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Kelemen Mikes in the Fine Arts*

When we think of the portrait of Kelemen Mikes what first appears before our eyes is usually the well-known oil painting in the Museum of Fine Arts in Cluj-Napoca (Plate I). Although the iconography of Mikes is surprisingly rich, many graphics, paintings, medals, reliefs and sculptures are still unknown to the general public. This is mainly because in the various – mostly literary and literary historical – publications it is almost always the same works of art that are included. On the other hand – apart from a single attempt – nobody has previously taken up gathering and analysing the Mikes-portraits. From the second half of the 19th century to our day the recognition of Mikes has been continuous. In addition to the memorials in Hungary, Transylvania, Transcarpathia and Tekirdağ, the schools named after Mikes in Battonya and Sfântu Gheorghe are the main centres of this esteem.

Except for the painting in Cluj-Napoca, these works have no historical documentary value. In terms of their history of impact and reception, however, it is important to analyse the overall picture emerging from sources and the relationship between the works, as well as to define the ensuing system of associations. Among the works of art created about Mikes over the past hundred and forty years there are many outstanding creations, but pieces of lower quality also contribute to preserving the memory and esteem of the writer. The changing visual tradition which appears in the works of art complements the spiritual portrait emerging from *Letters from Turkey*. I present the material of the iconography of Mikes from the last quarter of the 19th century to our day by genre and in chronological order.

Dániel Veress (1929–2002) made the first attempt to present the artistic representations of Mikes in his article *The Earthly Face of Mikes*,

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published in the *Kovászna Megyei Tükör (Covasna County Review)* in the 1,233rd and 1,245th issues of 1974. He subsequently wrote on the subject in a study titled *Mikes in Fine Arts and Literature* in his book *Mikes and the Homeland* published by the Kriterion Publishing Company in 1976. Veress knew of only five works representing Mikes in total. During my research it became clear that graphics, statues and paintings created over the past hundred and forty years depicting Mikes exceed fifty in number.

The portrait in Cluj-Napoca

The Museum of Fine Arts in Cluj-Napoca is fortunate enough to possess, in the repository from the late 1950s, a fine half-length portrait of Kelemen Mikes, which seems to be a mid-19th century copy of the earliest representation of the writer.¹ The young man has an erect posture and sports a narrow moustache which curves steeply upward. His face is framed by chestnut-brown curly hair. He is wearing shining armour with blue ruffles and a blue shawl slung over the right shoulder. He has a splendid sword or dagger attached to his belt. The person represented in the portrait is identified by a black bold-type inscription in a white cartouche in the lower part: “Count Kelemen Mikes, chamberlain of Ferenc Rákóczi II”. It should be added that Mikes, at the age in which he is represented in the portrait, was first the page of the prince. In 1709 he became interior squire, and only later did he become chamberlain. Some scholars think that the armour with the blue shawl is the uniform of the Company of Noble Youths, of which Mikes was a member from 1707. The Company was founded by Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735) in Cluj-Napoca in 1707. Its aim was to educate statesmen and officials for the service of the country, and it was led by the prince. Its members comprised German, Romanian, Slovak and Hungarian noble youths. They had to pursue European studies and an introduction to state administration, expanding their general literacy and acquiring the basics of political science and military studies. Mikes became a member of this Company at the age of sixteen as a consequence of his

1 89×65 cm. Cluj-Napoca, Museum of Fine Arts, inv. no. 14.

father's tragic death and the influence of his uncle. In the Rákóczi court he studied foreign languages, and participated in diplomatic receptions.

According to the data of the historian István Szilágyi (1819–1897), the painting came from the castle of Ecsed, which had been in the possession of the Rákóczi family since 1688 and was destroyed by order of the Habsburgs after the Peace of Szatmár in 1711. According to the account of literary historian Lajos Abafi (1840–1909), the portrait was in Count Károly Bethlen's possession. Based on the information obtained from Count Sándor Teleki (1821–1892), the painting was the generous gift of Count Károly Bethlen in 1881 to the Transylvanian Museum Society, with the remark that it originated from the age of Ferenc Rákóczi II.² It was exhibited in the hall of the University Library of Cluj-Napoca until 1945. When, in 1945, Lajos Kelemen (1877–1963) compiled the list of the approximately fifty paintings in the gallery of the Transylvanian Museum Society that had been placed in the rooms of the University Library, he commented on the fact that a three-quarter length variant of this half-length portrait could be found in Apalina, owned by the heirs of baron Károly Huszár.³ As a scholar skilled in genealogy, he observed also that Éva Torma had been the common ancestor of barons Károly Huszár and Kelemen Mikes. He also commented that the painting he had seen in Apalina, and which has since been destroyed, was bigger in size and higher in quality. He supposed that the painting which had arrived in the gallery of the Transylvanian Museum Society was a copy of that portrait. After 1950 the picture was inherited by the Cluj-Napoca branch of the Romanian Academy, and from there it went to the Historical Museum. Finally it entered the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, founded between 1958–1960. Since then it has not been exhibited.⁴ The painting was in

2 István Szilágyi, 'Mikes Kelemen arczképe' (Portrait of Kelemen Mikes), *Vasárnapi Újság*, 1879/27 pp. 1–3; Letter of István Szilágyi to Károly Szabó, Máramaros-Sziget, 18th November 1877; Lajos Abafi, 'Mikes Kelemennek egy ismeretlen műve' (Unknown work of Kelemen Mikes), *Figyelő*, 1881/10 pp. 321–333.

3 Lajos Kelemen, 'Az Erdélyi Nemzeti Múzeum képei leírásának előmunkálatai' (Preparatory work of the description of the images of the Transylvania National Museum), Department of Manuscripts of the University Library, Cluj-Napoca, Ms. 3996.

4 Lajos Hopp and Dániel Veress attributed the painting to one of the court painters of Ferenc Rákóczi II at around 1707–1711. Mikes Kelemen *összes művei I. Török-*

the basement until 1974, when András Kovács (1946–) entered it in the inventory. He observed that the canvas is not primed by hand, so it dates from no earlier than 1840–1850.⁵ He noticed moreover, that the medallion frame was painted on the picture at a later point in time, and that the surface is heavily varnished. The painting has not been restored, and as the Museum of Fine Arts has no restorer there is no hope of a restoration in the near future.

The clothes in which Mikes is represented are close to what we can observe in other portraits of the prince's court, for example the portrait of count Miklós Bercsényi (1665–1725), Rákóczi's general, in the collection of the Historical Picture Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum (Plate II).⁶ The colour of the shawl is different, but the hilt of the sword seems to be identical in the two portraits. Besides this similarity in motifs, one can observe the same style in the treatment of the armour, which leads to the conclusion that the original of the two pictures was probably painted by the same artist in around 1707–1711.

Ferenc Rákóczi II knew and utilised many tools of court representation and propaganda during the war of independence: he had himself portrayed and had the military successes recorded in engravings, he

országi levelek és misszilis levelek (Complete works of Kelemen Mikes I. Letters from Turkey), ed. by Lajos Hopp, Budapest, 1966, frontispiece; Dániel Veress, 'Mikes földi arca I.' (Earthy face of Mikes I.), *Megyei Tükör*, vol. 7. 14th April 1974. n. 1233. pp. 4–5; Dániel Veress, 'Mikes földi arca II.' (Earthy face of Mikes II.), *Megyei Tükör*, vol. 7. 14th April 1974. n. 1245. 7; Dániel Veress, *Mikes és a szülőföld: tanulmányok* (Mikes and the homeland: Essays), Bucharest: Kriterion, 1976, pp. 138–139; Dániel Veress, *Így élt Mikes Kelemen* (So lived Kelemen Mikes), Budapest, 1978, p. 4.

5 Letters from András Kovács, 8th and 11th May 2009.

6 112×82 cm. Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, p. 53. Kálmán Thaly, *A székesi gróf Bercsényi család. 1470–1835. III.* (The count Bercsényi family of Székes), Budapest, 1892, p. 197; *A Történelmi Képcsarnok műtárgyainak leíró lajstroma* (Descriptive list of the work of arts of the Historical Gallery), p. 71; *A Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum Képtárának festményei és grafikai állaga* (Picture and graphic collection of the Gallery of the Hungarian National Museum), Budapest, 1909, p. 563; *Rákóczi-emlékkiállítás* (Commemorative exhibition of Rákóczi), Magyar Történelmi Múzeum, Budapest, 1935, 10, nr. 12; Tibor Gerevich and István Genthon, *A magyar történelem képeskönyve* (Picture book of the Hungarian history), Budapest, 1935, p. 166; Gizella Cennerné Wilhelmb, *Magyarország történetének képeskönyve* (Picture book of the history of Hungary), Budapest, 1962, p. 184.

had Daniel Warou (1674–1729) mint medals, and had David Richter the Elder (1662–1735) and Ádám Mányoki (1673–1757) paint portraits.⁷ Besides Ádám Mányoki the prince also had other court painters; the sources mention for example Mihály Mindszenti of Eger, for whom Rákóczi paid ten Forints in 1706.⁸ The fatherless, seventeen-year-old Kelemen Mikes, who entered Rákóczi's service and the Society of Noble Youths in 1707, could not have been the customer for his own portrait,⁹ while Miklós Bercsényi was related to a number of artists.¹⁰ The similarity of image type, format and clothes suggests that the original of the two images belonged to the same portrait series ordered by Ferenc Rákóczi II from one of his court painters, together with other portraits in similar dress of persons living in the prince's court.

The illustrations following the Cluj-Napoca portrait

The oil painting in Cluj-Napoca – in the absence of other traditions of representation – had a considerable influence on Kelemen Mikes's iconography. The article by István Szilágyi, *Portrait of Kelemen Mikes*, which first mentioned the portrait, uses an illustration of a woodcut after the image by Ferenc Haske (1833–1894) and Zsigmond Pollák (1837–1912) in the 27th issue of *Vasárnapi Újság* (*Sunday Newspaper*) in

- 7 Géza Galavics, 'A Rákóczi-szabadságharc és az egykorú képzőművészet' (The war of independence of Rákóczi and the period art), in *Rákóczi-tanulmányok*, ed. by Béla Köpeczi, Lajos Hopp, Ágnes R. Várkonyi, Budapest, 1980, pp. 465–510; Enikő Buzási, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc mint mecénás' (Ferenc Rákóczi II as patron), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő*, vol. 37. 1988, pp. 162–185; Enikő Buzási, *Mányoki Ádám (1673–1757) (Ádám Mányoki)*, Budapest, 2003, pp. 50–58; Beatrix Basics, 'Hivatalos képmás – uralkodó portré: A Rákóczi ikonográfia egy ábrázolás-típusáról' (Official portrait – royal portrait: On one type of the Rákóczi iconography), in *II. Rákóczi Ferenc, az államférfi*, ed. by Edit Tamás. Sárospatak, 2008, pp. 133–138.
- 8 *Archivum Rákócianum I*, Budapest, 1878, p. 114; *Történelmi Tár*, Budapest, 1882, p. 564; Antal Kampis, 'II. Rákóczi Ferenc arcképeiről' (On the portraits of Ferenc Rákóczi II), in *Rákóczi emlékkönyv*, ed. by Imre Lukinich, Budapest, 1937, II, p. 73; Klára Garas, *Magyarországi festészet a XVII. században* (Hungarian painting in the 17th century), Budapest, 1953, pp. 90–91.
- 9 Lajos Hopp, 'Rákóczi és Mikes a törökországi emigráció előtt' (Rákóczi and Mikes before the exile in Turkey), in *Rákóczi-tanulmányok*, ed. by Béla Köpeczi, Lajos Hopp, Ágnes R. Várkonyi, Budapest, 1980, pp. 415–443.
- 10 Garas, *Magyarországi festészet*, pp. 29, 61, 82, 99, 111, 117, 129, 147 (n. 1701).

1879 (Fig. 1).¹¹ The Lampel R. Bookstore edition of *Letters from Turkey* (1905), with introduction and notes by Elemér Császár (1874–1940), is illustrated by a monogramist Cs. and it varies the composition of the painting (Fig. 2).¹² Both cover and title-page follow the painting, but without the oval frame and the inscription, and in place of the belt and dagger a stylized sword appears. The plate glued between the second and third sheets of the edition of *Letters from Turkey* by the Franklin Society in 1906, edited and introduced by Béla Erődi (1846–1936), also follows the painting (Fig. 3).¹³ This is the work by the artist who also illustrated many other books for the Franklin Society, whom we only know by the monogram R. H. N. The portrait follows the painting but with a different inscription: “Clemens Mikes”. The artists of all three engravings and prints applied the pattern of the Cluj-Napoca painting and did not seek to develop a new composition.

The drawing of Mikes’s portrait by Gyula Szalay illustrates the book titled *Kelemen Mikes* by Rezső Gálos (1885–1954), published in 1954 (Fig. 4).¹⁴ The plate glued between the second and third sheets essentially follows the portrait painting in Cluj-Napoca. From an iconographic point of view there is nothing new in the illustration by Zoltán Rozsnyai (1919–1972) to the article *On the 200th anniversary of Kelemen Mikes’s death*, written by József Szauder (1917–1975) and published in the 1 October 1961 issue of *Népszabadság* (*Liberty of the People*) (Fig. 5).¹⁵

The illustration by Gyula Fazakas is published on the front and back covers of the *Wanderer School: Past and Present of the Kelemen Mikes Secondary School in Sfântu Gheorghe* in 1990 (Fig. 6).¹⁶ The 150-

11 Szilágyi, ‘Mikes Kelemen arczképe’, 1–3. Hungarian National Museum, Historical Picture Gallery, 58.1762, 58.1763; Rákóczi Museum of Tekirdağ.

12 Mikes Kelemen *törökországi levelei* (Letters from Turkey of Kelemen Mikes), ed. by Elemér Császár, Budapest, 1905.

13 Mikes Kelemen *törökországi levelei* (Letters from Turkey of Kelemen Mikes), ed. by Béla Erődi, Budapest, 1906.

14 11,5×11 cm. Rezső Gálos, *Mikes Kelemen*, Budapest, 1954.

15 6×5 cm. József Szauder, ‘Mikes Kelemen halálának 200. évfordulóján’ (On the 200th anniversary of Mikes’s death), *Népszabadság*, 1st October 1961, p. 8.

16 26,8×18,5 cm. *Vándorló iskola: A sepsiszentgyörgyi Mikes Kelemen Líceum múltja és jelene* (Wandering School: Past and present of the Kelemen Mikes Secondary School of Sepsiszentgyörgy), ed. by Károly Veress, Sepsiszentgyörgy, 1990.

year-old school accepted the proposal of history teacher József Kelemen on 18 January 1990 to assume the name Kelemen Mikes Theoretical Secondary School. The cover composition reflects this change of name: the Mikes face of the Cluj-Napoca painting appears on the upper part of the facade of the Secondary School of Sfântu Gheorghe.

In his copper engraving series *Sixty chief persons*, which represents the outstanding personalities of Transylvanian intellectual life, Gusztáv Cseh (1934–1985) also included the portrait of Mikes between 1977 and 1980.¹⁷ According to the long subtitle of the book, the aim of the artist was to follow the ancient representations with great similarity, and he did not seek to create new compositions.¹⁸ He represents Mikes on the basis of the painting in Cluj-Napoca, but instead of the oval frame he places the portrait in front of a semi-circular niche and changes the inscription. The aim of the artist was to give historical role models to his eight-year-old son Áron, to whom the album was presented, bound in leather, in 1980.¹⁹ The artist chose the sixty persons himself, also following the advice of Samu Benkő (1928–), Zsigmond Jakó (1916–2008) and Sándor Kányádi (1929–). The album, which originally existed only in one copy, was published by the Crater Workshop Association in 1993 with an introduction by Gyula László (1910–1998), from the legacy of Gusztáv Cseh, who died in 1985.²⁰

Medals, plaquettes

The medals by Ödön Fülöp Beck (1873–1945), made in 1907, deviate from the widely known iconographic tradition: Mikes is represented in profile, sitting at a table, wearing a fur cap and a sword (Plate IIIa–b). Beck portrayed Mikes on two medals and two ink drawings.²¹ They all represent the writer in the same manner with small deviations: he is

17 Gusztáv Cseh, *Pantheon*, foreword by Gyula László, Budapest, 1993.

18 Inscription: Zágoni Mikes Kelemen 1690–1761.

19 Cseh, *Pantheon*, p. 10.

20 Katalin Sz. Kürti, *Cseh Gusztáv 1934–1985* (Gusztáv Cseh 1934–1985), Hajdúszoboszló, [2000], p. 3.

21 Lajos Huszár and Béla v. Procopius, *Medailien- und Plakettenkunst in Ungarn*, Budapest, 1932, p. 859; György Gombosi, *Beck Ö. Fülöp* (Ö. Fülöp Beck), Bu-

writing with a quill pen and by candlelight. In the first medal Mikes cups his chin in the left palm and looks at the writing before him, he stretches his legs; the inscription is: "I dedicate this work to the memory of Kelemen Mikes".²² In the second medal Mikes looks into the distance and pulls his legs under himself; the inscription is: "To the memory of Kelemen Mikes".²³ The first medal has two variations in measurement: 22 and 6 centimetres in diameter. The 22-centimetre-version was the salary of the members of the Association of Medal-philous in 1908.²⁴ In 1909 Beck participated in the 8th International Art Exhibition in Venice with the Mikes medal.²⁵

Beck made the second medal at the request of the editors of the literary review *Nyugat* (*West*) (Fig. 7).²⁶ This medal decorated the front

dapest, 1938, fig. 1; László Heither, *Beck Ö. Fülöp* (Ö. Fülöp Beck), Budapest, 1969, pp. 11–12, fig. 7; *Beck Ö. Fülöp (1873–1945) emlékkiállítás* (Commemorative exhibition of Ö. Fülöp Beck), Magyar Nemzeti Galéria, Budapest, 1970, p. 28, cat. no. 74; Veress, *Mikes földi arca II.*, p. 7; Veress, *Mikes és a szülőföld*, p. 141; Sándor Kontha, *Beck Ö. Fülöp* (Ö. Fülöp Beck), Budapest, 1980, p. [24]; Károly Lyka, *Szobrászatunk a századfordulón* (Hungarian sculpture on the turn of the 19th–20th century), Budapest, 1983, p. 88; Viktória L. Kovásznai, *Modern magyar éremművészet I. 1896–1975 a Magyar Nemzeti Galéria gyűjteményéből* (Modern Hungarian Medals I. 1896–1975 in the collection of the Hungarian National Gallery), Budapest, 1993, p. 32, cat. no. 14; Sándor Illés, 'Az induló Nyugat és a szecesszió' (The starting review 'West' and the Art Nouveau), *Irodalomtörténet*, 1998, pp. 398–412; László Prohászka, 'Érmek igézete: Beck Ö. Fülöp és a Nyugat' (Enchantment of medals: Ö. Fülöp Beck and the review 'West'), *Magyar művészeti fórum*. 3. 2000. 1. pp. 17–19; Bálint Havas, 'Plakett' (Plaquette), *Beszélő*, 2001, no. 3. pp. 5–6.

- 22 1. bronze: Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Medal Cabinet, inv. no. 56.39-P; 56.873-P; 2. bronze: Museum of Literature, Art and Relics Collection, inv. no. 57.229.1., 90.96.1. (lost in 1992); 3. bronze: Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Medal Cabinet, inv. no. 43/967; 4. silver: Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Medal Cabinet, inv. no. É. N. 27.A/1912.3.
- 23 Lead, diam. 6,1, Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Medal Cabinet, inv. no. 14/951.
- 24 Cast iron: Budapest, Hungarian National Museum, Medal Cabinet, inv. no. 1.A/1909.1. Bronze: Budapest, Hungarian National Gallery, Medal Cabinet, inv. no. 56.1346-P. 'Ujdonságok: Beck Ödön Fülöp művei' (News: Works of Ö. Fülöp Beck) *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, vol. VI. 1907, p. 137.
- 25 'Magyar medáliák és plakettek Velenczében' (Hungarian medals and plaquettes in Venice), *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, vol. VIII. 1909, p. 146.
- 26 'Beck Ö. Fülöp emlékezései' (Memory of Ö. Fülöp Beck), in *Rippl-Rónai József emlékezései*, Budapest, 1957, p. 253; Veress, 'Mikes földi arca II.', 7; Endre Illés, 'Filippo

cover of the review from the first edition in 1908 to the last edition in 1941.²⁷ It became the emblem of the review²⁸ and appears also on the letter paper and the seal of *Nyugat* (Plate IVa).²⁹ The spiritual successor of *Nyugat*, the review titled *Magyar Csillag* (*Hungarian Star*) took over the emblem.³⁰

After Beck's medals, new plaques depicting Mikes were made only in the second half of the 20th century. Béla Mladonyiczky (1936–1995) made the first grade of the Mikes-plaque at the request of the Association for the Kelemen Mikes Secondary School in Battonya in 1964 (Plate IVb).³¹ The School changed its name from State Kelemen Mikes Secondary School to Kelemen Mikes Secondary School and Technical School for Agriculture and Engineering. The bronze medal is 10 centimetres in diameter. It represents the young Mikes with long hair, wearing a short coat. The plaque is awarded by the secondary school to persons cultivating the tradition of Mikes.

The second grade of the Mikes plaque was also made at the request of the Association for the Kelemen Mikes Secondary School in Battonya in 1982 by Géza Varga (1951–) (Fig. 8).³² The plaque has two parts. On the obverse, in the upper part one can read the beginning of the first letter of the *Letters from Turkey*. The lower part on the obverse

(Beck Ö. Fülöp)', in *A só íze*, Budapest, 1976, p. 67; Veress, *Mikes és a szülőföld*, p. 141.

27 Veress, 'Mikes földi arca II.', 7; Éva Lakatos, 'A borítólapok sorsa könyvtárainkban' (Fortune of covers in our libraries), *Magyar Könyvszemle* vol. 115. 1999. n. 3. pp. 352–362; Prohászka, 'Érmekek igézete', pp. 17–19.

28 Ákos Bakos, 'Beszélgetés Babits Mihállyal a jubiláló Nyugat három évtizedéről' (Interview with Mihály Babits on the review 'West' celebrating his 30th anniversary), *Nyugat* 1937. no. 2.

29 Letter paper: Budapest, Institute for Literary Studies of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Archives of Gyula Illyés, inv. no. G 4.VI/1. Seal: bronze, diam. 3 cm. Budapest, Museum of Literature, Art and Relics Collection, inv. no. 85.162.1.

30 Ágnes Széchenyi, *Lélegzetvétel. Válasz 1946–1949* (Breathing. The review 'Response' 1946–1949), Budapest 2010, p. 15.

31 Diam. 10 cm. Battonya, Kelemen Mikes Secondary School. Veress, *Mikes és a szülőföld*, 140; *A középiskolai oktatás négy évtizede Battonyán, 1947–1987: Mikes Kelemen Gimnázium, Ipari-Mezőgazdasági Szakközépiskola és Kollégium* (Four decades of secondary education in Battonya), ed. by István Formanek, Battonya, 1987, p. 120, 129; László Takács, *A battonyai gimnázium alapítása* (Foundation of the secondary school of Battonya), Battonya, 2000, p. 43.

32 *A középiskolai oktatás*, pp. 121, 130.

represents the portrait of Mikes following the tradition of the painting of Cluj-Napoca. On the reverse, in the lower part one can read the inscription “Count Kelemen Mikes, chamberlain of Ferenc Rákóczi II” known from the painting of Cluj-Napoca.

Fresco, gouache

Mikes is most often depicted in portrait compositions and rarely in scenes from his life, as is the case for example with Ferenc Rákóczi II or Zsuzsanna Kőszeghy. The fresco by Andor Dudits (1866–1944) above the northern gate of the Cathedral in Košice, painted between 1914–1916, represents the life of the Rákóczis, including the old prince with Mikes in Tekirdağ (Fig. 9).³³ The painter won the tender for the painting above the ashes of Rákóczi and his followers, which had been brought home, from among eight invited competitors. He divided the wall (13.5 meters high and 8.50 meters wide) into three main parts. He wrote about this in his submission as follows:

On the longest continuous surface I tried to summarize the life of Rákóczi using symbols, avoiding realistic episodes, and highlighting the key moments. Right at the bottom Ilona Zrínyi (1643–1703) is looking after Ferenc Rákóczi in the cradle. Higher up we see the adolescent as his tutor instills the fear of God in his heart, and further on the prisoner Rákóczi accompanied by sergeants into the prison of Wiener Neustadt. At the top of the staircase, which expresses the prime of Rákóczi’s life and glory, the prince, mounted, raises his sword, and dedicates himself to the protection of the homeland. [...] At the bottom I represented Rákóczi at the end of his life with his page Kelemen Mikes in Tekirdağ.³⁴

The composition follows the original division of the wall, and fills the surface completely with the monumental figures. The figure of Mikes appears on the right side of the fresco behind the prince, who cups his chin in the left palm and holds a sword.

33 László Éber, ‘A Rákóczi-freskó’ (The Rákóczi fresco), *Művészet* 11(1912) n. 9. pp. 331–339; Béla Wick, *Kassa története és műemlékei* (History and monuments of Kassa/Kosice), Kassa, 1941, p. 340.

34 Éber, ‘A Rákóczi-freskó’, pp. 338–339.

The gouache painting by László Bartha (1908–1998), made in 1961, shows a new approach radically different from the historicist fresco (Plate V).³⁵ It depicts the figures of Mikes and Zsuzsanna Kőszeghy in three-quarters, to their knees: the writer is standing on the right of Zsuzsanna, who is sitting on a chair. The standing format watercolour shows the two young figures in vivid colours: Mikes's features are close to the features of his portrait in Cluj-Napoca, but in this picture he is wearing a yellow dolman and trousers with a red sash and a short red coat lined with black fur. Zsuzsanna is wearing a white, loose-sleeved blouse and lace, a red dress with a white apron, and a white veil on her hair. She is holding flowers on her lap. In the lyrical tone of the picture there is nothing to suggest the unfulfilled nature of the couple's love. This work belongs to the series of literary inspirations painted in gouache by Bartha since the beginning of the 1960s.³⁶

Series of illustrations and other graphics

Béla Gy. Szabó (1905–1985) created the first series of Mikes in the genre of illustration. The woodcut series was made for the novel titled *Toward Zágón* (Novel about *Tekirdağ*) by János Komáromi (1890–1937), which was published in continuous episodes in the review *Pásztortűz* (*Herdsman's Campfire*) edited by Sándor Reményik (1890–1941) in 1934.³⁷ The novel, dedicated to the historian Miklós Krenner (1875–1968), tells of the main events of Mikes's life from the 1722 marriage of Miklós Bercsényi and Zsuzsanna Kőszeghy to his death. The first woodcut represents the portrait recalling the Cluj-Napoca painting.³⁸ Gy. Szabó created two woodcuts to the part narrating the death of Bercsényi and the departure of Zsuzsanna. The first shows Mikes full length, contemplating, cupping his chin in his right palm at night, under the

35 Budapest, Museum of Literature, Art and Relics Collection, inv. no. 61.1149.1. 36×32 cm.

36 Horváth György, *Bartha László* (László Bartha), Budapest, 1978, p. 44.

37 János Komáromi, 'Zágón felé: Regény Rodostórol' (Toward Zágón: Novel about Tekirdağ), *Pásztortűz* 1934. no. 13., 16., 19–20. and 23–24.

38 Komáromi, 'Zágón felé', 1934/16, p. 334.

crescent moon, outdoors.³⁹ The second depicts Mikes with a restless soul, in sorrow and suffering from his unfulfilled love (Fig. 10).⁴⁰ Both woodcuts represent Mikes as a middle-aged Székely in boots, with a fur cap. The landscape elements – the tree arching over the figure in the first, the lonely trees against the low horizon and the hilly landscape background in the second – refer to the internal world of the writer. While in the first the composition, with thin white lines in the big, black surfaces, gives the impression of silence and immobility, in the second the black surface intersected by white lines reflects the desolation and anxiety of the figure.⁴¹ The last chapter of the novel takes place in 1758, when Erzsébet Paksy (?–1758) comforts the writer, who has almost gone blind, and then after the recovery of his eyesight Mikes writes the last letter to his aunt. The last illustration depicts the old Mikes with his servant István Horváth, walking on the seashore at Tekirdağ.⁴²

The three illustrations depicting Mikes by János Kass (1927–2010), drawn for the novel *Excluded from his country* by Rózsa Ignác (1909–1979), published in 1980, use a distinctive solution.⁴³ The first shows the child Mikes with a fur cap on his head and a rod in his hand, taking leave of his mother. The second picture represents Mikes and Zsuzsanna Kőszeghy shown among the drying clothes (Fig. 11). On the cover we see the long-haired Mikes in semi-profile, shown from behind, watching the ships in the port. These pictures represent a new approach to the iconography of the writer.

Béla Petry (1902–1996), designer of many ex-libris from the second half of the 1920s, prepared two fine ex libris in 1990 marking the 300th anniversary of Mikes's birth for Dénes and Csilla Gábor (Plate VI).⁴⁴ In Dénes Gábor's ex-libris we see the portrait of Mikes after the Cluj-Napoca painting in a blue medallion. In the lower right corner there is a quill pen and a roll of paper with a passage from *Letters from*

39 Komáromi, 'Zágon felé', 1934/19, p. 387.

40 Komáromi, 'Zágon felé', 1934/20, p. 413.

41 Ö. Gábor Pogány, Gy. Szabó Béla gyűjteményes kiállítása (Exhibition of Béla Gy. Szabó), Exhibition, Hungarian National Gallery, Budapest, 1966.

42 Komáromi, 'Zágon felé', 1934/23–24, p. 487.

43 Ignác Rózsa, *Hazájából kirekesztve* (Excluded from his country), Budapest, 1980, pp. 39, 117, 181.

44 José Vicente de Bragança, 'An Example Of Achievement In The Art Of The Bookplate', *Arte do Exlibris*, 12(1981) nr. 96.

Turkey. In Csilla Gábor's ex-libris Mikes is sitting at a table in front of a semicircular window, cupping his chin in his left palm and holding a quill in his right hand. The moon and the star shining into the room recall the Turkish flag. While the first ex-libris shows the young, armoured figure of Mikes, the second depicts an older, hunchbacked man, wearing a long robe and immersed in thought. The two ex-libris sum up the tradition of the pictorial representation of Mikes. Both have the inscription: "Kelemen Mikes was born 300 years ago". In the second a quotation from the poem *Mikes* by József Lévy (1825–1918) can also be read: "I listen to the murmur of the sea alone [...] Alone [...] alone".⁴⁵

In his caricature *Kelemen Mikes*, drawn in 1998, Tibor Kaján (1921–) developed the composition of the second medal by Ö. Fülöp Beck (Fig. 12).⁴⁶ Mikes is sitting on a chair without a back in front of the house in Tekirdağ, at an X-legged table, writing letters with a quill. A turbaned Turkish postman is standing in front of him. The inscription of the first variant is: "I go to Europe, I take the letters". The inscription of the second variant is: "Addressee unknown. Return to sender".

Public statues and reliefs

Lajos Berán (1882–1943) carved the first public relief of Mikes in 1930 (Fig. 13). The bronze relief is in the National Memory Hall on Cathedral Square in Szeged.⁴⁷ The portrait, after the features of the Cluj-Napoca painting is composed in a tondo. Compared with the painting, the features show an older man with a longer moustache; he is in armour, but the belt and the dagger are missing. The four corners of the relief are decorated by ornaments of vegetation, in the top one the inscription reads "Kelemen Mikes of Zagon 1690–1761".

The first bust of Mikes was created by Gábor Vágó (1894–1968) in 1932. The life-size plaster was unveiled in the hall of the István Báthory Secondary School in Cluj-Napoca.⁴⁸ The sculptor insisted on

45 József Lévy, 'Mikes (Rodostó, 1758)', *Magyar Dalnok* 1891, p. 106.

46 *Török Füzetek* 1998/4 (December).

47 180×120 cm.

48 Jenő Murádin, 'Vágó Gábor 1894–1968' (Gábor Vágó 1894–1968), *Studia Historica* 2., Szeged, 1999, pp. 549–567.

the historical traditions of sculpture, but the figure of Mikes is not rigid or static. The head, turning to the right, gives impetus to the composition. The clothing has volume, the coat laps over the base. Mikes is holding a scroll in his left hand and a quill pen in his right.

The second bust of Mikes was created by Dezső Erdey (1902–1957) some time before 1957 (Fig. 18).⁴⁹ The 28-centimetre bronze is characterized by simple shapes and strong contours.⁵⁰ The block-like head is composed to be viewed from one angle. The short moustache evokes the portrait of Cluj-Napoca. The narrow, pointed nose and protruding jaw, however, are significantly different from the painting.

The next relief, the work of Ferenc Simon (1922–), was unveiled on the facade of the Kelemen Mikes Secondary School in Battonya on 4th November 1967 (Fig. 16).⁵¹ It was intended to be the school's emblem. The school assumed the name of Mikes in 1950. There is, however, no biographical or literary relationship with the writer; the school wanted to offer the writer's life and work as a model for the students.⁵² The school governors and the Association for the Kelemen Mikes Secondary School have commissioned many pieces of art representing Mikes. The white limestone relief is consistent with the imagery tradition of the painting conserved in Cluj-Napoca: Mikes appears as a bearded young man with long hair in the trapezoidal frame with a slightly curved top. The portrait has simple and solid forms and the head is slightly inclined to the right. The gently rounded surfaces create a lyrical impression.

The characteristic relief by Zsolt Szilágyi (1932–2010) represents a different approach from the preceding works (Fig. 14). It was created in 1968, for the 20th anniversary of the Hungarian State Theatre of Sfântu Gheorghe, on the occasion of the presentation of the drama *Mikes* by Dániel Veress.⁵³ The copper relief shows the face of an old Szekely peasant.

49 Budapest, Museum of Literature, Art and Relics Collection, inv. no. 65.49.1.

50 Péter László, *Erdey Dezső 1902–1957* (Dezső Erdey 1902–1957), Exhibition, Veszprém, Museum of Bakony, Veszprém, 1987, p. 6.

51 Budapest, Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art, Archives S/XXI.

52 Veress, *Mikes és a szülőföld*, p. 140; *A középiskolai oktatás*, p. 120, 128.

53 Dániel Veress, *Mikes: Négy tél: Történelmi dráma két részben, utójátékkal* (Mikes: Four winters), Bucharest, 1969; Veress, 'Mikes földi arca I.', pp. 4–5; Veress, *Mikes és a szülőföld*, p. 140.

The bust by Barna Búza (1910–2010) represents Mikes with long hair, a lined forehead and a long, thin moustache (Fig. 15).⁵⁴ He is looking straight ahead and wearing a coat. Two copies of the bust were set up in the 1980s: the first for the 35th anniversary of the Kelemen Mikes Secondary School in the lobby of the school in Battonya in 1982,⁵⁵ and the second in the Bajcsy Zsilinszky housing estate in Berettyóújfalu on 28th May 1988.⁵⁶ While the first copy is made of pyrogranite, the second is of so-called pyrobronze, which is the artist's invention. The point is that he burned 200 millimetres of bronze to the pyrogranite of Pécs at 1,200 degrees, so the material became very durable.⁵⁷ This statue fits into the series of works depicting Mikes as an old Szekely peasant. An other example of these characteristics is the bust by László Hunyadi (1933–) placed in the staircase of the Péter Bod County Library in Sfântu Gheorghe.⁵⁸ The bust (carved in 1990) depicts Mikes with a lined forehead looking downwards to his front.

The sculptor from Sovata, Vince Bocskai (1949–), also made a bust of Mikes in 1990, but for financial reasons the work was only unveiled on 24 May 1997 in the courtyard of the renovated mansion of the Mikes family in Zágón (Fig. 17).⁵⁹ Unlike the two previous busts, this displays the features of the young Mikes as seen in the Cluj-Napoca portrait.

István Kiss Sunyi (1936–) made a bronze bust of Mikes at the commission of the Rákóczi Museum of Sárospatak in 1992; one copy of it can be found there, while another was donated to the Rákóczi Museum of Tekirdağ⁶⁰ by the Rákóczi Association of Borsi and Mukachevo, the

54 Budapest, Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art, Archives B/53.

55 'Mikes Kelemen új szobra' (New statue of Kelemen Mikes), *Új Tükör* 1st May 1983, p. 43; *A középiskolai oktatás*, p. 131; Mihály Gergely, *Búza Barna keresztútjai* (Way of the Cross by Barna Búza), Budapest, 2001, p. 11.

56 67×62,5×35 cm. Budapest, Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art, Archives B/53.

57 Interview of Gábor Tokai with Barna Búza, Autumn 2009. Manuscript.

58 Modell of plaster.

59 70×80×30 cm. *Háromszék* (Sepsiszentgyörgy), 25th October 1997; *Háromszék* (Sepsiszentgyörgy), 26th November 1997; Dániel Veress, 'Szoboravató' (Dedication of statue), *A Hét*, 1997, n. 23. p. 7; Dániel Veress, 'Szoboravató' (Dedication of statue), *Művelődés* (Kolozsvár), 1997/9, pp. 3–4; 'Beszélgetés Bocskay Vince szobrászművésszel' (Interview with the sculptor Vince Bocskay), *Erdélyi Napló* (Nagyvárad), 15th October 2002.

60 55 cm. Györkné Mátéfy, 'Magyarok találkozója Törökországban' (Reunion of Hungarians in Turkey), *Török Füzetek*, n. 1., 30th April 1993., pp. 11–12.

Mikes Circle of Zágón and the Town of Sárospatak (Fig. 19).⁶¹ An engraving based on the Cluj-Napoca portrait was the model for the Kiss Sunyi bust.⁶² The wavy hair highlights the smoothness of the young face. The surface of the armour poses a counterpoint to the rich drapery of the shawl.

Among the public works there is also a large wooden sculpture. The composition by Béla Mónus was commissioned by the Tekirdağ Association of Budapest and the Rákóczi Association (Plate VII).⁶³ It was unveiled in the town park of Tekirdağ in 2000. The three parts of the ensemble represent Mikes in the middle, his aunt on the left, and Zsuzsanna Kőszeghy on the right.⁶⁴ The two minor figures are leaning slightly towards the middle, which directs the attention to the main figure. The young Mikes has long, wavy hair. He is standing in a niche carved into the trunk. He is stretching out his hands and letting a bird loose towards his aunt. The top of the trunk is like a wooden headboard. The figure of the aunt is a wrinkled old woman wearing a shawl. She is reading a letter from Mikes. Zsuzsanna Kőszeghy is wearing her hair in two long braids. She is holding a handkerchief in her right hand and a tulip in her left. The sculptures are characterized by a block-like shaping and strong, great hands. The monument does not follow previous works but creates an entirely new composition. The sculpture represents exile, captivity and desire for freedom.

One of the highest quality works among the sculptures is the energetic, full-length bronze statue of Mikes by Alpár Veres in the Kelemen Mikes Secondary School in Sfântu Gheorghe (Plate VIII).

61 Budapest, Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art, Archives K/XXIX.

62 Budapest, Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art, Archives K/XXIX.

63 Main figure: H. 380 cm, diam. 80 cm. Left minor figure: H. 250 cm, diam. 50 cm. Right minor figure: H. 250 cm, diam. 60 cm. Budapest, Hungarian Institute for Culture and Art, Archives M/17.

64 (bodolai), 'Mikes-szoborcsoport Rodostóban' (Sculpture composition of Mikes in Rodostó), *Népújság* (Marosvásárhely), 27th October 2000; Erzsébet Erdélyi and Iván Nobel, 'A mi nemzeti vagyonunk nem a földben, hanem a főként fogalmazódik meg' (Our national possessions are not in the land, but in the heads), *Új Pedagógiai Szemle*, 2001/4, pp. 91–98. Rózsa Lampert, 'Mónus Béla faragó művész, aki II. Rákóczi Ferenc apródjának, bizalmas titkárának, Mikes Kelemennek emlékművet állított Zágónban és Rodostóban' (Monument of Mikes in Zágón and Rodostó carved by Béla Mónus), *Örökségvédelem*, 7 (2003), n. 9–10, pp. 17–19; Lajos Sylvester, 'Törökországi portyán', *Honismeret* 2007/1 XXIX.

Mikes is wearing tight trousers and top-boots. He is holding a book in his left hand and his coat with his right. The dynamics of the statue are provided by two opposing movements: he steps forward with the left foot, while his upper body turns right. This dual movement is followed by the coat.

Summary

The fine art representations of Kelemen Mikes vary widely in terms of technique, genre and function alike. The process by which the two main ranges of the tradition have unfolded has a clear outline: one range has followed the Cluj-Napoca portrait, the other, to a lesser extent, is seen in the medals of Ö. Fülöp Beck. Relatively few works have a radically different view of Mikes, one seeking to show new formal solutions or new aspects of the writer's personality. I have also tried to outline how the interpretation of Mikes has changed in various eras. Although the corpus of the works is far from the quantity of artistic representations of other prominent historical or literary figures, the quality of some is remarkable. The iconographic and stylistic highlights of the corpus are: the 19th-century copy of the 18th century portrait, the medals of Ö. Fülöp Beck, the woodcut series of Béla Gy. Szabó, the gouache of László Bartha, the illustrations of János Kass, the busts by Barna Búza and Gábor Vágó, the full-length statue by Alpár Veres and the caricature by Tibor Kaján. At the end of the 19th century the portrait in Cluj-Napoca became the canonical model for every future representation, and this type of the young Mikes is also present in graphics, reliefs and statues today. A different approach appears in the woodcut series of Béla Gy. Szabó and the relief by Zsolt Szilágyi, in which Mikes is depicted as a middle-aged or elderly Székely peasant.



MIKES KELEMEN (1711.)

Fig. 1
Ferenc Haske and Zsigmond Pollák: Kelemen Mikes. 1879



Fig. 2
Cs.: Kelemen Mikes. 1905



Franklin-Társulat

R. H. N. fec.

Clemens Mikes.

Fig. 3
R. H. N. Kelemen Mikes. 1906



Fig. 4
Gyula Szalay: Kelemen Mikes. 1954



Fig. 5
Zoltán Rozsnyai: Kelemen Mikes. 1961

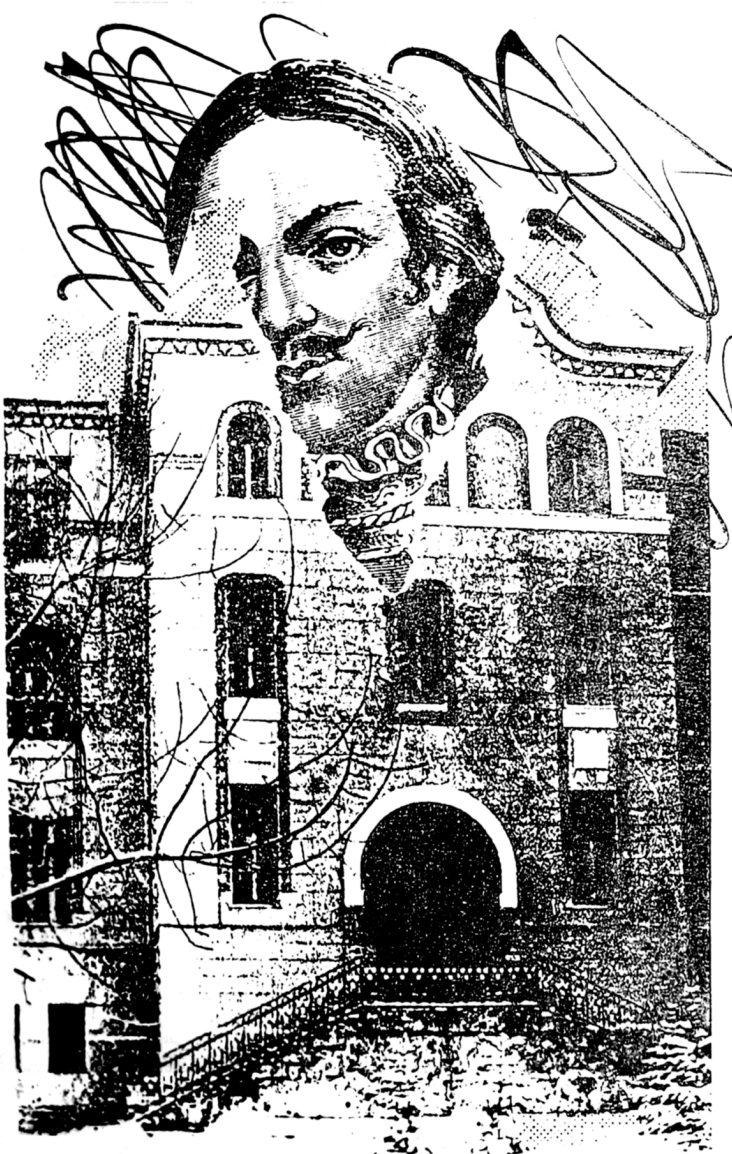


Fig. 6
Gyula Fazakas: Kelemen Mikes. 1990

NYUGAT

FŐSZERKESZTŐ: IGNOTUS

SZERKESZTŐK: BABITS MIHÁLY, GELLÉRT OSZKÁR, OSVÁT ERNŐ
FŐMUNKATÁRSÁK: ELEK ARTÚR, FENYŐ MIKSA, FÜST MILAN,
KARINTHY FRIGYES, KOSZTOLÁNYI DEZSÓ, LACZKÓ GÉZA,
MÓRICZ ZSIGMOND, NAGY LAJOS, NAGY ZOLTÁN, SCHÖPFLIN
ALADÁR, SZINI GYÚLA, TERSÁNSZKY J. JENŐ, TÓTH ÁRPÁD

TARTALOM:

TERSÁNSZKY J. JENŐ: A medál (Teljes regény)

KOSZTOLÁNYI DEZSÓ: Tizenhárom új vers
DÉRY TIBOR: Alkonyodik, a bárányok elvéreznek (Regény V.)

FÜST MILÁN: Olaszországi levél
PFEIFER ISTVÁN hagyatékából: Vers

SCHÖPFLIN ALADÁR: Két új francia szindarab
KOMOR ANDRÁS: René Boylesve

DRÖK SOPHIE: Versek
MARCONNAY TIBOR: Versek

TÓTH ALADÁR: Zeneéletünk krónikája

FIGYELŐ:

ZERDAHELYI SÁNDOR: Herman Heijermans – LEHEL ISTVÁN: Pasteiner Gyula – SCHÖPFLIN ALADÁR: Afrikai emlékek – HALÁSZ GYÚLA: Kanadától Panamáig – ALKÁLAY ÖDÖN: Van-e még Schillernek hatása?


A NYUGAT HÍREI:
Nyugat-matiné. – A Nyugat könyvesboltja

DECEMBER 20.

SZERKESZTŐSÉG ÉS KIADÓHIVATAL:
VI., Vilmos császár-út 51.
TELEFON: 63 60.

XVII. ÉVFOLYAM
:: 24. SZÁM ::
:: 1924. XII. 20. ::

Arácsnyi szám.



24. SZÁM.

KÖNYVESBOLT ÉS FŐKKIADÓHIVATAL:
VI., Andrassy-út 6.
TELEFON: 211-12.

ELŐFIZETÉSI ÁRA:
:: NEGYEDÉVRE 120.000 K
:: EGÉSZ ÉVRE 400.000 K

**MEGJELENIK ::
MINDEN HÓ ELEJÉN
ES KÖZEPÉN ::**

Ára 30.000 K.

A Nyugat könyvesboltja: VI., Andrassy-út 6.

Fig. 7

Cover page of the review Nyugat, 20th December 1924.



Fig. 8
Géza Varga: Kelemen Mikes. 1982. Battonya, Kelemen Mikes Secondary School



Fig. 9
Andor Dudits: Fresco of Rákóczi. 1914–1916.
Košice, Cathedral, above the north portal.
Cartoon



Fig. 10
Béla Gy. Szabó: Kelemen Mikes. 1934



Fig. 11
János Kass: Kelemen Mikes. 1980



Fig. 12
Tibor Kaján (Kalász): Kelemen
Mikes. 1990's



Fig. 13
Lajos Berán: Kelemen Mikes. 1930.
Szeged, Dóm Square, National Me-
morial Hall



Fig. 14
Zsolt Szilágyi: Kelemen Mikes. 1968



Fig. 15
Barna Búza: Kelemen Mikes. 1982. Battonya,
Kelemen Mikes Secondary School



Fig. 16
Ferenc Simon: Kelemen Mikes. 1967. Battonya, Kelemen Mikes Secondary School



Fig. 17
Vince Bocskai: Kelemen Mikes. 1991. Zágón, Mikes country-house



Fig. 18
Dezső Erdey: Kelemen Mikes. Before
1957. Budapest, Petőfi Museum of Literature, Art and Relics Collection, inv.
no. 65.49.1.



Fig. 19
István Kiss Sunyi: Kelemen Mikes.
1992. Tekirdağ, Museum of Rákóczi