

“The Victory of Swindle over the Folk’s Beauty”.

The Aesthetical Populism and Anti-Semitism of Ján Cádra

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My paper deals with the *weltanschauung* of Ján Cádra (1882-1927), William Ritter’s Slovak friend and colleague.¹ It examines his attitudes towards the Jews prior to the First World War. Cádra, who came from the Slovak countryside in Hungary, was attracted by popular anti-Semitism. After he had met William Ritter, he tried to ‘rationalize’ his traditional Judeophobia. Under the influence of Ritter’s ideological anti-Semitism, Cádra imagined the Hungarian Jewry as a threat to the Slovak folk and especially to Slovak folklore. In the following I will argue that popular culture played a crucial part in the development of Eastern European nationalism and populism in the 19th and early 20th centuries. By aesthetical populism I mean a way of thinking which admires forms of popular culture such as certain customs, music, dress and architecture and, at the same time, sees them to be alienated by ‘modernity’.² The agents of the supposed decline of popular culture are identified either with the oppressing ‘foreign’ establishment, or with ‘civilization’, capitalism, liberalism, socialism, internationalism, or with ‘the Jews’. In this regard aesthetical populism also implies the semantics of modern “national anti-Semitism” which, according to the sociologist Klaus Holz, blames the supposed “international Jewry” for being a threat to the “national order of the world”.³

In my paper, through the example of Cádra and Ritter, I would like to show how the various social, religious and cultural patterns that determined some kinds of popular Judeophobia and ideological anti-Semitism, respectively, emerge and interact. First, I will deal with popular anti-Semitism in Cádra’s home town, Myjava, at the end of the 19th century. Then I will discuss Cádra’s reactions to Ritter’s anti-Semitism as he expressed them in his diaries in 1905, during the Bavarian period of their lives.⁴ I will ask if Cádra made any efforts to

¹ See Eva Kostolná, “Janko Cádra a William Ritter” [Janko Cádra and William Ritter], in *Biografické štúdie IV* [Biographical Studies IV], (Martin 1973), p. 67–74.

² See Ghița Ionescu, Ernest Gellner, eds., *Populism. Its Meanings and National Characteristics* (London 1969).

³ Klaus Holz, “Die antisemitische Konstruktion des “Dritten” und die nationale Ordnung der Welt”, in Christina von Braun, Eva-Maria Ziege, eds., “*Das bewegliche Vorurteil: Aspekte des internationalen Antisemitismus* (Würzburg 2004), p. 43–63.

⁴ See Martin Pekár, “Mníchovský pobyt publicistu a prekladateľa Jána Cádru (1905–1914)” [The Munich Stay of the Journalist and Translator Ján Cádra (1905–1914)], *Acta historica Neosoliensia* 8 (2005), p. 103–111.

differentiate his view of the Jews. Finally, I will show the impact of aesthetical populism and anti-Semitism on Cádra's perception and criticism of the modern music and visual arts he came into contact with in Munich.

I.

Cádra grew up in the family of the Slovak nationalist Ján Cádra senior, an innkeeper in the small town of Myjava (Hungarian: Miava). Slovak nationalism developed within the range of a multi-ethnic Hungarian society as a reaction to the increase of Magyar nationalism in the early 19th century.⁵ After the political compromise between the Austrian and Hungarian parts of the Habsburg Empire in 1867, 'assimilation', meaning the official efforts to magyarize the masses of non-Magyar Romanians, Serbs, and Slovaks, became the state doctrine in Hungary.⁶ This policy resulted in the embitterment of Slovak nationalists towards the Magyars and mainly the Jews, who were considered as the agents of the magyarization. In contrast to the Slovak nationalists who perceived the events after the compromise as a 'national defeat', the Emancipation Act of 1867 fundamentally improved the situation of the Hungarian Jewry. Simultaneously, modern anti-Semitism was spreading in Hungary.⁷ Although varying in size and quality, anti-Semitism also became an integral part of Slovak nationalism before the First World War.⁸

Myjava and the surrounding area belonged to the relatively few regions where Slovak nationalism had already taken root in the middle of the 19th century. It also became a centre of anti-Jewish movements in the 1860s. The local craftsmen, producing mainly sacking, founded an association that aimed at preventing trade with the Jews. Later on, consumer cooperatives open to "Christians" only were established in the area of Myjava as well.⁹ In a letter to his father (1907), in which he mentioned the death of a Jewish tradesman, Cádra described this economic anti-Semitism among the craftsmen and peasants of Myjava: "In his

⁵ See Peter Brock, *The Slovak National Awakening: An Essay in the Intellectual History of East Central Europe* (Toronto 1976).

⁶ See László Szarka, *Szlovák nemzeti fejlődés – Magyar nemzetiségi politika 1867-1918/Slovenský národný vývin – národnostná politika v Uhorsku 1867-1918* [The Slovak National Development – The Nationality Politics in Hungary, 1867-1918] (Bratislava 1999).

⁷ See Raphael Patai, *The Jews of Hungary: History, Culture, Psychology* (Detroit XXX).

⁸ See Iván Halász, "A szlovák nemzeti politika és a zsidóság a dualizmus idején" [The Slovak National Politics and the Jewry in the Time of Dualism], *Limes. A Komárom-Esztergom Megyei Tudományos Szemle* [Limes. The Scientific Review of the District Komárom-Esztergom] 11 (1999), no. 1, p. 43-61.

⁹ Julius Bodnár, ed., *Myjava* (Myjava 1911), p. 440.

person died the supporter of our mortal enemies: the Jews. He represented their fraction between 1850 and 1880, precisely at the time when they were exploiting us.”¹⁰

Myjava was also the scene where anti-Jewish riots took place in reaction to the ‘ritual murder’ trial of Tisza-Eszlár, in autumn 1883. One year later, the Hungarian Antisemitic Party obtained a seat in the Deputy Chamber in the election district Vrbové (Verbó) to which Myjava belonged.¹¹ In comparison with other Slovak regions – such as, for example, the neighbouring Senica (Szenic), where allegations of ‘ritual murders’ were numerous at the turn of the 20th century – Myjava witnessed neither anti-Jewish violence nor political anti-Semitism at that time, but the tensions between Slovaks and Jews still persisted. In his Munich diaries, Cádra occasionally recalls the “beating of Jews”, the broken windows and the destroyed fences of the Jewish houses in Myjava in the 1890s.¹²

His father, Ján Cádra senior, played an important part in local politics. He and other Slovak nationalists considered the local Jewry as their political rivals. Cádra junior followed in his father’s footsteps and gained some political experiences as early as in 1901, when he ran the regional election campaigns in Myjava. Recalling these events in his diary (1912), Cádra mentioned that the Slovak renegades were hunted by “Magyars and Jews”.¹³ Such aversion towards the local Jewry also had a great influence in the elections of 1905 and 1906, when the Slovak politician and anti-Semite Július Markovič tried to be elected in the same constituency. The Slovak press launched an anti-Semitic campaign which even escalated after Markovič’s double election defeat. Cádra, who was by then already living in Munich, followed these campaigns with great interest.¹⁴

In his diaries and correspondences, Cádra repeatedly referred to the popular Slovak anti-Semitism and Ritter’s reactions. Cádra himself wrote several postcards to his parents from his hike with Ritter through the Slovak countryside in the summer of 1904. In almost in every postcard he mentioned with aversion the Jewish presence in the Hungarian towns.¹⁵ After several visits to Upper Hungary, Ritter did not enjoy these journeys anymore. As Cádra

¹⁰ Archív lietaratúry a umenia Slovenskej národnej knižnice [Literature and Art Archives of the Slovak National Library] (hereinafter ALU SNK), Call no. 55 K 10.

¹¹ Petra Rybářová, “Prejavy politického antisemitizmu v Nitrianskej župe v osemdesiatych rokoch 19. storočia” [Political Anti-Semitism in the 1880s in Nitra District], in: *Historický časopis* [Historical Review], 53 (2005), no. 3, p. 443–466.

¹² ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 35 and 55 S 47.

¹³ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 44.

¹⁴ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 A 19.

¹⁵ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 A 10.

described in his diary, Ritter condemned both Jews and Magyars because of their “spying”.¹⁶ According to him, Ritter was often frustrated when they did not find any accommodation that was not rented by “the Jew”. Ritter’s anti-Jewish prejudices were occasionally confirmed by Slovak people they met on their journeys. In the summer of 1910 he and Cádra met a Slovak shepherd, who, according to Cádra, was a “good humoured Slovak”. The shepherd told them of his plans to kill the local Jewish innkeeper, and sang a couple of anti-Semitic ballads written by himself.¹⁷

II.

It is difficult to say how Cádra’s attitudes towards Jews would have developed, hadn’t he met William Ritter in 1903. Ritter’s complex anti-Semitism had religious, economic, nationalist, and even racist aspects. Cádra very often mentioned Ritter’s anti-Semitism in his diaries and criticized the ‘shrillness’ and vulgarity of anti-Semitic newspapers such as *La libre parole* that belonged to Ritter’s readings. Sometimes Cádra objected to Ritter’s literary work for the same reasons. In December 1907, Ritter read to Cádra some extracts from his just-completed novel *Entêtement slovaque*, in which he tells the tragic story of a Slovak family. The reasons for the breakdown of the family lie not only in their “stubbornness”, but also in the conspiracy of a clan of Jewish moneylenders who ruin the family financially. In his diary, Cádra described the head of the clan in the following words: “The Jew Nachem is a little bit exaggerated and Wilko [i. e. William] speaks more against him than his acts do”.¹⁸

In most cases, Cádra just reproduces Ritter’s anti-Jewish monologues, especially his attacks on Judaism. For example, he recalls a conversation in which Ritter condemned the Old Testament, because “he does not respect such a God as in this book, it is not possible that God who orders love, goodness and mercy, might have been so furious, ‘*rageur, indicatif*’, that he should have chosen only one people whom all the others must serve”.¹⁹ It seems that the Lutheran Cádra was less sure about the existence of Jewish ‘ritual murders’ than his Catholic friend. However, he obviously did not contradict Ritter, who stated the ‘Slavic’ cases of Polná and Senica as proof of the existence of Jewish ‘ritual murders’. Cádra reports

¹⁶ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 31.

¹⁷ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 46.

¹⁸ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 29.

¹⁹ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 30.

in his diary that in 1911, when Ritter asked him to compile some details on the famous 'ritual murder' allegation of Kiev, Ritter refused to accept any arguments against the superstition. Ritter was convinced that "victimized Christians have no blood in their veins".²⁰

Cádra tended more to a kind of anti-Semitism which Ritter characterized in one of his statements as "purely nationalist and economic-mercantile".²¹ This seems to explain Ritter's and Cádra's anti-Semitic practices in their everyday lives. They boycotted Jewish tradesmen in order to fulfil the demands of economic nationalism "at least in religious regards" as Cádra put it in his diary.²² This expression was definitely not a slip of the tongue. According to the sociologist Klaus Holz, the semantics of modern "national anti-Semitism" can be modified in several contexts – most frequently in the religious, economic, political and 'racial' contexts.²³ The protestant nationalist Cádra, who was not socialized in any Catholic milieu, considered the Jews first of all as a threat to the Slovak people. Nevertheless, he agreed with Ritter's eminently Catholic attacks on Judaism.

This consent seemed to be even more acceptable to Cádra when Ritter mixed up his sexist and partly racist anti-Semitism with anti-Magyarism, as for example in his novel *Fillette slovaque* which he dedicated to Cádra.²⁴ In this novel, the Slovak girl Anička, a "purely Slovak type", has to face the animal sexuality of the Slovak-Magyar boy, Juro, and the "Jewish fleshiness" of the foundling Rudi, who grew up in a family of anti-Semites in Vienna, but still remains Jewish. Finally, Anička withstands the threats and finds her domestic bliss in her relationship with the androgynous Janko. The character of Janko was originally inspired by a poster seen at the Czech Ethnographic Exhibition. When Ritter met Cádra for the first time, he decided to modify the character along the lines of Cádra. *Fillette slovaque* was the first and only completed part of a tetralogy whose final part was to have been *Judapest*.²⁵ This German distortion of the Hungarian capital Budapest was an anti-Semitic reflection of the fear of 'Judaization'. It is no surprise that Cádra adored *Fillette slovaque*. He wished to translate it into the Slovak language, but, for several reasons, never

²⁰ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 38.

²¹ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 37.

²² ALU SNK, Call no. 55 R 61.

²³ See Klaus Holz, *Nationaler Antisemitismus: Soziologie einer Weltanschauung* (Hamburg 2001).

²⁴ See William Ritter, *Fillette slovaque* (Paris 1903).

²⁵ František Žákavec, "William Ritter", *Sborník Filosofické fakulty University Komenského v Bratislavě* [Year-Book of the Philosophical Faculty of the Comenius University in Bratislava], 3 (1925), no. 37 (11), pp. 3 (481) – 74 (552), p. 54 (532).

did. Cádra also shared with Ritter the sexist stereotypes of the ‘pretty Jewess’ and the ‘sexually excessive Jew’ who seduces Christian women and forces them into prostitution.²⁶

III.

Cádra was very proud of his Slovak origins. There is little doubt that he understood the modern nations in ethnic terms. He identified with the folklore of his homeland, which, according to him, bore witness to the antiquity and possible supremacy of the Slovak (and Slavic) ‘culture’ in contrast to the modern ‘civilization’ of Germans or Magyars. Cádra blamed the Jews for the potential decline of this folklore. In his opinion, the Jews embodied modern ‘evils’, and international capitalism in particular. Cádra described ‘the Jew’ as a materialist and without any aesthetical sense. His only aim was to get rich and sell people his ugly ready-to-wear clothing. For this reason he destroyed people’s embroidery, costumes, and architecture. Although Cádra alleged this mainly for the Slavic peoples, he became more and more ideological and generalizing. In 1913, he described in his diary a trip to the surrounding countryside of Munich, where he observed the Bavarian people. He wrote: “It is a great pity to realize that their grandparents once might have worn traditional costumes! The Jew has destroyed and he will destroy everything and take delight in his achievements.”²⁷ However, Cádra did not want to ‘give up’ and he saw himself “constrained to fight the industry, the ready-to-wear clothing, and the Jews”.²⁸

Cádra wanted to express this fight in literary form. Already in his ethnographic contribution to the book *Myjava* (1911) onwards – with a chapter on the local architecture written by Ritter – Cádra blamed the “Jewish ready-to-wear clothing” for the decline of folk costumes. But he still intended to express his main attack in fiction. In his diary of the same year he wrote about plans for “a libretto or a dramatic piece” which would persuade people that their pretty costumes were being threatened by the “Jewish ready-to-wear clothing”. He didn’t want to be tendentious, but believed that such ridiculous ready-to-wear clothing was the best way to get his point across. The central “melodramatic” scene of his piece would have been thus:

²⁶ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 44 and 55 S 45.

²⁷ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 44.

²⁸ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 48.

“The swarm of Jews, and even Christians, dances around a jackstraw which is dressed in a traditional costume. They have come to burn it up as a sign of the victory of swindle over the people’s beauty. This scene should be preceded by the story of poor tailors sewing dirty-cheap goods for the Jew. Those journey-workers are in fact the former masters of the traditional costumes. One of them spontaneously wanted to add an ornament to the dress, but the Jew screamed at him that there was no need, it was a waste of time and the peasants could live without this.”²⁹

Cádra was still not satisfied. In the margin of his diary, he wrote the layout of a new fiction, which pointed out his “national anti-Semitism” in a concise and condensed form. Here, Cádra presents “the Jews” as an anti-national, destructive, parasitic ‘race’ which denies and exploits every single ‘authentic’ community:

“Something anti-Jewish could be this: the conversation of dead Jews who, when they were still alive, had belonged – or rather, had been attached – to every single nation. They would talk to each other about how they fooled Christians, for example by feigning hostility between the Czech and German Jews in Bohemia, and joining various nations, depending on both perspective and profit. The conversation *must* show that Jews never *do harm to one another* and only *simulate* hostility (towards one another). The whole piece would be very tragicomic and it would force people to think.”³⁰

IV.

Aesthetical populism and “national anti-Semitism” influenced Cádra’s opinion on modern arts as well. Generally, he assessed the European masterworks according to their “folksiness”: “In the second and last movements of Beethoven’s Second (symphony), there is an apotheosis of the village spirit”, he noticed in 1913, after one of the many concerts he

²⁹ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 42.

³⁰ *Idem* (emphasis J. C.).

attended during his Munich years.³¹ He used the same standards for contemporary painters who resorted to “foreign ideas” and progress, instead of developing their own folk traditions. Like Ritter, Cádra preferred the Moravian folklorists Joža Úprka and Cyril Mandel. Folklorism seemed to him the only way for developing Slovak art, if it were to avoid the mortal consequences of “decadence.”

Elaborating the supposed anti-folk and anti-national tendencies in modern arts, Cádra referred once again to Ritter, who postulated a rigorous antagonism between “Jewish art” and folklore. According to Cádra’s report in 1909, Ritter painted the threat of “Jewish-Asiatic art” in dark colours: “While we are quarrelling about national questions, the Jewry, freemasonry and capitalism are taking place in arts as well, and have already found their own artistic form. Look at Erler, Klimt, Mahler, Strauss...”³² Yet, Ritter simultaneously rendered the Jews’ outstanding “services” to the development of modern art. How can this contradiction be explained? I think we have to make a distinction between the aesthetical and ideological contents in Ritter’s statements. On the one hand, he understood very well the contribution of Jews to European art and civilization. On the other hand, he could not overcome his deep-rooted prejudice. In addition, he felt a strong allegiance with his chosen Central-European identity, with its “folksiness”, which he saw in opposition to “Jewish” modernity. Ritter’s complicated relationship to Gustav Mahler confirms this suggestion. When he heard Mahler’s music for the first time, Ritter thought him “one of the most dangerous enemies of our aesthetical faith and national aesthetics”, a representative of “the destructive spirit and acts of this [Jewish] stock within our stock”.³³ Later, Ritter became a friend of Mahler and promoted his work. However, his “national anti-Semitism” was deep-rooted. In a letter from 1911, Cádra enthusiastically noted how Ritter had emphasized that should he “abandon anti-Semitism or Mahler, he would abandon Mahler because geniuses will still be born, unlike his beloved nations which are sponged on by the Jew”.³⁴

Ritter also influenced Cádra’s reviews for the Slovak newspaper *Národné noviny* [National News]. One of Cádra’s early contributions was the anniversary tribute to the composer Felix

³¹ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 46.

³² ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 33.

³³ F. Žákavec, “William Ritter”, op. cit., p. 64 (542).

³⁴ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 37; see also Claude Meylan, ed., *William Ritter chevalier de Gustav Mahler. Ecrits, correspondance, documents* (Bern 2000), p. 450–451.

Mendelssohn-Bartholdy, in 1909.³⁵ It begins with an anti-Semitic confession: “The Jewish character does not inspire our confidence, not in the least. Everyday experience provides us with the most satisfactory evidence of this...”³⁶ But there are some exceptions, like Mendelssohn: “This and the fact that Jewry has given to mankind geniuses also in other branches and that it has furthered much of the world’s progress, makes an anti-Semite, to a certain extent, proud of striving not only against the plague incapable of elevation.”³⁷ Cádra suggests that such “elevation” is unstable in the case of Bartholdy, too: his church music is “pleasing” but not “enthusiastic” enough, “because, despite of his baptism, we are not convinced of his truly religious feelings”.³⁸ Obviously, Cádra still cannot decide in favour of worshipping Bartholdy’s music and against his anti-Jewish feelings. Cádra shows his helplessness in his conclusion, when he states, “first of all, we have to agree about a definition of ‘Jewish’ music”.³⁹

The genesis of this short text about Mendelssohn-Bartholdy can be followed in Cádra’s diaries. The dilemma of an anti-Semite who admired Bartholdy’s music was chiefly Ritter’s. He had not only inspired Cádra’s article but even dictated to him the anti-Semitic sentences.⁴⁰ The definition of “Jewish music” bothered Cádra as well. The place in his diary where he reflects on it demonstrates the interactions of two different cultural patterns. Cádra, who still had not developed his own ‘intellectual’ version of anti-Semitism, makes a shift, as he recalls the popular anti-Semitism of his homeland:

“Does Jewish music exist? Where and how? Who is a Jewish composer? I don’t know, and yet I know some answer. Have I ever heard the Jewry in music, it must have been by Mendelssohn [...]. Here everything smells like on the Sabbath, and there are clumsy Jews dancing and quarrelling. I still remember the kitchens and shops of the Myjava Jews – entering them on Saturday afternoons (to buy cigars, etc.) was a great honour for me. That special whiff of Jewish ‘perfume’, a mixture of [...] ritually slaughtered geese, used towels, diverse soups and who knows what. It

³⁵ Janko Cádra, “Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy”, *Národné noviny* [National News], 40 (1909), no. 25 and 26 (February 27 and March 3).

³⁶ *Idem*, no. 25.

³⁷ *Idem*.

³⁸ *Idem*, no. 26.

³⁹ *Idem*.

⁴⁰ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 32.

must be a certain 'perfume' because one finds the same whiff in several houses. And in that *Lied* [by Mendelssohn] it is all so excellently portrayed, and more, the quarrels of souped-up Jews, oh, rarely!"⁴¹

Cádra's depictions on Jewish artists were even more radical when he viewed them in the context of the ethnic conflict in Hungary. In October 1907, the local Hungarian authorities ordered to fire the inhabitants of the Slovak village of Černová, who had protested against the consecration of their church by Hungarian priests. Several peasants were killed.⁴² When Cádra was told about this incident, he decided to do something against the Hungarians. He wrote a pamphlet that Ritter forbade him to publish. Some days later he attended a concert of a Hungarian musician and when he saw the poster of that musician in front of the opera in Munich, he fumed. He was convinced that the musician was a "Jew":

"And I was not wrong. Clean shaven, in white vest, the trousers hitched up, the arms hairy as a gorilla, and a huge silver ring on his right hand. He went on stage, hardly bent forward and somehow shook his body. Putting his collar right he realized that the desk was too high. With his fiddlestick he disdainfully pointed at the assistant who came rushing up and prepared the desk. This gesture offered a perfect image of the Jewish race. His playing was loose, shoddy, with the gestures of a poseur. [...] He was neither dilettantish, nor professional, nor gypsy-like!"⁴³

This was not the only situation in which Cádra used 'racial' attributes to describe artists in his diary. Cádra constantly distinguished between "Christian" and "Jewish" artists.

The mixture of anti-Semitism and anti-Magyarism or, more precisely, the mixture of fears of 'Judaization' and fears of being magyarized influenced Cádra's journalism as well. In his reviews of the 10th Anniversary Exhibition of Visual Arts in Munich for the Slovak newspaper *Národné noviny*, in 1909, Cádra compared, among other things, the Hungarian with the Swiss

⁴¹ Idem.

⁴² See Roman Holec, *Tragédia v Černovej a slovenská spoločnosť* [The Tragedy of Černová and the Slovak Society] (Martin 1997).

⁴³ ALU SNK, Call no. 55 S 29.

section.⁴⁴ This review is ideologically motivated and shows once again the relationships between aesthetical populism and “national anti-Semitism” in a nutshell. Cádra believed that Hungarian art, in particular painting, was in great contrast with the art of ‘healthy’ Switzerland. In his perspective, the Hungarian portraitists were mainly dilettantes. Missing a good composition in the portraits of the “Lords and Jews”, he found only one Hungarian portrait in the exhibition where the “authentic Magyar race” was depicted.⁴⁵ His criticism of the Hungarian landscape painting was not much better. Cádra liked only the Slovak landscape painting. It is no surprise that Cádra paid most of his attention to the so-called “ethnographic art”, which “proves the existence of the withdrawn nations”. Although he also included one ‘Jewish’ painter, Izsák Perlmutter, in this section, he finished his review with a radical anti-Semitic statement: “[...] we have the real strong impression of a Magyar interior in which Jewish goods and Jewish taste make up the main part”.⁴⁶

To sum up, Cádra’s case demonstrates how prejudice can develop into ideology through interactions with different cultural patterns. In his early life in Myjava, Cádra had adopted traditional anti-Jewish attitudes. Under the influence of Ritter, he eventually tried to elaborate them into an ideological outlook. However, Cádra was generally less radical than Ritter. Nevertheless, a diffuse anti-Semitism remained a fundamental constituent of his thinking and activities.

⁴⁴ Janko Cádra, “X. medzinárodná umelecká výstavka v Mníchove. XIII. Uhorsko a Švajčiarsko” [X. International Exhibition of Arts in Munich. XIII. Hungary and Switzerland], *Národné noviny* [National News], 40 (1909), No. 114 and 115 (September 28 and 30).

⁴⁵ *Idem*, no. 114.

⁴⁶ *Idem*. Cádra’s statement was inspired by Ritter. I thank Mrs. Markéta Theinhardt (University of Sorbonne, Paris) for this reference.