Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 1996, 268-282. [Tortured Hungaria]
- Sinkó 2000 *A Mohácsnál elesett II. Lajos testének feltalálása 600 – 602.* In. Mikó, Árpád (ed). *Történelem - Kép: szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon; kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2000. március 17 - szeptember 24.* Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000. [The finding of the body of Lajos II fallen in the Battle of Mohács]
- Šmahel 2011. František Šmahel. 'Old Czechs were Hefty Heroes': *The Construction and Reconstruction of Czech National History in its Relationship to the 'Great' Medieval Past.* Evans, R. J. W., and Guy P. Marchal (eds.) *The Uses of the Middle Ages in Modern European States: History, Nationhood and the Search for Origins.* Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011, 245-258.
- Smith 1999 Smith, Anthony D. *National Identity.* University of Nevada Press, 1991.
- Somfay 2012 Örs Somfay. *Hungarian First World War memorials in public spaces and communities.*

- Ph.D. Manuscript. Pázmány Péter Catholic University, 2012.
- Sørensen - Viejo-Rose 2015 Sørensen, Marie Louise Stig, and Dacia Viejo-Rose. *War and Cultural Heritage: Biographies of Place*, 2015.
- Sütő–Bali 2002 Sütő, Levente and Bali, János. *Sírjelből magyarságszimbólum. Kopjafa-revival Erdélyben a '80-as évek közepétől napjainkig*. In: Gergely, András (ed.). *A nemzet antropológiája. Hofer Tamás köszöntése*. Budapest: Új mandátum, 2002, 277–286. [From a grave marker to national symbol. The rebirth of kopjafa in Transylvania from the 80s to nowadays]
- Szabó 1985 Szabó, Miklós. A magyar történeti mitológia az első világháborús emlékműveken. In: Kovács, Ákos (ed). *Monumentumok az első háborúból: a Műcsarnok és a Népművelési Intézet közös kiállítása*, Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1985, 65–73. [The Hungarian historical mythology on the First World War memorials]
- Szabó 2009 Szabó András. *A maszk: Márton Ferenc : grafikus-, festő és szobrászművész : kismonográfia*. Csíkszereda: Tipographic, 2009. [The mask. Márton Ferenc].
- Szabóné Szabó 2000 Szabóné Szabó Andrea. A Magyar Honvédség arculati elemei. *Hadtudomány* 10. No. 3, (2000), 107-113. [The image of the Hungarian Army]
- Szalontay 2002 Szalontay, Judit and Horváth, L. Ödön. *'Patrona Hungariae': Mária-tisztelet a művészetben és a néphagyományban*. Csorna: Csornai Múzeumért Kulturális Alapítvány, 2002. [Patrona Hungariae]
- Szentesi 2000 Szentesi, Edit. *Birodalmi patriotizmus és a magyar történelem*. In In. Mikó, Árpád (ed). *Történelem - Kép: szemelvények múlt és művészet kapcsolatából Magyarországon ; kiállítás a Magyar Nemzeti Galériában, 2000. március 17 - szeptember 24*. Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, 2000, 73 -91.[The imperial patriotism and the Hungarian history]
- Szilárdfy 1996 Szilárdfy Zoltán: A kettős kereszt. Kultusz és szimbólum. In: Hofer, Tamás (ed.). *Magyarok kelet és nyugat közt: a nemzettudat változó jelképei: tanulmányok*. Budapest: Néprajzi Múzeum, 1996, 67-78. [The double cross. Cult and symbol.]
- Takács 2011. Takács, Imre. 'Címerek az Árpád-háziak pecsétjein.' *Turul* 84, no.3, (2011), 84-91. [Coats of arms on the stamps of the Árpád dynasty]

- Taylor 1988 Taylor, Alan John Percivale. *Az első világháború képes krónikája*. Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988.
- Tóth 1934 Tóth, Zoltán. 'A huszárok eredetéről.' *Hadtörténeti közlemények*. 35. no. 3-4., (1934), 129 -141.
- Újváry-Pál 1997. Újvári, Edit and József Pál. *Szimbólumtár: jelképek, motívumok, témák az egyetemes és a magyar kultúrából*. Budapest: Balassi, 1997. [The Database of symbols].
- Ungváry 2013 Ungváry, Krisztián. *A Horthy-rendszer mérlege: diszkrimináció, szociálpolitika és antiszemitizmus Magyarországon, 1919-1944*, 2013.
- Végh – Szebeni 2002 Végh, András and Szebeni, Andrea. 'A budavári volt helyőrségi templom'. *Budapest Régiségei*. 35. no. 2. (2002), 427-457.
- Vilain 1933 Vilain, Charles, and Gabriel Boissy. *Charles Vilain. Le Soldat inconnu, histoire et culte*. Paris: M. d'Hartoy, 1933.
- Voight 1985 Voight, Vilmos. *Közvetítő és átmenet = a turul*. In: Kovács, Ákos (ed). *Monumentumok az első háborúból: a Műcsarnok és a Népművelési Intézet közös kiállítása*, Budapest: Statisztikai Kiadó, 1985, 55–64. [Mediator and transition = the turul]
- Volkov 2014 Volkov, Evgenii Vladimirovich: *Czechoslovak Legions (Russia)*, In: Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer, and Bill Nasson (ed.): *1914-1918-online. International Encyclopedia of the First World War*. Issued by Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin 2014-10-08. DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.15463/ie1418.10013>.
Translated by: Goldberg, Gary.
- Walther 2000 Walther, Ingo F. *Picasso*. Taschen, 2000.
- Weed – Von Heyking 2010 Weed, Ronald L, and John von Heyking. *Civil Religion in Political Thought: Its Perennial Questions and Enduring Relevance in North America*. Catholic University of America Press, 2010.
- Wehner 1998 Wehner, Tibor. Budapesti Bory-monumentumok nyomában. *Árgus* 9. no. (1998), 84-92.
- Wehrlé 1994 Wehrlé, Frédéric. *Le divorce tchéco-slovaque vie et mort de la Tchécoslovaquie, 1918-1992*. Paris: Ed. l'Harmattan, 1994.
- Williams 1997 Williams, Kieran. *The Prague Spring and Its Aftermath: Czechoslovak Politics, 1968-1970*.

- Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Wilson 2012
Wilson, Jeffrey K. *The German Forest: Nature, Identity, and the Contestation of a National Symbol, 1871-1914*. Toronto; Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2012.
- Winter 1995
Winter, Jay. *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History*. Reissue edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Wittlich 2008
Wittlich, Petr, and Jan Štursa. *Jan Štursa*. Praha: Academia, 2008.
- Wytkovsky 2001
Witkovsky, Matthew S. 'Truly Blank: The Monument to National Liberation and Interwar Modernism in Prague'. *Umění* 49 (2001), 42–60.
- Zabecki 2014
Zabecki, David T. *Germany at War Bd 1-4: 400 Years of Military History*. Santa Barbara, California: ABC-Clio, 2014.
- Zachar 2000.
Zachar, József and Józsed Kelenik. *A Magyar huszár*. Budapest: Corvina, 2000. [The Hungarian hussar]
- Zeidler 2002
Zeidler, Miklós. *A magyar irredenta kultusz a két világháború között*. Budapest: Teleki László Alapítvány, 2002. [The irredenta cult in the interwar Hungary]
- Zeidler 2007
Zeidler, Miklós. *Ideas on territorial revision in Hungary*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Zsigmond 2001
Zsigmond János. *In memoriam Hősök temetője*. Budapest: Nemz. Kegyeleti Biz, 2001. [In memoriam Heroes' cemetery]