MIKLÓS RADNÓTI AND FRIEDRICH HÖLDERLIN AS READERS OF THE BOOK OF NAHUM

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When, late in 1936 or early in 1937, Miklós Radnóti was asked to furnish, for the then aborning biographical project *Az új Könyvek könyve* (The New Book of Books), an autobiographical statement on his most important readings, he wrote, in part: "Állandó, jobban mondva visszatérő olvasmányaim az utóbbi időben Károli Gáspár Ó- és Újtestamentuma..." ("Constant, that is to say recurrent, readings of mine, in more recent times, have been the Old and New Testaments of Gáspár Károli..."). [1] That these readings are not merely "more recent", but that they in fact also reach back to the years of Radnóti's adolescence, is documented by early poems; that his nascent readings in the Károli Bible included prophets, major and minor, is suggested by his early poem *Este, asszony, gyerekkel a hátán* ("Evening, Woman, Child on Her Back"), where, in line 3, the poet discribes himself as coming toward the city, "szegényen, mint régi próféták" ("poor, as the prophets of old"). [2] From the German poet Friedrich Hölderlin (1770–1843), whose work Radnóti translated and who influenced the Hungarian poet in significant ways, [3] we find, happily enough, a very specific statement in his early readings in the minor prophets of the Old Testament; presumably in the fall of 1792, Hölderlin writes to his friend at the Tübingen Stift, Christian Ludwig Neuffer:

> Ich las neulich im Propheten Nahum; der sagte von den Assyrischen Burgen, u. Vesten, sie seien, wie überreife Feigenbäume, so dass einem die Früchte ins Maul fallen, wenn man sie schüttle. Und ich war scherzhaft genug, es so ganz für mich auch auf mich anzuwenden. Meiner Treu! lieber Bruder! ich glaube, man dürfte nimmer viel schüttlen, so stände der junge Baum nakt da mit dürren Zweigen.
>
> (I read recently in the Book of Nahum; he said of the Assyrian towns and fortifications that they are like overripe fig trees, so that the fruit falls into one's mouth when one shakes them. And I was in enough of a jesting mood to take it as if meant for me and to apply it all to myself. Dear brother of my heart! I believe one should never shake too much, else the young tree would stand there naked, with dry branches.)[4]

That such a biblical paraphrase is applicable not only to the person but also to the poet and to his work, seems to urge itself from the outset. And when the poets are not one but two–Radnóti and Hölderlin–applicability looks ripe with promise from a comparative perspective as well. Readers of Radnóti's poetry will recall the importance that the Book of Nahum had for him especially at Bor, specifically for the writing of *Nyolcadik ecloga* ("Eighth Eclogue"). [5] We also conjure Hölderlin's last completed Pindaric hymn, "Mnemosyne", with its image of the fig tree at the opening of stanza 3: "Am Feigenbaum ist mein / Achilles

mir gestorben" ("It is at the fig tree / My Achilles died, depriving me").[6] In the work of two great modern European poets, Hölderlin and Radnóti, "Mnemosyne" and "Eighth Eclogue" represent points of supreme poetic fulfillment, as well as a point of affinity between the two. Below I hope to show that the latter is no accident, and that it is prepared on either side by a significant number of poems that concern themselves with prophecy and its fulfillment. Pointing to such fulfillment, poems display common interest in the three major terms of the prophecy in the verse from Nahum: the tree, the individual, and the city (or: community). Limited to a discussion of semantics and only occasionally pointing to matters of form, the paper considers conjunctions of images of the tree and the individual (part I) and of the tree and the community (part II) as significant preliminaries to the role played by tree, person, and city in late prophetic work by either poet (part III).

I. The Tree and the Individual

Relevance of poetry to prophecy and to the Book of Nahum is our theme: however indirectly, the pertinent image is assumed to contain, optimally, four ingredients: focus on the poetic "I"; an element of prophetic vision; ultimate physical or metaphysical concern; and metaphor or simile, preferably the former. Tree imagery in Miklós Radnóti's poetry is legion; tree–person metaphor occurs in one of his earliest collections, *Újmódi pásztorok éneke* (Song of Modern Shepherds).[7] The first truly complete tree–man metaphor, one that satisfies all four of the above requirements, comes in the closing poem of Randóti's 1935 collection *Újhold* (New Moon), *Kortárs útlevelére* ("Into a contemporary's Passport"). Its closing stanza reads:

> Gondold el! hogyha lázadsz, jövendő
> fiatal koroknak embere hirdet
> s pattogó hittel számot ad életedről;
> számot ad és fiának adja át
> emlékedet, hogy példakép, erős fa
> legyen, melyre rákúszhat a gyönge növendék!
> (Think it over! if you rebel, the man of those
> coming young ages publishes you abroad, and with
> crackling faith lays down accounting on your life;
> will make accounting, will hand on your memory
> to his son, so that he, as an example, may be a strong
> tree, up which the tender vine may climb!)[8]

It is a complex poem; understanding it requires some background in Radnóti's personal circumstances at the time he wrote it. Its dedicatory inscription to the Szeged Youth Arts College, the activist cultural group to which the poet and most of his close friends belonged at the University he attended[9]–and the date below the poem: 5 February 1934–tell us that these are still school days, although among the last; Radnóti was not to defend his doctoral thesis on the novelist Margit Kaffka (1880–1918) until May of that year.[10] For all that, it is practically a

valedictory address. Its double reference–to the society into which the poet was born and, within it, to the smaller society of his spiritual allies–underscores an imagistic nexus this paper leaves understood: that between the individual and the community. The rhetoric of the poem, which throughout employs the self-addressing second person singular,[11] levels severe judgment on the society of Radnóti's day, but it does this from the point of view of the thinking and aspiring individual, as much ashamed to belong to the larger community as he is proud to belong to, and indirectly to address, the Szeged group:

... sárként kell majd tapadnod orvul
lábat, ha rádlép, nyalogatni puhán
s mutatnod a hátad, hogy nyomát viseled
és hogy mily becses néked ez emlék!
medália hátadon s az asszonyod
ott a piacon, délidőn róla dicsekszik.

*

Ha ezt követed, élhetsz valahogy;
bólinthatsz meleg ételek fölött
és az esti csöndben leköpheted magad!

(...you must stick like mud, underhanded,
softly lick a foot, should it step on you,
and show your back: oh yes, you bear its mark,
and how prized a souvenir it is for you!
it's a medallion on your back, and your woman
out there at market brags about it at noon, she does.

*

If you follow this, you can live somehow;
you can go nodding over hot dishes,
and in the evening silence you can spit on yourself!)[12]

But there is an alternative–the poet can rebel:

Vagy föllázadsz, mindezt ha nem tudod
és híredet most itt nem hirdetheti
semmise akkor és legelső fürdőd is
hiába volt! Mert mocskol e kor. De
híred jövő, fiatal korokon
vonul át égi fényeknél fényesebben!
(Or rise up, if you can't bear any of this,
and nothing can then proclaim your fame
here, either; and then even your very first bath was
all in vain! for the age pollutes you. But your
fame proceeds through future, young ages,
brighter than all celestial lights!)[13]

This is a manifesto of a clean poetic existence; Dezső Baróti is right to point, as analogue, to the key line in Radnóti's poem *Járkálj csak, halálraítélt!* ("Walk On, Condemned!): "Ó, költő, tisztán élj te most" ("O poet, live a life of purity now"), although he might also have thought of drawing on key lines in such poems as *Montenegrói elégia* ("Montenegro Elegy") and the uncollected *Henri Barbusse meghalt* ("Henri Barbusse Is Dead").[14] But the point is made unforgettably, and

it is precisely here that the tree metaphor becomes productive. Strictly speaking, it does not offer the equation "tree equals poet"; rather, treelike qualities are perceived in a son of a father of a future age, a son whose treehood is nevertheless inspired by the example that the poet had set before him: the father in the poem's concluding stanza "will hand on your memory / to his son, so that he, may be a strong / tree, up which the tender vine may climb!" In this arboreal language the three-dot ellipsis is occupied by text claiming that the son too will do this in order to set an example to others. One additional, fascinating, feature of Radnóti's poem is its concluding word, "növendék," meaning at once "that which grows" (the vine) and "pupil". The translation is unable to catch this engaging pun, but it is of supreme importance for proper understanding of the poem's prophetic content. Just as the images of father and son, poet and son, past tree and future tree suggest and confirm the idea of futurity, so does the teacher–pupil topos do this, as suggested by the tree and the tender vine.

Already as a student, Radnóti is right–his prophecy is ultimately one of victory, even if it implies the death of the individual organism. A very similar theme is adumbrated by Hölderlin in his ode *Rousseau,* written at the end of 1799 and left a draft. The poet addresses the philosopher, dead for over two decades by the date of the poem. "Wie eng begränzt ist unsere Tageszeit" ("How circumscribed the time of our days on earth"), the poet muses in his opening line, and offers, in stanza 5, wisdom applicable to us all:

> ...der Baum entwächst
> Dem heimtalichen Boden, aber es sinken ihm
> Die liebenden, die jugendlichen
> Arme, und trauernd neigt er sein Haupt.
> (...the tree shoots up,
> Out of the soil of home, but they now droop,
> Those loving ones, of youthful vigor:
> His arms, and, mourning, he bows his head.)[15]

What is stressed is a physical, not a spiritual process. As far as Rousseau himself is concerned, the abundance of life lives in the tree that he was; eternal law, it is couched in the present tense: "...und gegenwärtig, / Wärmend und wirkend, die Frucht entquillt ihm. / / Du has gelebt!" ("... and, present, / Warming, doing its good work, the fruit springs from him. / / You have lived!")[16] The poet's celebration of Rousseau is a celebration of language. His ongoing life points beyond the universally valid tree metaphor; in his late Pindaric hymn *Der Rhein* ("The Rhine"), Hölderlin honors the French philosopher as a demigod of speech, whose proper metaphor is the river, whose very driving force is the flow of speech. As stanza 10 of "The Rhine" sings it, Rousseau is one to whom it was given:

> Zu reden so, dass er aus heiliger Fülle
> Wie der Weingott, thörig göttlich
> Und gesezlos sie die Sprache der Reinesten giebt
> Verständlich den Guten, ...
> (To speak such that out of holy abundance,
> Like the wine god, foolish, divine,
> And lawless, he gives it, language, to the purest,
> To the good, with understanding, ...)[17]

Language is the vehicle of prophecy; poetic metalanguage the means of clarifying its occasion. We must take a step back. When Hölderlin wrote his early elegy *Die Musse* ("Leisure"), it was late in the day for the War of the First Coalition (1793–1797); the presumable dating of the poem, late in 1797, suggests that it may have been written some time after the Treaty of Campo Formio, signed in October of that year. It seems fair to suggest that everyone was tired of war, and that the overall attitude that the poet takes in his poem is one of temporary withdrawal from the tumultuous events of his day, in order to contemplate them in a state of philosophic calm.[18] Out on the meadow, flower, foliage, fish, and birds meet him: "Sorglos schlummert die Brust und es ruhn die strengen Gedanken" ("Carefree, my heart is asleep, and at rest the severest of thoughts now") – this calm sentence forms the poem's opening line. Fish, birds, butterflies, bees keep the poet company, and with quiet logic it comes, the first tree image, which is at the same time a simile uniting tree and poet:

> ..., da wandl' ich
> Mitten in ihrer Lust; ich steh im friedlichen Felde
> Wie ein liebender Ulmbaum da, und wie Reben und Trauben
> Schlingen sich rund um mich die süssen Spiele des Lebens.
> (..., I wander
> Right in the midst of their joy; I stand in a peace-filled meadow
> Just like a love-filled elm tree, and like the vines and the clusters,
> Sweetly the playfulness of life comes winding around me.)[19]

This is valuable leisure, indeed; how does the poet use it? He puts it to almost unparalleled use, by sorting out philosophic thoughts on peace and war. His path leads him back to the busy lives of people. In the distance, in sunlight, he sees the city; majestically it rears, looking as if forged by a maker of armor against the power of the god of war and of men ("Gegen die Macht des Gewittergotts und der Menschen").[20] But soon, in moonlight, the visionary sees ruined cities, hit by the terrible god, "der geheime / Geist der Unruh, der in der Brust der Erd' und der Menschen / Zürnet und gährt" ("the secret / Spirit of restlessness, who in breasts of the earth and of humans / Rages and seethes").[21] This spirit, this god war, rips the cities apart like lambs, works like a volcano, uproots forests, wrecks ships at sea, is yet seen by the poet as a part of the eternal order of nature, erasing not a syllable from the tables of her laws. The poet sees himself as contemplating a spirit "der auch dein Sohn, o Natur, ist / Mit dem Geiste der Ruh' aus Einem Schoose geboren" ("who is also your son, o Nature, / Born of the selfsame womb with the Spirit of peace and of quiet").[22]

Much as this outlook may owe to attitudes toward peace and war entertained by the ancients,[23] it seems very difficult for us to accept today. Two possible means of rapprochement seem promising: to say that Hölderlin's feelings arose from his support for a particular war, a support shared by many of his contemporaries in hopes for a better, more democratic future for the Germany of Hölderlin's time, may be one way. The other is to suggest that this is the German poet's equivalent for the kind of unaccepting acceptance that Radnóti expresses in his *Töredék* ("Fragment"), written on 19 May 1944. Radnóti does

not accept the horrors of his age, less even what the age has made of his fellow humans. But neither does he blame specific individuals:

> Oly korban éltem én e földön,
> mikor az ember úgy elaljasult,
> hogy önként, kéjjel ölt, nemcsak parancsra,
> s míg balhitekben hitt s tajtékzott téveteg,
> befonták életét vad kényszerképzetek.
> (I lived on this earth in an age
> when man became so debased
> that he killed on his own, with lust, not just on orders,
> and while holding false beliefs and foaming raving, lost,
> wild obsessions braided, choked off his lot.)[24]

It is a dynamic picture and at the same time a static one; in line 5 of this stanza, there is just the suggestion of the tree, braided, choked by the vine of self-destructive delusions. The image leads us back to Hölderlin's poem, with which we are no more finished than Hölderlin himself is. For there is evidence of awareness on this poet's part that more needs to be said on these natural-political *dioskouroi,* Rest and Unrest; the poet's philosophic calm gives itself away at the poem's end:

> Leben! Leben der Welt! du liegst wie ein heiliger Wald da,
> Sprech ich dann, und es nehme die Axt, wer will dich zu ebnen,
> Glücklich wohn' ich in dir.
> (Life! o life of the world! like a hallowed old forest you lie there,
> I then speak; let him take up the axe, whoever would clear you,
> Happy, I dwell in your midst.)[25]

Are we hearing correctly? The resemblance of this passage to the tree motif at the end of *Első ecloga* ("First Eclogue") is almost unbelievable; it is almost as if Hölderlin had read Radnóti. But here is that beautifully courageous simile, which once again certifies the deeper kinship between these two moderns:

Pásztor:
Hát te hogy élsz? visszhang jöhet-é szavaidra e korban?

Költő:
Ágyudörej közt? Üszkösödő romok, árva faluk közt?
Írok azért, s úgy élek e kerge világ közepén, mint
ott az a tölgy él; tudja, kivágják, s rajta fehérlik
bár a kereszt, mely jelzi, hogy arra fog irtani holnap
már a favágó,–várja, de addig is új levelet hajt.

(*Shepherd:*
What about you? can *your* words find any echo in these times?

Poet:
Cannon rumbling? in ashen ruins, with villages orphaned?
Still, I write, and I live in the midst of this mad-dog world, as
lives that oak: it knows they'll be cutting it down; that white cross
on it signals: tomorrow the tree men will buzz-saw the region;
calmly it waits for that fate, yet it sprouts new leaves in the meantime.)[26]

We are in the presence of self-prophecy–what is foretold is the defeat of the individual organism, of the discrete *civitas* of body and liberty that each of us, in life, constitutes. Radnóti saw it coming ever since 20 July 1936, the day on which Radio Granada announced the outbreak of hostilities in Spain. On that day, Radnóti wrote his poem *Istenhegyi kert* ("Garden on Istenhegy"); its fourth stanza reads:

S fiatal férfi te! rád milyen halál vár?
bogárnyi zajjal száll golyó feléd,
vagy hangos bomba túr a földbe és
megtépett hússal hullsz majd szerteszét?
(And for you, young man! what kind of death?
Will a bullet come flying, with an insect sound,
or will a noisy bomb plow into earth,
so that, your flesh torn, you will fly about?)[27]

By now we know: Radnóti had his answer in less than eight years from the date of that poem. That a bullet did come flying, hardly with an "insect" sound, is irrelevant to the poetic formulation of the fulfillment of self-prophecy, which came in memorable parts, not all of them involving the image of the tree. We are here thinking, among Radnóti's repeated premonitions of his own early death throughout the last three collections,[28] of positive prophecies as well: of the promise that his work will survive, in such major lyric statements as *Nyugtalan órán* ("In a Restless Hour"):

...szétszór a szél és – mégis a sziklaszál
ha nem ma, – holnap visszadalolja majd,
mit néki mondok és megértik
nagyranövő fiak és leányok.
(...; the winds will scatter you. Yet that cliff...
will echo all–tomorrow, if not today–
I'm telling it, and sons and daughters
growing in stature will understand it.)[29]

and *Sem emlék, sem varázslat* ("Not Memory, Nor Magic"):

szivemben nincs harag már, bosszú nem érdekel,
a világ újra épül,–s bár tiltják énekem,
az új falak tövében felhangzik majd szavam; ...
(...I hold no grudge, no interest in revenge;
the world will be rebuilt–and though my work is banned,
you'll hear my word resound at the foot of each new wall; ...)[30]

All of these statements meaningfully lead to the tree metaphor of his *superma dies.* Tibor Melczer is right–the poem *Gyökér* ("Root") is allegory, an extended metaphor of the life of the tree, as well as of the life of man.[31] Man's uprooted condition, in death, is one of which Radnóti sang on the occasion of the death of his friend, the poet Mihály Babits (1883–1941); the poem *Csak csont és bőr és fájdalom* ("Only Skin and Bones and Pain") sings, in stanza 1:

S akár a megtépett, kidőlt fatörzs
évgyűrüit mutatja,
bevallja ő is gyötrött éveit.
(And just as the torn, uprooted tree
displays its annual rings,
so he too admits to his tormented years.)[32]

What is true of his friend, however, is not true of him. Unnoticed until now, an interesting feature of the poem "Root" tells us all–namely, the fact that all of the poem speaks of the rootedness of man, not merely the closing two stanzas. Moreover, that man is the poet himself. "Gyökér vagyok magam is most" ("I am now a root myself")–masterly metaphor-metonymy communicates the sense of rootedness, of the whole tree, of the whole man. And the end, the fulfillment of the self-prophecy in "First Eclogue", could not come with more force and compelling poetic truth:

Virág voltam, gyökér lettem,
súlyos, sötét föld felettem,
sorsom elvégeztetett,
fűrész sír fejem felett.
(Once a flower, I have turned root,
heavy, dark earth over hand and foot;
fate fulfilled, and all is said,
a saw now wails above my head.)[33]

II. The Tree and the Community

Prophecy, terribly fulfilled on the level of the individual consciousness, comes home to roost to the community with almost syllogistic logic. In the foregoing section we observed that, in the elegy "Leisure", at a crucial point, Hölderlin is by no means finished with his poem; that terribly triumphant image of the axe that may yet level his forest was yet to come. Now, as we return to "Leisure" and to the poems in its immediate vicinity, we note that, so far from being finished with the particular poetic utterance, what Hölderlin is really not finished with is his theme. "Leisure" turns out to be but a prolegomenon to an even more powerful, although shorter poem following on its hells–*Die Völker schwiegen, schlummerten...* ("Nations kept silent, slumbered..."). We remember, from the onset of line 29 of "Leisure", the wording "Geist der Unruh"; this formula is repeated verbatim at the end of line 4 of the present poem. Again, the spirit of unrest stirs–and brings us, from the poet as war correspondent, language that precisely mirrors that of verse 3 of chapter 12 of the Book of Nahum:

Der regte sich, wie Feuer, das im Herzen
Der Erde gährt, das wie den reifen Obstbaum
Die alten Städte schüttelt, das die Berge
Zerreisst, und die Eichen hinabschlingt und die Felsen.
(It stirred, as does the fire that seethes
In earth's heart, that shakes the old cities
Like the ripe fruit tree, that tears the mountains
Asunder, and hurls down the oaks and the cliffs.)[34]

Now the passage does not specify fig trees, but this omission alone creates no doubts in the mind of Friedrich Beissner, one of Hölderlin's distinguished modern editors, that the crucial passage from chapter 3 of Nahum is being alluded to.[35] This alone would already bring Hölderlin's poem close in spirit to "Eighth Eclogue". Beyond this perhaps logical point of affinity, the detailed imagery of destruction, both in "Leisure" (lines 30–34) and in "Nations kept silent, slumbered..." (lines 5–17), bring these two amazing poems by Hölderlin poetologically close to *Második ecloga* ("Second Eclogue"), *Harmadik ecloga* ("Third Eclogue"), as to "Eighth". Two wars or sets of wars move through the mature lives of these two poets. For Hölderlin, the French Revolution was as distant, and as instigative to poetic production, as was the Spanish Civil War for Radnóti; this is, of course, not to suggest that the two events compare, for the two poets, in moral import. But it is true that neither event touched these two writers physically. Nothing could be further from the facts when we consider the pertinence to Hölderlin's life of the Wars of the First and Second Coalitions, or the force with which the Second World War bore down on and determined Radnóti's career.[36] What seems amazing in either set of poems is that imagery so specifically involved in historic events is as rare, indeed as unlikely in the work of Radnóti as of Hölderlin as the naming of specific war criminals in the work of the former would be unthinkable.

A play-by-play account of horrors is one approach to poetry that is political and at the same time poetologically valid–glancing allusion, another. Radnóti was a master of the latter; indeed a complete inventory of poems that refer to events reported in the news without detailing them would be a long one. One such, short yet powerful poem is *Lapszéli jegyzet Habakuk prófétához* ("Marginal Note to the Prophet Habakuk"). Because of its importance, I would like to quote the text entire:

Városok
lángoltak,
robbantak
a faluk!
légy velem
szigoru
Habakuk!

Kihűlt már,
fekete
a parázs;
bennem még
lánggal ég
a tüzes
harapás!

Ételem,
italom
keserü.
Kormozz be
talpig te
fekete düh!

(Cities
stood in flames,
villages
erupted!
Be with me,
strict
Habakkuk!

Cold now,
black, the
cinders;
within me
the fiery
bite
still embers!

Bitter
my drink,
my food.
Black rage–
cover me
head-to-foot
with soot!)[37]

In Radnóti's oeuvre, specific concerns grow from the soil of recurrently documented general interest. Just as the few tree-person metaphors and similes stand out in the landscape of abundant tree imagery, so in a poetry replete with allusions to the realia of Christian religion–to Christ, Mary, John, the Innocents slain by Herod[38] three references to and treatments of Old Testament prophecy have commanding eminence: "Marginal Note to the Prophet Habakuk", the 19 May 1944 "Fragment", with its closing allusion to the prophet Isaiah, and "Eighth Eclogue", the record of the great imaginative encounter between Nahum of Elkosh and the poet. Reading "Marginal Note to the Prophet Habakuk", we again wish to consult our Bible; here is chapter 3, verse 17 of the Book of Habakuk, as Miklós Radnóti read it in the Károli Old Testament:

17. Mert a fügefa nem fog virágozni, a szőlőkben nem lészen gyümölcs, megcsal az olajfa termése, a szántóföldek sem teremnek eleséget, kivész a juh az akolból, és nem lesz ökör az istállóban.

In the King James Bible, this passage reads:

17. ...the fig tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vine; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls...

We are told the how of the prophecy of doom upon a people (see also Habakuk, chapter 1), but not the why. Radnóti wrote "Marginal Note" in 1937; the burning cities and the exploding villages portrayed in the opening four lines of the poem are those of Spain, attacked by the rightist rebel forces of Franco. A beautifully right correlate to the language of the biblical passage just quoted is offered by

lines 9–12 (stanza 3) of *Hispánia, Hispánia,* which Radnóti began during his second trip to Paris; the date below the poem is 6 August 1937:

> ...suhogó, feketeszárnyu háború,
> szomszédból szálló rémület!
> nem vetnek már, nem is aratnak
> és nincsen ott többé szüret.
>
> (O whirring-snapping, black-wingèd war,
> terror flying from a neighboring land!
> they don't sow any more, there's no more reaping,
> and the vintage is no longer held.)[39]

What we are not told about is the why. Surely liberty-loving Spain did not deserve the horrors visited upon it, as did Habakuk's people the descent of the Chaldaeans? The parallel is, of course, not valid; Radnóti is not dealing merely in the particulars of history. One way to deal with the twist of prophetic invocation here is to suggest that, as in Hölderlin's view of the fate to which man must submit, in Radnóti's complex of feelings too there is an element of philosophical acceptance. This, as we see in "Fragment", does not mitigate the indictment of man fallen low, nor does it lessen the poet's rage, as expressed in "Marginal Note".

We note that in this poem of rage, nowhere, except by implication, is there reference made to a tree. But does that matter? In its very absence, that image reminds us of the importance of attending, here as elsewhere, to the problem of form. In chapter 18 of my monograph, *The Poetry of Miklós Radnóti,* I point to the importance of perceiving that "Root" is one of the slender hymnic structures in Radnóti's work. It is a lean poem, a poem that is itself a root, a metaphor of its own meaning, reaching upward (plant life) and downward (the human subject).[40] Just so, no direct tree allusion is made in the Habakuk poem, but the poem itself is the tree, and not only the poem, but also the man of whom the poem is a portrait. What the poem is, in fact, is a mirror image of the man. Not the mirroring, the optical problem of left versus right, is important, but rather the totality of portraiture, the dialectic of up versus down. Head to foot, the poetic "I" wishes to be, and comes to be, covered with the soot of rage, a rage not helpless, one that expresses itself, unforgettably, and exerts its influence on all who know how to read poems. The poet's head, the crown of the tree, is there in the very speech act; the foot and the head are together realized as lexical presences in the poem's penultimate line. Rootedness is evident in the erect posture of the man become poem, in the unbent beauty of enraged and outraged living poeticity. The poem, and within it, the bond between tree and man, has become a living metaphor of its own meaning.

Tight metaphor the poem may offer, yet metaphor realized even thus far is not a sufficient translate of the poem's manifestly intended total meaning. For the poem as we have it thus far merely uses the poet within it as an instrument. Indeed the poetic persona constitutes a musical instrument, a high-strung monochord–let us say–on which the epic poet accompanies his dreadful tale. The ballad, the black narrative of those burned cities and exploded villages is the real

substance of the poem, the occasion for the poetic portrait's formal existence. And as the relation of the imploded, prominently unrehearsed, tale of the human community to the initial metaphor of tree and human construct silently becomes the poem's most compelling metaphor, the triune triangle of prophecy closes. The individual presence connects the poem's arboreal being with the community that is its acknowledged subject, and it does this no less convincingly in "Marginal Note on the Prophet Habakuk" than this has already happened in Hölderlin's two closely related poems "Leisure" and "Nations kept silent, slumbered...", as observed above.

Trees, real trees, a whole community of noble oaks are back at the center of attention in one of Hölderlin's mature poems on nature and human community, the Frankfurt hexameter poem *Die Eichbäume* ("The Oak Trees"). Written in late 1795 or early 1796, it is one of Hölderlin's earliest truly mature poems, and one in which he manages effectively to symbolize his liberation from the oppressive influence of Schiller.[41] This would be less worth stressing here, were it not for our theme of community, to which it bears the closest relevance. For it is precisely Schiller, toward whom Hölderlin maintained lifelong ambivalence, and the philosopher Fichte, whose lectures at Jena the poet attended in the fall of 1794, who form the historical background of this tellingly ambivalent poem. "The Oak Trees" is a perfectly foursquare performance: a poem written in dactylic hexameters (maximum number of syllables per line: seventeen), it is seventeen lines long. Let us see what its first eleven lines tell us:

Aus den Gärten komm' ich zu euch, ihr Söhne des Berges!
Aus den Gärten, da lebt die Natur geduldig und häuslich,
Pflegend und wieder gepflegt mit dem fleissigen Menschen zusammen.
Aber ihr, ihr Herrlichen! steht, wie ein Volk von Titanen
In der zahmeren Welt und gehört nur euch und dem Himmel,
Der euch nährt' und erzog und der Erde, die euch geboren.
Keiner von euch ist noch in die Schule der Menschen gegangen,
Und ihr drängt euch fröhlich und frei, aus der kräftigen Wurzel,
Unter einander herauf und ergreift, wie der Adler die Beute,
Mit gewaltigem Arme den Raum, und gegen die Wolken
Ist euch heiter und gross die sonnige Krone gerichtet.
(Out of the gardens I'm coming to you, you scions of mountains!
Out of the gardens–there, nature resides, with patience, domestic,
Caring and cared for in turn, with industrious humans, together.
You, though, o splendid ones! you stand like a nation of Titans
In a far tamer world, and belong to yourselves and to heaven,
who once nourished and reared you and, yes, to the earth who had borne you.
Not one among you has yet been a pupil where people attend school,
And you, happy and free, now press to the heights from the strong root,
Upward among yourselves, and you grasp, like the eagle its live prey,
Space with your powerful arms, and in the direction of clouds, your
sunfilled crowns point upward with joy, and an aura of greatness.)[42]

"The Oak Trees" is perhaps Hölderlin's first truly original poem; formally as well as thematically, it is a stunning conception. Unparalleled in Hölderlin's own work, it is comparable in Radnóti's oeuvre perhaps only with the late *Zsivajgó pálmafán* ("In a Clamorous Palm Tree"), to which we turn below. Hölderlin

encounters a community of trees–godlike, resembling Titans, they are sufficient unto themselves, and aspire to the divine. One of the key lines in the eleven-line section that we have just quoted is line 7: "Keiner von euch ist noch in die Schule der Menschen gegangen" ("Not one among you has yet been a pupil where people attend school")–this blessed condition of immunity from the folly of human *Wissenschaft* (here most fittingly rendered: philosophy) is what makes them so admirable to the poet who in his own turn, alas, has very much partaken of that bitter fruit. No major treatment of "The Oak Trees" that I have yet encountered takes note of the very interesting fact that in wording and tone line 7 strongly resembles the following passage from Hölderlin's novel *Hyperion, oder Der Eremit in Griechenland* (Hyperion, or, The Hermit in Greece):

> Ach! wär' ich nie in eure Schulen gegangen. Die Wissenschaft, der ich in den Schacht hinunter folgte, von der ich, jugendlich thöricht, die Bestätigung meiner reinen Freude erwartete, die hat mir alles verdorben.
>
> Ich bin bei euch so recht vernünftig geworden, habe gründlich mich unterscheiden gelernt von dem, was mich umgiebt, bin nun vereinzelt mit der schönen Welt, bin so ausgeworfern aus dem Garten der Natur...
>
> (Oh! had I never attended your schools. Philosophy, which I followed down into the mine shaft, from which, in youthful folly, I awaited the confirmation of my pure joy–for me, it has spoiled everything.
>
> I have become so thoroughly reason-bound among you, I have learned so fundamentally to mark myself off from what surrounds me, I am now in a state of loneliness in the midst of the beautiful world, am very much outcast from the garden of nature...)[43]

The point of line 7 of the poem, namely, that the poet regards *Wissenschaft* as the forbidden fruit from which he has now tasted, implies, amazingly enough, yet another tree metaphor, that of the Tree of Knowledge. But the author of "The Oak Trees" hopes to regain his former state of innocence. Notable is the text's double opener: "Out of the gardens" opens both lines 1 and 2, and the vision of heavenly self-sufficiency, titanic aspiration, and innocence that the poet encounters among the noble grove of oaks, more than rewards him. "Eine Welt ist jeder von euch" ("Each of you makes up a world"), the poet sings in line 12; is it any wonder that, given the right relaxation of social constraints, he would wish to dwell among the trees? He would not envy that forest, "Könnt ich die Knechtschaft nur erdulden" ("Could I but stand that bondage"); and yet, "Fesselte nur nicht mehr ans gesellige Leben das Herz mich, / Das von Liebe nicht lässt, wie gern würd' ich unter euch wohnen!" ("Were it not that I'm tied to my social life by a heart that / Will not abandon love, how gladly I'd come live among you!").[44] Only the poet's love for another human being redeems a society that, as the poem would have it, he would abandon at a moment's notice for the privilege of joining godlike beings.

Two societies are counterpoised in "The Oak Trees"; the poet sees himself as wishing although unable to choose between a community of humanly godlike presences, and one of humans with souls as wooden as are the bodies of the Titan-like oaks. Two communities, likewise, are envisioned by Radnóti in his late poem "In a Clamorous Palm Tree", which bears the date 5 April 1944:

Zsivajgó pálmafán
ülnék legszívesebben,
didergő földi testben
kuporgó égi lélek.

Tudós majmok körében
ülhetnék fenn a fán
és éles hangjuk fényes
záporként hullna rám;

tanulnám dallamuk
és végül zengenék...

(In a clamorous palm tree
I'd like to sit most of all,
in a shivering earthly body
a crouching skyborn soul.

Up in that tree I'd sit
with a circle of learned apes,
their cutting voices would fall on me
like brilliant rain.

I'd study their melodies
and would sing with the crew...)[45]

Hölderlin's ambition is to redeem himself of the error of having eaten of the Tree of Knowledge; Radnóti's, to sit in the Tree of Life. In marked contrast to Hölderlin's tree, however, Radnóti's is very much a tree of philosophic contemplation and calm. We must note that, in Hölderlin's symbolic constructs, reason-bound is not the same as reasonable; nor, in Radnóti's formulation, is being an ape the same as being apelike, not quite human. Prerationality, an issue in both poems, is in fact considered both by Radnóti and by Hölderlin to be a state superior to a state of humanity in which humans have abandoned their birthright to right thinking and wisdom. Sitting in his palm tree, the poet would have time to contemplate that very fundamental difference, in his historic situation, in an age whose inhumanity he would so powerfully limn in "Fragment". As he makes it so clear in the present poem:

...szégyelném magam
az emberfaj helyett;

a majmok értenének,
bennük még ép az elme,–...
(...I'd burn with shame
for all humanity;

the apes would understand me,
their minds are still in good health.— health...)[46]

And yet, from the point of view of prophecy, it is equally true that, in both visions and both poems, there are not two societies but rather only one. Neither

Hölderlin nor Radnóti ultimately prefer flora or fauna to people; what they envision is a human community in which people do not need to apologize for being human–in which they are nothing less than human. So too the posture of Rousseauistic withdrawal from civilization, the image that closes either poem, the craving to dwell among oak trees or apes, may well be understood, within either poem's prophetic perspective, as an act of return to a presumably better state of human sharing and understanding. So viewed, the two mythical mirrors these poets hold up to those around them also symbolize, to a significant extent, acts of reconciliation. The individual poetic consciousness ultimately makes its peace with the gray of everyday reality, to an extent even with the unspeakable. In the vision of either poet, there can be no life either without real trees or without the tree of mythical consciousness. And ultimately, real peace will come, as Radnóti formulates it in the poem that, in his 1938 collection *Meredek út* (Steep Road), just precedes "First Eclogue" *Himnusz a békéről* ("Peace: A Hymn"): "Mert egyszer béke lesz. / / Ó, tarts ki addig lélek védekezz!" ("...for we shall have peace in the end. / / Till then, spirit, don't cease–hold out, defend!").[47]

III. Late Prophecy at Nürtingen and at Bor

Our choice of two poems like "The Oak Trees" and "In a Clamorous Palm Tree" is governed not by insights on relative degree of maturity in either poet at the time of composition,[48] but rather by observations on personal circumstance. The two poems stand, in fact, at approximately homologous positions in the two oeuvres. Circumstance too helps determine what we are free to mean by asserting that both Radnóti and Hölderlin held out and defended their spiritual fortresses to the end. Although the German poet lived to be seventy-three years old, both men may be said to have died young. By young I mean, give or take six months, at thirty-six years of age. At a point in life when Radnóti is executed and buried in a mass grave, Hölderlin is forcibly delivered for psychiatric treatment at the Autenrieth Clinic in Tübingen. His life too appears to break in two; tradition has it that around September of 1806 he went insane.[49] Nearby Nürtingen is where Hölderlin's widowed mother lived; this is where the poet returned after his arrival, on foot, from France in June of 1802. Here, in a burst of late creativity, Hölderlin either drafted of completed a number of his Pindaric free-verse hymns, among them *Der Einzige* ("The Only One"), *Patmos, Andenken* ("Remembrance"), and "Mnemosyne". These approximately thirteen poems, along with their variant drafts, are generally accepted to constitute the body of the German poet's late visionary or prophetic poetry.[50] "Mnemosyne", discussed in this closing section, is the last of these, and a strange prophecy it is.

Radnóti's situation was, as we know, very different; for him, the last months of his creative life coincided with the last months of his physical existence. It is fair to assume, therefore, that the pressure of time bore down much harder on him than it did on Hölderlin. Mitigating this pressure, so to speak, are the now well-known facts that at Lager Heidenau and on the road, Radnóti was allowed to write; that while all his other books were impounded, he was left his Bible; and that with the help of the latter, he was enabled to compose prophetic poetry.

And for a poet in Radnóti's straits, prophecy's other hemisphere, memory, looms large indeed. What would the corpus of the Bor poetry have become, had he not been allowed even his Bible? Would we still have "Eighth Eclogue"? I would like to venture a reply in the affirmative. We must recall that at Lager Heidenau, during those half-hour cultural programs on Sunday afternoons, some of the men, Radnóti included, performed prodigious feats of piecing together poems and long passages of drama from memory.[51] The student of the writer in extremis will also do well to remember that neither Radnóti nor Hölderlin was, at the time considered, either a novice or unminful of where, as poets, they were trying to go. Both had university training or its equivalent, and to their late and latest poetry, which they knew constituted their last opportunity as artists, they took all the learning and talent they could marshal during those difficult final months. Their library resources resided within them.

"Eighth Eclogue" is a unique performance, in the stricter sense the only prophecy among the ten poems of the *Bori notesz* (Bor Notebook). Not that it does not contain elements of remembrance, and axiomatically so. It is based on surviving writings, by one of the authors of the Old Testament. As "Poet" himself observes, in line 9: "Ismerem ős dühödet, mert fennmaradott, amit írtál" ("I know your ancient rage, for your words have survived, and we have them"). But the poems surrounding "Eighth Eclogue" concentrate far more intensively on the past than they do on the future. *À la recherche* , the poem which in the *Bor Notebook* immediately precedes "Eighth Eclogue", seems to be a trend-setter in this respect. It is also true that despite the poet's sense of a demolished past, to the point of his intuition that the Tree of Life is no more (see only the image of the broken plum tree in line 9 of *Erőltetett menet ["Forced March"]),* several major Bor poems contain a glimpse, if not of prophecy, then at least of prediction, a moment's projection into a point of future and hope.[52] Among its neighbors, "Eighth Eclogue" stands out as a poetic design in reverse, in its concentration on prophecy in the strict biblical sense, in its poetic delivery on the promise of the new kingdom of the spirit that is to rise upon the ruins of the old order. Promise and dynamic evangelism are inseparable in this vision; the community of believers is to take to the road, to proclaim abroad that the new order is at hand. In the following lines, "Prophet" extends his invitation to "Poet":

> Próféták s költők dühe oly rokon, étek a népnek,
> s innivaló! Élhetne belőle, ki élni akar, míg
> eljön az ország, amit igért amaz ifju tanítvány,
> rabbi, ki bétöltötte a törvényt és szavainkat.
> Jöjj hirdetni velem, hogy már közelít az az óra,
> már születőben az ország. Hogy mi a célja az Úrnak, ...
> kérdém? lásd az az ország. Útrakelünk, gyere gyüjtsük
> össze a népet...
> (Anger of prophets, of poets: they're closely related, and peoples
> find them their food and drink. Those who'll live, could live on it, till that
> kingdom arrived which a certain youthful disciple had promised:
> rabbi, who came and fulfilled our law and the word of the prophets.
> Come, proclaim with me that the hour is close, very close–that
> kingdom is being born–wait! What is God's plan and what is his purpose?
> I once asked, and see: it's that kingdom. We'll take to the road. Let's
> gather the tribe...)[53]

The poet gathers the tribe and, in a summoning of poetic power that transcends discourse, the language of the tribe. To live–that, now, is the supreme task, invested with superior moral significance. Knowing he will die physically, the poet sees to it that he goes on living in his work, as did the Prophet himself in the writings by him that we have. In addition, the survival of the individual consciousness is assured in the survival of a community that understands the ethical and historic sense that the phoenix-like rise of the kingdom of God over the smoldering ruins of the old city makes. And while, here as elsewhere, the poet himself makes sure that we do not take the parallel between Nineveh and Budapest too literally,[54] "Eighth Eclogue" nevertheless constitutes a closely argued use of biblical *auctoritas,* and specifically of one of the prophetic books. In twentieth-century Hungarian poetry, Radnóti's poem is exampled probably only by *Jónás könyve* (The Book of Jonah, 1938), by Mihály Babits, Radnóti's fatherly friend.[55] At the same time, in a linguistic and poetological tour de force, Radnóti, like the angel of Isaiah mentioned in "Eighth Eclogue" (lines 35–38), puts the live coals to Nahum's mouth and makes him speak in an idiom that to the historical Nahum would have sounded strange indeed–strict Vergilian dactylic hexameters. Behind this reconciliation of pertinent values of biblical and classical antiquity stands, of course, Vergil's own *Fourth Eclogue,* with its promise of a child and of a new order of the world that has had so many specifically Christian commentators. In any event, we moderns, approaching "Eighth Eclogue" with ears contemporary to us, would never dream of questioning this use of classical prosody as a vehicle for the basso profondo of Hebrew prophecy. Mediaeval Dante and baroque Milton each found their own metaphors for synthesis; surely here too we are encouraged to compare Radnóti's achievement with that of Hölderlin, one of the great reconcilers of the two traditions in modern times. Christ, Hölderlin's mediator, stands at the very center of Nahum's prophecy, as made manifest at the end of "Eighth Eclogue".[56]

Once again, we are led back to the three terms of prophecy, as defined above; to the tree, the individual, and the community. Where, in "Eighth Eclogue", do we find the tree? Once again, as in "Marginal Note to the Prophet Habakuk", the poet's method is indirect and suggestive. There is, surely and firmly, the great, erect image of the Prophet himself. In the opening three lines of the poem, "Poet" speaks:

> Üdvözlégy, jól bírod e vad hegyi úton a járást
> szép öregember, szárny emel-é, avagy üldöz az ellen?
> Szárny emel, indulat űz s a szemedből lobban a villám...
> (Greetings! you're keeping in fine form, walking the mountain's wild trail,
> handsome old man; is it wings bear you high, or do enemies give chase?
> Wings lift, emotions pursue you, and lightning flashes from both eyes...)[57]

The second tree image, or rather, indirect suggestion of arboreal presence–metaphor-mentonymy, in contrast with the above implied metaphor–comes at the end of "Eighth Eclogue", where "Prophet" invites his interlocutor to start fashioning walking sticks for the journey:

Vándornak jó társa a bot, nézd, add ide azt ott,
az legyen ott az enyém, mert jobb szeretem, ha göcsörtös.
(Wanderers find companionship in a walking stick; look:
do let that one there be mine; I prefer having one with the deep knots.)[58]

And that tells us a great deal about the context the ongoing context of prophecy. The prophet Nahum prefers the companionship of a knotty stick, being a knotty personality himself. The tree, or any part of it, as a companion to man is a recurrent image in Radnóti's poetry at least since *New Moon;* as examples, we might cite central images in such major poems as *Október, délután* ("October, Afternon"), *Lomb alatt* ("Under the Bough"), *Törvény* ("Law"), and the title poem *Tajtékos ég* ("Sky with Clouds").[59]

Technically, the tree is missing in "Eighth Eclogue"; it takes an act of interpretation to find it. We may ask the corollary question; what, other than the tree, is left of prophecy in Hölderlin's last Pindaric hymn, "Mnemosyne"? Strictly speaking, there is no biblical prophecy in this enigmatic prophetic–visionary–utterance whatever. If, as we did in our discussion of "Eighth Eclogue", we once again treat the last stanza to be of key significance,[60] we realize that the fig tree image in its opening line is not a biblical reference at all:

Am Feigenbaum ist mein
Achilles mir gestorben,
Und Ajax liegt
An den Grotten der See,
An Bächen, benachbart dem Skamandros.
(It is at the fig tree
My Achilles died, depriving me,
And Ajax lies
By the grottoes of the sea,
Near streams, neighboring the Skamandros.)[61]

We are in the Troad, in the world of Homer. Acknowledging that Hölderlin, alluding to a world of antiquity and myth that interests him, may yet have ringing in his ears that verse from the Book of Nahum that he both paraphrased in a letter and utilized in a poem scarcely a decade before,[62] we suddenly realize that the above two opening lines, locating the tree, Achilles, and the poetic "I" in tightly circumscribed space, deliver tripolar prophecy with strictly orthodox élan. The theme of "Mnemosyne" is a frightening one it is the death of memory of the individual, if not of the race. The theme of death is struck by the poet as in the quotation above, "Und es starben / Noch andere viel" ("And many others / Died as well").[63]

Am Kithäron aber lag
Eleutherä, der Mnemosyne Stadt. Der auch als
Ablegte den Mantel Gott, das abendliche nachher löste
Die Loken.
(But at the Kithairon lay
Eleutherai, Mnemosyne's city. They too, as soon as
God laid down his cloak, the powers of evening severed thereafter
A lock of hair.)[64]

Eleutherai, in Boeotia, was already in classical antiquity a place of ruins and darkness. It was associated with Mnemosyne, one of the Titanids, a mortal being, her divine lineage to the contrary notwithstanding. Karl Kerényi remembers correctly that an earlier title given the hymn "Mnemosyne" was "Die Nymphe":

> Nymphen waren sterblich, sie vergingen, wenn auch nach jahrhundertelangem Leben, sie straben mit ihren Quellen und Bäumen. Mnemosyne hatte eine ähnliche Konkretheit auch, ..., die Konkretheit einer Stadtgöttin, und im Konkreten, nicht in blossen Namen, wollte Hölderlin die Götter sehen: .... Mnemosyne war in einer Stadt konkret da und hiess doch "Erinnerung", "Gedächtnis"! Dies war das Erschütterndste:...
>
> (Nymphs were mortal; they passed away, even if after lives lasting for centuries; they died with their sources and trees. Mnemosyne had a similar concreteness, ...; she had the concreteness of a city goddess, and it was in concrete phenomena, not in mere names, that Hölderlin wanted to see the gods: .... Mnemosyne was present in a city, there in all her concreteness, and yet her name was "Memory", "Remembrance"! That was the most unnerving aspect:...)[65]

Eleutherai, demolished and occupied fortress of memory, suggestively points back to the fig tree, at whose foot Achilles died, and to the two lines that are perhaps the most difficult to construe in a poem already one of Hölderlin's most recondite. "It is at the fig tree / My Achilles died, depriving me." Prerequisite to correct understanding of these two lines is a look at an earlier Pindaric hymn that Hölderlin wrote at Nürtingen, one whose title *Andenken* ("Remembrance"), is suggestively close to that of "Mnemosyne". In "Remembrance", Hölderlin evokes his days in France, in Bordeaux, where in the early winter and spring months of 1802 he was house tutor. There is in the poem affectionate tree imagery, and indeed nothing less than mention of a fig tree:

> Die breiten Gipfel neiget
> Der Ulmwald, über die Mühl',
> Im Hofe aber wächset ein Feigenbaum.
> (Its broad treetops the forest of elms
> Spreads out, over the mill,
> But in the courtyard, there grows a fig tree.)[66]

The three fig trees–those in or near Bordeaux, in the Troad, and in and of Niniveh symbolize three degrees of security versus demolition. The French tree is secure and protected; the Trojan, threatened; the Assyrian, annihilated. It is of some interest to note that on this scale Hölderlin's tree suggests but does not univocally represent a conquered fortress of the spirit. The hymn in which the image occurs is to be sure Hölderlin's last Pindaric utterance celebrating aspects of the Hellenic "day of divinity" ("griechischer Göttertag" is Hölderlin's term). But it is not only in stanza 2 of "Mnemosyne" (which, textually, is almost identical in the three versions), with its interest in medieval imagery, that the poet promises to go on and, time permitting, to devote himself to subjects closer to concerns of the home country.[67] He was not to be given this opportunity, although terms employed by his editors bid us to be cautious. In volume 2, part 1 of the *Stuttgarter Ausgabe,* a section whose half title page bears the words *Die Vaterländischen Gesänge* (The Songs of the Fatherland) actually contains the Pindaric hymns, the series of noble realizations of which "Mnemosyne" is the last. Following this

section, we find one headed *Hymnische Entwürfe* (Hymnic Drafts); this contains the poems, all of them left in fragments, that show concern, mostly with non-Greek themes (e.g. *Tinian, Kolomb, Der Vatikan*). We may, if we wish, view this latter section as a field strewn with the rubble of the demolished fortress of memory. At the same time we are asked to acknowledge that all of these hymnic fragments are of high literary merit, and that some of them are gnomic, oracular, and of an import as deeply prophetic as any of the Pindaric hymns, or the mature odes and elegies preceding them.[68]

What, then, are the consequences of prophecy for Radnóti and for Hölderlin? For the latter, oracular utterance that is not last self-reflexive. "Reif sind, in Feuer getaucht, gekochet / Die Früchte und auf der Erde geprüfet" ("Ripe, dipped in fire, cooked, / The fruits are, and tested on earth"), the opening two lines of the third version of "Mnemosyne" sing; the sun has cooked the fruits; it is late in the day. A world of images and associations is conjured again by these two lines; we are reminded of the forbidden fruit of the tree of philosophy, of the ripe fig tree which one must not shake too hard. And there, in one of the oracular hymnic fragments, in the one entitled *Einst hab ich die Muse gefragt...* ("Once, I asked the Muse..."), the poet has an answer to his question as to the sense the divinely inspired utterance, prophecy in his sense, has come to make. If the answer concerns the poet's sense of home, of the fatherland of the spirit, Hölderlin has certainly struggled with it for a long time before he wrote these lines:

> Einst hab ich die Muse gefragt, und sie
> Antwortete mir
> Am Ende wirst du es finden.
> Kein Sterblicher kann es fassen.
> Vom Höchsten will ich schweigen.
> Verbotene Frucht, wie der Lorbeer, aber ist
> Am meisten das Vaterland. Die aber kost'
> Ein jeder zuletzt, ...
> (Once, I asked the Muse, and she
> Answered me
> In the end you will find it.
> No mortal can grasp it.
> Of the highest, I will keep silent.
> Forbidden fruit, like the laurel–that, however,
> Is what the Fatherland is for the most part. That, though,
> Everyone had better taste last, ...)[69]

It Radnóti's experience comparable to Hölderlin's? Is the "fatherland", the sense of home, of a country he can call his own, forbidden to him, too? A fair answer to that requires that we remember that Radnóti's struggles too were with higher powers, but in contrast to what Hölderlin seems to have felt were the forces at work against him, Radnóti's enemies were not the gods. And he was able to make a fine distinction that Hölderlin, for all his work on problems touching on what he may call his, had not thought of. Radnóti held that Hungary was his beloved homeland, and that fascist officialdom will not succeed in taking it away from him. The faith that sustained him as he wrote *Nem tudhatom...* ("I Cannot Know"), sustained him at Bor.[70] By this I do not mean to say that there

are not significant overlaps in the personal situations of the two poets. To mention only one important similarity between the two poets' personal circumstances: both Radnóti and Hölderlin were denied professional opportunities to make a living. Certified at Szeged for secondary-school teaching, Radnóti was unable to secure a position at Budapest; tutoring and work for various publishing houses took the place of job security. Hölderlin was trained for the Protestant ministry, and while he would not consider it as a career,he did at one point have hopes of an appointment at Jena, which never materialized. Two of the four tutoring positions that he held took him to Switzerland and to France; on the eve of his departure for Bordeaux, he wrote to a friend, in painful love that was not his alone: "Deutsch will und muss ich übrigens bleiben, und wenn mich die Herzens- und die Nahrungsnoth nach Otaheiti triebe" ("German, by the way, is what I will and must remain, even if the miseries of heart and hunger should drive me to Tahiti").[71] Could Radnóti have written those lines, given similarity in time and circumstance? I think he could have.

In closing, we are encouraged to look once again at the quotation from Hölderlin's letter to his friend, Neuffer, provided at the beginning of this paper. There, in jest perhaps more seriously intended than he realizes at the time, Hölderlin writes: "I believe one should never shake too much, else the young tree would stand there naked, with dry branches." We must ask: how hard did either Radnóti or Hölderlin shake their respective trees of prophecy? To answer it, we must acknowledge that it is in the nature of great poets to shake their trees of truth, of divine wisdom that matures in song, harder than they perhaps should. Hölderlin and Radnóti both overspent their energies; of this we have frightening glimpses from within the poetry itself. There is the passage in the early hymn *Wie wenn am Feiertage...* ("As When on a Holiday...") in which the poetic persona calls himself "den falschen Priester" ("the false priest"), or the realization, in the Pindaric hymn "The Only one", that he, the poet clings excessively to Christ.[72] There, too, on Radnóti's side, are the equally unsettling moments in the poetry when he appears to fear oncoming insanity, as in *Talán...* ("Perhaps..."), or in *A félelmetes angyal* ("The Terrible Angel"). As the third stanza of the third and final version of "Mnemosyne", a stanza from which the word "prophetisch" (the adverb "prophetically") is by no means absent, puts it; "Und immer / Ins Ungebundene gehet eine Sehnsucht" ("And always, / A longing goes into regions uncontrolled"). But Radnóti was able to recover himself, as the "Palinode" section of "Perhaps..." portrays him, with its magnificent simile involving Empedocles, "falling with a smile / Into Etna's crater!" Hölderlin, it seems fair to say, has this for an answer:

> ...Nemlich sie wollten stiften
> Ein Reich der Kunst. Dabei ward aber
> Das Vaterländische von ihnen
> Versäumet und erbärmlich gieng
> Das Griechenland, das schönste, zu Grunde.
> (...For, don't you see, they wanted to found
> A realm of art. In the process, however,
> They neglected what concerns
> The Fatherland, and, miserably,
> Greece, the most beautiful, perished.)[73]

Both poets win; both are favored by the gods; and yet the foregoing would seem to tilt the balance ever so slightly in Radnóti's favor. Missing in our necessarily brief discussion is the tutelage of William Blake (1757–1827), who steadfastly held that classical culture exhausted itself in war, while Israel ran a true spiritual cycle.[74] But our point is, I believe, clear. In the area of poetic prophecy, Radnóti and Hölderlin are kindred spirits. Affinity here only confirms what material borrowing and influence may have succeeded in highlighting elsewhere.

Notes

1. See Miklós Radnóti, *A könyv és az ember* ("Book and Man"), in *Radnóti Miklós Művei* (Miklós Radnóti, *Works*), ed. Pál Réz (Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1978), pp. 556–558. Cited hereafter by *Művei* and page.
2. This is one of the later poems in Radnóti's 1930 poetry collection *Pogány köszöntő* (Pagan Salute); see *Művei,* p. 23; also Miklós Radnóti, *The Complete Poetry,* ed. and trans. Emery George (Ann Arbor, Ardis Publishers, 1980), p. 65. This translated edition is cited by *MR* and page.
3. For a detailed discussion, see Emery George, *The Poetry of Miklós Radnóti: A Comparative Study* (New York, Karz-Cohl Publishing, 1986), pp. 216–233. Cited below by *PMR* and page.
4. See Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke, Grosse Stuttgarter Ausgabe,* ed. Friedrich Beissner [and Adolf Beck], 8 vols. in 15 (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer Verlag, J. G. Cottasche Buchhandlung Nachfolger, 1943–1985), vol. 6, part 1: *Briefe,* ed. Adolf Beck., pp. 80–81, 80 (letter no. 54, lines 5–11). See also Beck's note (to lines 5–9), ibid., part 2, pp. 610–611. This edition is cited below by *StA,* volume, part, and page.
5. For text, see *Művei,* pp. 211–213; for a translation, *MR,* pp. 273–274. Cf. n. 8 below.
6. *StA* 2 : 1 : 197–198 (text of third version of hymn), 198. In this paper, this third and last version is looked at. The opening two lines of stanza 3 constitute lines 35–36 of the poem. All translations from Hölderlin offered in this essay are my own. As to the Pindaric nature of this hymn and of others immediately preceding it, see M. B. Benn, *Hölderlin and Pindar* (Anglica Germanica no. 4; S-Gravenhage, Mouton & Co., 1962), especially chapters 3 and 4; also Albrecht Seifert, *Utdersuchungen zu Hölderlins Pindar-Rezeption* (Münchner Germanistische Beiträge, no. 32; Munich, Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1982).
7. It seems safe to say that every other poem by Miklós Radnóti contains tree imagery (presenting part of a tree, tree, grove, or forest). The early tree-person metaphor that I have in mind occurs in the poem *Elégia egy csavargó halálára* ("Elegy on the Death of a Hobo") (*Művei,* pp. 35–36; *MR* p. 80). In stanza 3, the poet describes his dead friend as having been "tömzsi" ("thick-set"); in stanza 7 we read: "tegnap megölelt: / a tömzsi gyümölcsfa az út mellett / kivirágzott a porban" ("yesterday he hugged me; / the thick-set fruit tree on the roadside / blossomed in the dust"). We must keep our wits about us as we read; the poet re-creates the dead hobo, in his aspect as fruit tree. In the analysis below, tree metaphor, simile, and metonymy as combined with either, are commented on.
8. *Művei,* p. 90; *MR,* p. 141. In this quotation, the wording of the final stanza of the translation is improved. Below, the poems of the *Bori notesz* (Bor Notebook) are quoted not after *MR,* but after the reprintings of these translations in my article "Textual Problems of Miklós Radnóti's Bor Notebook," *Hungarian Studies* 2, no. 1 (1986): 65–115, 103–113. These latter reprintings are themselves improved versions of the translations that may be found in *MR* (pp. 269–277).
9. The best – the most detailed, personable, and reliable – account of Radnóti's years at the University of Szeged, and within that, of his associations with other key members of the Szegedi Fiatalok Művészeti Kollégiuma (Szeged Youth Arts College), is still that found in the partial biography by Dezső Baróti, *Kortárs útlevelére, Radnóti Miklós, 1909–1935* (Into a Contemporary's Passport: Miklós Radnóti, 1909–1935) (Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1977). Cited below by *Passport and page.*
10. See *PMR,* p. 96. In fact, *Újhold* appeared on the poet's twenty-sixth birthday, on 5 May 1935. At least this is hinted at by letter no. 10, reproduced in Krisztina Mikó, "Radnóti Miklós levelei

Buday Györgyhöz" ("Miklós Radnóti's Letters to György Buday"), *Kritika,* 1978, no. 9. pp. 13–14. As we know, the volume was illustrated by Buday.

11. Cf. *Negyedik ecloga* ("Fourth Eclogue") (*Művei,* pp. 188–190; *MR,* pp. 248–249) and *Razgledničák* (Picture Postcards), no. 4 (*Művei,* p. 215; *MR,* p. 277; *Hungarian Studies* 2 : 102–103, 113). On the poetics of this lyric mode, see Béla Németh G., "Az önmegszólító verstípusról" ("On the Self-Addressing Poem Type"), in Béla Németh G., *Mű és személyiség. Irodalmi tanulmányok* (Work and Personality: Literary Essays) (Elvek és Utak; Budapest, Magvető, 1970), pp. 621–670.
12. *Művei,* p. 90; *MR,* p. 141.
13. *Művei,* p. 90; *MR,* p. 141.
14. See Baróti's discussion of the poem "Into a Contemporary's Passport" in *Passport,* pp. 404–414. The word combination "clean life" occurs in line 4 of both poems here suggested; "Montenegro Elegy": "s késő koroknak hirdeti tiszta életét" ("and itt will sing his clean life to later ages"); also "Henri Barbusse Is Dead": "és most tisztán fekszel, tiszta élted után" ("and now, / clean you lie, after your clean life") (see *Művei,* pp. 74, 272; *MR,* pp. 123, 332).
15. *StA* 2 : 1 : 12–13, 12; ibid., pp. 403–407 (critical apparatus and notes); see also Friedrich Hölderlin, *Sämtliche Werke, "Frankfurter Ausgabe,"* ed. D. E. Sattler [et al.], 20 vols. planned (Frankfurt am Main, Verlag Roter Stern [later: Basel, Frankfurt am Main, Stroemfeld/Roter Stern], 1975–), vols. 4–5; *Oden,* ed. D. E. Sattler and Michael Knaupp; 4 : 280–282 (MS and diplomatic transscription), 5 : 783–788 (constituted text). This edition is cited below by *FHA,* volume, and page.
16. "Rousseau," lines 23–25. The locution "Du hast gelebt!" is commented on by Beissner (*StA* 2 : 2 : 407), without mention of Vergil as a possible source ("vixi" in Dido's farewell speech, *Aeneid* 4.653). But see Beck's comment on letter no. 35, line 23 (ibid., 6 : 2 : 567).
17. "The Rhine," lines 144–147; *StA* 2 : 1 : 142–148, 146. Framed by images of forest (lines 2, 211), this Pindaric hymn is one of Hölderlin's mighty river poems, and one of three in the series of late hymns that concern themselves with rivers (the other two being *Am Quell der Donau* ["At the Source of the Danube"] and *Der Ister* ["The Istros", the Greek name for the Danube; cf. Beissner's note, *StA* 2 : 2 : 813–814]). These poems do their part in reminding us that prophecy is inseparable from speech, and thus is inseparable also from the lives of rivers; in "At the Source of the Danube," the poet celebrates Asia, and remembers "deiner Patriarchen und deiner Propheten, // O Asia, deiner Starken, o Mutter!" ("your partiarchs and your prophets, // O Asia, your strong ones, o Mother!") (lines 79–80; *StA* 2 : 1 : 128).
18. It is well known that from 10 July until the end of September 1796, Hölderlin, then house tutor at the Gontard family, has to flee Frankfurt; accompanied by Mrs. Gontard and a daughter, Marie, the poet visits Kassel and Bad Driburg, in Westfalia. See *Hölderlin. Eine Chronik in Text und Bild,* ed. Adolf Beck and Paul Raabe (Schriften der Hölderlin-Gesellschaft, nos. 6–7; Frankfurt am Main, Insel Verlag, 1970), pp. 44–45.
19. "Leisure," lines 9–12; *StA* 1 : 1236. The elm, around which the vine winds itself, is a classical topos; from Horace (*Carmina* 2.15.4–5) we get a hint as to the difference between the "platanus caelebs" and the "ulmus."
20. "Leisure", line 22; *StA* 1 : 1 : 236.
21. "Leisure", lines 28–30; *StA* 1 : 1 : 236–237. Of particular interest in this passage is line 27: "Aber ins Mondlicht steigen herauf die zerbrochenen Säulen" and its indication that by the ruin of cities Hölderlin means, exemplarily, the fates of cities of antiquity. Cf., in this respect, the treatment of imagery in such poems as *Der Main* (1 : 1 : 303–304), *Der Nekar* (2 : 1 : 17–18), and *Lebensalter* ("Age of Life") (2 : 1 : 115). In the last-named, in line 3, the noun "Säulenwälder" ("forests of pillars") very tellingly points to Hölderlin's idiomatic, all but subconsciously expressed interest in combining images of tree and architectural detail. The impact of the poem "Age of Life" on the language of the early Radnóti is considered from a very different angle in *PMR,* pp. 227–229
22. Hölderlin, "Leisure", lines 36–37; *StA* 1 : 1 : 237. Cf. Beissner's note on these two lines, ibid., p. 549.
23. See especially the article "Peace, War, and Philosophy," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* ed. Paul Edwards, 8 vols. (New York, Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. & The Free Press, 1967; rpt. 1972), 6 : 63–67; also the article "War and Militarism", in *Dictionary of the History of Ideas,* ed. Philip P. Wiener, 5 vols. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1973), 4 : 500–509. Among those

closest to Hölderlin, Hegel certainly held views on war very close to that expressed in lines 36–37 of "Leisure".

24. Töredék ("Fragment"), stanza 1 (*Művei,* p. 206; *MR,* p. 267). Cf. *Majális* ("May Picnic"), line 12, where of the boys it is said: "s nyugodtan ölnek majd ha ölni kell" ("and when they'll have to kill, they'll do it at ease") (*Művei,* pp. 204–205, 205; *MR,* p. 265). One important difference between the two poems is the note of hope struck in the latter (see stanza 4).
25. Hölderlin, "Leisure", lines 41–43; *StA* 1 : 1 : 237. The word *Axt,* "axe", is a hapax legomenon in the German poet's verse; see *Wörterbuch zu Friedrich Hölderlin, I. Teil: Die Gedichte,* ed. Heinz-Martin Dannhauer, Hans Otto Horch, et al. (Indices zur deutschen Literatur, nos, 10–11; Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1983), s.v. "Axt".
26. Lines 27–32 (*Művei,* p. 141; *MR,* p. 197). For a discussion of "First Eclogue" pertinent to Radnóti's status as a war poet and to his fate, see *PMR,* pp. 367–369.
27. Lines 13–16 (*Művei,* p. 93; *MR,* p. 145). On the significance of "Istenhegy" in the title, see the note on *Szerelmes vers az Istenhegyen* ("Love Poem on Istenhegy") (*Művei,* pp. 88–89; *MR,* p. 139), *MR,* p. 370.
28. See especially Zsuzsa Bíró, "A halálmotívum Radnóti költészetének utolsó korszakában *(Tajtékos ég)*" ("The Death Motif in the Final Period of Radnóti's Poetry *[Sky with Clouds]*"), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 82, no. 3 (1978): 345–53.
29. Lines 13–16 (*Művei,* p. 156; *MR,* p. 213). This poem by Radnóti carries strong Hölderlinian overtones; for a comparison with Hölderlin's ode *An die Parzen* ("To the Parcae"), see *PMR,* pp. 229–230.
30. Lines 14–16 (*Művei,* p. 204; *MR,* p. 264). On the banning of Radnóti's work, see the documentary volume *A cenzúra árnyékában* (In the Shadow of Censorship), ed. Györgyi Markovits and Áron Tóbiás (Budapest, Magvető, 1966), pp. 283–312 (the documents of the confiscation trial in connection with Radnóti's 1931 collection *Újmódi pásztorok éneke* [Song of Modern Shepherds] only). In later years, Radnóti's work was suppressed even more systematically. No new independent poetry volume by him was permitted after the appearance of his 1938 collection *Meredek út* (Steep Road).
31. See Tibor Meczer, "Radnóti Miklós Gyökér című verséről" ("On Miklós Radnóti's Poem: Root"), *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 74 (1970): 721–733; also the discussion of "Root" in *PMR,* pp. 493–497.
32. Lines 4–6 *Művei,* p. 176; *MR,* p. 235. Melczer (pp. 722, 732) points to passages from Babits's own poetry with which Radnóti's root and tree motifs may be seen to display marked affinity. To the many tree and root images from Radnóti's corpus cited by Melczer, we night add two: that in *Elégia* ("Elegy"): „konokon élek, szívós téli tő" ("stubbornly I live, a steadfast winter root") (line 20; *Művei,* p. 115; *MR,* p. 167), and the one in "Picture Postcards", no. 1: the beloved is seen as motionless and mute, "akár az angyal, ha pusztulást csodál, / vagy korhadt fának odván temetkező bogár"("like an angel awed by death's great carnival, / or an insect in rotted tree pith, staging its funeral") (*Művei,* p. 214; *Hungarian Studies* 2 : 112).
33. "Root", lines 18–21 (line numbering as suggested in *Hungarian Studies* 2 : 75, also ibid., pp. 83, 89–90, 96, 106, and un. 20–22). The image combines metonymy and metaphor, as this happens also in the love poem *Himnusz* ("Hymn") (*Művei,* pp. 94–95; *MR,* p. 148). Notable also is the fact that Hölderlin's poem "Leisure" has "axe", while "Root" has "saw". In the original, "First Eclogue" line 32 "favágó" (literally:"tree cutter") does not name a tool. In my translation, "buzz-saw" is not an intended point of similarity; in retrospect, it makes the closing line of "Root" fulfill the prophecy of "First Eclogue" to the letter.
34. Lines 5–8 (*StA* 1 : 1 : 238; see also *FHA* 3 : 105).
35. See Beissner's note on the 6–7 of the poem, *StA* 1 : 2 : 552.
36. On Hölderlin's side, see the historically searching article by Werner Kirchner, "Hölderlins Entwurf 'Die Völker schwiegen, schlummerten' und die Ode 'Der Frieden'," in Werner Kirchner, *Hölderlin, Aufsätze zu seiner Homburger Zeit,* ed. Alfred Kelletat (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967), pp. 7–33. In addition it is of no mean interest that the Pindaric hymn *Friedensfeier* ("Festival of Peace"), which Hölderlin most probably wrote in 1802, is a direct response to the signing of the Peace of Lunéville in February of 1801. Radnóti's oeuvre would undoubtedly also have been different in some respects, had war not prompted him to write as he does in his concluding three collections. István Vas even thinks it highly probable that Radnóti would have warmly welcomed

an "acceptable society", "mert gyökereivel is szerette a békét" ("because even with his roots, he loved peace") ("Jegyzetek Radnóti La Fontaine fordításához" ["Notes on Radnóti's La Fontaine Translation"], in István Vas, *Az ismeretlen isten. Tanulmányok 1934–1973* [The Unknown God: Essays 1934–1973] [Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1974], pp. 793–799, 795). Cf. the conclusions reached at the end of this section of the present paper.

37. Művei, pp. 136–137; *MR,* p. 192. Cf. a poem, likewise on a biblical subject, that Radnóti left uncollected, *Lapszéli jegyzet Lukácshoz* ("Marginal Note to Luke") (*Művei,* p. 273; *MR,* p. 333). The poem is dated 20 October 1937.
38. See the discussion of religious concerns and imagery in poems especially by the early Radnóti, *PMR,* pp. 46–47.
39. Művei, p. 153; *MR,* p. 211. For an essay on "Hispania, Hispania" combining biography and criticism, see Baróti, "Radnóti Miklós és Párizs" ("Miklós Radnóti and Paris"), in Dezső Baróti, *Írók, érzelmek, stílusok* (Writers, Sensibilities, Styles) (Budapest, Magvető, 1971), pp. 404–428, 413–420. On the theory that lines 11–12 derive from the wording of Tibullus, book 1, elegy 10, which Radnóti translated around the time he worked on "Hispania, Hispania", see *PMR,* chapter 7, n. 70.
40. PMR, pp. 493–497, especially p. 495. On the poetics of the slender hymn in Radnóti's development, see also ibid., pp. 142–149 (chapter 6, the section headed "The Beginnings of Radnóti's Hymnic Style").
41. Despite this, Schiller published the poem in his periodical *Die Horen* (in no. 10 of the 1797 volume). See Momme Mommsen, "Hölderlins Lösung von Schiller. Zu Hölderlins Gedichten 'An Herkules' und 'Die Eichbäume' und den Übersetzungen aus Ovid, Vergil und Euripides", *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Schillergesellschaft,* Vol. 9 (1965), pp. 203–244, especially pp. 221–223. See also Beissner on the transmission of the poem, *StA* 1 : 2 : 500.
42. *StA* 1 : 1 : 201; *FHA* 3 : 51 (line 3: "mit den fleissigen Menschen").
43. *Hyp.* I, 11, 14–12, 2 (*StA* 3 : 9). Beissner's system of volume, page, and line numbering refers to that of the first edition of the novel (Tübingen, Cotta, 1797 and 1799). Mommsen ignores the parallelism between the poem and the novel, and so does the otherwise illuminating essay by Rudolf D. Schier, "Trees and Transcendence: Hölderlin's 'Die Eichbäume' and Rilke's 'Herbst'," *German Life & Letters* 20, no. 4 (July 1967): 331–341. Schier treats line 7 in general terms (p. 334). The parallel is supported, however, both by the fact that for Hölderlin, reader, in the fall term of 1794, of Fichte's *Grundlage der gesamten Wissenschaftslehre, Wissenschaft* does indeed mean systematic philosophy, and by the fact that, in the area of philosophy, the final version of *Hyperion* represents a repudiation of positions taken towards the *Wissenschaftslehre* by earlier stages of the novel. See, for background, Beck's notes on letters nos. 89 (to Neuffer, Jena, November 1794) and 94 (to Hegel, Jena, 26 January 1795), *StA* 6 : 2 : 702–704, and p. 723; and especially Lawrence Ryan, *Hölderlins "Hyperion". Exzentrische Bahn und Dichterberuf* (Stuttgart, J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1965), pp. 33–103 (chapters 2 and 3).
44. "The Oak Trees", lines 16–17 (*StA* 1 : 1 : 201; *FHA* 3 : 51).
45. "In a Clamorous Palm Tree", lines 1–10 (*Művei,* p. 203; *MR,* p. 263). The image of the palm tree, with its monkeys, documents two of Radnóti's most enduring interests: the exotic and the grotesque. On one possible source of the poem in an African tale, see *PMR,* pp. 129–130. One view of the palm tree image seems to be that it is a metaphor for his home; as the chronicler Ábel Kőszegi writes: "1944. április 4. óta nem mozdul ki a lakásból. Nem hajlandó viselni a sárga csillagot" ("Since 4 April 1944 he has not stirred from his apartment. He is not willing to wear the yellow star.") (*Töredék, Radnóti Miklós utolsó hónapjainak krónikája* [Fragment: Chronicle of Miklós Radnóti's Final Months] [Mikrokozmosz Füzetek; Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1972], p. 9) Note the date of the poem.
46. Lines 16–19.
47. "Peace: A Hymn", lines 32–33 (*Művei,* p. 14); *MR,* p. 195). The language of line 32 comes amazingly close to that of *Erőltetett menet* ("Forced March"), line 19. In the earlier poem, we have: "Így lesz-e? Így!" ("Will all that be? Yes!"); in the later one: "De hisz lehet talán még!" ("But all that *could* still be–...!") ("Forced March": *Művei,* p. 214; *Hungarian Studies* 2 : 111). That "Forced March" is one of the ultimate poems in which the poetic spirit is holding out and defending need not, I think, be belabored.

48. Cf. Schier, who writes: "... only the meditations of the late Rilke move on a level of thought equal to that of the early Hölderlin" (*German Life & Letters* 20 : 341). I do not agree with this assessment, not do I think it proper to assign "The Oak Trees" to the lyric production of the early Hölderlin. At this stage, the poet would have to be identified as at least early mature. "The Oak Trees" and "In a Clamorous Palm Tree" are strongly comparable poems, even apart from extrinsic questions.
49. The tradition is well documented by reports of contempporaries who visited Hölderlin in Tübingen between 1806 and his death in 1843 (see *StA,* vol. 7, parts 1–3: *FHA,* vol. 9), and has since then been discussed in a towering secondary literature. It was started, as it seems, by Wilhelm Waiblinger, in his biographical memoir *Friedrich Hölderlins Leben, Dichtung und Wahnsinn* (Leipzig, 1831). For a prominent dissenting opinion, see Pierre Bertaux, *Friedrich Hölderlin* (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1978).
50. See Beissner's preface to his section headed "Die Vaterländischen Gesänge" (*StA* 2 : 2 : 680–681); also Beissner, "Vom Baugesetz der Vaterländischen Gesänge", in Friedrich Beissner, *Hölderlin. Reden und Aufsätze,* 2nd ed. (Cologne, Vienna, Böhlau Verlag, 1969), pp. 144–161. The late visionary and prophetic status of the Pindaric hymns has been generally acknowledged since Norbert von Hellin- grath's preface to volume 4 (1916) of the critical edition of Hölderlin's works and letters begun by him and completed by Friedrich Seebass and Ludwig von Pigenot (6 vols.; Munich, Georg Müller [later: Berlin, Propyläen-Verlag], 1913–1923).
51. According to Kőszegi (p. 29), Radnóti and his friends pieced together poems by Berzsenyi, Arany, García Lorca, and long passages from Racine. Even apart from this, Radnóti had a phenomenal memory, enabling him to compose his poems in his head and to retain them until he could have access to writing materials. He reported at Vác on 20 May, arrived at Lager Heidenau on 1 June, and most probably acquired his notebook in mid-July (ibid., pp. 10–13).
52. Points of hope are portrayed in: "Seventh Eclogue", line 23 ("a csodákat") ("miracles"); "Letter to My Wife", lines 31–36; and "Forced March", lines 11–20. An important earlier correlate of the image of the broken plum tree as a symbol of community is the image of the plum tree in *Számadás* ("Accounting") (*Művei,* p. 79; *MR,* p. 128).
53. "Eighth Eclogue", lines 47–54 (*Művei,* p. 213; *Hungarian Studies* 2 : 111).
54. See especially *Nem tudhatom...* ("I Cannot Know..."), lines 29–35 (the seven-line section immediately preceding the closing line) (*Művei,* p. 198; *MR,* p. 257), a rare passage in which the poetic voice broaches the question of public guilt versus private innocence. See also the reply in "Eighth Eclogue", where "Poet" gently hints at the need for moderation (line 31 "Már szóltál" ["That you have done"]).
55. On this, see *PMR,* chapter 11, n. 37: on biblical sources of images in "Eighth" and other eclogues by Radnóti, see ibid., chapter 11, n. 31.
56. According to this, Radnóti joins the ranks, among poets in the Western tradition, of the reconcilers of the two antiquities. On Christ's mediating role in Hölderlin, see also the German poet's elegy *Brod und Wein* ("Bread and Wine"), and his late hymns "The Only One" and "Festival of Peace". The opening word of the preliminary drafts of the last-named work is "Versöhnender" ("Conciliator"); it refers to Christ. On Radnóti's side, in "Eighth Eclogue", the "rabbi" (line 50) is the fulfiller of the Word, the conciliator, the bringer of peace.
57. Lines 1–3. The fact that "Eighth Eclogue" is written in dactylic hexameter seems inseparable from the status of these opening lines as an elaborate Homeric greeting.
58. Lines 55–56.
59. *Művei,* pp. 87–88, 108–109, 110–111, 164–165; *MR,* 138, 161, 163, 222.
60. According to Beissner, lines 35–36 form the germinal words *(Keimworte)* of Hölderlin's manuscript (Homburg J 18^{v}; see critical apparatus, *StA* 2 : 2 :817, lines 14–16).
61. "Mnemosyne," third version, lines 35–39; *StA* 2 : 1 : 198. The fig tree image, for Hölderlin, involves Homer, and the New as well as the Old Testament; see Beissner's note on lines 35–36, *StA* 2 : 2 : 828. A somewhat more exhaustive list of references is provided in Flemming Roland-Jensen, "Hölderlins 'Mnemosyne'. Eine Interpretation", *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 98, no. 2 (1979): 201–241, especially pp. 222–226, and nn. 37–42.
62. Cf. Roland-Jensen, p. 224, and n. 42, where attention is called to the possibility that Hölderlin's Nahum inspiration may also have connections with the New Testament sources that he used for the composition of "Patmos".

63. "Mnemosyne", third version, lines 44–45 (*StA* 2 : 1 : 198). These additional death images from Homer only help highlight the highly ambiguous nexus of Achilles and the fig tree. Notable is the fact that lines 35–36 are the only place where the poetic voice draws itself in by means of the first-person possessive and ethical dative: "Am Feigenbaum ist mein / Achilles mir gestorben". Two additional illuminating analyses of the hymn will be found in Raymond Furness, "The Death of Memory: An Analysis of Hölderlin's Hymn 'Mnemosyne'," *Publications of the English Goethe Society,* new series, Vol. 40 (1969–70), pp. 30–68; and in Jochen Schmidt, *Hölderlins letzte Hymnen 'Andenken' und 'Mnemosyne'* (Untersuchungen zur deutschen Literaturgeschichte, no. 7; Tübingen, Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1970).
64. "Mnemosyne", third version, lines 45–48.
65. Karl Kerényi, "Hölderlins Vollendung", *Hölderlin- Jahrbuch,* Vol. 8 (1954), pp. 25–45, 44–45.
66. "Remembrance", lines 14–16. An astute analysis of the relation between "Remembrance" and "Mnemosyne", and of the problem of the two fig trees, is available in Dieter Henrich, *Der Gang des Andenkens. Beobachtungen und Gedanken zu Hölderlins Gedicht* (Stuttgart, Klett-Cotta, 1986), especially in the chapter entitled "'Mnemosyne' und 'Andenken'" (chapter 18, pp. 179–187), and in n. 103, where we are reminded of Roland-Jensen's finding that the nexus between Achilles and the fig tree is not one established by tradition. What Hölderlin is here working on, we must conclude, is a sense of mythical locus – the fig tree becomes a metaphor for the poet's threatened spiritual fortress.
67. See Hölderlin's dedicatory inscription of the Sophocles translations to Princess Augusta of Homburg (*StA* 5 : 119–120). There, he promises to sing "die Eltern unsrer Fürsten und ihre Size und die Engel des heiligen Vaterlands" ("the parents of our princes and their places of residence and the angels of the holy fatherland") (ibid., p. 120).
68. In addition, the major elegy *Stutgard* ("Stuttgart") also distinguishes itself by showing energetic concern with mediaeval themes (text, *StA* 2 : 1 :86–89). This broaches the complex of problems in the late Hölderlin's thought, reffered to in the litterature as the poet's " Vaterländische Umkehr" or "abendländische Wendung" ("about-face toward the fatherland"; "Occidental turn of mind"). For a concise and excellent treatment, see Peter Szondi, "Überwindung des Klassizismus. Der Brief an Böhlendorff vom 4. Dezember 1801", in Peter Szondi, *Hölderlin-Studien. Mit einem Traktat über philologische Erkenntnis* (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp Verlag, 1970), pp. 95–118.
69. Lines 1–8; *StA* 2 : 1 :220. On the significance of the last two lines in this passage, see Friedrich Beissner, *Hölderlins Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen,* 2nd ed. (Stuttgart, J. B. Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1961), 147–184 (the section headed "Griechenland und Hesperien").
70. See especially the analysis of the late poem "I Cannot Know..." by Ferenc Kiss, "Radnóti patriotizmusa" ("Radnóti's Patriotism"), in Ferenc Kiss, *Művek közelről* (Works from Close Up) (Elvek és Utak; Budapest, Magvető, 1972), pp. 81–91. No–Radnóti's enemies were, ultimately, not the gods; I maintain this view here, in no contradiction of my earlier observations on Radnóti's early poem *Emlék* ("Memory") and its comparability with Hölderlin's "Patmos" (see *PMR,* pp. 227–229). Meaning often shifts and is rendered richer and more complicated in the perspective of further poems examined, especially if they are also later ones.
71. Hölderlin to Casimir Ulrich Böhlendorff, Nürtingen, 4 December 1801; letter no. 236, lines 86–88; *StA* 6 : 1 : 425–428, 428. This is the famous letter in which Hölderlin redefines what Occidental artistic potential and sensibility has, and does not have, in common with the Greek.
72. "As When on a Holiday...," lines 71–73; "..., sie werfen mich tief unter die Lebenden / Den falschen Priester, ins Dunkel, dass ich / Das warnende Lied den Gelehrigen singe" ("..., they are hurling me deep among the living, / Me, the false priest, into darkness, that I / Sing the song of warning to those who will learn") (*StA* 2 : 1 : 120). Two passages from "The Only One": lines 48–50: "Ich weiss es aber, eigene Schuld / Ists! denn zu sehr, / O Christus! häng' ich an dir, ..." ("But I know: it's my own Fault! for far too much, / O Christ! I cling to you") (ibid., p. 154), and lines 84–86: "Diesesmal / Ist nemlich vom eigenen Herzen / Zu sehr gegangen der Gesang" ("This time, / You see, from my very own heart, / Song has come forth far too much") (ibid., p. 155; both passages from the first version). After poetic admissions of this intensity, we might guess the sense in which Achilles "died on the poet" at the foot of his fig tree. What Achilles meant to Hölderlin may also be gathered from his essays, especially from "An Kallias" ("To Kallias"), "Bemerkung über Homer" ("Note on Homer"), "Über Achill" ("On Achilles"), and "Ein Wort

über die Iliade" ("A Word Concerning the Iliad") (see *StA* 4 : 1 : 218–219, and ibid., pp. 223, 224–225, and 226–227).

73. "... Meinest du es solle gehen...", lines 3–7 (*StA* 2 : 1 :228). I do respect Furness's view, however, that the turn away from Greece is not involuntary on the poet's part, and ultimately not evil, And yet, Hölderlin could not totally give up his older vision; "the roots he had struck in the pagan world were too deep for memory of its heroes to die, and a new vision to arise" (Furness, p. 68).
74. See Northrop Frye, *Fearful Symmetry: A Study of William Blake* (Princeton, Princeton Univ. Press, 1947; rpt. Boston, Beacon Press, 1962).