

## Rewriting – Republishing – Distribution

### The publication networks of László Cholnoky between 1900–1914. A case study<sup>1</sup>

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#### ABSTRACT

Contemporary press networks played a significant role in shaping the literary career-building strategies of Hungarian writers at the fin-de-siècle. Several of these writers served as journalists or maintained ties with numerous newspapers concurrently. The networks involved in the publication of an author's text reveal valuable information on the operations of the literary institution (the literary establishment) during the era, particularly in the careers of relatively unknown authors like László Cholnoky. During the early years of his career, Cholnoky's strategies diverged from those of his contemporaries in several ways: he refrained from publishing his first volume for an extended period, withdrew from publishing intermittently, and revised his work more frequently than others. This paper will investigate the publication networks Cholnoky utilised between the years 1900 and 1914, shedding light on the unique aspects of publishing and networking relevant in three periods.

**Keywords:** László Cholnoky, publication network, Hungarian literature, text-distribution, literary agency

The modern Hungarian literary establishment took shape during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy (also known as the dual monarchy, 1867–1918). The structure, which was rather ambiguous and a combination of nationalist and liberal-capitalist elements, was sustained by three primary pillars. The first pillar consisted of a variety of laws and regulations, including the first Hungarian copyright law from 1884. These regulations established the authority of individuals such as authors, editors and translators within the institution. The second pillar was made up of official “authorities”, which included the Academy of Sciences (established in 1825), the various literary organisations (such as the Kisfaludy Society, the Petőfi Society, the Association of Budapest Journalists) and the National Theatre. The third pillar was

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the literary marketplace, comprising numerous newspapers, journals, literary agencies and publishing houses. The second pillar was defined by conservative and nationalist tendencies, whereas the market was characterised by business motives and capitalist dynamics. Mass alphabetisation, which was the prerequisite for the institutionalisation of literature and revolutionised reading in Western Europe around 1800, served crucial nationalist purposes in the eastern part of the continent (Str ath 2015, 14). Ironically, it was this “liberal reform” that, by creating a mass of readers, “slowly decentralised” the “older practices of elite composition and coterie circulation” (Mee-Sangster 2022, 1).

The literary establishment needed to manage not only the large number of readers, but also the vast array of writers. The quantity of newspapers consistently publishing fiction rose significantly, and even daily papers were populated with feuilletons and serial novels. (For the significance of feuilletons and the daily press see Bachleitner 2019, 37-38 and Pietrzak 2018.) In the literary marketplace, two primary career paths existed: the novelist-journalist and the freelancer. The former involves working for a fixed salary as in-house editorial staff, whereas the latter, as explained by a significant contemporary writer, Lajos Nagy, “had no employment, association with any newspaper, and depended entirely on how much they wrote, how many pieces they could place, and the fees they could gain from it” (Nagy 1977, 474-475; for similarities to the Victorian press, see Law 2000, 152-170). A typical Hungarian fin-de-si cle author created their debut volume before the age of thirty, which generated a publication network simultaneously through republications. In this regard, L szl  Cholnoky was atypical because he did not publish a book until 1918 and he generated a unique network based on self-plagiarism and distribution.

L szl  Cholnoky was born in 1879 in Veszpr m, the centre of Veszpr m County, populated by 12,575 inhabitants (according to the 1880 census). One of his elder brothers, Viktor, became a novelist-journalist in Budapest, while the other, Jen , became a renowned geographer. L szl  moved to Budapest in 1900 and started studying law at the university, but did not complete his studies. He briefly worked as an official in the Hungarian State Railways Company, but he left his job in 1906 to become a freelance writer. Biographical fragments indicate that he became addicted to alcohol and ended up becoming homeless by the 1910s. He recovered from his addiction during WWI and was quite active in the literary marketplace for a few years. In 1918 he published a volume of short stories named *Bartholomew’s Day* and a novel titled *Piroska* in 1919. After the Hungarian Soviet Republic, a short communist regime (March 1919 – August 1919), he failed to find a place in the new Hungarian literary establishment. He became persona non grata in literary circles because he was caught forging texts many times. His later books went unnoticed and he lost contact with the literary world. He took his own life when he realised that he would not receive the Baumgarten Prize, the first Hungarian civil literary

award for impoverished but talented writers, in 1929. (For Cholnoky's life see Nemeskéri 1989 and Wirágh 2022.)

The incomplete biography above does not paint Cholnoky as an exceptional author, but his attempts to become part of the literary establishment reveal several little-examined interesting facts. This is because, when we consider an author's oeuvre, we typically aim to make aesthetic observations. Consequently, scholars rarely concentrate on the first few years of a writer's literary career because they usually include works that did not get published in book format. (Although including these works is practically mandatory in monographs, chronologies, and critical editions.) A more in-depth examination of an author's first years in a literary institution can uncover new information about the institution itself. Such research can help us understand the hierarchy of different publishing platforms, the fixed and adjustable opportunities of a novice author within the system, or possible ways of publishing and republishing texts through the multifarious actors in the establishment.

What were the primary standards for publishing around the turn of the century? In the Austro-Hungarian monarchy over a hundred years ago, when an author published a text in a periodical, they typically did not have an exclusive contract. This meant that they could republish their work in other periodicals and even modify their work, including the title. With so many periodicals available, the editors could not possibly verify the originality of the short stories, poems, and essays published in the *feuilleton* column “below the line” (Bengi 2016, 80-87; Bezeczky 2015, 63-72). In addition, distribution networks sent texts from popular Budapest authors to rural periodicals with the permission of the authors and journalists. Many periodicals, however, unlawfully published essays to fill their column inches; thus, authors could be ignored with ease within the *fin-de-siècle* Hungarian literary institution (they were not informed about the fact of the publication).

Around 1900, republication was a common practice. In particular, “republication in book form” made it possible “to place texts into a new constellation and to present them as a unified whole reflective of the author's aesthetic intentions” (Franzel 2023, 26). It was possible to republish a text with no obstacle until it was included in a volume. Cholnoky's practice, self-plagiarism, was an act with serious consequences. It is true, as Ruthven stated, that “since writers tend to be readers, what they have read is likely to show up in what they write” and “tolerance of plagiarism is aided by the fact that the law takes no interest in self-plagiarism, which is the use of bits of one's earlier writings as unmarked components of a ‘new’ text” (Ruthven 2001, 170). Cholnoky's extreme writing practice, persistent self-plagiarism, resulted in a lack of literary output.

This paper explores the first part of Cholnoky's career through his publication networks, but before doing so two issues need to be examined in more detail: the number of original and fake texts in the first fifteen

years of Cholnoky's career and a specific example of Cholnoky's unique text-editing processes.

The first fifteen years of Cholnoky's career can be divided into three periods. In 1900 Cholnoky began to publish his writings in journals; he soon found his first important contacts, but did not begin to publish continuously until 1906. Between 1900 and 1905 only three of his 30 texts were republished by the daily *Hazánk* [Homeland], entitled *Az Ország* [The Country] until 1906. He started self-plagiarising in 1906 (previously published texts were republished under a different title, but with almost the same body). In the second period, 1907 Cholnoky published the most original texts in a single year. The third period began in 1908, when the rate of publication of original texts began to decline slowly, with his last known original short story published in June 1912 and last known original article published in November 1913. He did not publish anything between August 1914 and September 1915. Between 1908 and 1914, Cholnoky greatly expanded his network and made it more complicated by entering a nationwide network of text distribution that had links to almost 170 rural newspapers. Thus, the zero point in publications in 1914 was the result of the low number of publications, not a lack of connections. The figures show this slow decline in the following way:

	1900-1906	1907	1908-1914
<b>original texts</b>	64	54	77
<b>republished texts</b>	12	109	635
<b>self-plagiarised texts</b>	16	34	56
<b>total number</b>	92	197	768

**Table 1.** Cholnoky's original and non-original publications between 1900 and 1914

In the first period Cholnoky's annual average was 9 original, 2 republished and 2 self-plagiarised texts, while in the third period it was 11 original, 91 republished and 8 self-plagiarised texts. The figures for 1907 far exceeded those for the other years: 54 original texts, 109 republications, 34 self-plagiarised texts. In another sense, these averages are striking because of the number of texts that were republished/self-plagiarised at least once. 59% of the original texts (118 out of 195) were never republished and/or self-plagiarised. This means that republished texts were reused an average of 12 times. (Total publications of 1058 minus the original texts of 118. The result – 940 – divided by the number of texts republished at least once – 77.)

Nevertheless, only a few texts were self-plagiarised many times. An extreme example is *Scannadio szobrai* [Scannadio's Sculptures], which appeared nine times between 1906 and 1914 and was included in the author's first book in 1918. There were seven versions of this text, but the main plot remained almost the same.

This short story was first published in *Az Ország* in 1906 and six months later it was republished in the Catholic weekly *Magyar Szemle* [Hungarian Review] under a new title, *Az élő szobrok* [Living Sculptures]. The text remained almost the same in the third (*Nyomorúság* [Beggary], February 1907) and fourth versions (*Morphi szobrai* [Morphi's Sculptures], August 1907), although the latter was republished under the name of Cholnoky's wife. In January 1908, Cholnoky rewrote the text (shortening it and changing the names of the protagonists) and sold it to the daily newspaper *Magyar Állam* [State of Hungary] as *Agyagemberkék* [Clay Figures]. The magazine distributed the story to seven rural newspapers between 1908 and 1910, possibly without Cholnoky's permission, as these rural publications were all anonymous (this anonymity was often a sign of stolen texts). Ten days later, the short story was republished in the daily *Független Magyarország* [Independent Hungary] under the title *Megéledt figurák* [Living Figures]. Cholnoky did not develop or expand the story nor did he retain the changes made to the earlier versions: the 1909 republication of *Szobrok* [Sculptures] had only a new title, while the final version of 1912 was a republication of the 1906 version. This is how the publication history can be drawn:

*Az Ország* (A1) → *Magyar Szemle* (B1) → *Budapest* (C1) → *Ország-Világ* (D1) → *Magyar Állam*, **distributor** (E1) → *rural distribution* (E2–E5) → *Független Magyarország* (F1) → *rural distribution* (E6–E7) → *A Család* (G1) → *rural distribution* (E8) → *Tolnai Világlapja* (B2)

Along the way, the author of *Scannadio's sculptures* changed often (Mrs. Cholnoky, anonymous), as did the medium (newspaper, journal or magazine) and the names of the protagonists. This scheme, the serial republication of a short story, was a legal method in Hungarian literature at the beginning of the 20th century, but Cholnoky's use (or frequency) of this method was extreme. He often modified the latest version, for example, by deleting whole paragraphs, so that his creative process cannot be interpreted philologically as a linear genealogy. (Authors usually correct and expand their texts in a "linear" manner when republishing rather than deleting words or paragraphs as Cholnoky did. This is why it is sometimes difficult to choose the "best" versions of Cholnoky's short stories. In comparison, in the cases of other authors the final version, the so-called *ultima manus*, is usually a complete one.)

How can the publication network be mapped using the data above? A publication network is a network that shows the different newspapers, journals, and other media (almanacks, books) in which an author has published at least one text, thus showing the path of a text that has been republished in one or more media. Publication networks show the links between an author and the periodicals in which they are published, established by legal means (when an

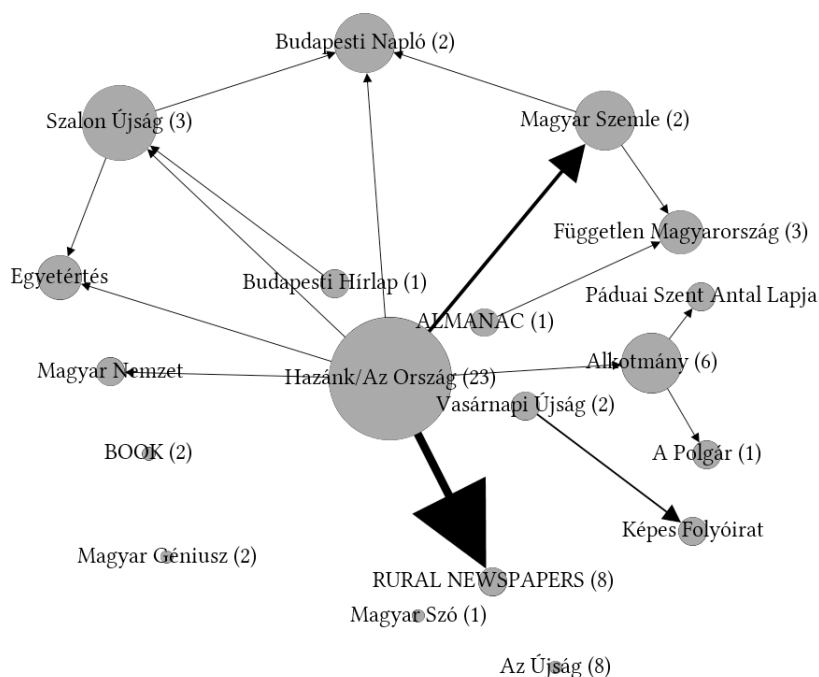
author legally sold a text to a periodical or a distributor) and illegal means (when a periodical simply copied a text without the author's permission). In order to create a network, at least one republication must be known, along with the titles of both the original publication and the republication. This figure can help one understand how the various individual literary connections of a single author fit into the literary establishment.

Publication networks are made up of nodes and edges. In this research, the nodes represent different periodicals (newspapers, magazines, almanacks) and books. If we know that a text was first published in one journal and later republished in another, we can draw an edge between these two nodes. Nodes without edges represent journals with original texts that were never republished. Nodes and edges indicate the number of original texts published in a periodical, the importance or hierarchical rank of different periodicals (the number of edges linked to a single node) and the strength of the connection between two periodicals (showing the number of republished texts in periodical B that come from periodical A). These factors make it possible not only to construct the network, but also to show indicators of hierarchy, such as the most important journals in an author's career. Publication networks consist of three main parts. First, at the periphery there are nodes that have no edges. These journals contain texts that were not republished in this period. This part can also be called the absolute periphery because of the lack of connections with other nodes. Second, external nodes can be understood as a relative periphery because these journals "sent to" and/or "bought" texts from Cholnoky. Third, internal nodes represent only "sent" texts to other journals. In other words, the centre of the network consists of the periodicals where Cholnoky published only original texts, which he also treated as a kind of archive (an archive of texts that could be republished or recycled in another periodical).

Although important knowledge can be extracted from tabular data, graphic visualisation and graph analysis can add extra information about the publication process. In addition to providing a clearer overview, a diagram clearly shows the links between each node and their strengths. Furthermore, the arrangement of nodes and edges also reveals the type of network, which clearly shows the advantages and disadvantages of publishing practices in different periods. Because of its many functions, Gephi, an open-source network analysis and visualisation software package, is a suitable tool for visualising and customising data.

If we have sufficient data, the method described below will enable us to discover hidden correlations between each period's literary establishments and publishing practices. Constructing hierarchies of various publishing forums, establishing the relationship between press and publishing, and comparing writers' careers becomes possible by plotting the circulation trajectories of texts.

## 1. 1900–1906



**Figure 1.** Publication network of Cholnoky at the end of 1906

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Hazánk/Az Ország	D	1904–1906	23	–	23	7	–	7
Az Újság	D	1904–1906	8	–	8	–	–	–
<b>Rural newspapers (11)</b>	<b>D/W</b>	<b>1900–1906</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>–</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>
Allotmány	D	1901–1906	6	1	7	2	1	3
Szalon Újság	W	1906	3	2	5	2	2	4
Független Magyarország	D	1906	3	2	5	–	2	2
<b>Rest (13)</b>	<b>D/W/Y/O</b>	<b>1900-1906</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>15</b>
TOTAL			64	28	92	16	16	32

**Table 2.** Data of Cholnoky’s main publication forums between 1900 and 1906 (1= title of periodical; 2=publication frequency: Daily/Weekly/Yearly/Onefold; 3=years of participation; 4=number of original texts; 5=number of republications; 6=total number of published texts; 7=out-degrees; 8=in-degrees; 9=total degrees)

The initial network is founded on 92 works authored by László Cholnoky, dating from 1900 to 1906. The system comprises 19 nodes, mainly newspapers and journals, including an anthology (*Agrár-album*) and a book authored by László Cholnoky and Sándor Tonelli and published under the name of Viktor Cholnoky, the author’s brother.

The edge connecting *Hazánk/Az Ország* and “rural newspapers” shows the exchange of articles outside of Budapest. The periphery of the

network comprises four periodicals. Only authentic works of Cholnoky were printed in these periodicals due to Cholnoky's reluctance to offend eminent editors by reprinting or self-plagiarising there. This was especially true for *Az Újság* [The News], which had a daily circulation of 28,000 copies around 1906 (half of all daily papers sold in Budapest at the time).

The network comprises eleven external nodes, which are arranged in a hierarchy based on the number of original and republished texts. Four periodicals – *Egyetértés* [Consent], *Képes Folyóirat* [The Illustrated Journal], *Magyar Nemzet* [Hungarian Nation], and *Páduai Szent Antal Lapja* [Anthony of Padua's Newspaper] – only published republications without original content. Rural newspapers were passive components in the system and only received republications through the process of distribution. In addition, six periodicals only received texts – some self-plagiarised – from Cholnoky and, in addition, the author also published original texts there. Three internal network nodes bought and sold texts by Cholnoky; the centre of the network consists of *Hazánk/Az Ország*, the almanac, *Budapesti Hírlap* [Budapest Gazette], and *Vasárnapi Újság* [Sunday Newspaper], whose publications were redistributed to other periodicals. Between 1900 and 1906, a quarter of Cholnoky's texts were published in *Hazánk/Az Ország*.

Overall, one third of all original publications, and almost half of all publications, are found in the central and “internal” periodicals. The strongest connection is between *Hazánk/Az Ország* and *Magyar Szemle*, since Cholnoky republished four short stories in the latter that had been sent to *Hazánk/Az Ország* earlier.

The inner section of the network is modelled on a *star network*, which has the significant advantage of being relatively easy to expand, but the main disadvantage of having strong dependence and vulnerability. In the “classical” arrangement of a star network, a single central distributor sends information to connected participants that are not connected to each other. To sell his self-plagiarised work, László Cholnoky had to first find a primary periodical in which he could publish only original content, and where the editors did not closely scrutinise these publications for other periodicals. Cholnoky accomplished his goal when he discovered *Hazánk/Az Ország*; unfortunately, by the end of 1906, both *Az Ország* and *Magyar Szemle* had ceased publication, forcing him to rethink his publication tactics to maintain his method of publication. He had to locate another significant periodical that would accept all of his texts but not scrutinise rewritten or self-plagiarised versions.

Moreover, due to the relatively low number of texts, mutual connections between periodicals (i.e., when periodical A sends a text to periodical B and also receives a text from it) were absent at this stage, and the key factors such as the number of original texts, total number, or strength of the connections did not correspond. There was only one exceptionally significant periodical (*Hazánk/Az Ország*), which served as the “archive” of republications. Cholnoky submitted his short stories



and other texts – which had been originally published in *Hazánk/Az Ország* – to seven other periodicals.

In summary, based on his publication network, we can characterise Cholnoky’s literary career from 1900 to 1906 as uncomplicated. During this period, Cholnoky published or republished 92 pieces, including 64 unique texts, and placed them in 19 different periodicals with 16 connections. This volume of work over a span of seven years cannot be considered highly productive. One can argue, however, that the establishment of this publication network is evidence of successful branding strategies starting from 1906. If 1906 were excluded from the analysis, then the network would display a mere 10 nodes connected by two edges, since most of Cholnoky’s literary connections were established during that year. Moreover, he published double the number of texts compared to previous years. Given that *Hazánk/Az Ország* regularly published Cholnoky’s work, he attempted to widen his readership by exploring other periodicals and by re-purposing his texts published there. Another important aspect of *Hazánk/Az Ország* was its distribution of texts to rural newspapers. These advantages came to an end unexpectedly, however, when the newspaper closed. Nevertheless, László Cholnoky managed to readjust his network.

## 2. 1907

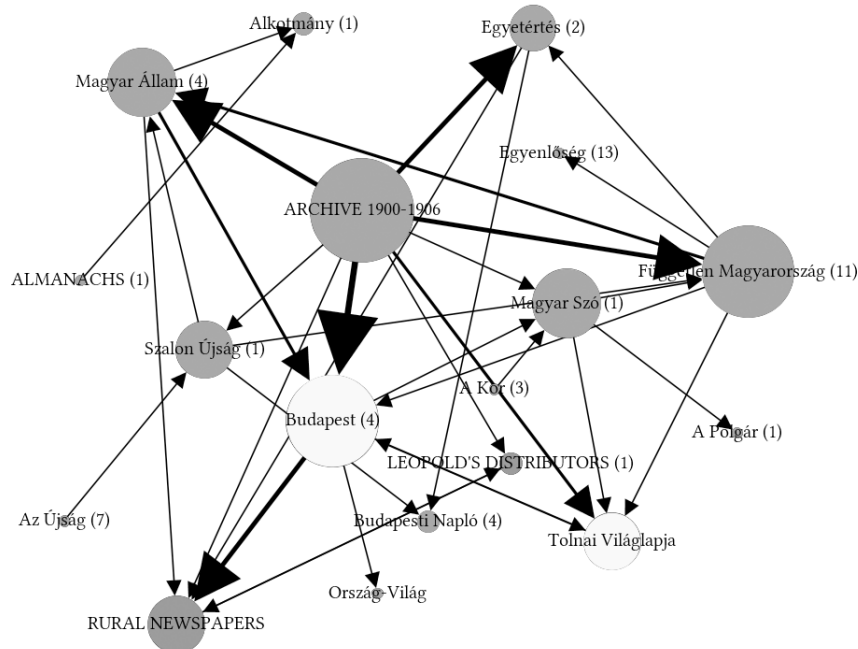


Figure 2. Publication network of Cholnoky in 1907

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Egyenlőség	W	13	1	14	–	1	1
Függ. Magyarország	D	11	5	16	5	3	8
Az Újság	D	7	–	7	1	–	1
Budapesti Napló	D	4	2	6	–	2	2
Budapest	D	4	9	13	4	4	8
Magyar Állam	D	4	6	10	3	3	6
<b>Rural newspapers (61)</b>	<b>D/W</b>	<b>–</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>6</b>
<b>Rest (11)</b>	<b>D/W/Y</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>38</b>
TOTAL		54	144	198	35	35	70

**Table 3.** Data of Cholnoky's main publication forums in 1907 (1=title of periodical; 2=publication frequency: Daily/Weekly/Yearly/Onefold; 3=number of original texts; 4=number of republications; 5=total number of published texts; 6=out-degrees; 7=in-degrees; 8=total degrees)

In terms of the total number of published works and original compositions, 1907 was one of the most productive years of Cholnoky's career. Out of the 198 texts that Cholnoky published in 77 periodicals, although only 54 were new compositions. The considerable number of publications is due to Cholnoky entering a unique distribution network founded and run by Gyula Leopold, a successful businessman of his time. Leopold pioneered an innovative way to exchange articles, poems, short stories, and other publications by Budapest authors and journalists with rural newspapers. He published a weekly lithograph filled with advertisements from large corporations. These advertisers were the financial foundation of Leopold's commercial partnership with small rural newspapers that lacked a steady supply of current news due to the deficient nationwide news system. Subscribers (rural editorial staff) were compelled to publish the advertisements, but had the liberty of omitting the literary content provided by Leopold. Rural newspapers could subscribe to the lithograph supplements, called *Általános Tudósító* [General Reporter] or *Munkatárs* [Colleague], in order to obtain information and entertainment content. In 1907, Cholnoky sold Leopold seven short stories, and their association persisted until 1912.

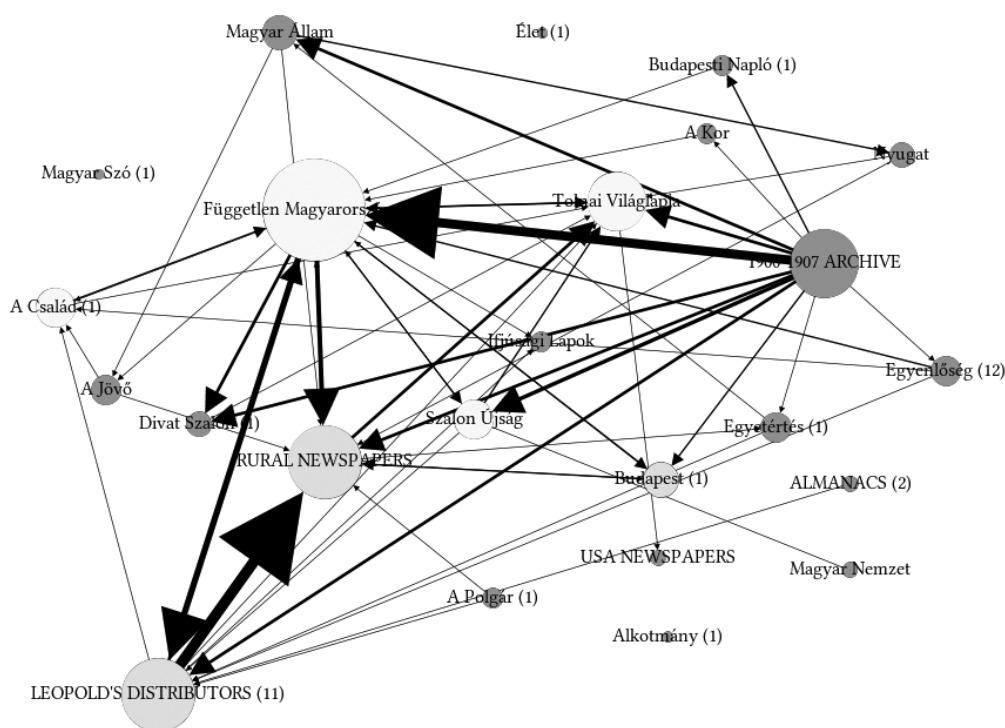
The network for the year 1907 comprises 18 nodes without any periphery, as each node has at least one edge. Compared to the period of 1900 to 1906, the number of external nodes increased, with seven periodicals purchasing only, while another seven bought and sold texts. *Az Újság* published many original texts by Cholnoky, unlike the almanack published by the daily newspapers *Budapest* and *A Kor* [The Age], which had fewer of his original texts. While these nodes could be construed as semi-internal (central) nodes, they only have one or two edges and therefore cannot be described as extremely dominant nodes

in the network. Although there is no absolute network centre (such as *Hazánk/Az Ország* in the previous network), *Budapest* can be considered the primary newspaper of the year as it was connected to eight other periodicals. The network of publication strategies in 1907 was complex, meaning that the flow of texts would continue even if one or more nodes ceased to function. For instance, daily newspapers such as *Független Magyarország* or *Magyar Állam* could have effortlessly replaced *Budapest* in Cholnoky's system.

The strongest connections were observed between the archive, the virtual centre of the network, and several periodicals. Although only a virtual archive, it clearly indicates that Cholnoky relied heavily on his already published texts at that time not related to individual periodicals. Apart from this virtual hub, Cholnoky diversified alternate routes. The addition of eight new connections in 1907 led to a more complex network. Despite having almost the same number of nodes, the number of edges in the network increased from 16 to 35. The status of some former components changed *Magyar Szó* [Hungarian Word] and *Az Újság* became external parts of the network instead of being at the periphery, and other periodicals doubled the number of their connections. In addition, two mutual connections emerged.

Cholnoky placed great importance on two periodicals that were active between 1900 and 1906. I consider that *Hazánk/Az Ország* was the ideal networking medium for him because he could continuously send original and republished texts to it. Another newspaper, *Az Újság*, also published his articles, but due to its fame, Cholnoky could not use it for networking or republishing. Many daily newspapers took over *Hazánk/Az Ország*'s position, and the previous role of *Az Újság* was divided between *Az Újság* and *Egyenlőség* [Equality]. *Egyenlőség*, a weekly Jewish journal, sold around 1,500 copies in 1910. Cholnoky was able to publish his articles there anonymously. Cholnoky operated a balanced network in 1907; there were only two journals where he did not send any original texts.

### 3. 1908–1914



**Figure 3.** Publication network of Cholnoky between 1908 and 1914

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Független Magyarország	D	1908–1913	43	29	72	9	10	19
Egyenlőség	W	1908–1909	12	1	13	3	1	4
Leopold's distributors	D/W	1908–1912	11	22	33	5	8	13
<b>Rural newspapers (165)</b>	<b>D/W</b>	<b>1908–1914</b>	–	<b>610</b>	<b>610</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>13</b>
<b>Rest (19)</b>	<b>D/W/Y</b>	<b>1908–1914</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>69</b>
TOTAL			77	713	790	59	59	118

**Table 4.** Data of Cholnoky's main publication forums between 1908 and 1914 (1= title of periodical; 2=publication frequency: Daily/Weekly/Yearly/Onefold; 3=years of participation; 4=number of original texts; 5=number of republications; 6=total number of published texts; 7=out-degrees; 8=in-degrees; 9=total degrees)

Between 1908 and the end of 1914, Cholnoky's publication processes declined gradually. Despite broadening his network, he produced fewer original texts. Several times, he reprinted a variant of a short story in a periodical where he had already published a previous variant of that text. His work ethic (and opportunities) gradually began to diminish.

The years 1908 to 1914 resulted in complete exhaustion of the network. In 1908, Cholnoky published 271 texts, but only 24 of them

were original. By 1910, the proportions of total and original texts were quite similar at 187:22. This changed dramatically when it became 104:7 in 1911 and in the following year was reduced even further, to 33:1. Cholnoky's last known original text was published at the end of 1913. In the same year, he submitted texts to two Budapest magazines, but the rest of the publications were the result of Leopold's distribution networks. In 1914, thanks to distribution, two rural newspapers published two of his older short stories. There was almost a two-year gap between Cholnoky's last publication activity in December 1913 and the resumption of his career in September 1915.

The publishing process network between 1908 and 1914 bears a resemblance to the 1907 network, but extra “strong” nodes can be found along all the edges (which are an indicator of an especially dynamic traffic of texts between two periodicals). Moreover, the number of nodes and edges increased. Although nearly a third of all publications were republications of old texts from 1900 to 1907, *Független Magyarország* became the largest customer and user of Cholnoky's literary production, functioning as a distributor of sorts. The high ranking of *Tolnai Világlapja* [Tolnai's World Journal] is also clear. The main attributes of this magazine, initiated in 1901, comprised images and news sourced from every corner of the world. It had a lengthy literature section, consisting mainly of republished short stories from the finest modern Hungarian authors. Moreover, the significance of Leopold's distributors in the network increased due to Cholnoky sending them nearly seven short stories each year. This is why rural newspapers could become significant elements of the network, even though other Budapest newspapers and magazines also sent texts to the countryside on occasion.

Cholnoky did not improve his network after 1910. The final new node was *Élet* [Life], a Catholic literary journal, where Cholnoky published an essay under a pseudonym. Cholnoky is unlikely to be associated with the emergence of the final node. The short story *Naokalli* was sent by *Tolnai Világlapja* to *Szabadság* [Liberty], a daily newspaper founded by Hungarian immigrants in Cleveland (1891). Before the First World War, the primary route for republication of Cholnoky's short stories was from the archives to rural periodicals, usually through one or more intermediaries. Between 1908 and 1914, however, it was *Független Magyarország* that was able to meet all the requirements: the daily newspaper published a significant number of Cholnoky's new and old short stories but did not want to be the exclusive receiver of these feuilletons.

As the pathways for the short stories became more straightforward and automated, it is more evident that the primary path for the archive of the old stories would pass through *Független Magyarország* and Leopold's distributors, finally reaching the rural newspapers. Additionally, the significance of interconnectedness increased: *Független Magyarország*, *A Család* [The Family], *Szalon Újság* [Saloon Journal], *Budapest, Tolnai Világlapja*, Leopold's distributors, and rural newspapers usually



Szalon Újság	W	1906-1910	4	11	15	9	5	14
Egyetértés	D	1906-1908	3	8	11	6	7	13
Divat Szalon	W	1908-1913	1	9	10	1	5	6
Tolnai Világlapja	W	1907-1913	–	23	23	5	12	17
<b>Rest</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>1901-1911</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>49</b>
TOTAL		1900-1914	195	897	1092	113	115	228

**Table 5.** Data of Cholnoky’s main publication forums between 1900 and 1914 (1= title of periodical; 2=publication frequency: Daily/Weekly/Yearly/Onefold; 3=years of participation; 4=number of original texts; 5=number of republications; 6=total number of published texts; 7=out-degrees; 8=in-degrees; 9=total degrees)

*Független Magyarország*, as the centre of the network, had the highest number of connections and original texts; however, due to dispersion, those connections were not very strong. In contrast, Leopold’s distributors mainly dispatched texts to rural periodicals; this pattern can be attributed to the nature of the distribution. When we search for Cholnoky’s crucial periodicals, our attention should be drawn to nodes with numerous original texts but fewer connections. From this perspective, *Egyenlőség* (and *Hazánk/Az Ország*, as interpreted earlier), where Cholnoky’s contemporaries often published, could be regarded as holding the position of a Modernist journal. Starting from 1906, he collaborated with many daily newspapers simultaneously, primarily periodicals aligned with the left-wing Party of Independence and ‘48, the ruling party in Hungary from 1905 to 1910.

Three obstacles hindered Cholnoky’s ascent to fame during this era. To begin with, he was unsuccessful in releasing his inaugural volume, which could have provided him with recognition from current critics. Second, he did not manage to establish contact with well-known and/or popular daily newspapers and journals. Last, he did not have personal contact with the Hungarian rural press. In the early years of his career, Cholnoky sent a few texts to rural newspapers, and later he managed the rural distribution through Gyula Leopold. Several individuals from his generation published literature in rural newspapers. (For instance, after moving to the capital city, both Kosztolányi and Krúdy, two canonical figures of Hungarian literature, continued to publish in the newspapers of their hometowns.) Leopold controlled the interaction between Cholnoky and the rural press, but publication was at the mercy of country editors since it was not mandatory to publish the literary texts they received.

The bulk of Cholnoky’s texts appeared in “rural newspapers”. This group includes 165 rural periodicals where Cholnoky published at least one text between 1900 and 1914. The rationale for joining these periodicals into a single network is to circumvent the overwhelming size of the network. Despite some Budapest newspapers and journals having rural associations, Cholnoky’s texts seldom bypassed the primary

distribution route. Rural newspaper readers only recognized Cholnoky through Leopold's contribution, however. Several newspapers, both local and national, published all of Cholnoky's short stories that were distributed, thus giving a significant fraction of the country access to his work.

From 1881 to 1920, Hungary had a total of 64 counties. Every county had numerous newspapers that subscribed to Leopold's distributors. This was particularly true for towns or settlements with a smaller population. (At one time, the county capitals had several daily newspapers, but these periodicals practised authorship independence and rarely subscribed to the distributors or took over texts.) Between 1907 and 1914, Cholnoky's publications appeared 710 times in 180 newspapers across 52 counties. Thus, three-quarters of the country had access to his works through contemporary periodicals. Counties like Bihar, Bács-Bodrog, and Komárom (now predominantly in Romania, Serbia, and Slovakia) had a significantly higher representation. These cultural hubs (Nagyvárad and Szabadka, now Oradea and Subotica) had many newspapers, two of which subscribed to both of Leopold's distributors. Between 1907 and 1912, readers from 10 to 15 towns could access a "complete volume" of Cholnoky's stories.

During the decades leading up to WWI, the production of literature was industrialised. Authors during this period used different approaches to publication. The tables and networks above reveal that Cholnoky established only temporary links with primary periodicals, whereas he had a permanent connection with secondary periodicals. *Független Magyarország* was also significant for authors who published in *Nyugat*, as was *Budapesti Napló* [Budapest Diary], although the latter connection disintegrated in 1908. Cholnoky did not establish any lasting connections, with the exception of *Független Magyarország*, *Tolnai Világlapja*, and Gyula Leopold. He either did not want to or could not form meaningful and relevant business relationships. Some of the connections ended in a relatively unexpected way. It is unclear why Cholnoky stopped sending his texts to *Az Újság*, *Magyar Állam*, and *Egyetértés* after 1908. Perhaps Cholnoky's self-plagiarisms were uncovered, which consequently could have impacted the workings of his publication network, which was a unique mixture of imagination and reproduction. (For the consequences of later plagiarism, see Kołodziej 2021.)

The fundamental changes in Cholnoky's publication process can be outlined as follows: The importance of rural newspapers grew significantly as a result of their cooperation with Leopold's distributors. Between 1900 and 1906, Cholnoky had one main connection, *Hazánk/Az Ország*. Despite finding many other "partners", his re-publications typically originated from this newspaper. Following the elimination of *Hazánk/Az Ország* in 1906, Cholnoky had to reconstruct his network. In other words, he created a complex network from a star-shaped system. While this network had a significant number of equally



important edges, *Független Magyarország* became the central focus after 1908. Despite the growing numbers of vertices and edges, which causes the network to broaden at a predictable rate, the number of original texts drastically reduced. The significance of having a broad network was to sell re-written and self-plagiarised short stories easily. WWI and the 1918–19 revolutions demolished these publication methods. The Treaty of Trianon brought about a transformation of the Hungarian rural press, resulting in the relocation of prominent newspapers and journals to other countries. Cholnoky's career from 1915 to 1918 was an extension of his previous path, but he had to adjust to a different media network after publishing a few papers in rural networks. This transformation necessitated the development of new skills.

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