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The *Magyar Bazar* (1866–1904) and the Literary Salon Hosted by the Wohl Sisters in Budapest

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ABSTRACT

Cultural and media studies research of the past decades has emphasized the relationship between women's literary salons and the periodical press, as well as the connection between conversation and publishing. In line with these approaches I examine the *Magyar Bazar* [*Hungarian Bazar*] (1866–1904), the most popular fashion magazine of the end of the nineteenth century in Hungary. The editors of *Magyar Bazar* were two sisters, Janka (1843–1901) and Stephanie Wohl (1846–89), who both had a wide-reaching erudition and internationally acknowledged reputation. They published articles in their mother tongue for the Hungarian press, as well as in German, French, and English for European journals (*Revue internationale*, the *Scotsman*, the *Queen*, *Der Bazar*), and published books with foreign publishers. Besides their work as writers, editors and journalists, the Wohl sisters hosted a literary salon in Budapest. This salon became the favourite meeting place of contemporary intellectuals, artists, and politicians — many of them also from abroad. In this article, I present the Wohl sisters' rich oeuvre (as writers, editors, and translators) by interpreting their salon as the place of cultural and intellectual exchanges, and the site of creativity and networking. I will examine how social life and editorial work were connected in the production of their journal. I will demonstrate the interrelations of the Wohl sisters' salon and the *Magyar Bazar* by placing these into their transnational and cross-cultural context.

KEYWORDS

women editors, *Magyar Bazar*, Janka Wohl, Stephanie Wohl, salon culture

In recent decades, research in social and media history has emphasized the complexity of the relationship between the private and public spheres, pointing to the active participation of middle-class women in both social life and print media.¹ Relying on these approaches, this article focuses on the connection between late-nineteenth-century Hungarian social and cultural life and journalism through a focus on the most popular Hungarian fashion magazine of the time, the *Magyar Bazár* [*Hungarian Bazar*] (1866–1904) and the salon hosted by its editors, the Wohl sisters. *Salonnières* Janka Wohl (1843–1901) and Stephanie Wohl (1846–89) lived and worked in Budapest at the time of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, but their work transcended national boundaries.² They wrote and translated literary pieces, edited a fashion magazine, contributed to Hungarian and international periodicals, and published books with foreign publishers. In addition, they held a literary and musical salon in their home for several decades. In this article, I examine the fruitful interaction cultivated by the Wohl sisters between conversation and publishing, in other words, between oral culture and print culture. In particular, I will address the following questions: How did the relationship between the *Magyar Bazár* and the Wohl sisters' literary salon affect editorial practice with regard to both the magazine's contents and the editorial persona that Janka Wohl created for herself? How did it help her career as an East-Central European female editor, and how did it enable her integration into an international intellectual network?

The Wohl Sisters' Professional Background

The Wohl sisters were born into a converted Jewish middle-class family. Thanks to their excellent upbringing, they were fluent in both written and spoken English, German, and French. The elder sister, Janka, started out as a poet and later, under the pseudonym 'Egy nagyvilági hölgy' ['A High Society Lady'], wrote etiquette, home décor, and beauty manuals. (Fig. 1) Her critically acclaimed French biography of the Hungarian composer Liszt Ferenc, more generally known as Franz Liszt, entitled *François Liszt: Souvenirs d'une compatriote* [*Francois Liszt: Recollections of a Compatriot*], was published in French in 1887, translated into English in the same year, and into German in 1888. Janka Wohl also worked as a translator. She was the first Hungarian translator of the Charles Dickens novel *David Copperfield*, as well as the first woman to be commissioned by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as a translator. For the Academy, she translated the third volume of John Addington Symonds's *Renaissance in Italy (The Fine Arts)* (1886) and a selection of Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries du lundi [Monday Chats]* (1888). Her sister, Stephanie, wrote tales in the style of Hans Christian Andersen and later also short stories. In her novel *Aranyfüst [Sham Gold]* (1887), she depicted the Hungarian social elite of the time. The book was soon translated into French (*Clinquant*, 1888–89), German (*Rauschgold*, 1889), and, posthumously, English (*Sham Gold*, 1890; second edition 1896).

- 1 See Sharon M. Harris and Ellen Gruber Garvey, eds, *Blue Pencils & Hidden Hands: Women Editing Periodicals, 1830–1910* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004); Maria DiCenzo, Lucy Delap, and Leila Ryan, *Feminist Media History: Suffrage, Periodicals and the Public Sphere* (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); Marianne Van Remoortel, *Women, Work and the Victorian Periodical: Living by the Press* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).
- 2 I wrote my doctoral dissertation on the Wohl sisters' oeuvre. Zsolt Mészáros, 'Wohl-nővérek munkássága: irodalom, sajtó, szalon' ['The Work of the Wohl Sisters: Literature, Press, Salon'] (unpublished doctoral thesis, Eötvös Loránd University, 2016). For more on the Wohl sisters' life and work, see Zsuzsa Török, 'A Wohl-nővérek emancipációja. Társadalomtörténeti megközelítés hosszmetsetben' ['The Emancipation of the Wohl Sisters: A Longitudinal Approach to Social History'], *Aetas*, 30.1 (2015), 87–115; Agatha Schwartz, *Shifting Voices: Feminist Thought and Women's Writing in Fin-de-Siècle Austria and Hungary* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008). Unless indicated otherwise, all translations in this article are Zsuzsanna Dvornik's.



Fig. 1 Photograph of Janka Wohl (1843–1901) by Strelisky, *A Hét*, 10 March 1901

The Wohl sisters started to contribute to the periodical press in their teenage years. Hungarian magazines regularly published their literary writing, essays, and reviews, as well as their reports on cultural and artistic events. In addition, the Wohl sisters published articles and short stories in French, English, and German in various European periodicals, such as the *Revue internationale*, *Scotsman*, *Queen*, *Good Words for the Young*, and *Der Bazar*. Their editorial careers, however, unfolded in the medium of the fashion magazine. This was not a unique phenomenon in the Hungarian media market in the second half of the nineteenth century, as women typically edited fashion magazines and other publications whose target readers were mostly women, families, and young people. The Wohl sisters co-edited *A Divat* [*Fashion*] (1870–72) before founding their

own fashion magazine, *A Nők Munkaköre* [*Women's Work*] (1872–73), which they offered in the summer of 1873 to the largest Hungarian publishing company, Athenaeum, in the hope that it would provide sound financial and printing conditions for them. The board of directors saw this as a great opportunity and decided to merge the magazine with their own *Magyar Bazár* and, unsatisfied with the work of the editor Richard Szabó, put the Wohl sisters in charge.³ The enterprise picked up speed after Szabó's unexpected death on 9 August: the contract with the Wohl sisters was signed and the two magazines were amalgamated.⁴

Editing the *Magyar Bazár* and Supporting Salon Culture

While the Wohl sisters independently edited the literary supplement of the *Magyar Bazár*, the fashion features were taken from the German fashion magazine *Der Bazar*. Athenaeum had a formal agreement with the owner of *Der Bazar* for the transfer of the clichés (stereotypes of the original wood engravings) for local printing; the Wohl sisters translated the descriptions accompanying the fashion illustrations into Hungarian, adding a list of addresses of corresponding shops in Budapest.⁵ (Fig. 2) Under their editorship, the number of subscribers to the *Magyar Bazár* significantly increased and by 1885 it was considered the leading fashion magazine with a circulation of about 6,000 copies.⁶ In addition to fashion, social life, needlework, housekeeping, literature, and the arts, the *Magyar Bazár* also addressed certain issues regarding the emancipation of women. It supported women's employment and education, including access to university degrees, and sports activities for women, such as cycling.

Although the imprint named both sisters as editors, due to Stephanie's writing career and deteriorating health Janka was chief editor of the *Magyar Bazár* from the very beginning, having final responsibility for its operations and policies until her death in 1901. An obituary by one of her colleagues, Elma Hentaller, mentioned memorable editorial meetings as well as Janka Wohl's commitment to her magazine: 'She wanted to put her heart and soul into her writing, and wished her magazine would reflect her thoughts, most deeply felt emotions, personal sympathies, and interests.'⁷

In addition to their career as writers, editors, and journalists, the Wohl sisters hosted a cultural salon in their Budapest home for decades in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Their salon was a highly popular meeting place, attracting Hungarian and foreign intellectuals, artists, politicians, and diplomats. It was also a major centre for contemporary music, which was most probably related to Janka's ambitions as a pianist when she was a young woman. One of the illustrious musicians frequenting the salon was the Hungarian composer and virtuoso pianist, Franz Liszt, whom Janka Wohl had known in person since her childhood. In the final years of his life, Liszt regularly visited the Wohl sisters. Other visitors included the violin virtuoso Jenő Hubay and some acclaimed foreign singers and musicians, such as Czech violinist Jan Kubelík and

3 Minutes of the Board Meeting (3 July 1873), Athenaeum Publishing Co. Board Meeting Minutes, National Archives of Hungary Z 723–1–98.

4 The Wohl Sisters' Editorial Contract with Athenaeum (23 August 1873), Athenaeum Documents, Contracts, National Archives of Hungary Z 1508–2–153.

5 Minutes of Board Meeting (13 October 1871), Athenaeum Publishing Co. Board Meeting Minutes, National Archives of Hungary Z 723–1–72. For the international expansion of *Der Bazar*, see Marianne Van Remoortel, 'Women Editors and the Rise of the Illustrated Fashion Press in the Nineteenth Century', *Nineteenth-Century Contexts*, 39.4 (2017), 269–95.

6 Victor Grosz, *Hazánk hírlapjai a budapesti Országos Általános Kiállításon 1885-ben* [*The Newspapers of Hungary at the Budapest General Exhibition in 1885*] (Budapest: Benjamin Manó, 1885), p. 13. The actual number of readers must have been even higher.

7 Elma S. Hentaller, 'Wohl Janka mint szerkesztő' ['Janka Wohl as Editor'], *Magyar Bazár* (1 June 1901), p. 2.

19. szám. Ara: félfévre 5 frt, negyedévre 3 frt 50 kr. Budapest, 1886. október 1. Havonként két kettősszám. XXI. évfolyam.

MAGYAR BAZÁR

MINT A NŐK MUNKAKÖRE

Szinezett divatképünk magyarázata.

1. Fuzásdi öltözöt fiatal lányok számára. A nimn szövözet alj egészen plüssbe van rendelve. Az elői hosszúkés szabott, hátnál dudorozott tunique, billással bír, mely a dudorozásnál és felhúzásnál kitűnik. Japotte derék a la bulgare betéttel miniatúrozott selyemből, a hátsó két oldalit szövésével s szintén még egy keskenyebb selyembetéttel van szegélyezve. Könyökűjjük selyemhálókákkal. Hosszú kesztű. Kivágot cipő, a ruha színevel bíró harisnyával.

2. Sötétöltözöt fiatal asszonyok számára. A világos pettyes sötét szövésű alja széles öblös rücsökbe van rendelve, s elői panierszerű, hátnál dudorozott tunique-szerűekkel ellátva. Sima magas derék, mely elői selyemchemisette fröllyűk, mint állópallér-jeget be. Az újjak bőve és rücsökbe vannak szövve. Hátnál rövid, ott hosszú végekkel ellátott manólet, Hosszú kesztű. Hajlékasarcim felhajtott kalapocskó a ruha szövéséből toll és virágdíszekkel. Lakkhegyes gömbölytőpán.

Illatszerek.

Az illatszerek jelenleg oly általánosakká váltak, hogy elegáns hölgy nélkülük nem is képzelhető. Ma napig mindent illatosítanak. A tekintélyesebb fehérszínű kereskedések már sáchet (illatos párucskák)kal ellátva küldik haza a felmegyőket; a derékakba »peau d'Espagne« darabkákat varrnak; az aljak szégesit viola és heliotrópporral öltik be; a tournure kis párnája illatosítva van s minden gyapozott ruhadarab két gyaprétege közé viola és heliotróp-por hintetik.

Illatos kesztűket készítenek (tűtől) fűszerekben olyanokat is, melyek tisztítás után sem veszítik el illatukat), valamint bonbonokat, melyek a leheltet illatosítják. A hölgyek szájuk-

ben apró dobozkákat viselnek, melyeknek némelyike valószínűs kis ékszer, s ezen dobozkák illatos apróra vágott bonbonokat tartalmaznak. Ezeknek legkisebb darabkája is, melyet észrevétlenül szájukba tartanak, édes illatot áraszt, s mint beszélni kezdnek.

Kerek kis selyem sáchet-kezt készítenek, melyek zainörök segítségével aggattatva az almszíromok minden fogására ruhák közé.

A levelepapír is illatosan készült; s nem illatos közepedig sáchet-kezt helyeznek.

A kesztűpárnák, fűszerek, kesztűk és szobkadírtatók gyaprosan két illatos por hintetik. Ez a virág is legkedveltebb a viola és heliotróp.

Azonfelül a zsebkendőket még illatos szesszel is illatosítják. Ezeket elegáns hölgyeink rendszeren vegyítik; mindig egy félüveg violailattal egy félüveg magnóliailattal mindíg egy félüveg violailattal egy félüveg magnóliailattal vagy pedig »white rose« illattal összetöltve. Kell-e megemlíteni a »violet« illatú és »lavender« illatú selyem ruhák is. A »new moon« hajtás »Esbonquet« még mindig kedveltek, azonban a moschusos óvakodni kell. Valóságos vétek az egészég és tisztesség ellen, moschus használni.

Az »Eau de Cologne« süllyedőbelegbe, mint valaha; nemcsak illatosított, de hűsítő ez fájadalomnyitító tulajdonságainál fogva is. Azonban ügykezzni kell valódi, jófajta kapni, mert a hamisított pálinkaszaggal bír.

A szobák »cassotték« segítségével illatosítottak, mi nemcsak kellemes, de egészséges is. Kinek »cassotté« nincs, egy tizes lapátra cseppent néhány csepp illatos vizet, mely az egész szobát jószagúvá teszi. A legkedveltebb s legegészebb illatos vizet e célra az »Eau de Lavande« (lavendula-víz).

Azonban azt, mit az Eau de Cologne-nál megjegyeztünk, szem előtt kell tartanunk minden illatosításnál. Csak a jófajta, valódi illat-érzék kell; a hamisított illatok részint egészségtelenek, részint kellemetlenek. Jóféle illatok úgy por, mint szesz alakban illékonyan, V é r t e s s y n é l kaphatók.

Az igen erős illatoktól is óvjuk olvasóinkat. Az erős

1. Paleto angol szövözetből. Szab. és magy.: Hátr., V., 32—41. ág.

2. Felöltő damas-frisé és plüssből. ENGL. (Lásd 41. kép.) Szab. és magy.: EMR., III., 18—24. ág.

Fig. 2 Front page of the *Magyar Bazár*, 1 October 1886, with a fashion illustration taken from *Der Bazar*

French singer Jeanne Darlays, who made an appearance as special guest stars while they were on tour in Budapest. The sister-*salonnières* also organized social gatherings at which writers, academics, or scientists read from their new or upcoming work.

In addition to being a social and cultural success in its own right, the salon greatly inspired the Wohl sisters' editorial work and career. In her work on the modernist period, Jayne Marek has highlighted the relationship between salon life and magazines, as well

as the connection between conversation and publishing.⁸ As a social institution, a literary salon provides a framework for cultural exchanges. It does not only mediate among art forms, but also among social classes, professions, generations, genders, and nations. The salon is a multifunctional space — it is simultaneously a workshop and a forum, but above all, it is a contact zone based on social gathering and conversation. It serves not only as a venue for intellectual discussion and hotbed for artistic expression but it also has national and political aspects (linked for example to the French revolutions, the Italian unification, or the Jewish emancipations).⁹ It constitutes an intermediate space, in which the private and the public as well as oral culture and print culture interact: the information, ideas, works, and opinions shared or exchanged in the salon reach beyond the four walls via the guests and are integrated into print media.¹⁰ Examples include the salon chronicle (a journalistic genre about cultural and social life) or an intellectual circle of like-minded people backing up a magazine (*Mercur de France* and the Tuesdays at Rachilde's apartment).¹¹

Both as a social gathering and an ideal of sociability, the cultural salon defined the literary and journalistic work of the Wohl sisters. For her anthology of translations of the French literary critic Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve's *Causeries du lundi*, a series of topical columns published in the newspaper *Le Constitutionnel*, Janka Wohl picked the professional profiles of fifteen French women who influenced French society. In the Foreword, she explained that she wanted her anthology to give Hungarian women examples and patterns regarding salon management or how to run and moderate the conversation, so that they might eventually feel encouraged to set up intellectual centres in their own homes, which would then have a positive effect on Hungarian literature and the arts.¹² Janka Wohl also promoted the development of salon life through her writings in the *Magyar Bazár*. In favour of introducing the custom and practice of tea-drinking, she encouraged her readers to seize the initiative and advocate the spread of salon culture.¹³ She was also convinced that salons could facilitate the breaking down of social barriers, pointing out in her popular etiquette manual *Illem* [*Manners*] (1880) that hosting cultural salons should not be the privilege of the few and encouraging middle-class people to tap into the cultural salon by leading similar events: 'A salon of the educated society is a real republic.'¹⁴ Wohl was firm in her belief that hosting a literary salon, as a female activity, could shape audiences, hone tastes, and improve behaviour through lively and educated conversations and refined exchanges of ideas. Furthermore, a successful salon or *jour fixe* did not depend on glamorous-glitzzy

8 Jayne Marek, 'Magazines, Presses, and Salons in Women's Modernism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Modernist Women Writers*, ed. by Maren Tova Linett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 62–77.

9 See Steven Kale, *French Salons: High Society and Political Sociability from the Old Regime to the Revolution of 1848* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004); Emily D. Bilski and Emily Braun, eds, *Jewish Women and Their Salons: The Power of Conversation* (New York: Jewish Museum Under the Auspices of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 2005); Gabriella Romani, 'A Room with a View: Interpreting the Ottocento through the Literary Salon', *Italica*, 84.2/3 (2007), 233–46.

10 See Roberto Simanowski, Horst Turk, and Thomas Schmidt, eds, *Europa — ein Salon? Beiträge zur Internationalität des literarischen Salons* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 1999).

11 Christina Bezari, 'Representations of the Fin-de-siècle Literary Salon in the Chronicles of Matilde Serao', *Forum Italicum*, 52.1 (2018), 35–48; Alexia Kalantzis, 'Le domicile de l'écrivain comme lieu de sociabilité à la fin du XIXe siècle', *COntEXTES*, 19 (2017) [accessed 29 October 2019].

12 Janka Wohl, Foreword, in Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Arcképek a francia újabkori társadalomból* [*Portraits from Modern French Society*], transl. by Janka Wohl (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia [Hungarian Academy of Sciences], 1888), pp. iii–xix (p. xix).

13 Janka Wohl (as 'Egy nagyvilági hölgy' ['A High Society Lady']), 'A four-o'clock-tea' ['The Four O'Clock Tea'], *Magyar Bazár* (1 February 1884), p. 23.

14 Janka Wohl (as 'Egy nagyvilági hölgy' ['A High Society Lady']), *Illem. A jó társaság szabályai. Utmutató a művelt társaséletben* [*Manners: The Rules of Good Company. A Guide for the Social Life of the Cultivated*], 4th edn (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1891), p. 38.

appearances or occasions: ‘The afternoon tea time is especially the time of conversation and chat, and indeed it is the time of that almost dethroned “causerie” as well, whose empire has to be re-established by our witty ladies.’¹⁵ However, as her sister warned her, the birth of a cultural salon was a long and gradual process: ‘Even the Lord God Almighty needed seven days to create the world, and the salon is nothing else but the world “en miniature”, which is slowly organized.’¹⁶

Salons thus played a major role in middle- and upper-class women’s empowerment, social engagement, and participation in the public sphere.¹⁷ For the middle-class Wohl sisters, the salon provided a framework for liaising with their staff, hiring new authors, and collecting new topics and material for publication. From time to time, excerpts from the authors’ upcoming work that had been read in the salon were published in the magazine and there were regular updates in the news feeds about the lives and careers of salon guests. In the 1890s, in addition to those of the regular readers of the *Magyar Bazár*, the ‘Salons Confessions’ also published the responses of famous artists, writers, and public figures to questions about love, marriage, lifestyle, and favourite things, modelling the circulars published in European magazines and newspapers.¹⁸ The respondents often alluded to the editor-in-chief’s literary salon, which most of them attended.

Janka Wohl used her contacts in the production process of the magazine in other ways as well. She copied details and extracts from letters addressed to her by friends or acquaintances, and published them as foreign reports or travelogues. Janka Wohl was generally fond of publishing real or fictitious letters in the *Magyar Bazár*, as their informal style and personal touch well suited the homely and intimate character of the fashion magazine.¹⁹ The inclusion of these letters also boosted her social and professional prestige as an editor in the eyes of her readers, testifying to her many Hungarian and foreign connections.

The Wohl Sisters’ Literary Salon and Editorial Practice in the European Context

Today, the Wohl sisters’ international network is difficult to reconstruct as only very few names can be identified from the available sources, including Russian painter Vasily Vereshchagin, Paris-based Lithuanian-Jewish sculptor Mark Antokolsky, Romanian-French poet Hélène Vacaresco, Russian art historian and music critic Vladimir Stasov, Italian linguist Angelo de Gubernatis, and English artist-illustrator Walter Crane. Fragmentary references also suggest that the Wohl sisters were in direct or indirect contact with other Hungarian and international literary salons. For instance, they asked a close friend of theirs, the writer Zsigmond Justh, who frequently visited Comtesse Diane’s or Hippolyte Taine’s salon in Paris, to contribute information about Parisian salon life and fashion to their magazine.²⁰ With Justh’s help, Janka Wohl also started

15 Janka Wohl, *Illem*, pp. 149–50.

16 Stefánia Wohl, ‘Szalonélet Pesten’ [‘Salon Life in Pest’], *Pesti Napló* (15 March 1881), p. 1.

17 DiCenzo et al., p. 22.

18 On the circulars in the literary supplement to *Le Figaro*, see Yoan Vérilhac, ‘“Les femmes seules savent écrire une lettre”: sur le “Questionnaire” du Figaro de l’année 1888’, *La lettre et la presse: poétique de l’intime et culture médiatique*, ed. by Guillaume Pinson, *Médias 19* (2012) [accessed 7 November 2019].

19 See Kathryn Shevelov, *Women and Print Culture* (London: Routledge, 1989); Ros Ballaster, Margaret Beetham, Elizabeth Frazer, and Sandra Hebron, *Women’s Worlds: Ideology, Femininity and the Woman’s Magazine* (London: Macmillan, 1991).

20 Letter from Janka Wohl to Zsigmond Justh, 31 January [1888], Manuscript Archives, Letter Archives, National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

to correspond with the Romanian-French writer Hélène Vacaresco and was granted the right to publish some of her poems in the *Magyar Bazár*.²¹

When Walter Crane, who was a prominent representative of the British Arts and Crafts movement, visited Hungary for his exhibition in Budapest in 1900, he spent an afternoon having tea in Janka Wohl's salon. An article about the artist, his photograph, as well as a brief piece by his hand on Hungarian applied arts were published on the front page of the *Magyar Bazár*.²² On the one hand, these features on and by this artistic celebrity figure fitted the mission of the *Magyar Bazár* to promote applied arts; on the other hand, it was indicative of the connection and interplay between salon events and the magazine.

Out of all the international acquaintances of the Wohl sisters, we currently know the most about their relationship with Angelo de Gubernatis. This relationship serves to illustrate what benefits the Wohl sisters' foreign connections had for their writing and editorial careers, as well as their social life. De Gubernatis was a prominent Orientalist, publicist, and a versatile organizer of cultural events. The Wohl sisters met him during their Italian tour in 1881. His letter of recommendation made it possible for them to visit the writer-philosopher and former minister, Terenzio Mamiani, in his home in Rome.²³ Later, they exchanged literary and journalistic pieces. De Gubernatis included a selection of Stephanie Wohl's Andersen-style tales in *Cordelia*, a popular weekly journal for young ladies launched by him in 1881. Janka Wohl, in turn, chose an article on the Sanskrit language from *Cordelia* to be published in the *Magyar Bazár*.²⁴

An important milestone in their collaboration was the French-language publication *Revue internationale*, founded in 1883 by De Gubernatis in Florence and then published in Rome. The aim of the magazine was to create a cross-border network of artist-intellectuals and a platform where people from different nations could exchange ideas.²⁵ Regular guest authors included Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy, Italian novelist, journalist, poet, and short-story writer Edmondo De Amicis, American novelist Henry James, English novelist Ouida (Maria Louise Ramé), Romanian-Albanian romantic writer and feminist Dora d'Istria (Elena Ghica), and the Wohl sisters. Stephanie Wohl published short stories in the *Revue internationale*, as well as the French translation of her novel *Aranyfűst*, entitled *Clinquant*, while Janka wrote reports on cultural events in Budapest and, in the autumn and winter of 1886, following the death of Franz Liszt, a four-part series of articles on the renowned composer's life, entitled *François Liszt: Souvenirs détachés* [*Franz Liszt: Scattered Memories*]. This series then served as the basis for her book about Liszt. When Angelo de Gubernatis travelled to Hungary in the mid-1880s, he seized the opportunity to pay the Wohl sisters a visit too. He related the experiences of his journey in his book *La Hongrie politique et sociale* [*Political and Social Hungary*], in which he gave the Wohl sisters high praise for their role in the social life

21 Hélène Vacaresco sent to Janka Wohl her volume of poems *Chants d'aurore* (1886) and a collection of Romanian folk songs that she had compiled. Letter from Janka Wohl to Zsigmond Justh, 16 December 1889, Manuscript Archives, Letter Archives, National Széchényi Library, Budapest.

22 'Walter Crane Budapest' ['Walter Crane in Budapest'], *Magyar Bazár* (16 October 1900), p. 99; Janka Wohl may have met him on a trip to London in 1896, but there is no specific information available. For the reception of Walter Crane in Hungary, see Katalin Keserü, 'Art Contacts between Great Britain and Hungary at the Turn of the Century', *Hungarian Studies*, 6.2 (1990), 141–54; Zsuzsa Gonda, 'Walter Crane's Visit to Budapest in the Context of Museum Acquisitions', *Ars Decorativa*, 20 (2001), 15–31.

23 Letter by Janka Wohl to Ottilia Wass, 8 December 1881, Fond Personal Ottilia Wass (inventar nr. 1228), Direcției Județene Cluj a Arhivelor Naționale, Cluj-Napoca, Romania.

24 Angelo de Gubernatis, 'Leányával való beszélgetései. A nyelv, melyet tanítok' ['Conversations with my Daughter: The Language I Teach'], *Magyar Bazár* (16 September 1882), 137–38.

25 Angelo de Gubernatis, 'Un mot avant de se mettre en route' ['A Word Before Setting Off'], *Revue internationale* (25 December 1883), 5–10.

of Budapest. Because of its artistic and intellectual exchanges, Gubernatis likened their salon to the School of Athens.²⁶

The Editorial Image of the Journalist-Salonnière

The popularity of a nineteenth-century women's magazine depended, among other things, on the self-image the editors created and to what extent this self-image conveyed a sense of knowledge, experience, and credibility to the readers, reinforcing the feeling that readers could count on the editors and the magazine to give them assistance and good advice. However, the editorial image that readers accepted as authentic did not exclude fictional elements. For instance, Eliza Warren Francis was an English writer on needlework and household management, and the editor of the monthly magazine the *Ladies' Treasury* (1858–95), which targeted middle-class housewives and promoted Victorian household ideology. She was best known professionally by the pen name Mrs Warren and presented herself as a middle-class wife and mother, although in reality she was widowed, childless, and ran a boarding house.²⁷

As an editor, Janka Wohl assumed the role of a sophisticated worldly woman. Under the pseudonym 'A High Society Lady', she published etiquette, social life, and home décor manuals, and wrote regular features on the same topics in the columns of the *Magyar Bazár*. Her editorial work foregrounded her social status, revealing that she was moving in high-society circles, socializing with artists and aristocrats, and allowing readers via her pictures and writings to catch a glimpse of 'high life', the extravagant social life enjoyed by the wealthy. The literary salon hosted by the Wohl sisters was used as a significant reference point, and the events and guests at their gatherings were written about in the social chronicles of the Hungarian press from time to time. In addition, readers could encounter Janka's name in the papers as the organizer of, or participant in, other distinguished events. As an editor, Janka Wohl came across as an authentic figure, an up-to-speed, knowledgeable member of high society, who lived up to the readers' expectations to deliver first-hand information about high life and to provide useful and high-quality advice and guidance on how to master elegance, become erudite, and hone taste.

Janka Wohl's private and public selves were not sharply separated, but did not completely overlap either, as she was a single, middle-class working woman of Jewish descent. However, she managed to create living conditions, build professional relationships, and forge friendships that all provided an appropriate backdrop for her editorial image and thus for the image of her fashion magazine. Her carefully crafted editorial persona became so closely linked to the *Magyar Bazár* that the magazine was advertised as 'Janka Wohl's fashion magazine' from the mid-1890s onwards and continued to be so in the months following her death, until 1901. (Fig. 3) The publisher most likely did not want to undermine the subscribers' trust in the periodical and risk losing part of its readership. After Wohl's death, the Athenaeum appointed two new editors to head the *Magyar Bazár*: Mrs Sándor Lónyai Jr., who was a writer, and Elma Hentaller, who had been a lead staff member of the magazine. Still, the publishing company quickly decided to fold the *Magyar Bazár*, but the exact reasons are not clear from the sources.

26 Angelo de Gubernatis, *La Hongrie politique et sociale* [*Political and Social Hungary*] (Florence: Joseph Pellas, 1885), p. 340.

27 Van Remoortel, pp. 30–49.

29. évfolyam. 29. évfolyam.

A

MAGYAR BAZÁR

Wohl Janka divatlapja.

ezimű szépirodalmi divatlap, minden hónap 1-én és 16-án jelenik meg, tehát teljes 24 gazdagon illusztrált, színes divatkép-melléklettel ellátott bő tartalmu, fényesen kiállított számot ad évenként előfizetői részére. Különösen fontos lap oly hölgyek számára, kik maguk varrják ruháikat; mert **kitűnő szabásokon** kívül még kimerítő utasítással is szolgál a ruhák készítését illetőleg.

MAGYAR BAZÁR
az egyetlen divatlap, a melynek képei **PÁRISBAN** készülnek.
Előfizetési ára: **egy negyedévre 2 frt.**

Az előfizetési összeg legcélszerűbben postautalvánnyal küldendő következő czímmel:
Magyar Bazár
kiadóhivatala
BUDAPEST,
Ferenczyek-tere 3. sz.

A MAGYAR BAZÁR vidéki és helybeli előfizetői a legtöbb fővárosi divatkereskedőnél bevásárlás vagy megrendelés alkalmával tetemes árkedvezményben részesülnek. Karácsonyi kedvezmény: gazdag érdekes tartalomdus meglepetés.

Fig. 3 The *Magyar Bazár* advertised as 'Janka Wohl's fashion magazine' in *Borsszem Jankó*, 23 September 1894

Conclusion

In this article, I examined the interplay between editing a fashion magazine and hosting a literary salon via the work of the Hungarian Wohl sisters and the *Magyar Bazár*. For Janka and Stephanie Wohl, the salon served as a versatile space of cultural confluence, fostering their international publishing activities and wide international social network as well as the connections among the various professional fields (writing, translation, journalism, salon life) in which they participated. The salon provided a framework for liaising with their staff, recruiting new contributors, and collecting new topics and material for publication. In addition, it strengthened their editorial position in the contemporary cultural field. The salon, however, defined the literary and journalistic work of the Wohl sisters not only as a social gathering but also as an ideal of sociability, which testifies to the fruitful interplay between oral culture and print culture. As a representative of nineteenth-century East-Central European women's journalism, editor-in-chief Janka Wohl built a successful editorial strategy for the *Magyar Bazár*,

thanks to which she led her fashion magazine for almost thirty years (1873–1901). In doing so, she simultaneously catered to a Hungarian readership and positioned her magazine in an international intellectual environment and media landscape.

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