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Contents

<i>Bálint Péter FURKÓ</i> Irish English Stereotypes. A Variational Pragmatic Analysis	123
<i>Sára MAGYARI</i> The Linguistic Image of <i>Man</i> in the Hungarian and Romanian Languages . . .	137
<i>Dagmar Maria ANOCA</i> Cultural Images as an Issue in the Process of Translation.	149
<i>Nándor LEHRER</i> Non-Hellenic Peoples in the Epic Poems of Homer	159
<i>Adrienn SZTANA-KOVÁCS</i> The Population of Fejér County in the 18 th Century Through the Eyes of Foreign Travellers	169
<i>Imola GYÖRGY V.</i> The Myth-Shaping Power of a Past Vision of the Future	185
<i>Tünde LŐRINCZI</i> The Representation of the Self-Concepts Within the Adventist Romani Community from Etéd.	203
<i>László Attila HUBBES</i> New Hungarian Mythology Animated. Self-Portraits of the Nation	223
<i>Valentin TRIFESCU</i> The Discovery of Alsatian Space in the Regionalist Art Historiography of the First Half of the 20 th Century	241
<i>Zsuzsanna AJTONY</i> Approaching Literature with Linguistic Means: a Few Conclusions	255



Irish English Stereotypes. *A Variational Pragmatic Analysis*

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Abstract. The aim of the paper is to examine common Irish English stereotypes in cinematographic representations of Irish English with special reference to pragmatic features and sociopragmatic norms. After giving an overview of some of the ways in which the concepts of ‘stereotype’ and ‘stereotyping’ are defined and used in sociolinguistics and sociopragmatics, selected features of the Irish English pragmalect (the use of pragmatic markers, the performance of speech acts such as requests, compliment responses and thanks minimizers) will be discussed and contrasted with the (highly stereotypical) representation of Irish English in the films *Intermission* and *The Guard*.

Keywords: stereotypes, variational pragmatics, Irish English, pragmalinguistic features, sociopragmatic norms

1. Introduction, rationale, structure of the paper

It is often noted in sociolinguistics (cf. e.g. Jaworski and Coupland 2006: 44) that conversational partners make judgements about each other’s social background as well as personality traits on the basis of trivial linguistic choices in terms of pronunciation features, intonation, lexical or morpho-syntactic variants. Pragmalinguistic features such as the use of pragmatic markers or the manner in which particular speech acts are performed are even more prone to trigger social stereotyping as well as “personality extrapolations” (cf. Tannen 2006a: 460). Moreover, as Thomas (1983) notes with reference to cross-cultural pragmatic failure, offensive national stereotypes such as ‘the abrasive German’, ‘the obsequious Japanese’, ‘the insincere American’, and ‘the standoffish Briton’ can most likely be traced back to insufficient exposure to the respective speech communities’ pragmalinguistic practices. In intracultural communication, where communication problems are less often anticipated, it is even more important to raise awareness about differences in pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic norms.

In the present paper I will use Irish English as an example of such differences. The aim of the paper is twofold, firstly, it is to examine cinematographic representations of Irish English with special reference to pragmatic features and sociopragmatic norms, the second aim is to contrast the stereotypes depicted in such representations with the actual pragmalinguistic features of Irish English based on the most recent findings of variational pragmatics.

The structure of the paper is as follows: in the first part of the paper I will provide an overview of some of the ways in which the concepts of ‘stereotype’ and ‘stereotyping’ are defined and used in sociolinguistics and sociopragmatics, next, I will discuss negative stereotyping with respect to the use of pragmatic markers as salient features of pragmalinguistic norms and conversational styles. In the second part of the paper selected features of the Irish English pragmalect (the use of pragmatic markers, the performance of speech acts such as requests, compliment responses and thanks minimizers) will be discussed and contrasted with the (highly stereotypical) representation of Irish English in the films *Intermission* and *The Guard*.

2. The concepts of ‘stereotype’ and ‘stereotyping’ in sociolinguistics and sociopragmatics

2.1. The concept of stereotype in the variationist paradigm

In the classical Labovian model the term ‘stereotype’ is used with reference to a particular type of linguistic variant. According to Labov (1972), there are three types of linguistic variants: ‘indicators’, ‘markers’ and ‘stereotypes’. The three-way distinction reflects the social significance/stratification of a particular variant as well as the degree to which speakers are aware of the social significance of particular forms. In the case of ‘indicators’ members of a particular speech community attach no social significance to the use/choice of a particular form, while ‘markers’ reflect social stratification which speakers are usually aware of. ‘Stereotypes’, in Labov’s classification, are variants that are readily perceived and commented on (rightly or wrongly) as salient in the speech of particular social or ethnic groups, nationalities, etc. An item of any linguistic level can be a stereotype in this respect, whether it is a phonological, suprasegmental, morphological, syntactic, lexical or pragmalinguistic feature of the particular variety it is associated with.

It is important to note that the variationist paradigm was originally developed for the analysis of the social stratification of phonological features, the methodology was later extended for the study of other formal features such as morpho-syntactic

and lexical variation. Variationist studies of discourse-pragmatic features are even more recent. Moreover, as Pichler (2010) notes, studies of phonological and morpho-syntactic variation and change have been “relatively homogeneous and congruent in focus and methodology” (2010: 582), while there is remarkable heterogeneity in the study of discourse-pragmatic variation due to the “lack of a coherent set of methodological principles” (ibid.).

The formal-functional distinction is relevant to the analysis of stereotypes in the Labovian sense, as well. The identification of formal stereotypes is straightforward: formal variants complement each other, can be substituted by each other and they have to occur in a particular place for the sentence to be considered well-formed by native speakers. In contrast, the use of functional features is seldom obligatory, they are rarely in complementary distribution, and it is usually the frequency of a particular functional variant which provides a clue to its distribution across different discourse genres, social/regional/ethnic groups etc. If we take Irish English (henceforth IrE) as an example, formal stereotypes about IrE include the use of [t] in *think*, the use of dental, rather than alveolar [t] and [d], the use of the after-perfective, resultative-perfective, etc. (cf. Hickey 2007: 207ff). Although there are a few pragmalinguistic features that are easy to identify formally, such as the use of pragmatic markers (cf. section 3.1.), most functional stereotypes take the form of impressionistic qualifications of Irish conversational style such as Irish ‘indirectness’, ‘retinence’, ‘evasiveness’ and ‘implicitness’ (cf. Moynahan 1995: 178).

Another basic difference between formal and functional stereotypes is the fact that while the use of formal variants is completely arbitrary, the choice of pragmalinguistic features is motivated by sociocultural norms, which, in turn, are influenced by fundamental cultural values (cf. Spencer-Oatey 2000: 43).

2.2. ‘Stereotype’ and ‘stereotyping’ in interactional sociolinguistics and sociopragmatics

In interactional linguistics and sociopragmatics the term ‘stereotype’ is used very similarly to the way it is used in social psychology, i.e. as a set of “beliefs shared by in-group members about how one’s own and other groups are characterized by certain traits and behavioural tendencies which may be positive or negative” (Bourhis and Maass 2005: 1587). Stereotyping has evaluative as well as cognitive aspects, as for the former, Quasthoff defines stereotypes as “the over-generalizing, evaluative judgements that everybody disapproves of but nobody seems to be able to do without” (1978: 2), while Gumperz posits that conversationalists rely on certain knowledge schemas, that is, “stereotypes about variant ways of speaking to categorize events, infer intent and derive expectations about what is likely to ensue” (1982: 130). In the context of cross-cultural communication,

stereotyping refers to the process whereby conversational partners extend negative impressions of their interlocutor to the social group and/or speech community their interlocutor is ostensibly a member of, usually as a result of repeated experiences of miscommunication (cf. Tannen 2006b: 362).

In the following I am going to explore some of the most basic stereotypes about IrE communicative style—‘implicitness’, ‘indirectness’ and ‘conventional pessimism’ (cf. Kallen: 2005)—at the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic level. It is important to note that when considering functional variants such as the use of pragmatic markers and pragmatic strategies of performing a variety of speech acts the distinction between stereotype in the Labovian sense and stereotype in the social psychological sense is blurred, since evaluative judgments are implicit in the attribution of pragmalinguistic features or sociopragmatic norms to a particular group of speakers, such as speakers of IrE.

3. Pragmalinguistic features as sources of stereotypes

3.1. The use of pragmatic markers

Non-linguists, including language mavens (cf. e.g. Cameron 1995: 50), often associate pragmatic markers (henceforth PMs) with spoken discourse and oral style, at best, and with the language of women, adolescents, and the illiterate, uneducated, underprivileged, etc., at worst. A variety of PMs have also been stereotyped as markers of superficiality as well as lack of intelligence.¹ In Britain, certain PMs such as *like* and *you know* have become stereotypes of the (supposedly inferior) dialect of American English, as is exemplified by the following email joke, in which the writer gives advice to speakers of AmE:

Generally, you should raise your vocabulary to acceptable levels. Look up ‘vocabulary’. Using the same twenty-seven words interspersed with filler noises such as ‘like’ and ‘you know’ is an unacceptable and inefficient form of communication. Look up ‘interspersed’. (example taken from Fuller 2003: 370)

It is well known that people’s attitudes to features of any variety of language reflect their attitudes to the speakers of that variety (cf. Honey 2007: 70), thus, negative stereotyping of PM uses of *like*, *I mean* and *you know* reflect negative attitudes to social groups and social situations such items are (often wrongly) associated with. What is more, as is clear from the email joke above, the stereotypical function assigned to PMs is strategic rather than interpersonal or discourse organizational, in other words, most naïve speakers perceive PMs’

1 Cf. e.g. *like* as a marker of “Valley Girl speech” (Blythe et al. 1990: 224).

role as limited to stalling and marking lexical search. However, it is a well documented fact in the sociolinguistic literature that laypeople's intuitions (and stereotypes) about their own language use are not reliable, what is more, they frequently get annoyed when confronted with their own speech output in the form of the recordings or transcripts of sociolinguistic interviews (cf. e.g. Romaine & Lange 1991: 261).

If we take a closer look at the functional spectrum of PMs, we find that native speakers use them consistently and with great precision in order to fulfil a wide range of communicative needs. *Like*, for example, rather than being a meaningless social noise is a pragmatic marker of "high frequency and versatility" (Andersen 2001: 221). Its functional spectrum ranges from (a) marking explanation, (b) emphasis/new information, to (c) quotative, (d) approximative and (e) softening functions:²

- (a) My roommate never cleans when I ask him to. **Like**, I asked him yesterday to clean, and he never did it.
- (b) This guy is so cool. I mean, he's **like** the coolest person you could meet.
- (c) I went to the clerk to ask him where the beer was, and he's **like**, 'I don't know, I'm new here', so I'm **like**, yeah, sure, like, you should know this, man!
- (d) I missed **like** 40 questions on the exam.
- (e) Could you, **like**, loan me \$100?

Utterance-initial and utterance-medial instances of non-propositional *like*—such as the ones in the examples above—occur in similar contexts, with similar distribution and frequency in IrE, AmE and BrE (cf. Kallen: 2006). Despite this fact, the stereotypical use of *like* in IrE is in utterance-final position, moreover, it is typically associated with Irish tentativeness/uncertainty. We can observe this stereotype in a variety of cinematographic representations of IrE, in both *Intermission* and *The Guard*, for example, non-propositional uses of *like* occur invariably in utterance-final position if the speaker is Irish, as in the following examples:

A (speaker of AmE) [he is] deliberately disrupting my lecture.

B (speaker of IrE) Ah, I'm only having a bit of fun, **like**. (*The Guard*)

You know, I've been reading...where they're smuggling the cocaine out of Colombia in little submarines... Submarines they've built themselves, **like**. (*The Guard*)

Bobbie Gentry said she didn't know what it was. Supposed to be mysterious, **like**. (*The Guard*)

2 The list of functions is based on Lee (2001), and is far from exhaustive, for a more detailed functional spectrum of *like* cf. e.g. Schourup (1985) or Andersen (2001).

A: Have I got a ronnie?

B: A what?

A: A ronnie, mustache, **like**. (*Intermission*)

Another PM that displays a unique functional spectrum in IrE is *sure*. In AmE and BrE the PM *sure* is primarily used as a feedback signal, marker of an affirmative answer/compliance with a request, as well as an attitudinal disjunct with an interpersonal/persuasive function of inviting agreement from the person or persons addressed (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 446). In IrE, in addition to its standard functions, *sure* marks emphasis, reinforcement, epistemic stance, mockery, and a whole range of interpersonal and discourse-organizational functions (cf. Moreno 2005). In Irish films—unlike the PM *like*—*sure* displays a wide range of functions that are also present in AmE and BrE usage, nevertheless, the utterance-final position of *sure* appears to be, once again, stereotyped, as it occurs more frequently in cinematographic representations of IrE than in naturally-occurring or even literary data (cf. Moreno 2005):

(1) I'm Irish, **sure**. Racism's part of my culture. (*The Guard*)

(2) A: Are we to assume you're satisfied with the service?

B: I'm totally drained, **sure**. (*The Guard*)

(3) You're after blowing your cover, **sure**. (*Intermission*)

(4) It's the new f...ing business, **sure**. Everyone's doing it. (*Intermission*)

3.2. Request strategies

Barron (2008) observes that while there is a great degree of difference between stereotypical IrE request strategies and the actual pragmalinguistic forms used in naturally-occurring data, the underlying general stereotype of increased indirectness/decreased affirmativeness is confirmed by Irish sociopragmatic norms. Accordingly, a stereotypical IrE request is “you couldn't confirm this in writing, could you?” as opposed to the stereotypically British “could you confirm this in writing, please?” (Scharf & Mac Mathúna 1998: 161, quoted in Barron 2008: 38). However, contrary to the common stereotype, Barron's (2008) corpus-based analysis shows that IrE speakers decrease the force of the request by means of a whole range of strategies other than negative formulations and tag questions: there are significant differences in lexical upgrading as well as external downgrading. Speakers of IrE use more upgraders even in non-standard/high solidarity contexts, moreover, they use more pre- and post-grounders, in other words, invest more effort into the external modification (explanation, justification, pretext, etc.) of requests. In cinematographic representations of IrE we find elaborate requests, ample strategies of indirectness and the use of a

great deal of internal and external modification, which is especially salient in informal/high-solidarity contexts:

(1) Reporter to interviewee: Sorry, Sally. Could you step out of the shot for a minute? Just for a minute. (*Intermission*)

(2) Policeman to criminal: Why d'you kill McCormick, if you don't mind me asking? (*The Guard*)

(3) Boyfriend to girlfriend: Listen, do you mind if we stay in tonight? I'm knackered, do you mind? (*Intermission*)

(4) Mother to daughter: And listen, I wasn't going to say it to you, but since we're having this discussion...would you not...Would you not get yourself a bit of Immac or something?³ (*Intermission*)

3.3. Compliment responses (CRs)

Speakers face a dilemma when responding to compliments because of conflicting sociocultural norms: if a compliment is accepted, the complimentee might appear immodest or vain, conversely, if a compliment is not accepted, the complimentee's opinion is in contrast to that of the complimenter. In terms of Leech's (1983) theory of the Politeness Principle, there is a clash between the maxim of agreement and the maxim of modesty. Consequently, as Herbert (1998) concludes, the ideal response to a compliment is to accept it, if possible, in a way that does not imply self-praise and/or expresses modesty.

Once again, we find interesting differences between the types of CRs we find in IrE and in other varieties of English. Schneider (1999) found that realization types are more varied in IrE than in either AmE or EE; IrE speakers prefer non-agreement micro CRs to agreement micro CRs, at the same time macro and micro CRs are more evenly distributed. While the Irish informants employed 15 different CR strategies, the American informants used only ten; moreover, the American informants clearly preferred a strategy of acceptance⁴ over all other strategies whereas the Irish informants' first preference was for a non-acceptance strategy,⁵ followed closely by CRs that fulfilled the macro function of acceptance. As a result, the modesty and agreement maxims are given more equal weight in IrE than, for example, in AmE, where the agreement maxim is more highly valued in CRs than the maxim of modesty.

In the cinematographic representations of IrE under scrutiny the macro strategy of non-acceptance appears to be stereotyped, as—unlike in naturally-occurring

3 In this example additional contextual parameters (e.g. size of the imposition) may also warrant the formulation of the request in such indirect/elaborate terms.

4 E.g. "Yeah, it's nice, isn't it?", "I'm glad you enjoyed it." in response to "Nice shirt!"

5 E.g. "Do you really like it?", or "I wasn't very happy with it."

data, where modesty and agreement are given close to equal weight—there is not a single instance of a CR that implies acceptance:

A: Nice mug of tea.

B: Now... So your husband is missing. (*The Guard*)

A: That's nice. Is that real leather?

B: Why, what am I, f...ing cheap? (*The Guard*)

A: "until you ride into town on an ass." Nietzsche.

B: Yeah, that's a good one. Good quote, nice one.

A: Oh, f... it. (*The Guard*)

A: Good shot, man.

B: Nice one, John.

C: Get off my groceries, will you, you knacker? (*Intermission*)

3.4. Responses to thanks (RTs)

When responding to thanks, the speaker is faced with a different type of dilemma than in the case of CRs: whether to accept the expression of gratitude and express pleasure at performing the (verbal or non-verbal) action the thanker is grateful for (cf. e.g. *great pleasure, anytime*), or to minimize / play down the favour or effort invested into performing the action (cf. e.g. *no problem, don't mention it*). In general terms, when the thankee chooses the former strategy s/he addresses the thanker's (or his/her own) positive face, thus foregrounding solidarity and/or common ground, while playing down the favour incurs a negative politeness (i.e. distance-oriented) attitude. In certain contexts it is also appropriate to reciprocate with another token of *thanks* or *thank you*.

As far as the differences between IrE and other varieties of English are concerned, the following observations can be made (cf. Schneider 2005): speakers of IrE use more varied realization types of RTs, they frequently combine conventionalized RTs and they use internal modification (modification of the head act) more frequently than AmE or EE speakers. Moreover, IrE speakers use supportive moves (external modification) more extensively than speakers of other varieties. Just as in the case of CRs, the findings suggest that IrE speakers invest more effort and creativity into minimizing thanks, moreover, formulaic/conventionalized expressions are almost invariably accompanied by non-formulaic supporting moves.

In cinematographic representations of IrE, instead of elaborate RTs, supporting moves and RT combinations, we find strategies of RT avoidance, topic shift and credit shift:

A (speaker of AmE) I wanna thank you for all your help. Really. It's much appreciated.

B (speaker of IrE) Well... (*The Guard*)

A (IrE) Thanks for taking me out, Gerry. You're a good boy. Always a good boy.

B (IrE) Oh, stop it. (*The Guard*)

A: Thank you.

B: You've earned it, my young friend. (*The Guard*)

4. Pragmalinguistic features in time: synchronic and diachronic perspectives on Irish sociocultural norms

On the basis of the pragmalinguistic features discussed so far (as well as a whole range of other features not discussed for space considerations) we can draw a variety of conclusions about the sources and development of Irish sociocultural norms.

We can, for example, claim with Farr and O'Keeffe that the omnipresence of hedging and downtoning in IrE discourse indicates that "Irish society does not place a high value on powerful or direct speech" (2002: 42), moreover, "forwardness", which ranges from being direct to being self-promoting is not valued within Irish society" (ibid.).

Kallen links conversational understatements, hedges, minimalizations, conventional pessimism, reciprocity, reference to common ground, and ingroup identity markers to 'hospitality', 'reciprocity' and 'indirectness' as "salient and distinctive elements" of Irish sociocultural norms (Kallen 2005: 142–143). Ajtony (2010) also observes that forms of indirectness such as irony, banter and teasing pervade Irish verbal behaviour and are indicative of a high-solidarity culture. Moreover, as Ajtony implies, Irish solidarity has two faces: solidarity with in-group members and "solidarity against any out-group member" (Ajtony 2010: 251).

Finally, Martin (2005) takes a historical perspective and suggests that the pragmatic strategies used by IrE speakers show a tendency towards concealment and non-commitment as well as a general lack of assertiveness and confrontational attitudes, all of which are symptomatic of a "collectivistic, high-context" culture as well as a "postcolonial personality" (2005: 260).

5. Conclusions

In this paper I have examined Irish English stereotypes at the pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic level. In general terms, we can observe that basic stereotypes about IrE pragmalinguistic norms and communicative style—for example, implicitness, evasiveness, downtoning and conventional pessimism—correspond to "salient and distinctive elements" of Irish sociocultural norms

(Kallen 2005: 142–143). However, with respect to the specific pragmalinguistic realizations of Irish sociocultural norms we can observe a stark contrast between pragmalinguistic stereotypes, i.e. the features that are perceived to characterize Irish conversational style and the actual linguistic realizations of a variety of speech acts as well as the functional spectrum and distribution of even the most salient pragmatic markers.

The comparison I have made between IrE stereotypes and the actual findings of variational pragmatics also highlights the difference between the nature of formal and functional variation as distinct areas of investigation within the variationist paradigm. Since functional features are seldom in complementary distribution, it is usually the frequency of a particular functional variant which provides a clue to its distribution across different dialects, pragmalinguistic stereotypes about a particular dialect are, therefore, misjudgements about the frequency, salience, and/or—in the case of pragmatic markers—position of a particular feature. Another difference between formal and functional stereotypes is that while the former tend to recede or even disappear once people become aware that a form is socially stigmatized (cf. Johnstone 2010: 399), functional stereotypes are more resistant to conscious control and, therefore, disappearance.

One final note about the use of films, i.e. dramatised language data is also in order. Implicit in the above comparison of stereotypes and actual language data was the assumption that when analysing films, the absence of particular (CR, RT and request) macro-strategies as well of PMs in particular positions implies a mismatch between naturally-occurring language use and conversations based on sociopragmatic stereotypes. One could argue that the absence of certain features is simply due to the fact that the data is not representative. On the contrary, my assumption is based on the fact that scriptwriters, when representing IrE conversational style and pragmalinguistic norms, draw on processes of styling and stylization, in other words, “the production and reproduction of sociolinguistic stereotypes” (Androutsopoulos 2010: 188).

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- The Guard* (John Michael McDonagh, 2011, Sony Pictures Classics. DVD.)



The Linguistic Image of *Man* in the Hungarian and Romanian Languages

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Abstract. By analyzing the key words we reconstruct the conceptions created by the two speech communities in their languages in order to understand their interpretation of reality. The analysis of the collocations and expressions identifies common basic principles reflecting the relationship between language and thought. The analysis is based on the theory of linguistic relativity and uses methods recommended by Bańczerowski Janusz, Lera Boroditsky and Anna Wierzbicka in order to investigate connections between language and culture, language and thought. By adapting the recommended evaluation methods an evaluation model was created, able to reconstruct the Hungarian and Romanian linguistic image of *man*.

Keywords: language, culture, linguistic image, Hungarian, Romanian

The image of the *Other*—whether reflecting another culture or gender—is described through concrete linguistic analysis. Through the semantic analysis of certain key words those concepts were reconstructed which are created by the Hungarian and Romanian speech communities. The stereotypical vernacular speech products about the knowledge of the self and the peer were compared through current speech acts.

While researching the linguistic image of the world concept, I could not elude the arguments regarding linguistic relativism, however, in the present work I shall not focus on the presentation of this theory. The present study is based on Wierzbicka's cultural script model. I consider it the most appropriate method in the interpretation of discourse conventions. Wierzbicka concludes that, if we want to perceive societies on the basis of their individuality, we can achieve this through the analysis of those words which can become active in the knowledge of the whole community, while being also universal. Therefore, we can avoid stereotypizations, the qualification of different cultures. These words are specifically cultural, and they reflect not only the existential characteristics of that community but also their ways of thinking (Wierzbicka 1997: 5).

The culture-specific words represent those key indicators whose semantic range embodies the knowledge about the world of a given community. Specific, well-defined criteria were used in order to decide if a given lexeme sets up as a keyword within the context of a given culture by using the following steps: (1) we have to decide if the given lexeme belongs to the community's active vocabulary, (2) we also have to investigate if that word reoccurs in certain semantic domains, for instance, in the emotional or moral sentencing area, (3) furthermore, we have to highlight that the given lexeme also makes up the phraseological module, that it is often used in proverbs and sayings, idioms, vernacular texts or book titles, etc.

The analysis of the connection between language and way of thinking is strongly supported by Wierzbicka's applicable and valid investigation through her model based on linguistic semantics and conceptual universal grammatical categories. Furthermore, she emphasises the use of linguistic analysis focused on the relevance of words, which interprets the lexeme not as an isolated lexical unit, but as a fundamental element pointing to the cognition of daily cultural knowledge and practice.

1. The linguistic image of the world

The connections between language and one's way of thinking, language and the image of the world involves not only the theory of Sapir–Whorf but it also drives us towards the ideas regarding the linguistic image of the world. Nowadays this expression represents a concept related to the area of cognitive linguistics; however, it was born together with the concept of linguistic relativity introduced by Herder, then by Humboldt, who had already brought up the topic of the linguistic image of the world. Moreover, Humboldt applies another concept, "sprachliche Weltanschauung" 'linguistic world view' (Hegedűs 2000: 131), which subsequently turns into the linguistic image of the world. As linguists' attention turned towards the theory of relativity, the concept of linguistic image of the world becomes more and more accurate. Polish linguists were primarily focusing on this topic. Its use in Hungarian language is mainly related to the contribution of Bańcerowski Janusz, however, beginning with the early 1990s, there were similar researches carried out in Cluj, which analysed the linguistic image of the world, mainly by Sándor Szilágyi N. and his students who approached the *linguistic image of the world* model (Szilágyi 1996). This research team carried out semantic analyses, which even preceded Bańcerowski's research methodology.

Pacsai (2010: 205) considers the linguistic image of the world as the sum of the linguistic units setting up the metaphorical image, thus reflecting Lakoff and Johnson's theory of conceptual metaphors. It emphasises the fact that our everyday way of thinking is influenced by a metaphorical network, and the long-

term memory, through a metaphorical and metonymical extension, is organised on the basis of operative prototypes, conceptual surveys, or more specifically, conceptual metaphors (Schnell 2006: 112-113).

In the literature, the linguistic image of the world refers to the daily experience and naïve knowledge represented by the language of the speech community. It is always connected to a particular speech community where the objective reality juxtaposes with the so-called mental reality, thus we obtain a certain living mental picture of the external world (Hegedűs 2000: 132-136). The linguistic image of the world is such an expressive background which determines the creation of words, the formation of expressions (Nyomárkay 2010: 189).

From my viewpoint, besides those mentioned above, the linguistic image of the world is also the linguistic mark of a mutual past based on a certain type of experience as the collective memory preserves that mutual set of information, which also preserves the community's past experiences and lifestyle while it sets (or even rejects) a model of behaviour for the present.

2. Data acquisition standpoints

The survey of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries was considered as the most adequate method¹ while analysing the linguistic structures present in standard language. Therefore, I used two parallel corpora: one in Hungarian and one in Romanian, using Hungarian and Romanian explanatory concise dictionaries, Hungarian-Romanian dictionaries, Hungarian-Romanian dictionaries of phrases, and collections of Hungarian and Romanian sayings, the Hungarian National Text Collection, and I also included on-line texts as sources of analysis. A number of questionnaires (however, not representative) were carried out.

I used the lexemes *férfi* ('man' in Hungarian) and *bărbat* ('man' in Romanian) as key words. They often appear both in the Hungarian and Romanian corpora: they are frequent in many lexical combinations, in various collocations, they represent the key words in many sayings, and they are also found in other folk creations.

3. About the questionnaire data

Although the questionnaire corpus is not representative, I still considered it necessary to provide the following data: the same questions were used both in

1 When I refer to different Hungarian monolingual dictionaries, I apply the abbreviations listed on the Hungarian language website (<http://www.c3.hu/~magyarnyelv/>), and in the case of the Romanian monolingual dictionaries I use the abbreviation provided in the preface of the dictionary (s. Sources).

the Hungarian and Romanian questionnaires. There were 44 Hungarian and 49 Romanian participants, between 14-60 year old, both in the countryside and in towns. From the perspective of their denomination, the informants belong to the Reformed, Roman Catholic and Orthodox Church, while others considered themselves Christians, Neo-Protestants.²

The distribution of the Hungarian participants was the following: there were 21 women and 23 men who filled in the questionnaires; 16 Reformed, 19 Roman Catholics, 6 persons defined themselves as “Christians” and 3 declared no religion. Referring to their educational level, 18 students (pupils and students) took part in the survey, 11 persons were university graduates and 15 post-graduates. 9 persons were from the countryside and 35 lived in towns. According to their age-range, between 14–19 years old there were 16 persons, 20–25 years old: 4 persons, 26–30 years old: 12 persons, 31–35 years old: 6 persons, 36–40 years old: only 1 person and between 41–60 years old: 5 persons.

Considering the total of 49 Romanian participants, there were 34 women and 15 men. Among them 46 Orthodox, 2 participants defined themselves as Christians and 1 person did not reply to this question. Referring to their educational level, 19 students (pupils and students), 13 university graduates and 17 high-school graduates answered the questions. Urban participants represented the majority: there were 3 persons from villages and 46 from towns. Regarding their age-range, between 14–19 years old there were 19 persons, 20–25 years old: 7 persons, 26–30 years old: 3 persons, 31–35 years old: 8 persons, 36–40 years old: 1 person, 41–60 years old: 11 persons participated in the survey.

44 persons filled in the questionnaire referring to one of the Hungarian lexemes, (*férfi* ‘man’). Regarding the first question, *What does a man mean to you?*, the majority replied *strength/protection* (21 persons), *courage* (18 persons). When inquiring about the characteristics of Hungarian men, we got the following replies: *powerful* (21 persons), *drunkard* (19 persons), *stubborn* (11 persons). To the question *What is an ideal man like?*, the majority replied: *powerful/strong, muscled/neat* (24 persons), *trustworthy* (10 persons), *family-centric/faithful* (9).

There were only a few who replied the last question (*Which is the poem, song, saying or idiom related to man that comes into your mind?*). Those who replied cited Petőfi’s quotation: *If you are a man, be a man* (7 persons), or *husband/man, the master of the house* (8 persons).

According to the results, the *férfi* ‘man’ is that person who is primarily powerful and protective, yet his negative side can be noticed, especially because of his drunkenness and stubbornness. I find it relevant that elements such as devotion and the importance of family are related to the ideal man yet in several questionnaires (especially in the case of students and women, 12 persons in all)

2 The religious affiliation is very important because it influences the way of seeing the world and it defines the values in which the individual was born.

this was expressed in a highly personal way (for instance, *it would be good if he did not womanise with others; he loves his family thus he remains with us; he is not drunk when he returns home*).

Analysing the linguistic image of the Romanian *bărbat* 'man' we analysed 49 questionnaires. To the question: *What does a man mean to you?*, the majority replied: *power/protection* (28 persons), *responsibility* (15 persons), *material stability* (14 persons). When inquiring them about the characteristics of a Romanian man the following replies were given: *protecting* (20 persons), *powerful* (19 persons), and *aggressive* (17 persons). When asking, *What is the ideal man like?*, the majority replied: *powerful* (17 persons), *rich/wealthy/self-supporting* (16 persons), *mature/responsible* (7). The few who answered the last question (*Which is the poem, song, saying or idiom related to man that comes into your mind?*), mainly used a saying: *Bărbatul să fie puţinţel mai frumos decât dracul* ('A Man should be just a little bit nicer than the devil', 9 persons).

According to the results, the *bărbat* 'man' is such a person who is first of all strong, provides protection and material stability for women, yet we also notice his negative side, especially through the agency of aggressiveness. I find it relevant that the Romanian ideal man is related to the idea of wealth and compared to this the demands regarding material stability mean nothing but expectation.

4. The reconstructive pattern of the linguistic image of the world

"Language (...) is a particular cultural archive comprising the material and spiritual experience, axiological structure, ideology and behaviour patterns of a given community, the emotional connection to the world, thus the model of the world (Bańczerowski 2008: 165). This world model is differently reflected by languages, and by analysing the linguistic units, conceptualisations may be reconstructed as well (idem, 173), finally obtaining the language-specific meaning of the concepts. In order to reach this point we need to expose the subjective character of the linguistic statement, the profile and conventionality of cognitive processes. Bańczerowski refers to these conceptual metaphors as definable linguistic categories, which express the everyday knowledge model while also reflecting the connections among certain domains. The definition of domains, the concepts' inclusion in different domains, and the analysis of their connections with other domains are going to reveal the model of analysis, which represents the linguistic image of the culturally related world.

This model of analysis relies on three key ideas: first the *cognitive domain*—which sets up as some experience, as a simple or complex conception. The

linguistic expressions can develop one or more cognitive domains at the same time. The second one is the concept of *profile*, which refers to the profilisation process, “it suggests the concentration of one’s attention on a concrete element within the context of a given cognitive basis so that we could differentiate and emphasise this element in a special way” (idem, 181). Finally, the *basis* represents a conglomeration which concentrates and comprises different domains.

The main meaning of the *man* lexeme, given by the definitions in dictionaries, involves two characteristics: 1. being a grown-up and 2. being provided with those features which define an adult masculine individual. In reality, the two semantic elements overlap and set up such an authorised system of expectations which can be related only to those grown-ups who are endowed with certain physical and spiritual qualities. On this basis, the signification of man emphasises especially the conceptual *value*, and underlines the *power profile*.

According to my corpus, power refers to physical manifestations only in few facts and figures: a man is powerful, tall, his back/shoulder is large, he is manly, well-built, hairy, unshaven, sporty, good-looking, large-shouldered; handsome; deep voiced, male voiced. A man’s appearance can be related to the Hungarian verb *become manly* as well; moreover, the importance of physical condition can be emphasised by some compound words: *virile power*, *manly hand*, *manly arm*, *manly work*, or the *unmanly* adjective, suggesting manly features and attitude.

From an aesthetic point of view, a man’s face and body do not really have to express his beauty but his strength. On the basis of this corpus, our question—whether a man is good-looking or not—is supported by the following saying: *A man has to be just a little bit nicer than the devil*.

Based on his virtues, his strength, his inner *positive* characteristics, a man is: brave, honest, “Powerful, brave, secure” (Petőfi), persevering, protective, resolute, sober-minded, purposeful, clever, logical, intelligent, taciturn, meditative, diligent, goes about his own business, guides, organises, creates, expresses respect, justice and wisdom. All these are certified by the following lexical combinations and structures: *manly reputation*, *a man’s judgement*, *a man’s point of view*, *a man’s head*, *leading man*, *man’s struggle*, *man’s part*; *regardful man*, *loyal man*, *rebellious man*, *businessman*, *cool man*, *successful man*; *man*, *boy*; *a man indeed*, *statesman*.

The profile also suggests *negative* elements being often associated with the idea of aggressiveness, but also with the absence of self-control or silliness. The collected material comprises relevant expressions and lexical combinations such as: *assassin*, *the outstanding man*, *weak*, *involuntary*, *irresolute and immature man*, *undisciplined*, *unrighteous*, *unstable*, *infuriated man*, *hostile man*, *arrogant and insensible man*, *man’s fidelity*. This image is primarily supported by virtual portals and the data reflected in the questionnaires.

The corpus comprises only a few proverbs related to man’s life: *A háznál egy oszlopot tart a férfi, de az asszony kettőt* (‘The man is the head but the woman

is the neck'). *Szalma férfi is arany asszonyt érdemel* ('Weak men also deserve good women'). The first text decreases the value of man if related to a woman, a family, or the household; it rather emphasises the woman's central interest in the family. The asymmetrical aspect of the man-woman relationship is reflected by our common saying too: *A férfiak háziállattá tették a nőt, s felpanaszolják neki a takarmányt* ('Men have turned women into domestic animals, then complaining to them about their fodder', Ferenc Móra).

Szalmaférfi is arany asszonyt érdemel ('Weak men also deserve good women') has already marked a relevant traditional lifestyle focused on men—it highlights man's superiority, as pointed by religious texts where, according to the biblical commands of genders, the man is the leader of a woman, while women represent the support of men.

Given the provided data, a man's Hungarian linguistic image is also expressed in the following domain, the *domain of time*, where this lexeme reflects the *age profile*. It appears in the expressions and lexical combinations emphasising the disparity of age or expectations and tasks related to age: *come of age, manhood, man line, mature man* (it can be the synonym of grown-up but also of determination), *man of full age*.

Assuming from a smaller context of typical male activities there were lexical combinations referring to the *sportsman's profile*: *man exclusive, sportsman* (a person who usually practises sports), *sporting* (open collared shirt), *sports car* (used especially by men), *athlete man, gentleman readers of sport magazines and newspapers, strong-willed man*. This image is displayed on websites and advertising texts.

The next aspect regarding a man's lifestyle is about differentiating it from women's lifestyle. These lexical combinations indicate things and activities men are interested in, while also suggesting that they are not indicated to women. We find these structures in the context of *dressing*: *men's footwear, men's fashion, men's commodities, men's socks, men's shirt, hat, men's trousers, male ward/men's department, suit of clothes, men's clothier, men's tailor, men's clothes*; or the group denoting words serving the *gender definitions* in the context of a community: *men's circle, male/masculine, mankind, society of men, brother, man's name*.

In Hungarian a man's image summons two cognitive bases (value, time), and they convey not only the patterns of traditional culture but also the views of present-day society.

In the Romanian corpus concerning the lexical determination of *bărbat* 'man' we also find two main explanations: 1. adult/grown-up and 2. husband, yet we sense a certain main characteristic expressing courage, bravery, diligence. In Romanian people often use the *bărbat* lexeme to suggest husband (*bărbatul meu* 'my husband'), but this account can also be found in the explanatory dictionary (DEX) expressing its second interpretation.

According to the Romanian corpus, a *bărbat* ‘man’ is *mature, responsible, helpful, strong, brave, bold, independent; contest and success oriented, aggressive; rich/wealthy, self-supportive, he has his own car/house, polite, mindful; competent man, humorous, provides the woman with protection and safety; drinks only rarely and is never drunk, he is not aggressive, he is slightly jealous; he gives a hand in housework, he is affectionate, faithful, and knows how to pamper women.*

There are some derivatives and certain structures which reappear, such as: *manly, male, manhood; a man’s man, good man, brave man, intelligent man, rich man, good-looking man; be a man!; man type, statesman, man’s business, man’s word, man’s magazine, men’s fashion/clothes/footwear/gifts; manly dispute, he endures it in a virile way, he lost/won/acted manly, male struggles.*

Taking the already given examples into account, *bărbat* is localised in the *domain of values* and points to the *power profile*. The physical condition is not underlined in the Romanian corpus; the texts rather suggest the domain of inner strength by means of bravery, determination, intelligence, knowledge, persistence.

We also notice another attribute, a different aspect regarding the *possession of material goods*: in the Romanian corpus man has to manage his house, his car, his workplace/career, he needs enough money to meet social expectations; therefore, the more capable a man is in acquiring these goods, the higher his measures and value. In other words, a man is going to become the head of a family when he can provide safety, protection, material independence, viability.

In older texts a man’s aesthetical appearance is less emphasised: two proverbs were collected referring to this: *Bărbatul să fie puţinţel mai frumos decât dracul* (‘A man has to be just a little bit nicer than the devil’). *Fie un băţ decojat, tot se numeşte bărbat* (‘No matter if he looks like a stripped stick, he is still a man’). In on-line texts there are few expressions designating man’s beauty: *handsome man, well-favoured man*. However, texts of commercials and adverts indirectly refer to man’s well-groomed appearance, to the ideal Romanian man’s appearance: he takes care of himself (he uses face creams, perfumery and perfect razors, he often takes a shower).

The *bărbat* concept also summons the *knowledge profile* in the domain of values. This is supported not only by a number of expressions such as *intelligent man, statesman*, but also by some of the Romanian proverbs and literary texts: *The erudite man erects fortresses, the erudite woman demolishes them* or “*Each man needs a mistress. His wife thinks he is at his mistress, his mistress thinks he is with his wife and this way he can read peacefully in the library*”—as stated by Grigore Moisil in one of his famous aphorisms.

Religious texts define man as the possessor of knowledge: the right to speak and teach is related to men, while women have to keep quiet. However, traditionally, the literary and political activities were regarded as a man’s task and postulated the issue of knowledge, suitability and creativity.

At the same time, the vernacular texts also sketch the absence of knowledge: *Ce știe tot satul, nu știe bărbatul* ('What a man does not know is shared by the whole village'). *Bărbatul ține cheia ușii, dar fereastra e deschisă* ('The man has the key of the house yet the window is open'). All these outline the cheated, deceived man.

Considering the Romanian dictionaries and questionnaires, we localise man in the *family domain*—definitions point to *man's profile*. This profile refers to that standard and traditional (vernacular and religious) context where *bărbat* 'man' is provided with more references to his family or wife. *Man is the head of the household; the man is the woman's head, it is only him who can support and manage a family, he has been created to master all the other beings*—in this context man guides, leads, and masters. In parallel with this, in sayings, as questionnaires attest it, we have the image according to which a man is not very successful without his partner, a woman/ a wife: *dependent on his woman's existence and availability, he has a complementary character; Bărbatul e zidul din afara casei iar femeia e peretele dinăuntru* ('The man is the outer wall while the woman is the inner wall').

The *man* concept is also connected to the *unfaithful lover*—*everlasting love* motive, which refers to man's polygamy: *men are born polygamous by nature*—this was obvious in two questionnaires; *Men hunt for women and one day they will fall prey to them. Un bărbat îndrăgostit este mai dibaci decât o mie de avocați* ('A man in love is much wiser than a thousand lawyers')—from the Romanian sayings; "*Sunt bărbați care se cred copaci: fiecare an înseamnă alt inel*" ('There are men who believe they are trees: each ring suggests another year') one of Valeriu Butulescu's well-known common sayings.

In Romanian the typical man generally emphasises positive associations—in the domain of values the *power* profile is achieved through his capacity to acquire different material goods; the knowledge profile refers, on the one hand, to his intellectual knowledge, on the other hand, to its practical aspect, yet here we also observe the negative aspect where, because of man's lack of knowledge, he becomes ridiculous or vulnerable.

In the family domain it is the *husband* profile which becomes more relevant—as a result, it highlights the positive aspects: protection, guidance, support. But we also get the partner/fellow image, which becomes complete thanks to a woman.

The image reflecting the loving-lover man expresses a twofold character: on the one hand, it reflects a stereotypical social role as an expectation of the implicit community conventions; on the other hand, funny and popular texts prove that unfaithful husbands may finally come off badly.

Summative evaluation

The linguistic image of man and husband is only partially questionable. As axiological categories are provided with many mutual features—both concepts are primarily settled in the cognitive domain of value, but they indicate different profiles, design different cultural roles, express different expectations from the perspective of their community—however, the multi-levelled deviation between the two concepts' linguistic image is obvious.

In the Hungarian linguistic corpus the man's age profile (*manhood, become manly, mature man*) is related to the time domain, while in the Romanian corpus this image is not present at all, still in the Romanian texts we find the family and husband profile (*Man is the head of his family*), which denotes more aspects. Furthermore, in Hungarian the man's concept is strongly associated with a sporty image (*athletic man*), denoting man and non-man categories (*male circle, man, manhood, society of men, brother; man's name; men's room*).

In Hungarian verbs can be derived from the noun *férfi* 'man'—*férfiasodik* 'become manly' which means he has reached maturity, for instance, he has come up to be a man. However, the verb derived from the noun woman, *nőiesedik* 'become womanly', does not point to age, it rather refers to her external features, physical characteristics. As an adjective, the lexical signification of *férfias* 'manly' suggests bodily attributes, however, in speech it is rather associated with a certain (positive) attitude (a qualifying word in certain contexts), while the *womanly* adjective emphasises the corporal attributes as well.

In Romanian the verb *a îmbărbăta* 'to hearten' is derived from the noun *bărbat* 'man', which means 'to encourage.' In this context bravery reflects a certain positive characteristic which is emphasised by the image created around the noun *bărbat*. However, in Romanian no verb can be formed from the noun *femeie* 'woman' (the explanation can be approached only in a speculative way: on the one hand, it traces us back to the idea that in Romanian *bărbat* 'man' is present as a qualifying word, provided especially with positive meanings; on the other hand, conceptually, women's state of being appears less valuable (compared to that of men).

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Cultural Images as an Issue in the Process of Translation

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Abstract. In this paper we present some issues that occur during the translation of literary works, especially from Slovak, but also from Slavic cultural sphere, into Romanian, as a result of differences regarding cultural images or linguistic issues. This will be followed by a more thorough systematization in the future. On the basis of Miko's theory of style, we have analysed texts by Slovak writers such as Samo Chalupka, Ivan Štrpka and others, as translated into Romanian by professor Barborică and Ondrej Štefanko. We have highlighted the fact that in some cases the cultural images are within cultural tradition due to the grammatical gender of the word—the main groundwork for an image, analysing the instances in which they cause issues in translation, requiring the translator to resort to different solutions, including displacing the meaning either towards the iconic, or towards the operative, or finding an adequate substitution. Similar situations also occur in the case of a confrontation between two languages, two codes—the linguistic and the artistic, which involve a knowledgeable recipient, trained in the field of art and languages. The issue is also of interest in the context of comparatism.

Keywords: Slovak literature, Romanian literature, translation

We define the “cultural image” as a concept with a broad meaning, consisting of a heterogeneous set of elements made up of representations, psychological content, and figurative expressions, which are made up of entities that can be psychological, lexical, semantic, literary, or of several different kinds simultaneously, from the superior system of signals, or even concrete works of art, not only fictional or virtual, cultural symbols and archetypes, without claiming exhaustivity or definitive, unambiguous results.

The main purpose is to notice, determine and signal certain aspects which relate to the tension arising from the confrontation of cultural images (encompassed in the respective cultural codes) in the process of translation, but also of perception, as the first instance in becoming aware of the phenomenon, possibly even to resolve some tension, contradictions, etc.

An adjacent finality is mentioning certain realities from Slovak culture, names of Slovak authors and their works, as well as some traits of Slovak literature and culture, and the attempt to make them known and to introduce them into a wider circuit.

The idea of this confrontation has emerged after analysing Romanian translations from the works of Slovak poets, as well as from situations which required equalisation of elements from oral creation.

Thus, Slovak folk songs, lyrical as well as ballads, depict, with positive connotations, the images of certain birds, namely *kačička* (in Romanian *rătușcă* ‘duckling’), *húska* (in Romanian *gâsculiță* ‘gosling’), *holub* (in Romanian *porumbel* ‘pigeon’), *holúbok* (in Romanian *porumbel* ‘pigeon’—diminutive), *holubička* (in Romanian *porumbiță* ‘dove’), as metaphor, symbol or allegory. While the metaphor (personification) of the pigeon or dove corresponds to the image of a lover in Slovak as well as in Romanian, which permits their own equivalence, a transposition without gain or loss of stylistic values, the other images prove impossible to render through lexical equivalence. *Kačička* ‘the duckling’ is assimilated, for Slovaks, through cultural tradition, with a female character, surrounded by its children—a caring mother (the diminutive tends toward this image), as seen in the eponymous ballad, qualities lacked by the Romanian lexical equivalent which holds, on the contrary, negative, even pejorative connotations. The same is in the case of the representation behind the word *húska* ‘gosling’ a poetic, innocent image of nubile womanhood, whereas the Romanian equivalent (*gâsculița* ‘gosling’) conveys the image of a woman rather limited intellectually or of questionable morals. Situations like this require skill to find the right solution (depending on the context, the codes of the target culture). Similarly, from the opposite perspective—from Romanian culture to Slovak culture, e.g. the phrase *foaie verde...* ‘green leaf’, a frequent repetition in Romanian folklore, while not as “provocative” as the image of girls evoked by the bird names, is, nonetheless, an issue.

Given the relatively limited inventory of representations inspired by nature within folklore, standard solutions can be found (the means of expression in folklore being themselves standardized), by employing a different equivalent image of the same stylistic value.

The following example also comes from folklore. The folk ballad *Katarína* is about a beautiful Catherine, whose (Slovak) father promised her to the Turks in order to redeem his own life. On the way to the Turkish groom’s house, the girl asks the suite to stop by the bank of the Danube. The moment her wish is granted, she jumps into the river. The young Turk then asks the fishermen to raise the net, but only the third time do they manage to tardily remove from the water *rybu srdcu ľúbu*, in Romanian *peștele drag inimii* ‘the fish dear to the heart’ of the groom, who is now left alone. The image of the beautiful young bride, reproduced with the

use of figurative expression, ultimately a metaphorical image, is possible because the Slovak word for fish, *ryba*, is of feminine grammatical gender, permitting the representations of the two entities to overlap without disturbing connotations.

During the Romantic period, the motif (the image) migrates, as expected, from the field of folklore into the sphere of written literature. Thus Samo Chalupka (1812–1883), in a poem dedicated to the struggle for freedom (*Branko*), talking about the fate of the nation, evokes the image of a “golden age” for Slovaks, albeit only fragmentary, defining it as a time of freedom: *Bolo dobre, ale dávno, / žil na svete Slováč slávno. / Hej, žil si on na slobode, ako ryba v tichej vode.* In Romanian *Fost-a bine, odinioară / slovacul ducea viață glorioasă. / El trăia în libertate, precum pește în apă lină.* ‘It was good, but long ago, / the Slovak lived a life of glory. / He lived in freedom, like a fish in quiet water.’ It follows that the image the Slovaks have constructed about themselves is consistent with the representation sustained by the “fish” motif. It is obvious that in translation, say in Romanian, the image may connote other meanings, which, in Slovak culture, are alien to the meaning of the original word’s structure.

In the case of the image of the ‘fish’ as an imagological model of the Slovak and the woman respectively, in the case of a possible translation, the changes in meaning felt by the readers may be due to the richer and more complex polysemy of the word *pește* ‘fish’ in Romanian, as well as due to the inappropriate grammatical gender—the noun denoting the fish in Slovak being feminine and in Romanian masculine. However, if this does not happen, it is also due to certain correspondences and contextual and cultural limitations. In František Miko’s (1973) theory of style, this situation may involve, via the translated text—which is a variant of the original text/ prototext—a trait/ particular stylistic value—exotism/ the perception of strangeness as a result of the origin, the differences of linguistic and cultural codes, and even of the temporal factor. The exotism represents a new acquisition for the text, without decisively altering the content, style and form of the work. Usually such “enrichments” of the text are to be expected by the reader, who is aware of the translation being a “different world”.

We find a similar situation, without many alternative choices, in the translation of the poem *In the River of Heraclitus* by Nobel laureate (1996) Wisława Szymborska. The lexeme *pește/ ryba* ‘fish’ appears in this literary work as well. Being feminine in Polish, the motif caused problems in translating it into Romanian, as the need of a correspondence between the grammatical gender and the real one appeared at one point.

The first to notice the problem of gender (among other problems) in the given poem and to analyse the solutions resorted to by the different translators of the Polish poetess, was professor Constantin Geambașu, himself a translator into Romanian and exegete of Szymborskian poetry. He points out in his commentary that “as a result of a reducible procedure, the translator proceeds with an

unmediated identification of the author with the fish (*ja, ryba...* ‘I, the fish’) which is feminine in Polish, and masculine in Romanian. This led to an unacceptable grammatical agreement in Romanian: *eu, pește singulară, eu pește deosebită...* (italics in the original) ‘I, singular fish, I, special fish’ Geambașu (2002: 170).

To circumvent this awkwardness, Geambașu proposes another version: *În râul lui Heraclit / eu, pește singuratic, pește deosebit, / (măcar față de peștele copacului și peștele pietrei) / pictez arar, pentru-o clipită / în solz de argint, pești mici, / încât negura ar putea străluci nestingherită?* ‘In the river of Heraclitus / I, a lonely fish, a special fish, / (at least compared to the fish of the tree and the fish of the stone) / do I rarely paint, for just a moment, / little fishes, into silver scales, / so that darkness could shine unhindered?’ Szymborska (2003: 42).¹ He retains, however, the feminine gender in the second stanza: *În râul lui Heraclit / sunt pești care iubesc, / ochii tăi – spune – strălucesc ca peștele de pe cer, / cu tine vreau să înot spre aceeași mare, / o, tu, cea mai frumoasă dintre pești.* ‘In the river of Heraclitus / there are fish that love, / your eyes – say – shine like the fish in the sky, / with you I want to swim into the same sea, / o, thou most beautiful of fish.’ Geambașu (2002:171), subsequently adopting the same solution in collaboration with the poetess Passionaria Stoicescu in what we will call, for now, the definitive version: *În râul lui Heraclit, / peștele e-ndrăgostit de pește, / ochii tăi – spune – ca peștele cerului sclipesc, / Cu tine vreau să înot spre aceeași mare, / cu tine, cea mai frumoasă dintre pești.* ‘In the river of Heraclitus, / the fish is in love with a fish, / your eyes – say – like the sky fish shine, / With you I want to swim towards the same sea, / with you, most beautiful of fish.’ Szymborska (2003: 41)

The “correct” version proposed by Geambașu is justified by “the discerned message in the structure of the original”:

Szymborska structures her poem in four stanzas, where the key word *fish* (italics in the original) has a valorising semantic value, being presented in four instances: as a member of a community (in the first stanza); in an erotic instance (second stanza); in relation to authority/ power (third stanza); in the role of creator, artist. In other words, there are four fundamental elements of human life to be found in the poem: social life, love, power and art. (Geambașu 2002: 168)

In this case, however, it is our opinion that the feminine gender must also be discarded in that single instance, where it is used under the influence of the original, contaminating the allegorical plane with the referential one, confusing the speaker’s lyricism with the authorial attitude. This is why translators think of the feminine gender from the Polish original as a reference to the author’s gender,

1 Translation by Passionaria Stoicescu and Constantin Geambașu.

but the suggestion is improperly decoded. In the verse in question, the lexeme's gender is the same as in all the other verses of the Polish original, meaning that it is used as a generic name for the species, it has a formal value, and that it should remain the same in translation—the same gender (masculine), used consistently in every verse, because it is the natural formal gender for the given species in Romanian; there was no need for suggesting the feminine gender, as the allegory of the river of Heraclitus and the fish is sufficiently comprehensible.²

The fact that the artistic image aimed for by the authors can be correctly decoded, despite the different images of the fish that result from the linguistic plane of the grammatical category of gender, but also from lexical semantic differences (where the greatest difference between the Slovak, Polish and Romanian languages is the polysemy of the word *pește* 'fish' in Romanian, where it generates in a stylistic register the slang meaning of pimp), is due to certain profound, symbolic, archetypal, mythical meanings. According to the dictionary of symbols, the fish is an "archetypal symbol [...] with a distinct sexual underlayer, presenting however obvious signs of ambivalence: it appears as a feminine, matricial, as well as a phallic symbol" (Evseev 2001: 147).

If in the case of the "fish" motif, the gender from the referential plane proves to be not only optional, useless, but downright confusing, another example from Slovak literature suggests and recommends keeping the grammatical gender in accordance with the referential/ real one, in order to avoid an image marked by unwanted expressivity.

In the desire to build a cultural bridge and to perceptibly enhance the dialogue between the two cultures, Ondrej Štefanko (1949–2008), a prominent poet of Slovak expression from Romania, but also in the entire body of Slovak literature everywhere, has repeatedly translated and published fragments from the poetry and other works of Ivan Štrpka (1944), one of the most notable contemporary Slovak poets (from Slovakia). In his volume entitled *Rovinsko, juhozápad. Smrť matky* (In Romanian *Rovinsko, sud-vest. Moartea mamei* 'Rovinsko, South-West. Mother's Death,' 1995),—inspired, according to Slovak literary history, by oriental systems of civilization, by oriental philosophies and mentalities, refusing to accept the European spirit which allowed society to reach an impasse,—he pays tribute to his mother's memory. On the other hand, it is precisely the presence of the mother's motif that makes this work an homage to life in general. However, according to the poet Macsovszky in his commentary on the given poem, death is that which compels to meditation on the flow of the river of life (Macsovszky 1996: 27). This river that serves as dwelling place for sadness and joy, and departures, but also for the heroism of temporal existence and resistance to fate, is in fact an

2 We present for comparison the original version of the stanza: "W rzece Heraklita / ryba kocha rybę, /twoje oczy – powiada – lśnią jak ryby w niebie, / chcę płynąć razem z tobą do wspólnego morza, / o najpiękniejsza z ławiczy." Geambașu (2002: 166)

allegory for the flow of life, for humanity in its struggle for authentic equilibrium (as was, after all, the allegory of “the river of Heraclitus”). For Ivan Štrpka, the sense of humility, reconciliation with the world, resignation, acceptance of things and phenomena as they are, in the spirit of Indian thought, constitute an attempt to renew European (including Slovak) spirituality in order to find balance in life, spiritual balance in a disoriented world. Given these aspects of the message, it is somewhat natural that the volume should be opened by a poem entitled *Rovinsko, juhozápad. Voda zrodenia*, in our raw translation: *Rovinsko, sud-vest. Apa našterii* ‘Rovinsko, south-west. The water of birth,’ with a motto taken from a Hindu prayer to the god of water: *Ó, matka, dovoľ mi, aby som sa v tebe vykúpam*. (*Hindova modlitba k božstvu vody*), in Romanian *O, mamă, permite-mi, să mă scald în tine*. (*Rugăciunea unui hindus către zeul apei*). ‘O, mother, let me bathe in you. (A Hindu’s prayer to the god of water)’ (Štefanko 1997: 110). Next, the motif develops as if in a musical composition, a fugue: *Vnikám do teba, matka, / vnáram sa. Rovinná rieka bez mena / sa ospalo obracia a navracia v pomalých / ohyboch – takmer usína*. Štrpka (1995: 15) *Pătrund în tine, mamă, / mă scufund. Râul de câmpie fără nume / se-ntoarce și revine somnoros în meandre/ negrăbite – aproape adormind*. ‘I enter you, mother, / I sink. The nameless lowland river/ sleepily turns and returns / in meanders – almost falls asleep’ (Štefanko 1997: 110).

It is obvious that the phrase *râul de câmpie* ‘lowland river’ refers to the image of the mother/ maternal principle, continuing the idea of the previous verse (I enter you, mother) like a link in the construction of the river–“mother”–life allegory—which ends, relatively speaking (as it closes a cycle which will remake itself), in death,—as confirmed by the following verses: *Tvoje zomieranie ma rodí ďalej, / pred seba, ďaleko do iskrivých rovín, / v ktorých na všetky strany kvitne / moja vlastná protismrť* ‘Your dying births me endlessly, / before me, in the distant sparkling plains, / where in all directions blooms / my own counterdeath.’ Štrpka (1995: 16) From this point of view, the aforementioned phrase (the mother symbol-metaphor) would be better fitted by a word in the feminine gender, instead of the word *râu* ‘river’, which is neuter (i.e. identical to the masculine in the singular). We propose therefore a compensating solution: *Apa râului din câmpie*. ‘The water of the lowland river’ (*apa* ‘water’ is feminine in Romanian). The penultimate verse also supports this solution: *Cesty späť niet. Voda je sama—Cale de-ntoarcere nu există. Apa e singura* ‘There is no way back. The water is the only one’ then ends circularly/ cyclically, intertextually, resuming the motto, this time incorporated into the poem: *Ó, matka, dovoľ mi, aby / som sa v tebe vykúpam* Štrpka (1995)—“O, mamă, lasă-mă să mă scald în tine”. ‘O, mother, let me bathe in you’. The feminine matrixes of the mother and death motifs from both cultures overlap due to the feminine grammatical gender in both cases.

Tension appears, as a result of grammatical gender, in the translation of the poem entitled *Život* in Romanian *Viața* ‘Life’ by Ivan Krasko (1876–1958), a modernist

Slovak poet, tutelary spirit of modern Slovak poetry, as described by professor Corneliu Barborică, translator of the author's full body of poetic work.³ The lyrical subject challenges life to a battle, the stakes being 'the beautiful daughter of the dark mountains'. The allegory is easily decipherable; a fierce warrior—the poet—is ready to sacrifice himself for the freedom of the motherland—metaphorically personified as 'a maiden from dark mountains', an image identified by the Slovak reader as the Tatra, long imagined as an ancient mythical cradle for the Slavs and therefore Slovaks. The image, reminiscent of medieval tournaments, evokes, in Slovak, the heroism of knights, their determination to put their manhood to test, an interesting moment in modernist poetry, which is usually slow, rather than warlike. Here we have, however, a moment of manifested national desire for emancipation. In this context, the masculine gender of the noun *život* 'life' could not be more appropriate. The translation, having no other option, speaks of Life (capitalized like in the original) as of a pagan goddess of war, thus evoking an even older period: *Hai, Viață, sus! Și lasă larma, / pe cal, și pregătește arma! [...] Când ziua va muri în zare / tu vei zăcea în coif și zale. // Ori tu, ori eu! Unul din doi... / te chem, Viață, la război, / din zori adânci și până-n seară / pentru frumoasa noastră țară!* 'Come, Life, get up! And leave the clamour, / mount your horse, and ready your arm! [...] Before the fall of dusk, / you will lie down in armour. // Either you or I! One of us... / Life, I summon you to war, / from crack of dawn to darkest night / for our glorious land!' (Krasko 2001: 110-111). Challenging a masculine gender warrior to a fair fight completely corresponds with the traditional image, while fighting a feminine gender combatant implies, as we have seen, the value of "exotism", or is perceived as temporally marked (Popovič 1977). The movements from one stylistic value to another assume their acceptance, which can also be generally seen as an aspect of alterity in literary communication.

The phenomenon can be parallel with the moment when one perceives a work of visual art which replaces a fictive image (triggered by literary means of expression), in contradiction with their grammatical gender. Codes clash, but because of expectations, of a cultural code/ interrogative language, they do not remain without finality; the receiver opens up to exotisms or alterity due to culture—which is, ultimately, a departure from nature. This is why one of Michelangelo's statues, for example, *Il Giorno* 'The Day', may be at odds with its grammatical gender in a Romanian's mother tongue (*ziua*), while it is, on the contrary, within the limits of the ordinary for a Slovak, the word *deň* 'day' being masculine in both Italian and Slovak. These facts do not produce intense noise on communication channels, as they are countered by cultural acquisitions from the universal heritage of images accessible by cultured, educated people.

Another good example to illustrate the difficulties of rendering gender and especially an entire ensemble of images and ideas is the short story *V pasci* (in

3 Ivan Krasko (pen name of Ing. Ján Botto) is known to Romanian comparatists for studying in Braşov and Sibiu and being a translator of Mihai Eminescu.

Romanian *În capcană*, ‘Entrapped’) by Etela Farkašová (1943), published in her volume *Káva s Bachom, čaj so Chopinom* ‘Coffee with Bach, tea with Chopin’ (2011). The narrator, relying on the postmodernist technique of unveiling the mechanisms of writing, while trying to create an exceptional work of art, finds herself assisted by a mouse—*myš*, an animal whose name in Slovak is of feminine gender and which generated a homonym, following the example of the English language, the name for the computer peripheral—the mouse. The animal talks about the fate of its “sisters”, imitating the feminist discourse, in relation with the advantages enjoyed by its “brothers”, discusses about literature, the need for equality, etc. Translating⁴ the story into a language where the animal has a different gender is a real challenge. We offer, as proof, a fragment of a raw translation: *Aia mică, poate pentru a șoca și mai mult, poate doar pentru a se da mare, pentru că aia mică, își dădu seama de-acum, e inteligentă și, pare-se, nu-i lipsește nici încrederea în sine, ce mai, instruită, emancipată, cine știe ce ce fel de căi în regnul ei duc la emanciparea femelelor, micuța scoate un chițcăit cum că am fost nevoite să învățăm în vederea acestei colaborări câteva lucruri despre tehnica de calculator, unele dintre colegile mele chiar au absolvit un curs destul de pretențios, inclusiv eu, adaugă ea cu o umbră de mândrie, nu a fost cine știe cât de interesant, dar dacă vrem să ne perfecționăm, să ajungem în aceleași poziții ca frații noștri...* ‘The little one, maybe to shock even more, maybe to gloat, because the little one, she already realised, is intelligent and, it seems, doesn’t lack self confidence, she’s educated, emancipated, who knows what roads lead to emancipation of females in her kingdom, the little one squeaks that we had to learn some things about using the computer in order to achieve this collaboration, some of my colleagues even graduated a pretty sophisticated course, including myself, she added with a touch of pride, it wasn’t very interesting, but if we want to improve ourselves, to reach the same positions as our brothers...’ (Farkašová 2011).

Some postmodern writers deliberately remove this opposition. For example, the bilingual (Slovak-Hungarian) poet Peter Macsovszky (1966) applies a strategy of “deconstruction” of the masculine vs. feminine opposition, he does not hesitate to undertake a mystifying game with the image of gender by publishing a poetry volume entitled *Súmrak cudnosti* ‘Twilight of chastity’ (1996) under the female pseudonym Petra Malúchová (Sedlák 2009: 633-635). Wishing to demonstrate the lack of sincerity and credibility of poetry, of literature, expressing distrust in authenticity, giving up lyricism, subjectivism, abandoning the impressionism of perception, he invented his own writing strategy, adopting the so-called “cool aesthetics”, resulting in a species the author calls *báseň steril, poem – un steril* ‘sterile poem’ (Krčméryová 2008: 52, 56-57; Čúzy 2006: 153). Regarding this

4 A translation into Serbian is being attempted by Slovak writer Samo Boldocký from Vojvodina. We received this information from Slovak poetess Viera Benková from Bački Petrovac, Voivodina, whom we would like to thank.

term, *báseň steril* sounds, in Slovak, as a rough barbarism due to the neologism *steril*, rarely used in the colloquial style, although contemporary literary Slovak exhibits a great openness to neologisms and is tolerant towards those of Latin origin, as Latin had an important role in Slovak culture during the evolution of the literary version of the language, but lately it also accepts anglicisms. In the Romanian cultural context, however, the phrase *poem steril* does not have such an intense impact and rather suggests emptiness of meaning, a cognitive void.

The tension between prototext and the translated version, a tension that influences representations, artistic images, may rise from the competition between the variants of the language or languages they are written in. A special example is the novel *Jadviga's Pillow* (1997) by Pál Závada, a Hungarian writer of Slovak descent, who proposes a sophisticated game of confrontation between different linguistic systems/ languages: the novel is written in literary Hungarian, slightly marked on the temporal axis (Maruzsné 2002: 325-330). The main body text is “inlaid” with notes in the Slovak subdialect from Tótkomlós, Hungary, but also, on different levels (the work being compositionally structured like a scientific text, with footnote references), with references to the Slovak literary language, therefore two linguistic systems and a diglossia. The symbolic name *Osztatni* (in Slovak literary spelling, *Ostatný*), meaning ‘the last’ and also ‘the least’, does not mean a lot for an uninformed reader, a speaker of a different language, in the case of a translation. Only after reading the explanation of a third “voice”—a third narrator (the son of the two previous narrators), does the reader get an idea about the view the first narrator, *Osztatni*, holds about himself. The image of an image about oneself, held by a character, is a means of characterization, where a character’s psychology influences their language, taken over by the narrator and manipulated by the author. It is obvious that a text like this is difficult to transpose into a different, third language, that lacks a direct possibility of the same stylistic value to render the game of languages, other than through the translator’s footnotes.

In conclusion, we wish to mention an instance of “zero image” held by grammatical categories of the language, which is due to the pronominal value of the pronominal verb *ondiat* (it seems that there is a verb with a similar function in Hungarian). In Slovak, the category of “pronominality” forms a class of elements distributed “vertically” along the system of the parts of speech, thereby also generating a verbal pronoun that concretizes its meaning in context. It is usually used when taboo is in question, when the content of the message is or is wished to be uncertain, or as an expletive. All these instances give translators trouble, as it also happens in the case of phraseologisms (proverbs, idioms, etc.), which rely on certain images whose formal rendering in another language does not match their content (exceptions prove the rule).

(Translated by Daniel Räu-Lehotský)

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Non-Hellenic Peoples in the Epic Poems of Homer

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Abstract. Homer's epic poems represent their contemporary world. These epics give detailed descriptions about the peoples and cultures living in the Mediterranean area. Several ethnic groups appear in the epics, whose home lay far away from the Greek homeland, in the Balkans. *The Odyssey* may be regarded as the most valuable source of the two epics from a geographical point of view. For instance, this is the first written source of the Kimmers, even if there are only a few verses about them. During his journeys, Ulysses was able to reach several territories, which were less well known in the age of Homer. This is the reason why we have only a less detailed picture of these peoples, and why our knowledge of these cultures, ethnic groups and civilizations is so fragmentary. In my paper I try to figure out how the author described these peoples, what kind of attributes he employed in their description, and how we could interpret this information. Applying all these we could be able to examine the Greek attitude toward foreigners in the 8th century B.C.

Keywords: Homer, *The Odyssey*, Egypt, Achaeans

It is always a difficult task to work with Homeric poems. There is still no consensus about the legacy of the Trojan War. It is still a question if the war was an actual event, and if it was, when it occurred. A few years ago scholars thought that Homer's epic poems reflect the world in the 14th century B.C. According to the latest scholarly views (cf. Kolb 2010), the poems could reflect on the reality of the 8th and 7th centuries B.C.¹ I tend to accept Finley's thesis (1985) of the Homeric poems, regarding these as historical narratives, as the description of the once existed reality, of course, without the world of gods, goddesses and other myths and supernatural factors.

My paper focuses on the foreign peoples appearing in the works of Homer (1998),² as the forms of alterity in antiquity. The most important research question

1 See also the review of Kolb's book written by Stefanie A. H. Kennell in *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* (Kennell 2011)

2 I am going to use the following abbreviations to distinguish between the two epic poems, for *The Iliad*: Il., and for *The Odyssey*: Od.

is to answer what attributes he used as he was writing about them, and based on it what consequences can be drawn about the attitude of the average man of the age towards foreign peoples. Due to length limitations, it is not possible for me to systematically list each and every people; I only highlight one of them for detailed examination. My choice is Egypt, since this culture had been prospering long before the rise of the Greeks. It is interesting, as Macfarquhar (1966: 108) states in his article, that the Egyptians were fostered by the military ambitions of the Pharaohs. That is why early explorers arrived in Egypt and the Mycenaean Greeks got some information about this land. The Homeric poems have preserved this period for us. As Macfarquhar (ibid.) writes, there were only a few things worth mentioning about Egypt in Greek literature between the times of Homer and Hekataios.

If we follow and accept Mary B. Moore's (2000: 13-38) concept, we could say that this age must have been the first "golden age" in the history of Ancient Greece. *The Odyssey* is set in the iron age of Greece, when sailors necessarily start to engage in long voyages. The foundations of relationships with Italy, for instance, were established at this very time. In the Mycenaean Age long distance trade had been organized with the leadership of palaces, since certain basic and raw materials could only be acquired this way. For example, copper from Cyprus and Sardinia, and tin from the area what is now present-day Afghanistan (Németh 1999: 22).

It must be emphasized that only short references can be found in the works of Homer about quite a number of ethnic groups or countries. However, based on the attributes used we can deduce the natural geographic and economic circumstances of the era. The attributes and dialogues at the same time show us what could have been the Greeks' opinion in that age about each other and about strangers. For example, Homer wrote about people living in the territory around the Black Sea, like the Halizonies, who were used as auxiliary forces by the Trojans. The name of this ethnic group is only mentioned twice, first in the Second Book of *The Iliad* in the so-called "ship catalogue":³

*"Odios and Epistrophus were captains over the Halizoni from
Distant Alybe, where there are mines of silver."* (Il. II. 856-857)

The second time we can read about them is when King Agamemnon killed their captain, Hodios (Il. V. 37-42). The Paphlagonians, who were also recruited by Troy, also came from this territory.

*"The Paphlagonians were commanded by stout-hearted Pylaemenes
from Enetae, where the mules run wild in herds."* (Il. II. 850-51)

³ See also: Allen 1910: 292-322.

The Phaeacians are also worth mentioning, who helped Ulysses to find his way home. The members of this ancient ethnic group were skilled sailors, that is why they knew the world of that age well. The society of these peoples lay between myth and reality (Raaflaub and Van Wees 2009: 86). We can draw a parallel between the Phaeacians and the Phoenicians. Vilmos (2004: 28-33) made a description about trading in the 11th and 10th centuries B.C. He argues that sailing played a great role in the Greek political process no later than the Archaic age. Beside these examples we could list other groups as well. During the enumeration Homer shows us the world as he knew it. We can read the following sentence about Homer in Strabo's *Geographika*: "*the founder of the science of geography*" (Strabo 1977: 1, 1, 2). Maury (1918: 97) examined the beginnings of sailing in the age of Homer, and presented Homer himself as a sailor. He claims that we have to regard Homer as the "child of the sea", and that is why the poems are full of preferences about life at sea.

Despite the destructions of the palaces in the 12th century B.C., trade vividly continued, in the course of which the Greeks got into contact with other cultures. This is also supported by the imported objects, for instance, Egyptian scarabs and glass shards, iron knives from Syria, seals from Cyprus, and even amber from the Baltic region were found in the area known as Hellas (Osborne 1996: 20). It must also be emphasized that in the second transitional period of the history of the Hittite Empire (14th century B.C.) new cultures emerged in Anatolia. For instance, the Achaeans or the Lycians also appeared in this time. Most of the records that remained of the Hittite Empire are written. Based on the interpretation of the Hittite documents and references found on Egyptian scrolls any kind of connection between the Hittite Empire and the Achaeans was possible. The literature of the domain assumes that this must have been a relationship of diplomatic and military nature (Raaflaub 2006: 451). The excavated archaeological findings prove that the Greeks and Egypt had a connection even in the earliest times. The first hieroglyphic record with the names of several cities of the Aegean Sea were found in the funerary temple of Amenhotep III (Cline and Stannish 2011: 6-16). All of the written and non-written records confirm that "the realm of the Pharaohs" was not just present in the life of the early Greeks, but it also played a decisive part. According to the epic poems of Homer, I try to focus on the Greek image of "the gift of the Nile".

In *The Iliad*, Achilles brings up Egypt as an example, more exactly, Thebes, whose name was known by the Greeks from the age of Homer. The following can be read:

He may offer me ten or even twenty times what he has now done, nay- not though it be all that he has in the world, both now or ever shall have; he may promise me the wealth of Orchomenus or of Egyptian Thebes, which

is the richest city in the whole world, for it has a hundred gates through each of which two hundred men may drive at once with their chariots and horses; he may offer me gifts as the sands of the sea or the dust of the plain in multitude, but even so he shall not move me till I have been revenged in full for the bitter wrong he has made me. (Il. IX. 379-87)

Based on the citation above, we learn that as far as Achilles—thus, Homer—knows, Egypt and Thebes has the most treasures in the region. Earliest layers of the settlement date back to before 3200 B.C. In the age of the Old Empire⁴ the “*capital of the fourth Upper Egyptian nomos was a third rate small town in the country*” (Shaw 2000: 149). It will be the capital of the country later, in the period of the Middle Empire, under the eleventh dynasty (Mentuhotep and his descendants), until the end of the dynasty (Kákósy 1993: 107). The poet emphasizes the wealth of the capital with the number of the city gates, of which there are a hundred, based on the description, and two hundred horsemen can pass under each of them at the same time. The number is obviously overdrawn but it shows well that the Achaeans of the age regarded Egypt as the land of wealth. This is not even surprising if we accept János Sarkady’s (1970: 17) opinion according to which the life of early Hellas seems primitive if compared to the past and achievements of the ancient Eastern peoples. It must also be added that Egypt was in its golden age in the time of the New Empire.⁵ An unprecedented number of construction projects were initiated, and luxury was characteristic of their culture and way of life (Shaw 2000: 288). The court of Amenhotep became a diplomatic centre, the relationship system established with the neighbouring states made Egypt more open towards the assimilation of foreign cultures (ibid.). The story of Menelaus can be an excellent example of this. We know the events from two descriptions: one of them is *The Odyssey*, the other work is *Histories* by Herodotus (hereinafter: Hdt.).

Before we proceed in the story we have to stop for a while to speak a little bit about Herodotus’ work. We should take a look at his visit to Egypt. At that time the Greeks had known that country for approximately two hundred years (Brown 1965: 60). One of the main problems about Herodotus⁶ is that he did not speak the Egyptian language, and he did not have access to the Egyptian records. Everything he wrote and he knew about the Greeks can be traced back to records written in any ancient dialects of the Greek language. As I have observed in my readings of Egypt by Herodotus, the Egyptian people did exactly the opposite

4 There is a difference in the dating of the age. According to the generally accepted opinion the period between the third dynasty and the sixth dynasty is the age of the Old Empire.

5 The literature considers the period between 1352 B.C. and 1069 B.C. to be the New Empire.

6 This topic has a wide range literature with several studies and commentaries. For example, the early but still very useful commentary: How & Wells 1912.

of the Greeks. It can be easily perceived reading the records about the habits of Egyptians.⁷

We know the story of Menelaus from Book Four of *The Odyssey*. Telemachus arrives at the palace of the Spartan king to inquire about his father. After the sack of Troy and recovery of Helen, the Spartan contingent sets off towards home. On the way, however, they get into a storm, which splits the convoy into two. Menelaus finally arrives in the land of Egypt with five ships altogether.

[...] but at all events I have travelled much and have undergone much hardship, for it was nearly eight years before I could get home with my fleet. I went to Cyprus, Phoenicia and the Egyptians; I went also to the Ethiopians, the Sidonians, and the Erembians, and to Libya, where the lambs have horns as soon as they are born, and the sheep bear lambs three times a year. Every one in that country, whether master or man, has plenty of cheese, meat, and good milk, for the ewes yield all the year round. But while I was travelling and getting great riches among these people [...] (Od. IV. 81-90)

We learn about his voyage from this passage. He met several peoples, gathered a lot of treasure and he finally managed to take them home. As a way of boasting, he describes them in detail to Telemachus. The magnificence of Menelaus' palace is mostly due to the treasures newly acquired from Egypt. In the course of the detailed description it turns out that they spent time in Egypt, and he brought the most expensive pieces of treasure from there:

Phylo fetched her the silver work-box which Alkandra wife of Polybos had given her. Polybos lived in Egyptian Thebes, which is the richest city in the whole world; he gave Menelaus two baths, both of pure silver, two tripods, and ten talents of gold; besides all this, his wife gave Helen some beautiful presents, to wit, a golden distaff, and a silver work-box that ran on wheels, with a gold band round the top of it. (Od. IV. 125-32)

His stay in Egypt can also be considered a kind of deliberate treasure hoarding voyage:

As for the other five ships, they were taken by winds and seas to Egypt, where Menelaus gathered much gold and substance among people of an alien speech. (Od. III. 300-301)

Beside the multitude of valuable objects made of precious metals the persons of Alkandra and Polybos appear by name. Based on the description

⁷ For further reading: Hdt. Book II.

they live in Thebes, but based on their names they seem much more of Greek origin than Egyptians.

Based on the narrative of Herodotus, Menelaus⁸ and his companions did not leave the land of the Pharaohs peacefully.

Since his departure was hindered by unfavorable weather, and since it lasted for a long time, he decided to commit a despicable act: he had a local man's two children kidnapped and sacrificed. (Hdt. II. 119)

After this act was found out, the angry natives wanted to kill them, so they fled to Libya. Herodotus considers this version of the story true, and makes the observation regarding Homer that although he knew well that Helen was in Egypt, this did not fit into the epic, so he altered the story a bit. Besides this, another difference can be found between the two stories that can be conspicuous. Homer states that Menelaus and his companions were in the city of Thebes; Herodotus writes that they were in Memphis.⁹

Despite these contradictions, it can be discerned in both works that at an early stage the Egyptians were friendly towards all foreigners, but almost after the first sign of misbehaviour they tried to drive away all the foreigners from their land. Such a story can be read in Homer as well. In the story of Castor Hylacides, following his return to Ithaca, Ulysses introduces himself to Eumaeus as a rich, but unadventurous Cretan man.

On the fifth day we reached the river Aegyptus; there I stationed my ships in the river, bidding my men stay with them and keep guard over them while I sent out scouts to reconnoiter from every point of vantage. But the men disobeyed my orders, took to their own devices, and ravaged the land of the Egyptians, killing the men, and taking their wives and children captive. The alarm was soon carried to the city, and when they heard the war cry, the people came out at daybreak. (Od. XIV. 257-66)

From the rest of the text, it turns out that a clash ensued, in the course of which many of his companions were killed. Castor Hylacides begs for mercy, turning to the Egyptian king, and he is forgiven. Based on the narrative, he lived for seven years among them following these events.

[...] Then I went straight up to the king's chariot, clasped his knees and kissed them, whereon he spared my life, bade me get into his chariot, and took me weeping to his own home. Many made at me with their ashen spears

8 See also: Neville 1977.

9 During most of the New Empire era Memphis was the administrative centre, *de facto* the capital.

and tried to kill me in their fury, but the king protected me, for he feared the wrath of Jove the protector of strangers, who punishes those who do evil. I stayed there for seven years and got together much money among the Egyptians, for they all gave me something. (Od. XIV. 278-86)

Summarizing the above mentioned data, we can draw the following conclusions from the passages cited above. In the Homeric oeuvre livestock breeding and agriculture had a priority role. This was confirmed in Finley's work in which he says that Ulysses regarded other peoples as barbarians since they had not acquired the science of agriculture. Such a story can be read in the ninth book of *The Odyssey*. Ulysses tells his story about the Cyclops at Alkinoos' palace. The problem is that farming always had a priority in agriculture because the Greek landscape was not perfectly suitable for farming unlike breeding animals (Finley 1985: 81). In Egypt the discovered areas were full of beautiful pastures and wheat. The cause of this is that the regular flooding of the Nile spread a fertile layer of mud over the river valley. This is how a vivid agriculture could be established with the help of irrigation. In contrast with Mesopotamia, the goal was not to regulate the river and to keep away the flood, but they tried to keep the overflowing water on the fields in order to settle the extraordinarily fertile mud brought by the flood as completely as possible.

I suggest that Egypt has always been a special case.¹⁰ Reading the situations above, we get a picture of an open-minded, friendly civilization existing in the age of the New Empire, which, on the other hand, is capable of engaging in a fight any time to protect their interests, their homeland. The wealth which was presented by Homer was exceptional in that age. This can be noticed mostly from *The Iliad*, from the description of Thebes; the references, enriched with unrealistic exaggerations allow for the conclusion that the Greeks of the age regarded this area with awe, even long after Homer's age.

I wish to close my paper with the words of Herodotus:

I will speak of Egypt more, for there are more that is wonderful in Egypt than in any other country, and it can boast of such accomplishments almost no words can describe. (Hdt. II. 35)

¹⁰ Herodotus emphasizes this: Hdt. II. 35.

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The Population of Fejér County in the 18th Century Through the Eyes of Foreign Travellers¹

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Abstract. Lack of source material makes it difficult to examine the population history of the times of the Ottoman domination in Fejér county. Therefore it is inevitable to use memoirs, travel diaries, travel books and country descriptions penned by foreign travellers. In our study we are following the change of the image of the Hungarians, and the images of other ethnic groups as they appear in the memoirs of foreign visitors.

In this paper we compare the descriptions of different ethnic groups inhabiting the county in the 18th century. We are interested in the following questions: first, how much of these descriptions are based on personal experience; secondly, to what extent these books reflect their authors' experiences or they are rather influenced by stereotypes of their age or earlier periods.

Keywords: Hungary, 18th century, ethnic groups, stereotypes

During the examination of different historical periods memoirs, diaries and letters are gaining more and more important roles. Amongst these subjective sources, accounts that depict trips and voyages are especially exciting and colourful. Travel literature, according to purpose, form or the goal of the author can be separated into different groups (Kulcsár 2006). In the collections our libraries and archives researchers can readily access many of these works about the voyages in Hungary, while in full translation only one has been printed (Hofmannsegg 1887). In text and reference books and essays we can find quotes and extracts (Gömöri 1994; Éder 1993; Birkás 1932; G. Györffy 1991).

In what follows we will try to follow up the changes in the images of the Hungarian ethnicity, and the depiction and view of other ethnic groups in the works of foreign travellers. In this study we extract and compare the details about

1 The presentation at the conference was supported by the Pécsi Tudományegyetem Alapítvány [University of Pécs Foundation].

2 The texts from old French into English have been transcribed by Mildred Delloye, the ones from old German into English by József Sztana.

the ethnic groups living in Fejér county in the 18th century. Our main aim is to answer how the travellers viewed the land and its population after the Ottoman domination had ended. We will also examine how these works are influenced by the stereotypes from previous centuries already in print at the time.

Although the subjectivity shown by the authors of these travel descriptions poses some issues for today's readers, it is exactly this attribute that gives them added value. The social structure of the time comes to us, filtered through the West-European traveller's personal experiences, previous knowledge and the impressions created by what he saw here. According to Harbsmeier's (2006) approach, these diaries are more about elevating the values seen in one's own country, and undervaluing—much for the benefit of the reader at home—the new and different, than showing real facts. Therefore, those things are given major importance by the authors which are different, even more so when the exotic is compared to the same at home. We do accept this opinion partially, but we must also be aware that exactly this is why these books may contain information that Hungarian sources never even mention (Doba 1999: 33).

If we approached these diaries from a mentality-historical angle, to measure them and the observations they contain, we would find them even more wanting. This is because we found that more often than not, these authors used stereotypes and generalisations from common knowledge or inserted them from their previous readings. For the 16th century a strong system of how to write these diaries was born (Kármán 2002). Most of the educated authors tried to follow the rules of this system, knowing that their works would be considered valuable and acceptable by their audience. One of the fundamental rules of this system was that the record of personal experience could be impaired by previous stereotyped knowledge. As Kármán (2002: 112) made us aware that Hungary, being constantly at war, lost its place amongst the targets of travellers, “...*the apodemic writing did not feel the need to thoroughly map its cities and inhabitants*”. Contrary to this state of “being left out” we still came across several centuries old generalisations in descriptions and travel diaries and later in country descriptions.³

Another fundamental rule was to include the observation and to record ethnic characteristics. The stereotypes based on the classic climate-theory went on living in the works of the humanist writers, and between the 16th and 18th centuries they became an important part of scientific knowledge. Concurrently with the spreading of books and literacy, the same ideas entered common

3 The picture of the Huns as small, dark, ugly people, painted by Jordanes and Otto of Freisingen, is an example of this, and still living on in the 17th century. Out of the remarks of Bonfini, Ransanus and Jacobus Philippus Bergomensis, that the Hungarians were combative and always in pursuit of the pleasures of the table, the latter, as the love of culinary pleasures, was also maintained for a very long time. It is enough to mention the topos about the fertility of Pannonia, as continuously present throughout the 18th century. See also: Tarnai (1969); Csukovits (2009); Radek (2009).

knowledge⁴ (Papp 2001). The picture formed in the 17th century about Hungary turned largely negative by the beginning of the 18th.⁵ The image of the “*defender of the Christian faith*” became fertile, blessed with all the beauty and goodness under the sun, but backward, its inhabitants two-faced, sly German-haters, who were unable to use the riches given to them by nature, since they were lazy and disliked work. Their traders, craftsmen and citizens were all immigrants or locally born Germans. These observations were made by Hermann Conring⁶ in 1666, who—surpassing others of his time—also recognised the presence of multiple ethnicities. He also claimed that no uniform body build or ethnic characteristics were present amongst the inhabitants, therefore a perfect state could not be formed there (Tarnai 1969: 36).

Diplomats, scientists and voyagers travelling to Hungary, all arrived with preconceived notions from these books, and recorded their own experiences influenced or challenged by these ideas. During the 18th century the rule-system for these descriptive works also changed. The strict forms lost their importance and the growing themes of personal experience were gaining momentum with the arrival of the “critical voice”.

The Hungarians as the “others”

In the following we will try to summarise the changes in the image of the Hungarians and the other ethnicities inhabiting Transdanubia, mostly through the accessible German, but also through the already processed Swiss, English and Dutch travellers’ writings.

The first traveller of the 18th century known to us, travelling through Hungary on diplomatic mission, was the Dutch Lodewijck van (der) Saan in 1705.⁷ In his travel-memoirs he did not follow the accepted style of his time, but rather used great many of the stereotypes (Ablonczyné 2005: 182). Thus he readily applied the rich/fertile land—backward inhabitants antagonism, which, according to him, was rooted in the laziness of the Hungarians. He did not compare the population to the Turks, but to the Italians, painting a picture of very haughty, combative, greedy and cruel folks (Ablonczyné 2005: 189). This picture fitted the 18th-century “Völkerntafel”.⁸

4 The refusal of foreign criticism, regarding Hungary being backward both in arts and culture, based on the ethnic characterology, gained stronger voice from the end of the 18th century.

5 The most influential piece on ethnic characteristics in the first half of the 17th century was the *Icon Armorum* by John Barclay. See also: Tarnai (1969: 32); G. Etényi (2009).

6 Herman Conring (1606–1681), German professor of medicine and politics at the University of Helmstedt.

7 Lodewijck van (der) Saan (1655–1722), diplomat.

8 The first ethnic characteristics descriptions, based on the climate-theory, were born in the first third of the 18th century, somewhere in German speaking territories of Europe. The very first was written by Leopold-Stich somewhere between 1719–1726, which was later also incorporated in the first “Volkertafel” between 1730–1740. The Hungarians were described as disloyal, cruel,

He found the Hungarians hostile towards foreigners, and an expression used at the time completely convinced him about the difference between the Hungarians and the Germans. The paraphrase says the Germans enjoy life less, but the Hungarians are hedonists⁹ (Ablonczyné 2005: 190–191). In this picture we can see the outlines of an earlier one drawn by the Italian humanists beckoning to us.

About 40 years later the next ethnic characteristic description emerged, but the author remains unknown. He reported the state of the country in 1742 in letters, signed M. du B. The author clearly saw the differences between the echelons of nobility and the peasants. In his description he also talked about the war for independence led by Rákóczi, where he mentioned independence as the greatest value in the eyes of the people. “*The nobility is very proud and combative spirited, dislikes comfort, because that is not masculine. The independence of their country is important for them above all. Both noble and peasant are equally lazy and hedonist, fierce and vengeful. They do not make friends easily, but once they make friends with one, they never express their sentiment with words, but rather with actions*” (G. Györffy 1991: 20). He penned the ethnic character with old stereotypes although decades had passed in the meantime.

Readiness for mistrust was also found to be the most important characteristic of the Hungarians by Johann Peter Willebrandt, who travelled the country in 1758.¹⁰ He also called attention to their honesty and their faithful spirit, and sensitivity. “*The trust and friendship of the Hungarian is hard to regain once he feels insulted*” (Kulcsár 1996: 102).

It is hard to judge of course which parts of these statements are based on personal experience gained through closer acquaintances, but we can say that those who spent only days, maybe a few weeks in the country, found the previously drawn pictures good and true, and were also more eager to use them, because of their superficial experiences and lack of local knowledge.

In the second half of the century, on his diplomatic mission of 1765, Johan Raye van Breukelerwaard, a Dutch traveller, spent a couple of weeks in the country, but he visited only the usual cities.¹¹ He also used the so-called “*Fertilitas Pannoniae*” motif, depicting the country as fertile and beautiful, but he thought it was not backward because of the people, but rather because of the Ottoman domination. He regarded the negative outlook on the Habsburgs, with the understanding that it was rooted in the times of the Ottoman domination. Very sensitively he also reacted to the poverty and backwardness of the people, and his description is rich

crude and rebellious, who die by the sword, in the first half of the 18th century (Ötvös 1999).

9 “Die Ungarn sagen, dass die Deutschen schönen weisse Stuben und schwarzes Brot haben, aber sie, die Ungarn essen schönes wittes Brot mit Fleisch in schwarzen Stuben oder Kammern” (sic!) (Ablonczyné 2005: 190).

10 Johann Peter Willebrandt (1719–1786), North-German historian and jurist.

11 Johann Raye van Breukelerwaard (1737–1823), diplomat. He visited: Pozsony, Komárom, Esztergom, Buda and Pest.

in these details. He drew sharp contrast between the palaces and the thatched huts standing in narrow streets. In the eyes of the Western traveller the thatched roof equalled to poverty and deprivation. He wrote about the Rác community living around Buda in great detail, their religion being orthodox and their huts being dug into the slopes. They served as soldiers of the emperor, but did not receive payment, so they had to supply their own arms, horses and food by other means. They looked as much like outlaws as soldiers (Ablonczyné 2005: 215). Later, after leaving Pest, he described in detail a hut in a village—though we can not know if the village he visited was inhabited by Hungarians, Razs¹² or Gypsies—, which had one bed and a hearth dug into the ground. A poor man, his wife and their six or seven children were living there (Ablonczyné 2005: 218). Raye looked at the country with the mentality of the conquerors. He divided the society into upper and lower echelon, and while he described the first with great criticism in detail in his book, he had high opinion about the latter (Ablonczyné 2005: 221).

François Xavier de Feller, a Jesuit monk from Luxembourg lived in Hungary between 1765 and 1767, so he had time to learn about the inhabitants and their means and ways. This is his description of the Hungarians:

The Hungarians are truly sincere, cardinally good-willing, and quick to devote themselves, as long as one offers them a little friendship, but mark these words, never to offend the Hungarian nation, because then the whole world twists and turns, but if one praises Hungary, everything shall be just fine. This people guarded something of old, when the simplicity and straightness was the honour of the man. He is chaste, as is gravely serious and honest in his speech *ut prisca gens mortalium*, but these things are changing right in the front of the eye...The disposition of the nation is generally docile and modest, except when war is concerned, for they believe to be excellent at that. They love learning and perfecting themselves, but for the man of science, for they are intolerable. They have all the nature of their father Attila and their uncle Buda in them. The literature is in a pitiful state. Newton triumphs, and also Boscowich, and all new creators of order. The less cultivated nations are always fierce to mimic the good and the bad, the true and the false, as seen in celebrated peoples. (Feller 1820: 68)

Feller, beside being horrified by the spread of scientific thinking of the Enlightenment, also sensed tensions between the ethnicities:

The Germans regard the Hungarians as barely civilised people, the Hungarians have no love for the Germans... The Germans successfully forgot

12 In the 18th century sources in both Latin and German call Rasciani/Razen the southern Slavic ethnicities indifferent of their origin or religion.

that they fought this nation hand to hand, but the vanquisher always forgets more easily than the vanquished. The Hungarians detest the Sclavons, since their country is full of Slavons (Sclavons or Slavs), who are one dispersed nation, from different kingdoms, and just do not want to stay in Sclavonia. The Slavons respect the Hungarians as the dominant nation, but envy and hate accompany this respect. The Armenians and the Greeks are banding up apart. I never saw or imagined a more nationalist spirit. It really is *Regnum in se divisum*. The Greeks, whom I saw often, are above all schismatic, which is their perfidy of old, with ferocity they forefathers never knew. They are equally barbaric and ignorant; their habits in Hungary differ not a little bit from those of the Hungarians (Feller 1820: 68).

Antoine-Joseph Zorn de Bulach took a longer trip to Transdanubia in the summer of 1772.¹³ He also mentioned the fertility of the land, and that it was not worked, seeing the reasons for this in the diminished number of inhabitants, in the difficulties in goods trading and in the social system of the country, rather than in the laziness of the people. The serf doing “servitude” was neither working the lands of the noble, nor his own one properly (Birkás 1932: 11). He described the Hungarians in the following way:

He is proud, bold, bellicose, which suits him all the better for the gentleness and the zeal he shows when treated with kindness, but when pressed, he bites back. He cannot be forced to act, and that irritates them most about the Germans, that they want everything through force, haughtiness and coercion. (Birkás 1932: 14)

Around Moson, he also observed the local peasants’ behaviour and clothes: “*Hungarians are medium-height men, they look agile and spry, they are honest*” (Birkás 1932: 13). Bulach regarded Hungary with the eyes of a traveller from a both socially and economically more advanced country. He used the same stereotypes as the previous voyagers, or Feller, for that matter, and accepted the sentiments of the inhabitants towards the Germans with understanding. Of course, in the shaping of his opinion, the nobility must have been the major influence, since he observed the other ranks only from a distance, like the others before him.

The year 1780 saw Johann Kaspar Risbeck arrive in Hungary, but he only visited Pozsony, Pest, Buda and Esterháza.¹⁴ He summarised his observations in fictive letters, taking to a pejorative tone. In his opinion the Hungarians were barbarians

13 Antoine-Joseph Zorn de Bulach (1736–1817), as member of the entourage of prince Luis de Rohan, personal envoy of Louis the XV (of France) to Vienna, travelled to Sclavonia (Slovenia) through Pozsony, Magyaróvár, Győr, Komárom, Buda, Adony, Mohács, Eszék and Zimony.

14 Johann Kaspar Risbeck (1749/1754?–1786), Swiss-German publicist.

or backward drunkards. Their major traits were laziness, carelessness, and they would not take to force or discipline. There was an impassable chasm between the nobles and their serfs. The nobles lived pompously, wasting their wealth, their rank being defined by the size of their debts. According to his observation, the nobles of Western-Hungary were copying the French (G. Györfly 1991: 27). Risbeck's opinion was also shaped by his own prejudice. He was quick to judge, and coming from a puritan background he considered the nobility's pompous lifestyle, both their castles and lavish city homes, a waste.

As a sharp contrast, using mostly the images of soldiering and courage, Christoph Friedrich Nicolai noticed the positive attributes more.¹⁵ He described the body build of Hungarian men as strong, heavy muscled, made for soldiering and the women as even more beautiful than their Austrian counterparts. The people expressed their love for their country in the way they dressed. They were loyal and honest, but because of the foreign rule, easy to become slick and humble (Kulcsár 1996: 102). He showed their love for their country and loyalty using the "vitam et sanguinem"¹⁶ image. "*The courage of the Hungarians is well known; but what is not known well enough is that whatever they set their minds to, they have enormous capacity to accomplish*" (Kulcsár 1996: 103).

In 1785 Karl Ehrenfried Dreyssig was travelling from Vienna to Buda by boat, accompanying immigrant artisans and families, who came with their six or seven children all the way from Germany. His opinion was still shaped by and rested on previous stereotypes, so it reminds us of that of a superficial visitor: "*What a rich and powerful kingdom could Hungary become if her people were a bit more diligent, and her produce had a greater market*" (G. Györfly 1991: 29).

Johann Lehmann¹⁷ and Christoph Ludwig Seipp was the same person, who published his travel experiences in 1785 and 1793 (Kulcsár 1996: 113). In his 1785 work he rebuffed the prior prejudice, showing that one could travel in Hungary safely and comfortably. He also stated that he would rather travel between Pest and Szeged, than on the less inhabited land between Würzburg and Frankfurt. His experience was that speaking German was easy enough to get by all the way to Wallachia. He also said that if one arrived with letters of mark, he was welcomed, but to become friends with the Hungarians was only possible for someone who spoke their language (G. Györfly 1991: 28). Though he advised the English and French travellers to arrive with a German speaking guide, he also stated that the English voyagers are well loved and respected in the country. He voiced a very negative opinion about the German settlers stating that "*throughout the entire voyage, we could count on the German peasants neither out of duty, nor in dire need. These are the most ill-mannered,*

15 Christoph Friedrich Nicolai (1733–1811), book trader, editor, writer from Berlin.

16 The Hungarian nobles offered their life and blood to Maria-Theresia in 1740, at the beginning of the war with Prussia over the throne.

17 Johann Lehmann (1747–1793), actor, theatre director, writer and publisher.

most insensitive peoples. They only shall aid in danger and need, if it is lucrative" (Lehmann 1785: 11); he also wrote about the Gypsies, who were forced into settled lifestyle in the country. He said that people were afraid to travel in the centre of Hungary because the Gypsies "*are begging, [running around] uncovered, attack and try to stun with prestidigitation.*" He also tried to show the reasons for the attacks and robberies, as "*up until now it was necessary for them to beg for their living. If this is not helping anymore, they are forced to take it*" (Kulcsár 1996: 101–102).

About the Hungarians he wrote the well-known stereotypes, like they were perfect for soldiering, as one "*can not find a more beautiful soldier ... the Hungarian infantryman [is] steadier, rounder, fuller, stronger, than any infantryman of all the other might one has ever seen*" (Lehmann 1785: 70). He had high opinion about other traits of the Hungarians, too, as "*they are taking to everything with unbelievable diligence, and they do not falter, until they reach the object of their desire*" (Kulcsár 1996: 103). He also found that amongst the youth and the populace in general the search for sensual pleasures was intense, but he could not find its reasons. He tried his best to rebuke and dissolve the prejudices about the haughtiness and the coldness of the Hungarians, mostly born out of the lack of knowledge of the German tongue. According to him there was no hatred in the Hungarians toward the Germans because they felt, that "*every step made towards knowledge and wealth is born out of the bond with the Germans; they feel how backward they would be, left to their own devices*" (Kulcsár 1996: 107). This phrase by itself states the sentiment of the high and mighty traveller, who labels the different as barbarian and backward, without the positive influence of the Germans, showing his own nation superior and more advanced.

His second book, printed in 1793, retold the pleasures of his second trip, to Szepes county and to Transylvania, then back through Szeged, Kecskemét and Pest all the way to Pozsony. In great detail he described a colourful mix of ethnicities, and he highlighted the differences between Hungarians and aliens, nobles and peasants. The inhabitants of the German cities in Szepes county are described as chaste and hard working, stating that "*The people of the Syps belong to the enlightened. Both in their education, offices, and in all their public life there reigns order, a kind of order that is missed in all other parts of Hungary*" (Seidler 2009: 150). Interestingly, and as opposed to his work in 1785, he wrote that the Hungarians were arrogant, and that with the dumb Slovaks and the lawbreaking Gypsies, they always landed in trouble (Seidler 2009: 151). This was in sharp contrast with the previous book, where he wanted to understand and to make the Hungarians be understood.

In 1793 two natural scientists visited the country, namely the baron Johann C. von Hofmannsegg from Saxony and Robert Townson, an English noble.¹⁸ In his preface Townson wrote:

18 Johann Centurius Hofmann von Hofmannsegg (1766–1849), a noble from Saxony, naturalist; Robert Townson (1762–1887), English noble and naturalist.

Though to many Tours have appeared of late, Hungary has never been a subject of one of them; it is nevertheless a country, though so circumstanced as to be of little political importance to Britain, worthy of our attention: its constitution, its people and their manners, and its natural productions, are remarkable. (Townson 1797: ix)

In their descriptions both travellers gave major importance—beside the natural treasures—to the observation of cities and the nobility. Townson, based on the works of contemporary statisticians, wrote about the inhabitants and the newly arriving settlers in the fifth chapter of his book (Townson 1797: 182–205).

As we saw in the descriptions above, the image of the Hungarian depends on different influences. On the one hand, most decisive of these are the traveller's heritage, his upbringing, social background, prior knowledge, ideological or religious beliefs, personal interests, observing and deductive skills, while, on the other hand, the social background and the amount of time which was spent gathering the information, and last but not least, how the authors try to use and pass on the information to other voyagers, sometimes being satisfied with old stereotypes, sometimes daring to embark on a more challenging social observation or even wording judgement. More than once the travellers used the data collected to place value on the superiority of their own nation – both culturally and economically –, painting a positive self-image for their readers.

So the image at the beginning of the century was strongly negative, dominated by combative and anti-foreigner images, supported by the antagonisms (fertile land—backward country—lazy inhabitants). This is supposed to show how much superior the author's country and hard-working nation was to the Hungarians. Independently of social standing, the image of the lazy and hedonistic Hungarian showed up in 1742, changed only a little by the love for their country, and longing for freedom, as strongly positive attributes. This was probably put into the descriptions as part of the French outlook on Rákóczi's war of independence, and was made whole by the "vitam et sanguinem" scene, as the attributes 'honest' and 'loyal' were added to the ethnic character. With the following military successes of the hussars, by the end of the 1760's the Hungarian people became a nation made for soldiering. The criticism of social differences, the search for reasons behind backwardness, ethnic differences, and the tensions born thereof, gained stronger roles in the descriptions filled with the ideology of Enlightenment (Raye, Feller, Lehmann).

Fejér County through the eyes of the traveller

Researching the works of the German authors, Krisztina Kulcsár found that there were only very few who braved longer trips toward the centre of the country

(Kulcsár 1996: 91). This was mainly so due to the travel diaries like the one printed in 1760, written in German by Johann Leopold Montag (1760), who used the road along the Danube, and who stated:

...the road between Buda and Eszék is a dangerous and unsafe one to travel, even in times of peace, and is without guarding soldiers.... as the author of this short news recalls... at the dangerous places the carriage got equipped with 6 or 8 Gypsies (who have settlements all over Hungary) and for a meagre contribution offer their protection. (Seidler 2009: 143)

Most of Fejér county was under Ottoman domination. The road network here was never as dense as in other Transdanubian counties, even in medieval times. The main reason for this was that large parts of the county—around and all the way from Székesfehérvár along the river Sárvíz to the county border—were covered in swamps. The Ottoman domination and the ensuing wars to dominate the land probably made the situation worse in this regard since the inhabitants of the destroyed villages, forced to seek refuge elsewhere, were not present to take care of the dams and ditches that once protected against floods. At the end of the 17th century there were only a few remaining settlements south of Lake Velence. The villages could only be revived with great difficulty by the returning or newly arriving settlers, if they even had the intention to resettle them. More than once did we find mentions of fallows in diaries and letters, penned by the travellers of the age, for days on end.¹⁹ So people travelling through Transdanubia rather used the main road along the Danube, or the waterway of the Danube itself for their trip. The other, also more often used road was the one leading from Buda through Székesfehérvár to Veszprém, on which settlements were closer to each other.

In 1715 Sir Simon Clement was travelling from Buda to Légrád.²⁰ As he arrived at Tárnok, he noted that Slovaks and Razes were living there, in huts dug into the ground, and only the roofs were above the ground level. In his opinion they were dressed as poorly as their accommodation looked, but they had a good life (Gömöri 1994: 99–100). The next settlement he mentioned was Juro [Gyuró] with Hungarian inhabitants who lived in huts built out of saplings and branches. The peasant family bedded the guests on fresh hay. The next day, before reaching Székesfehérvár, he travelled through three or four poor villages, but Clement did not take down any notes on them. The only thing he penned about Székesfehérvár is just a note saying that it lies in the middle of a swamp, with two large suburbs and with poor houses at both ends.

19 Most historical studies quote the letter of Mary Wortley Montague, written during her trip in January 1717.

20 Sir Simon Clement (1654?–1730?), between 1711 and 1714 the secretary of the Earl of Peterborough, in Vienna.

Two years later, Mary Wortley Montague travelled with her husband through here, on her way to Constantinople.²¹ In her letter of January 23rd, 1717, passing through Adony, she mentions this settlement, which used to be a city during Ottoman domination, but by the time of her arrival, it was in ruins. About the countryside she wrote that it was covered by a thick forest, and it was foreboding. She did not write about the villages because, as she claims, she could not find anything worth mentioning about them. According to her, the people around here were living a very easy life because of the abundance of water and forest animals. She particularly found it important to mention that the local serfs were surprised that they got paid for the food, and therefore heaped the travellers with gifts (Gömöri 1994: 106–107).

Richard Pococke and Jeremiah Milles travelled on the road from Buda through Székesfehérvár to Veszprém together in 1737.²² Leaving Buda and the mountains behind towards Székesfehérvár, Pococke noted:

We travelled over rich downs through an unimproved country, very thinly inhabited, the nobility having a great number of oxen on their estates, which they fell mostly in Germany, send some of them even as far as Italy. The sheep here have twisted horns something like antelopes (Pococke 1745: 249).

Regarding settlements or populace we are unable to learn much from Pococke's writings, since he only reinforces his previous statements, saying that the nobles were using most of their land to herd animals, and so kept the land, as important and lucrative income source, in their own care. In his description he pays great attention to the exotic, such as the shape of the sheep's horn. This was the tool used—showing the different and the exotic—, to wake up the interest of the reader at home, forming a very important part of the travel descriptions of the time. The description of Székesfehérvár in his view was very peculiar, saying "*We arrived at Stool-Weissenburg [Székesfehérvár], the air of this place is very bad, being situated in a great morass, which continues a considerable way on each side of the river Sarwitz [Sárvíz] as far as Symontornya [Simontornya]*" (Pococke 1745: 249). Other than that, he only mentioned the buildings of the time of Ottoman domination.

In 1772 Zorn de Bulach wrote more elaborately about his experience while travelling in Transdanubia. He travelled the road alongside the Danube, and leaving Buda he wrote about the scenery where well-worked farmlands and huge swamps fell in line. Ercsi, Adony and the other villages of the area were more

21 Mary Wortley Montague (1689–1762).

22 Richard Pococke (1704–1765), solicitor, preacher and Jeremiah Milles (1714–1784), theologian, preacher.

impoverished than those he saw along the way from Vienna to Buda. His notes on the fertility of the land and on its lack of use, were already quoted above, but he repeated that he saw villages with huge borderlands, and that he also saw huge abandoned fallows. About the populace he wrote that both because of natural breeding and immigration, its numbers were swelling, but the nobles were regarding this with distaste, since the amount of land available for herding—their major income—was reduced by it (Birkás 1932: 11). The ethnic multitude of the landscape is described as follows:

Until now the policy was to accept people from all nations, the main ones being the Hungarians and the Germans, as well as Croats, Raziens, Egyptians [Gypsies], Jews, some Valacs, and each and every one, like in Esclavonic, has its own tongue, the dominant one being the Hungarian (Birkás 1932: 13).

Besides clothing, he was interested in the lifestyle and circumstances of the people. He observed that while on the western parts of Transdanubia people started living in brick houses, in the eastern parts people still built their huts out of mud bricks. He formed the opinion that the people were living under very simple and modest circumstances, but they were perfectly suitable to be a farmer or a soldier, only the Austrians did not know how to handle them (Birkás 1932: 14).

In the same year Carl Gottlieb Windisch²³ published his encyclopedic work, which said about the county that it was inhabited by both Hungarians and Germans, but also Slavs (Slaven) were living here in small number. Besides describing the history of Székesfehérvár, it also mentioned the Jesuit college, the Franciscans and the church of the Carmelite order. It contained a couple of words about Csíkvár, but only as a fort during the Ottoman domination, and Mór, Sárkeresztúr, Adony and Ercsi were included together as insignificant villages (Windisch 1772: 68–69).

The changes as they happened in the county during the 18th century are clearly visible in the descriptions of the foreigners. At the beginning of the century villages with huge borderlands and huge pastures, far away from each other were the characteristics of the county. There were visibly huge fallow lands, forests, bushes and water logged areas, reclaimed by nature, because of the small numbers of the people. The idea that it was more lucrative to keep the land in one hand and use it for herding animals than building villages, was also incorporated into the description of Bulach in 1772, and had already been noted in local sources before that time. This remained the typical form of agriculture in the southern part of the county, putting its mark on the resettlement there. The villagers were living in poverty, and in their descriptions the foreign observers remarked the

23 Carl Gottlieb Windisch (1725–1793), salesman, self-taught, publisher and historian.

differences in building habits of the ethnically diverse populace. As a curiosity, the ethnic diversity, shaped by the resettlement policies, always gained an important role in the descriptions. Windisch could not mention one important village or town in the southern parts of the county, which is in accordance with Bullach's and other coevals' observations.

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The Myth-Shaping Power of a Past Vision of the Future¹

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Abstract. The creation of an era itself, as rhetoric of time, creates the otherness from which it builds up its own borders. Thus the creation of an era goes hand in hand with identity formation. The beginning of the 20th century, as the boundary of an era, appears as such a self-reflective moment in the life of Târgu Mureş. The study aims at presenting the social, economic and cultural changes of this period, notably the time when György Bernády was the mayor, the most significant period of urbanization of the town, the moment of the conscious designation of the above mentioned boundary of an era. It makes an attempt to grasp the beginning of the powerful personality cult of the former mayor; it analyzes those strategies of canonization and discourses that have played a key role in the process of the myth-formation of the hero and its time. In this era the process of György Bernády's raising to the status of a cultural hero took place. The articles, which appeared in the local press, give a clear-cut image about what kind of judgements and appreciations have developed about the city and its councillor, as well as the infrastructural and cultural development.

Keywords: cult, canon, discourse, hero, identity

1. Introduction

In Târgu Mureş (Romania) the local elite tries to capture the past through the memory of György Bernády, the urbanization at the beginning of the 20th century and the prosperous time, it aims to ensure that the past does not disappear without a trace, but it connects to the future. After the 1989 revolution the cult of

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György Bernády, as a significant part of the mechanism of identity preservation and amplification, suddenly gained momentum. The so-called invisible memory mechanisms that focus on the strong points of the past are extremely important to community life. In Târgu Mureş this strong point of the past is the period between 1902 and 1913, when the city, due to the organizational work of mayor György Bernády, cast off its former provincial peculiarities and became the scene of major infrastructural and developmental changes. The question, however, is how the society of the era lived to see the change, was it aware that it was the participant in the turn of an era? From what perspective, whose point of view can we talk about the moment of rebirth of the city? To what extent are the figure of György Bernády and the concept of the turning of an era connected? What image did they form about the leader of the city?

In my study I am making an attempt to analyse the events of the past through which the Hungarian political elite of Târgu Mureş seeks to define the collective identity of the Hungarian-speaking community. I am examining those events and phenomena at the beginning of the 20th century which can be considered the antecedents of the cult mentioned above, I am trying to grasp the development of the role of the hero, and answer the question: where could we pinpoint the beginning of the cult? Can we talk about cult in this era?

2. Interpretive framework, methodology and resources

The characteristics and attitudes through which the intellectuals aim to create the image of the town leader at the beginning of the 20th century, can be well determined on the basis of the studied materials. The content analysis method proved to be the most efficient in the examination of characteristics and relationships. Klaus Krippendorff presents the well-defined steps of content analysis: data preparation that includes the definition of the unit, sampling and data recording; data reduction; conclusion; analysis (Krippendorff 1995). I am aiming to follow this in my paper.

My study covers the period when György Bernády was mayor for the first time, the years between 1902 and the end of 1912, a period that is remembered as the most intensive and the most productive. Of the periodicals that appeared at the time, I reviewed the political paper called *Székely Lapok*, published between 1900 and 1910; a paper that, beginning with the year 1910, was united with the paper called *Napló* and was renamed *Székely Napló*. Initially this paper published its articles in a pro-governmental tone, then, due to an editorial change, it became a paper of the opposition, later on using again a pro-governmental voice. Another political paper I have reviewed that also appeared in 1902, called *Székelység*, went through the same change; after an editorial change in 1906, after a change

of views and name, it appeared under the name of *Székely Ellenzék* until 1918. These two newspapers proved to have the greatest life span in the period I have studied. The mixed-content periodicals I have reviewed that had a shorter span of life are *Maros-Vásárhely* (1911–1913) and *Közérdek* (1903–1904); the former one favours the mayor's activity, the latter one disapproves of it. From the materials I have reviewed I have extracted the ones that dealt directly with the person and activity of György Bernády.

Using one of the techniques of analysis recommended by Krippendorff, my research is attempting to find out how the symbolic image of the mayor was formed in the studied era. The analysis can be approached from two directions: from the direction of the attributes, the frequency profiles, distribution peculiarities as well as from the direction of associations (Krippendorff 1995: 120–122).

Concerning the figure of György Bernády, the former viewpoint is the one with chances of success, because this is the one that highlights the characteristics, the relationships, the background of the studied person. With this technique I will systematically show the characteristics of the mayor, what people consider important to be told about him, in what context his name appears.

3. What kind of image does the contemporary press market about György Bernády and his era?

In order to clarify the imagery referring to the beginning of the cult, I have summed up the facts in tables, i.e. the types of newspapers, the journalists and the genre of the articles about György Bernády: what they write about him and in what manner. A total of 311 articles have been analysed. In the following I will bring forward a few steps of content analysis. But before that I will outline the most important events of György Bernády's first mayoralty so that it will become clear in the course of the analysis what events the press discusses or, eventually, what events are being left out of the discourse.

3.0. Bernády's biographical events and public appearances between 1902–1913

György Bernády was born on the 10th of April 1864; he came from a family of pharmacists. As a child he moved with his family to Târgu Mureş. He graduated from the Presbyterian College in Târgu Mureş after which he continued his studies in Cluj, then in Budapest. First he acquired his PhD in Pharmacy, then also in Law and Politics. After his studies he became an apothecary, then soon he became involved in public life as a parliamentarian, he was a municipal member in 1890

and in 1900 he held the position of police superintendent. For several decades he worked as a chief curator of the Reformed Church in the Castle Church and the Reformed College. He was elected mayor in 1902 (Marosi 2006: 72). For the first time he was mayor until 1913, then he was Lord Lieutenant for five years. Based on political-party agreement he was reelected mayor between 1926 and 1929 (Pál-Antal 2007: 13). From 1926 he became a Member of Parliament of Maros-Torda County. In 1930 he left the National Hungarian Party and formed the Democratic Civic Bloc, thus continuing to participate in the political process. Although he continued to work faithfully for the interest of his own nation, ethnicity, the inhabitants of Târgu Mureş mostly remember him as Mayor Bernády. He died in Târgu Mureş on the 22nd of October 1938.

At the moment of his taking the mayor's office the population of Târgu Mureş was 19,522 souls, which by 1910 increased by almost 6,000 people, and continued growing in the following year (Varga 2007). At the beginning of his career he applied for huge amounts of money, which he used to launch enterprises. In 1903, for the first time in 80 years the city ended the financial year with a profit. Thus the city became creditworthy. Modernisation occurred mainly in the city's layout design. Over a period of 15 years more than 3,000 land parcelling, measurement, purchase, or expropriation were prepared and implemented (Marosi 2006: 21). The entire city and its borders were re-mapped, land books were settled, then they opened and modernized 117 streets and squares, several hundred acres were turned into parks.

This was the time when the sewage system was developed and street lighting was installed as well as major public buildings were constructed. The Maros river was regulated, weirs, dams, artificial channels and bridges were built; a water treatment plant, reservoirs, a sewage treatment plant were established; the city was supplied with plumbing, an electric plant was established, a gas plant, a steam-dryer brick factory and warehouses were built. For those who wanted to establish industrial companies, factories, significant land and customs duty reduction, construction materials and transportation benefits were granted. Sixteen small and medium-large plants were established; this is when the paraffin refinery, a number of customs houses, greenhouses and nurseries were built. One of the most modern public slaughterhouses of the time was equipped in 1904. This is when the Chamber of Commerce, the Pension Palace and the Art Nouveau style City Hall was built. Thus public life went through a period of significant modernization.

György Bernády's modernizing activity created space in many cases for civil leisure activities as well. A cold bath for summer and later on a warm steam bath were opened. They started to build up the Somostető, the restaurant and the shooting range were inaugurated, at the same time picnic areas with fireplaces were established. The newly built bank of the Maros river also became appropriate for weekend recreation and collective picnics in the city.

At the same time a range of educational, social and cultural institutions were established: the orphanage, five elementary schools in the city's various districts, the civil school (now the Technical University), later the High School for Commerce [Felsőkereskedelmi] (also a technical university today), a grammar school for girls, (now Papiu Ilarian high school), the administration school, the military school (now the Medical University). The city music school, the public library and art gallery were founded, and in the last years of peace the Cultural Palace closed the list, thus creating the modern city centre of Târgu Mureş (Szepessy 1993: 20–21).

As soon as the institutions were established, cultural events began, so in 1909, through György Bernády's intercession, the first symphonic concert took place. The societies and associations created in the second half of the 19th century continued to function actively, their number increased with new ones. An increasing number of theatrical performances were held, at the same time sports-life flourished as well (Flórián 2003–2007). Newspapers also had their heydays in György Bernády's time. Anyone could acquire a license to found a newspaper for a low price (Sebestyén 1999).

György Bernády also took significant steps in order to preserve the national and local memory. On his initiative Ferenc Rákóczy II's bust was erected in 1907. A few years later, in 1912, a Petőfi-column was unveiled with a relief depicting Petőfi on it. These as well as other earlier erected monuments were removed after Bernády's mayoralty, after the change of the state system (Gagyí 2000: 88).

Three bank buildings were constructed in the first decade of the 1900s, the Austro-Hungarian Bank, the Albina Bank and the Agricultural Bank (Marosi 2004). It is all due to Bernády's administrative and organizing ability.

3.1. What media genres were used?

I have classified the analyzed texts into genres based mainly on the categorizations found in the specialized literature of present-day communication science³ (see their summary: Szirmai 1997). Additionally, there were many texts that cannot be concretely located, being the final result of a multi-genre mix. The existence and frequency of certain genres depend on the image of the newspaper, too. There are several pieces of news in the political newspapers, for example, about the mayor, while in the mixed-content papers they do not reflect the work of the city leader at all.

3 According to the literary classification of the genres listed, the news, announcements and reports are included in the information genre group, the editorial, the commentary, the gloss, the note and the pamphlet belong to the journalistic or opinion-communicating genre categories, while the readers' letters, the portfolio, the satire and the subject picture are part of the group of associated genres (see: Szirmai 1997).

As seen in *Table 1*, it becomes clear that the most common genre in which the mayor's name appears is the news (a total of 96), by which every inhabitant of the city may learn about the mayor's public activity. The news is not merely reporting the larger-scale activities, but in many cases it covers smaller journeys, not too serious sicknesses. The genres of announcements and reports were written with the same purpose, but they were longer in size. They are individual notifications from which it becomes clear that the journalist attended the event. The second most common genre about György Bernády is the 77-times occurring editorial, which is present in an emphasized quantity in each reviewed newspaper, whether government or opposition oriented. In the former case the editorials write in a positive tone about the mayor, while the latter pass judgment, emboss his flaws. Notes follow editorials in frequency; their number is forty-two, usually they express the author's private opinion in addition to the event presented as news. They are followed by reports (a total of 19), then a mix of notes and reports (a total of 15 articles). The genre of announcement occurs 13 times and so does the mix of news and notes. Genres with less than 10 occurrences: the commentary, the gloss, the readers' letters/ open letters, the pamphlet, the portfolio, the satire, the subject picture, the advertisement, texts taken from other newspapers, as well as mixed genres. Thus the activity of the mayor appears mostly in the informative genre group, it is closely followed by the journalistic writings, and finally a smaller amount of related genres group.

The fact that both György Bernády as a person and the events related to him are dealt with in such a wide scale of genres proves that quite a lot of attention was paid to his person.

Table 1.

Genres of newspapers	Székely Lapok/ Székely Napló	Székelység / Székely Ellenzék	Közérdek 1903–1904	Maros- Vásárhely 1911–1913	Total
	1902–1912	1902–1912			
News	54	42	-	-	96
Announcement	10	3	-	-	13
Reports	6	8	-	5	19
Editorials	47	18	9	3	77
Commentary	7	2	-	-	9
Gloss	1	2	-	-	3
Notes	35	5	-	2	42
Readers'/ open letter	3	-	-	1	4
Pamphlet	3	-	-	-	3
Portfolio	2	-	-	-	2

Genres of newspapers	Székely Lapok/ Székely Napló 1902–1912	Székelység / Székely Ellenzék 1902–1912	Közérdek 1903–1904	Maros- Vásárhely 1911–1913	Total
Satire	2	-	-	-	2
Taken from other papers	2	1	-	2	5
Advertisement	1	-	-	-	1
Subject picture	-	-	-	1	1
Mixed genres	20	8	4	1	33

3.2. What is the nature of the articles?

While documenting the texts I also paid attention to the direction of the judgment they have formulated related to the mayor and his activity. Whether the texts are filled with positive, negative meanings or they are just communicating facts without any judgment. Thus I have classified the texts according to their nature as appreciative, condemning or fact-transmitting; two fictional texts were also reported.

The question may arise why the number of fact-transmitting texts does not match the number of informational texts mentioned in the table above which, according to their definition, are supposed to be fact-transmitting. This is so because in the contemporary journalistic practice the authors' opinions left their marks on the merely fact-transmitting writings as well; we may sometime deduce this from the specific phrasing or an adjective here or there, or from the tone of the writing.

Based on *Table 2*, the appreciative texts occur 184 times, i.e. twice as many times as the condemning texts, and many times more than the condemning and fact-transmitting texts together. The number of the condemning texts is 80, and that of the fact-transmitting ones is 45. This indicates that the presentation of the figure of the mayor is not unequivocally appreciative but it is controversial. If we regard the percentage of occurrence of the articles containing the three types of judgments, it turns out that 51% of the texts of the data are appreciative, 25.7% are condemning and 14.4% are fact-transmitting. Therefore, in most cases, the journalists appreciate György Bernády's person and activity. Considering the opinion-forming impact of the media, there may have been readers, inhabitants of the city who recognized György Bernády's qualities. But we can only draw this conclusion from the writing containing this kind of information.

The question may arise how the above-mentioned judgments may change over time, whether the positive view is strengthened or the criticism becomes more frequent. It turns out from the examined newspaper articles that the

modification of the judgment has nothing to do with the passage of time but in each case it depends on the political orientation of the newspaper. This means that the government supporting texts are approving, while the opposition's are condemning, regardless of whether they appear at the beginning or at the end of György Bernády's mayoralty. The frequency of the fact-transmitting texts is proportionally divided in the newspapers.

Table 2.

Type of article	Székely Lapok / Székely Napló 1902–1912	Székelység / Székely Ellenzék 1902–1912	Közérdek 1903–1904	Maros-Vásárhely 1911–1913	Total
Appreciative	105	64	-	15	184
Condemning	62	6	12	-	80
Fact-transmitting	24	19	1	1	45
Fiction	2	-	-	-	2

3.3. Who participates in the discourse about Bernády?

The following aspect of the analysis is connected with the previous train of thought, i.e. the investigation of who is the one who formulated the judgment in the given texts, and thus who participates in the discourse about the mayor.

In most cases, the opinion of the author is mirrored in the article. Generally, the editor himself was the author; therefore, the judgments mostly disclose the conviction of the editors. They were all, with only a few exceptions, members of the Municipal Government Committee, so they were closely familiar with the happenings in the city. The articles often publish the details of the record, speeches that were delivered and recorded in the meetings, welcoming speeches at ceremonies, etc. In these cases, the author of the judgment is the speaker, not the editor. There are several texts that contain the opinion of someone else besides the editor; this explains the fact that if we add up all the cases in which someone expresses an opinion about the mayor, then we obtain a much larger number than the number of the studied texts.

Table 3 shows clearly that those who form opinions and share their opinions with the public are nearly all representatives of urban intellectuals, members of the city administration and local politicians. We can find 272 cases of opinions expressed by editors/authors; they are followed in frequency by value judgments of people in different executive positions in the city, clerks, members of the municipality, people working in offices, teachers, priests. We have found examples of this in 40 texts. Then, with 13 occurrences, Bernády's superiors follow in the line, amongst which most of the time we can enumerate the prefect, different ministers, ministerial

councillors, in one case the Emperor Franz Joseph and the Prime-Minister László Lukács. The author of the texts refers in 10 cases to the positive or negative judgment of the citizens of the city, i.e. the judgments of the public in the city, all the citizens of the city, its people, passers-by. In the same amount of texts we find examples of the appreciation of various associations, societies, circles, unions, where György Bernády was either the president, or founding member, or member. In 7 articles the leaders of some institutions take sides with the mayor, such as bank managers, priests, newspaper editors. In 6 texts the support of the mayor's friends, acquaintances, admirers, supporters and relatives appears. Finally, in 5 cases the author writes about the positive attitude of the famous personalities or noblemen of the city. Actually this group may coincide with any other group. However, it is important to point it out, because it also emphasizes that we get acquainted with the image of the mayor, formed from the perspective of the Hungarian-speaking intellectuals, at the beginning of the 20th century.

Table 3.

The participants at the discourse about Bernády	Székely Lapok / Székely Napló 1902–1912	Székelység / Székely Ellenzék 1902–1912	Közérdek 1903–1904	Maros-Vásárhely 1911–1913	Total
The author/ editor	172	76	13	11	272
Bernády György's superiors	8	3	-	2	13
Noble personalities	5	-	-	-	5
Leaders of institutes	6	1	-	-	7
Societies, members of companies	6	4	-	-	10
The leaders of the city, officials, members of the Municipal Committee	18	17	-	5	40
Friends, acquaintances, supporters, relatives	2	4	-	-	6
The citizens	7	2	-	1	10

3.4. What qualities does the press present about György Bernády?

One of the most important moments of the analysis is the systematic presentation of György Bernády's displayed attributes, which may reveal what image of the mayor was alive in his era, or what image of him the local elite tried to market.

Table 4 shows that there are 124 newspaper articles in which the authors present advantageous attributes, and 70 in which negative attributes are presented. As can be seen, the former is a lot more frequent, thus we can again draw the conclusion that the contemporary media attempts to emphasize György Bernády's positive side, it creates and markets a positive image of him.

Table 4.

Bernády György's qualities	Székely Lapok / Székely Napló 1902–1912	Székelység / Székely Ellenzék 1902–1912	Közérdek 1903–1904	Maros-Vásárhely 1911–1913	Total
Favourable	70	42	-	12	124
Unfavourable	53	4	13	-	70

The displayed favourable attributes can be divided into five groups. The first group contains general positive personality traits: conscientious, thorough, purposeful, brave, hard-working, ambitious, altruistic, he is characterized by willpower, perseverance; self-respecting, masculine, open, courageous, honest, trustworthy, self-sacrificing, work-loving, calm-voiced, aristocratically humble and proud, careful, generous, self-confident, strong and fair. The second group is related to his work as a mayor: zealous, energetic, a cognizant of public life, talented, experienced, a good organizer, a man of work, a genius, the first man of the city, thrifty, father of the city, role model, tireless, man of action, iron man, having endless energy, no limits, well-respected, enthusiast, proficient in educating people, working with super-human powers for the benefit and progress of the city, he is characterized by genuine style, wise moderation, economical, the master of winning hearts, the re-creator of Târgu Mureş, always making sense, his life is an unremitting struggle, unrivalled creative talent. The third group includes those characteristics that apply to his environment's relationship with him: lovable, sympathetic, he is characterized by warm heart, subtle sense, excellence, valuable personality, peacemaker, distinguished, dignified, first, the most prominent mayor, the head of a big family, having a strong power of suggestion, and he is all heart, all soul. The fourth group would be the attributes that prove his patriotism: the grand master that tends to the national ideals, true antique Hungarian, ardent apostle of the Hungarian culture, servant of the Hungarian national ideal, he reveals real love towards his race, and he is a patriot. And finally comes the group of magnified, exaggerated favourable attributes: his name is magic, he has superhuman strength,

the Doge of Venice, his name is a concept, he is a head taller than the crowd, he is an uncrowned king, miracle man, a Christ-like role-model.

The series of unfavourable attributes is also long but it does not catch up with the number of favourable features. They can be categorized almost in the same way. First the general negative attributes can be mentioned: too passionate, plenipotentiary, “brilliant”, “modest”, roistering, conceited, stubborn, luxurious, violent, ill-minded, wary of his honour, self-absorbed, “polite”, a wanton, bold, vain, selfish, strong-handed, crazy, substandard, rude, indifferent, actor, mentally strong, “innocent as a newborn goat kid”, careful in his own interest, unjust, a pup, inexcusably frivolous. The negative traits regarding his work as a city official and his political work are as follows: he encumbers the citizens with additional taxes, he does not know the laws, he is politically spineless, he makes it impossible to be in the opposition, he is the main bartender at the water-supplies, he is a maniac builder, he washes his hands as a Pilate, excellent juggler, he only struggles for laurels, he withdraws from responsibility, he is reckless, he is too hurried, he does not properly plan his work, his longing to build is a disease. The group of unfavourable attributes that refer to his environment: he is an arbitrary lord and commander, a shepherd, he is afraid of the press, the “beloved György Bernády”, “the city’s respectable and amiable mayor”, “he harbours goodwill towards the citizens”, his hands are pulling towards himself. The group of unfavourable attributes referring to his patriotic deeds contains the nation-eater and Vlach-eater (Romanian-eater) qualities. And finally, in the group of the unfavourable attributes, too, one can find phrasings that denote magnified, exaggerated attributes: Frankó of Târgu Mureş, Caesar, podesta (authority), the valiant György Bernády, almighty, king, despot, he has magic power, sphinx-man, Lord Bernády, Spartan character, Louis XIV’s slogan suits him: “I am the City”, Israel.

Judging on the basis of the enumerated attributes we may determine two poles of the image created about György Bernády. One of them is an attitude depicting György Bernády as a saint, the other attitude is the hazing, de-sacralizing of the saint. The people on György Bernády’s side present him in a biased manner as a benevolent, dedicated leader, ready to do anything for the city, one who sacrifices himself for the public interest, while the people representing the other side turn these qualities to the opposite pole, highlighting the activities, behaviour that do not put the mayor in a good light.

It is worth noting that the texts containing the favourable attributes almost never reflect György Bernády’s wantingness, while the authors of the texts presenting the unfavourable attributes give voice several times to the fact that they recognize the results and the personality of the mayor, but the objections are not negligible either. The numerous elite groups, the inhabitants of the city holding leading functions, as well the intellectuals certainly present him as the local national hero who had “re-created” Târgu Mureş on the altar of the Hungarian culture.

3.5. How does the environment relate to György Bernády?

There are many texts in the reviewed press that display a certain attitude of György Bernády's environment towards the mayor. Congruent with the earlier findings of the analysis here, too, the attitude of the political elite in the immediate surroundings of György Bernády is the most visible. The reception of the city residents can be observed from the point of view of the authors of the texts.

Generally, the members of the Municipal Committee, the city aldermen receive the mayor's activities, life events with greetings, warm welcome, salute, cheers, applause, acclamation, banquettes, toasts, serenades, the usual good wishes, huzzah hosannas, noisy cheers, unadulterated enthusiasm, joy, satisfaction, even homage, and his words are received kindly. When György Bernády prepares to leave his mayoralty for other political activities, they express their disappointment; they politely protest against his political campaigning, they demonstrate so that Bernády should remain. He is surrounded by love shown as to the head of the family; his person is girdled with admiration. It is even stated in a meeting that there is not even one person in the opposition who would disapprove of the mayor's suggestions. During the tragic events in his life his environment's feelings are defined by undivided love and condolences. As other reactions of the people, the public's support with sympathy, trust, true esteem, public affection, appreciation, gratitude and pride of the citizens of Târgu Mureș, great attention, support and sacrifice are mentioned. Overflowing joy is often seen on behalf of the authors, their disbelief against gossip, in two cases even blessings occur. The immortalization of the mayor's name on plaques appears as another appreciative attitude. The government's multiple benevolence, thoughtfulness and generosity are also expressed; from other cities envy is experienced. It is mentioned that he was defamed as well, but this event pales in comparison with the love surrounding him.

The authors of the articles reflecting the negative attitude repeatedly question the authenticity of the recognition, the plaques, they express their gloat upon the failure of Bernády's plan; they are concerned about the welfare of the citizens. They express their disbelief, mistrust regarding the city's finances. Not once do they highlight their grievances, their hatred due to additional taxes, express their own and the citizens' indignation, draw attention to the dangers of infatuation. They write about accusations which are caused by the mayor's racketeering, intentions to bribe, threats. In press reports about trials they portray György Bernády as a slanderer. They often present the high respect surrounding the mayor in an ironical way: Bernády is surrounded on all sides by the halo of undivided appreciation; people sing hosannas and hymns to him, idolize him, and all of this is an attempt to weaken the opposition and to favour the emergence of cliques. According to the authors, the members of the Municipal Committee are asleep; they do not notice how the mayor manipulates them.

Figures show that in the texts positive attitudes occur more frequently than negative ones. We find positive opinions about the mayor and his activity in 129 cases and negative ones only in 30 cases.

Table 5.

The approach expressed in the article	Székely Lapok / Székely Napló 1902–1912	Székelység / Székely Ellenzék 1902–1912	Közérdek 1903–1904	Maros-Vásárhely 1911–1913	Total
Positive	62	56	-	11	129
Negative	15	3	12	-	30

3.6. To what extent is the turn of the era conscious?

The period determined by György Bernády's person and activity meant a turn of an era for Târgu Mureş. This is attested by the cult existing today in the town, the contemporary discourses about him. In macro-historic dimensions Bernády's importance is of lesser significance than the local elite confer to him but in the city's past the beginning of the 20th century is definitely a landmark period. By looking back on the past or creating the past, the contemporary historical consciousness makes its own "spatiality" temporal, coexistence or timelessness with the rhetoric of time (Kulcsár-Szabó 2000: 102). That is, at the same time we talk about an identity-shaping process. This is observable in the fact that "self-reinforcement", "self-renewal" are naturally inherent in the various events, commemorations (Kulcsár-Szabó 2000: 103). However, the question is still there: when was this turn of the era marked for the first time?

Zoltán Kulcsár-Szabó notes in his study that the end of the 19th century ascended to the rank of a special cultural-historical era. While the situation at the end of the century in itself brought about the notion of decadence, the beginning of the century brought the demand for a revival. This explains the action-movement nature of the debut of the Art Nouveau in the era, which is quite obvious in the case of Târgu Mureş as well (cf. Kulcsár-Szabó 2000: 96). György Bernády's work started with rebuilding intentions, as it is evidenced in the excerpt of his often-cited inaugural speech: "Let the deeply respected Council vest me with the trust, the right of regulations and the Seal and I will build a new city for you" (see Marosi 2006). His work started with the consciousness of the need for renewal and the characteristics of the current trend at the turn of the century. The Transylvanian cities in this period begin to be urbanized, this is the moment when the new paths of urbanization develop, which try to resolve the urban-rural division; meanwhile the theory of "small home in the big home" still circulates according to which the city is the miniature double of the national home (Sonkoly 2001: 162–163). We can see that György Bernády took all these

facts into consideration for the city's development, while he was aware that he was creating for the future, and his environment acknowledged this.

We often find references to the future, to the turn of the era in the discourses appearing in the press; they are present 27 times in the corpus I have studied.

Table 6.

	Székely Lapok / Székely Napló 1902–1912	Székelység / Székely Ellenzék 1902–1912	Közérdek 1903–1904	Maros- Vásárhely 1911–1913	Total
References to the turn of the century	14	6	1	6	27

In the course of the analysis it becomes clear that in Târgu Mureș, at the beginning of the 20th century, urbanization takes place in the spirit of a conscious creation of an era, thus emphasizing the—in itself—boundary-forming process of the turn of the century. Despite the fact that the creation of an era is the product of historical reflection, the era-consciousness of the prosperous time will approach the future, in this case the post 1990 era-consciousness. According to Zoltán Kulcsár-Szabó, the present-time era-consciousness is not able to select “the great events” from the multitude of events, but then the analyzed texts reflect the fact that the ten-year productive mayoralty of György Bernády—from the beginning of his work as a mayor till its end—is definitely recognized as a boundary which the city's Hungarian ethnic intellectuals begin to remember again after 1990 (Kulcsár-Szabó 2000: 92). This is proved by the allusions published in the newspapers, the first of which I discovered in the *Székely Lapok* of the year 1903: “...because there are signs that his government signified an era in the history of Târgu Mureș!” (*Székely Lapok*, 4 April 1903) It is also clear in the contemporary discourse that the above mentioned era-boundary cannot be separated from the mayor's name: “*This work, which is the starting place of the evolving Székely culture, is undeniably the great merit of Mayor Dr Bernády, it marks a notable turning point in the cultural history of the Székely capital, which will remain in an inseparable connection with dr György Bernády's name.*” (*Székely Lapok*, 28 October 1909)

Thus, from a retrospective point of view, the period between 1902 and 1913, the time of György Bernády's mayoralty, was definitely a confine which the contemporary leader of the city and his environment consciously plan, appoint, figuratively speaking, hand over to the future. The post-1900 city-history discourse, the identity preservation that is organized around it, reaches out for it. The expressive definition of the phenomenon is made possible by the fact that during the almost ninety years that passed between the two periods there were less opportunities to talk about the age of development of the city. Immediately after the mentioned ten years, until the end of György Bernády's life, one can still grasp the

pursuit for the development of the cult; however, after this, the constant changes, the new political system sank the memory of the conditions from the beginning of the century. After 1990, as soon as an opportunity arose for the identity-preserving actions of the Hungarian ethnics of the city, Bernády's era emerged immediately as an exemplary era with its own leading personalities, aspirations, ambitions similar to those formulated by the representatives of the democratic system.

3.7. The legacy of content analysis

As a conclusion of the line of thought above we may state that the different segments of the local society experienced differently the significant changes that occurred at the beginning of the 20th century in Târgu Mureş. The political elite that supported the alderman, turning the mayor into a hero, spoke with recognition about the era of modernization, while, according to the texts, the city residents were forced to put up with the heavy load of taxes, with the rules and regulations that influenced their subsistence, the constantly uncomfortable circumstances due to the city's process of modernization. Nevertheless, in the examined media discourses the mayor and his activity appear mostly in a positive light. The urban community is certainly aware of the fact that they are experiencing an age of change, a significant period in the history of the city.

The image of the city and that of the mayor are created by intellectuals. From their point of view we may talk about the moment of rebirth of the city, which is clearly linked to the activity of György Bernády as a mayor. The image of the mayor is not free from errors, but in most cases he is depicted as a local hero who is fighting for the uplifting of Târgu Mureş from an economic, cultural and administrative point of view, a hero that will most certainly be remembered by posterity.

4. Summary: the establishment of the cult, the age of hero creation

The findings, according to which the ten years of city building mayoralty of György Bernády could be considered the beginning of Bernády's cult, belong to the historical cult, and can only be interpreted as such in the light of the definition of cult.

Péter Dávidházi defines cult as attitudes, habits and language distinguished from the concept of culture. That feature of the cult, according to which it consists of the diligence of participation in the rites and compliance with life-governing regulations, is not missing from their interpretation (Dávidházi 2003: 110). This aspect is not present at all in the presumed contemporary cult creation, since, in

order to do this, it lacks the necessary distance in time from the given phenomenon. Still, one of the most important moments of cult-attendance is the series of ritual-ceremonial acts associated with the object of reverence which bears significance, meaning to a specific community (cf. Lakner 2005: 16). The cult of personality, on the one hand, presumes a well-known person who has a lasting impact on a community, and this community manifests an unreasonable, unprincipled praise towards him (see *Hungarian Explanatory Dictionary* 2001: 800). On the other hand, it is important that this praise should become palpable in deeds (Povedák 2009). In György Bernády's case, his impact on the community is given, but we cannot talk about such a manifestation in the cult-creating group, in the best case we can talk about separate opportunities for celebration, which are always brought along by the specific situation. However, they are not ritualistic in nature.

Examining the models of cult-research, József Takáts mentions a possible explanation that "cults that are non-religious in character attend to express a sort of reverence that is not simply oriented toward a person (or persons), but toward the significance that a community accredits to this person's works, deeds, life or way of life. This sort of reverence is bound to a hierarchical concept of the human world: they do not regard themselves equals with the subject of their reverence, but they consider him as an example, as their superior. When expressing reverence, the cultural memory of the community is activated, mobilizing such language-behavioral kits, a 'terminology' that, according to the cultural memory, were once decisively sacral (Takáts 2003: 291). We can validate this explanation in the examination of the personality cult from the beginning of the 20th century, as we talk about the reverence of the activity of a person regarded as an example. When formulating reverence he is often spoken of in sacral idioms. However, this is still not enough to undisputedly talk about a cult from the beginning of the 20th century. I would rather call the revealed phenomenon the foundation of a future cult.

All the more, the process of hero-creation is obvious. According to the Hungarian Ethnographic Encyclopedia the hero is such a positive or negative character who is always in the focus of the story and represents the ideal type of a community. Every era creates its own ideal type (*Hungarian Ethnographic Encyclopedia* 1987: 640). This is also exemplified by the etymology of the word. Although the term 'hero' has its roots in the distant past, its modern sense is in a close connection with the 19th-century nation-building efforts. By this time the meaning of the word is transformed and it begins to approach the concept of nation, as opposed to the previous meaning of saint, martyr. In the antiquity the term 'hero' referred to the characters of myths, epics that possessed exceptional qualities (Centlivres – Fabre – Zonabend 1998: 234-235). In the Middle Ages the saints panoplied with exceptional virtues were described as heroes. Finally, during the Renaissance and Humanism the term gained a new meaning, those great men were named 'heroes' (*grande homme*) who themselves were the embodiments of

good examples and their virtues rested on the moral norms of civil community. Thus, the *grande homme* was equivalent with the useful leader for the society and people (Centlivres-Fabre-Zonabend 1998: 238). The change in the meaning of the word reflects the fact that the definitions of the concepts change with the age and context, the hero can usually be interpreted as a representation of the interests of a particular social group. According to this approach we may call György Bernády the representative of the interests of the local social group, such a hero or great man who carries out activities that are beneficial for his community, therefore he receives recognition. The general finding in literature, concerning the birth of a hero and his characterization, also applies to him, according to which his memory is directed toward future generations in order to create an example to follow. He fits among the heroes of current time (in our case, the beginning of the 20th century), who are real people who become models for the young generation, having a real social reception (Centlivres-Fabre-Zonabend 1998).

In this light, therefore, György Bernády becomes the local national hero of his age, being recognized by his environment, the city's leading aristocracy, due to his modernizing activity in such a way as to provide a basis for the future development of a personality cult.

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The Representation of the Self-Concepts Within the Adventist Romani Community from Etéd

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Abstract. In this paper I will present the process of representing concepts of the self within the Adventist Romani community from Etéd (Atid, Romania). I especially draw attention to the religious and ethnic aspects of these self-representations. My questions are closely related to the attitude of the Romani community towards their own tradition and culture, more specifically, to what motivated them to convert and how this fact affects their self-image and lifestyle. The starting point of this paper is the assumption that if a community that is stigmatized by society joins a religious group, then not only their religious identity changes but also their lifestyle. Through this process we can observe the changes to the old, stigmatized lifestyle that occurred through the process of conversion.

I consider the self-representations as *collective representations* because the members of the community (Adventists and non-Adventists alike) show the same positive shift of the Romani self-image. They regard themselves as religious Romanies. In my paper I analyze the main points of the collective representation which are close to a positive self-image. These are: 1. the changed moral figure 2. the altered image of the institution of marriage 3. the Romani who can write and read 4. the rich Romani 5. the Romani who distances himself from other Romani communities 6. the Romani who shows a uniform image of his community.

Keywords: Gábor Romani, self-concepts, collective representation, ethnicity, religion

Introductory remarks

The following article is a shortened version of a case study in my PhD dissertation that deals with the influence of religious conversion on the value-system and life-conduct of Romani communities in the Transylvanian village of Kőrispatak

1 The quotes from Hungarian specialist literature have been translated by the author.

(Crișeni) and its surroundings.² The main question of my dissertation was whether and in what ways will customary forms of Hungarian-Romani relations change under the influence of religious conversion, and how these changes relate to the changed mentality and life-conduct. While the village of Kőrispatak has only about 600 inhabitants, the three main historical churches (Protestant, Unitarian, Catholic) have coexisted there with three important small religious communities for the last 100 years.³ These are the two splinter groups of Jehova's Witnesses and the True Faith Jehova's Witnesses (unified until 1962 as Jehova's Witnesses)⁴ and the Seventh Day Adventist Reform Movement. The Baptist Church and the Seventh Day Adventist Reform Movement⁵ were also present in the village earlier, but they are not anymore. Confessional diversity becomes even more accentuated when one takes into account that the Romani community representing 60% of the village population is deeply involved in the life of these small churches. The Romani gave half of the 60 Jehova Witness members in the 1940s, and while the congregation⁶ today is smaller (12 members), these ethnic proportions remained the same.⁷

Adventist Gábor Romanies from the nearby village of Etéd⁸ represent a separate case in the ethnic and congregational map of the region, since neither congregation was present before in this predominantly Protestant and Unitarian village.⁹ However, Gábor Romanies living here started to join en masse Seventh Day Adventist Church after 1989, and they exercised their new religion in the neighboring congregation of

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- 2 My main fieldwork site was Crișeni, Harghita County, Romania, but I conducted fieldwork in the following locations also: Kőrispatak (Crișeni), Etéd (Atid), Bözöd (Bezid), Bözödújfalú (Bezidu Nou), Szolokma (Solocma), Erdőszentgyörgy (Sângeorgiu de Pădure).
 - 3 Both Jehova's Witnesses and the Seventh Day Adventist Reform Movement made its appearance in the village in the 1920s, and by the 1930s they already managed to alter the religious map of the area significantly.
 - 4 True Religion of Jehova's Witnesses is a local name that members of this congregation use for differentiating themselves from others. Officially the term Jehova's Witnesses remains in use, it is from this group that the group named True Faith separated.
 - 5 The congregation called Reformist is a splinter group of the Adventist Church.
 - 6 All religious communities discussed here use *congregation* as a term to denote an assembly of the believers in a given village, taking place in a regular manner, once or twice a week. Besides this event, *congregation* is also used to denote the small group of believers in that village or city.
 - 7 The conversion of various Romani persons and groups to Neoprottestant religions represents a significant global phenomenon since the middle of the 1900s. Several studies discuss the role of Pentecostalism in the life of Romani communities (Thurfjell 2013a, 2013b, Ries 2007, Williams 2000), this religion often becomes part of Romani political identity, transforming into a sort of ethnic religion. It should be clear, however, that Romani communities living in various regions prefer a variety of religious communities, and these preferences are often related to the desire of creating a boundary between them and other groups. In Romania Pentecostal communities have the largest Roma membership; they are followed by Jehova's Witnesses, the Baptist Church, and Adventist communities. One finds this conversion and membership pattern in the majority of European countries.
 - 8 Etéd (in Romanian Atid, Harghita county) is a village situated 9 km away from Kőrispatak.
 - 9 Similarly to Kőrispatak, various religious congregations have deep historical roots in the villages of the region.

Kórispatak in the periods they spent in the country. Currently the congregation has 50 members, half of them being Gábors from Etéd. My article will investigate the ways in which this Adventist Gábor community builds its collective self-image, and how this image relates to the Hungarian society living around them.¹⁰

In this introductory part I would like to reflect briefly on the personal side of my involvement with this topic, the nature of my relationships within Kórispatak, its believer (*hívő*)¹¹ and Romani communities. I can safely state that I grew up in this village as my grandparents lived there, and I spent most of my childhood years, later my school holidays with them. My grandfather was leader (*csoporszolga*)¹² of the True Believer Jehova's Witnesses, twice a week the community congregated in the house in which I was living. I often participated in these congregational meetings, as it was my grandfather's declared aim to draw other members from the family towards his faith as well. In this he did not succeed. These meetings, however, with their long readings of biblical stories instead of bedtime stories created a sense of naturalness, just as the fact that there were Romani and Hungarian people together, calling each other brothers (*testvérek*).¹³ Long time had to pass until this sense of naturalness became a question, a research topic for me. In fact, it was due to my university studies that I started to look at this lifeworld, perceived until then as natural, as to a possible topic of research.

Combining longer and shorter breaks, I conducted my fieldwork between 2006 and 2012 in this region. Between 2008 and 2010 I spent longer periods among the Gábors in Etéd, mostly from autumn to spring, as this is part of the year when the majority of the community can be found in Etéd. My methodology was based on participant observation and interviews, I regularly participated in the Adventist 'congregational hours' (*gyülekezeti órák*), in the life of Gábor families, I observed and interpreted various events going on during the years, and completed this material with targeted interviews. The main aim of the interviews was to clarify and deepen my understanding of some aspects that I found problematic during my observations, I also wished to reveal and articulate the defining and changing relationships and systems of prejudices that characterise the coexistence of Romani and Hungarian communities. All in all, among the Gábor community I conducted 14 interviews with 22 persons.¹⁴

10 After the opening of Romania's borders in 1989 the majority of Gábors went to Hungary for seasonal work, and in many cases, using Hungary as a transit country, even beyond, engaging in a wide range of commercial activities. The first religious conversions occurred here. The lifestyle of the Gábors, and the role of faith in their life will be discussed in what follows.

11 Inhabitants of the village indiscriminately name everyone who is member of some small religious congregation a believer (*hívő*).

12 The term *csoporszolga* means "servant of the group," the leaders of the congregations are named like this.

13 Members of these churches consider each other as 'brothers in faith' (*hittestvérek*), both on local and global level, calling each other 'brothers' (*testvérek*).

14 There were interviews conducted in the presence of several persons who participated

In what follows, I will briefly present the theoretical framework that serves as the theoretical context of my interpretations. Next I will present the ways Gábors in Etéd and in Transylvania relate to religion in general and to Adventist faith in particular. Finally, I will turn towards some thematic central points in their self-image that reveal the influence of Adventist faith on their life.

Theoretical considerations

My interpretations and analyses in this article are grounded on those studies of interethnic relations that attempt to use the idea of the “encounter” in order to grasp the notion of ethnicity and its various changes.¹⁵ Additionally, I tried to focus my study even more on giving central place in my interpretations to the problem of how religious life and culture influence these relations.

My starting point is the concept of *ethnicity*, as it was developed by Fredrik Barth. This notion emphasizes the processual character of boundary-making that takes place in the interactions of neighboring communities, over the apparent stability of cultural content (Barth 1969, 1996).¹⁶ During their “encounters” such groups articulate *images* of the others and themselves, representations that help them in creating a self-definition, and a way to relate to the other through establishing and maintaining a boundary. The notion of *images* refers to symbolic representations (mental or material) that play an important part in various processes of identification on an individual or collective level.¹⁷ With respect to the role of representations in creating identity I follow the ideas of Anthony P. Cohen, who understands identification processes as continuous interplay of internal and external pictures, representations created by others and by ourselves (Cohen 1997: 101). These pictures most often manifest themselves as components of a culture (language, clothing, gastronomy, etc.),¹⁸ and point towards “culture as

in the discussion, and for this reason the interviews may be best considered as a variety of communicative gestures around a given topic.

- 15 My use of this notion relies on the work of Zoltán Biro A. “Encounters” are situations, events occurring between persons who are members of different ethnic communities. They can be physical or mental, but in each case the expression of ethnic belonging has to be significant enough for the participants to influence the behavioural patterns of the encounter situation (Biró A. 1996: 249).
- 16 For a discussion of Barth’s approach see Roosens 1990 and Jenkins 2002.
- 17 I use the notion of *identification* rather than the somewhat devalued concept of *identity* in order to emphasize the processual and situated character of the phenomenon. “Let’s not consider identity as a closed substance, let’s name it instead identification, and consider it as a process. Identity does not come from the completed identity, the one all of us already possess as individuals, but from the lack of completeness, a lack that has to be filled from external sources, while adapting ourselves to the images that we think others have formed of us” (Hall 1997: 65).
- 18 These are symbolic constructions of value that are the result of interaction taking place on the border of two communities. Their meanings are not fixed, but changing, flexible, situationally

identity.” I agree with Cohen that this relates to the ways in which persons and groups attempt to manifest themselves through an objectified and emblemized culture. These are in fact political practices appearing in processes characterized as “ethnic,” their components one may call symbols (Cohen 1997: 101). My aim is to answer the questions posed in the introduction through investigating such pictures or representations. I consider that creating images of self and other, as well as perceiving images of our group created by others are symbolic gestures that reveal the relations between two “worlds,” mentality-systems, with their internal structures and positions. In this article I will discuss only the self-image of the Adventist Gábor community. This self-image, however, cannot be separated from the self-image of other groups around them as well as the images these groups hold of Gábors, as well as of the situations in which these images are created and manifested. Therefore I will make comments on these as well.

The Transylvanian Gábors

Scholars place Gábor Romanies among the Oláh Romani, Kalderash tribe (Vajda – Prónai 2000, Tesfay 2007a, Pozsony 2009), but Gábor Romanis view themselves as a separate tribe and they distance themselves from other Romani communities. They introduce themselves as Gábor Gypsy, hatted Gábor (*kalapos gábor*), or Hungarian Gypsy. Besides these ethnonyms, the Hungarian and Romanian population use the names *tinker Gypsies*, *Gypsies with eaves* (*csatornás cigány*) and *tent Gypsies* (*sátoros cigány*, *sátoros*). These names refer to traditional Gypsy occupations, as well as to the way of life of these groups around the beginning of the 1900s. They mainly live in Transylvanian cities¹⁹ (mainly in Marosvásárhely, Kolozsvár,²⁰ Nagyvárad,²¹ Temesvár²²) and villages. We can find a great number of Gábors in Nyárádkarácsonyfalva,²³ they are also Adventists and the Gábor Romani conversion to Adventist religion also comes from here.²⁴ An Adventist preacher explained the conversion of Gábors in Transylvania as follows: “*Their*

dependent. These meanings are actively manipulated by the contexts, and the actors populating these contexts (Cohen 1997: 102).

19 Based on an earlier study (Zamfir – Zamfir 1993), Gardner and Gardner (2008: 155) assessed their numbers to 14,000; Péter Berta estimates the number of Gábors somewhere between 10,000 and 20,000 (Berta 2013: 2). It is very difficult to arrive at an exact number, as their self-definition varies in different contexts (such as *cauldron makers*, *braziers*, *tent Gypsies*). However, these names are used also by another Roma community in Romania, the *corturars*. On the intricacies and context-dependency of particular denominations see Berta 2013: 2-3.

20 In Romanian: Cluj-Napoca (Cluj county)

21 In Romanian: Oradea (Bihar county)

22 In Romanian: Timișoara (Timiș county)

23 In Romanian: Crăciunești (Maros county)

24 About the Adventist Gábor Romanies you can read more in Gagyi (2002), Simon (2006, 2007)

greatest conversion was... evangelist Imre Petrik [...]. This was around the regime change, in 1992, 1993. And, for example, the Gábor Adventist house of prayers in Karácsonyfalva, Nyárádkarácsonyfalva... Under his influence many conversions took place. There was an evangelization center in Nyárádkarácsonyfalva where he organized a week long meeting, and so many Gábors were interested that in one single occasion they baptized about 60 persons. [...] And so you may say that here in Karácsonyfalva a Gábor congregation came into being. Someone who goes there sees only hatted congregations. And I see how they are evolving. On the one hand, they are becoming more open, by the influence of the preacher, on the other hand, their encounter faith during their travels, in Hungary. And so on, one brought the other into the community after that.²⁵

Although the Gábor Romanies' lives are linked with particular home cities or villages, their work requires them to travel around Europe where they form small communities. Their lifestyle constitutes a bridge between the settled and migrant Romanis. Their traditional crafts are copper-work and tin-work and they still teach these to their children, but nowadays they also get income from other commercial sources, too. They work in the field of constructions and plumbing in larger Romanian cities and neighbouring countries as well.²⁶

The Gábors is a traditional Romani community which expresses its group identity and at the same time its distinction from other Romani groups. This is characterized by the use of the Romani language, preservation of their 'folk costume' which has symbolic meaning,²⁷ strict endogamy²⁸ and respect for tradition. In the last two decades this has been further extended with particular symbols of wealth,²⁹ with the help of which they distance themselves not only from the point of view of social background, but also material hierarchy. After the end of communism they joined Adventist³⁰ groups the dogmas of which

25 About the Adventist Gábor Romanies you can read more in Gagyí (2002), Simon (2006, 2007).

26 On the economic systems and living strategies of Gábors in Transylvania see Berta 2013.

27 In the case of men the folk costume consists of a big rimmed black (grey or light brown) hat, beard, waistcoat and leather jacket. The elder generation may also wear a silver buttoned jacket and pocket watch, which they inherit. In the case of women, colourful multilayered skirts with an apron and a shawl are worn, girls wear long plaits with red ribbons. On Romani folk dress see: Tesfay (2005.)

28 The Gábor Romanies distance themselves from other Romani groups, they occupy a higher social and material place in the social hierarchy and they also only marry among themselves. On the institution of marriage see: Berta (2005a).

29 We can list here their multi-storey houses and expensive cars, which constitute valuable goods in relation to broader society. At the same time, trade in silver, glasses and spoons have the function of showing their place in the hierarchy of the community. On this see: Berta (2005b).

30 The great "awakening movements" that started in the 19th century in the United States reached the economic and political spheres, the sphere of religion. Among the many religious societies that were formed in this period was the Adventist movement of William Miller (1789–1849), preaching the second coming of Christ. The Seventh Day Adventist Reform Church was founded on this movement between 1848–1849, rethinking and theologically substantiating Miller's teachings. The basic tenets of the Church were developed by Ellen Gould White (1827–1915),

encouraged them to rethink and reshape their traditional culture.³¹ Adventism today has become an ethnic symbol which is part of their self-representation.

The Gábors from Etéd

The ethnic structure of Etéd in Hargita county is made up of Hungarians, *Home Romanies*, and *Gábor Romanies*, or as the Hungarian community calls them, *Tent Romanies*. The Home Romanies live in the outskirts of the village in very poor conditions. They earn their income from agricultural work and some of them go abroad (mostly to Hungary) for seasonal work. The Gábor Romanies live in the street leading towards the village of Küsmöd and have a comparatively wealthy lifestyle.

Sociologist István Vass gives the following characterization of the Gábors: “The tent Romanies constitute a colourful group in the village. Their homes on the edge of the village show their wealth even to an outsider. They give the impression of a friendly, communicative and well-informed people. We counted 20 families, each having 3-5 children. Their main occupation is trade or ‘bargain’, as they call it, and the size of their homes and equipment is representative of their wealthy lifestyle. Modern machines, colour TV, and even computers can be found in their houses, bathrooms and also clean and well-clothed children and adults, and in the garage one can find the latest trade-name cars. [...] There isn’t any material diversification within this group, they are considered to be the wealthiest families” (Vass 2002: 90). Although István Vass shows a general view of the Gábors from Etéd, which is his aim, this image needs to be widened by taking account of religion. Vass mentions 20 families out of which 10 are Adventist and together with children that is altogether around 70 people³² who constitute 60% of the Gábor community. In his presentation of the Gábor Romanies, this viewpoint defines not only the outsider’s views but also their own self-representations. Their own ethnic identity is not only expressed through language, or on cultural and economic levels, but also on a religious level. In

his teachings being accepted as prophetic until our days. Since the 1880s the Church has built significant bases in Europe, has founded educational and medical institutions, as well as publishing ventures (Szigeti 1981: 8). The content of their faith and their ceremonial regulation may be described as follows: belief in Christ’s second coming; the mortality of man, and the possibility to reach immortality solely through Christ; the celebration of the Sabbath; puritan lifestyle (avoiding excesses in clothing and jewellery, as well as in entertainment, etc.); the renewal of healthcare; avoidance of unclean food, such as pork and rabbit, tobacco and alcohol.

31 On this theme see: Gagyí (2002), Koncz (2006), Simon (2006, 2007), Tesfay (2007a, 2007b), Eparu (2008).

32 The Adventist Church practices adult baptism. While children do attend the religious gatherings on Saturdays, and there are special programmes organized for them, they are not considered to be fully part of the Church.

the case of the Gábors from Etéd this can be regarded as an important aspect of *group identity*. Whenever the Gábors have to talk about their identity they talk about a community which distances itself from the Hungarians and from the Home Romanies. The most important fact in this distancing is that they define themselves as Adventist Gábors. Those who are not baptized also state the same, they lay emphasis not on the religious orientation but on the changed lifestyle, on the fact that they are “different” Romanies. Adventist members also define themselves in the name of the broader community as Adventist Gábors.

Members of the community denote eaves-making (*csatornázás*) as their main occupation, commercial activities (*üzletelés*) appear as a secondary source of income.³³ They work mostly abroad, in constructions, leaving their villages with all their family for a longer time. However, they invest their foreign earnings at home, mostly in housing. It is the woman’s role to lead the household and educate the children, as an additional income they sell utensils, clothing, mostly textile elements of home decoration. For winter they move back to their home village, and the family stays there, while men may depart for several weeks for works. Important family events (marriage, baptism) are always organized during winter, long distances are covered in order to attend these. While working in Hungary, they rent a house in a city, send their children to a local school, and men travel to work from there, in some cases even beyond the borders. These trips serve as occasions for conducting commercial activities as well. When abroad, they look for the nearest Adventist community, they keep the Sabbath rigorously, they do not work or touch money, sing together and read the Bible.

In the following, I analyze the thematic points of this collective representation through which, as a consequence of religious conversion, a positive self-concept emerges. Within this, the main focus is on processes of change.

The changed moral person³⁴

The self-image that the Gábors from Etéd have created over the years, more precisely, the one that they show to the outside world and in line with which they define themselves as a uniform group, is in fact a reaction to the expectations which come from the outside. I have already mentioned the main aspects of this self-image (folk costume, language, economy, mobility), now I would like to focus on being an Adventist and its implications. The ground of this self-

33 The Hungarian inhabitants of the village maintain that the order is reverse, commercial activities is the main activity, while eaves-making at construction works the second, its function being more significant as a sign of attachment to their traditional craft.

34 I borrow the concept of *moral person* from László Fosztó (2007), who states that this means self-representation through communicative gestures by which a person or a community can define themselves.

representation can be found in the fact that they define themselves as members of a religious community, that of the Adventist Gábors – compared with the past this represents a shift towards a positive path – moral people, who live their everyday life according to the rules, regulations and values of this religious group. Being a member of this community requires a specific religious training based on the teachings of the Bible and this also necessitates a special lifestyle and set of values. At the same time, it means that they live by the rules of strict puritan values, which prohibit the consumption of alcohol, cigarettes, pork, certain forms of recreation, and even social relations and interactions are monitored. These aspects of their current identity do not harmonize with the traditional customs of the Gábors and neither do they fit with the stereotypical image held by the inhabitants of the village according to whom the Gábors are roisterers, loud, nasty and tricky people. An Adventist Gábor must not drink or say nasty things or fight with people who offend him.

The Gábors are aware of the negative preconceived ideas which are held about them, and this is why, when they talk about themselves and about what being an Adventist means, they always take into consideration these prejudices. They do not deny the stereotypes but they emphasize the process of change in mentality and ways of life, the moral person, who is now different. Identification with a group and a system of ideas that goes beyond the nation means that both human frailty and the stigma explicitly or implicitly projected on them by the Hungarian context loses its ethnic context. It appears as a universal human problem, independent of any national or ethnic particularity, one that may be overcome through joining the community of God as well as the conscious internal (spiritual and intellectual) and external (lifestyle and behavior) transformation. They attempt to challenge negative images associated with Romani and the Gábors through not accepting this image as an ethnic characteristic, but transposing it as a general negative human characteristic that has to be overcome by approaching God, by conversion and the salvation it offers for everyone. This is exemplified by the statement of an interviewee: *“The person changes in the soul. It changes in the soul, in a way that he is with God, and thinks about everything that it is not allowed, because he is different, he is with God. [...] It does not matter that he is a Gypsy, a Hungarian, a Romanian or a German, or whatever, he can be even American, because this is decided by faith, by the soul...”*

During the interviews with families I noticed that they lay emphasis on the fact that their lives changed a lot in a positive way after they became Adventists. This sort of life helps them fit into the broader society and adjust to this coexistence. Regarding the Adventist Gábor teachings, they create a self-image that takes into consideration the Gábor traditions but at the same time it also deconstructs the negative characteristics, which may aggravate their coexistence with their environment.

The altered moral person's characteristics can be summed up in the following terms: he (she) does not drink, does not smoke, leads an austere life, tries to live in peace with his family, does not steal, does not lie, does not cheat on others, believes in God and respects His laws. All these changes can be viewed as a reaction against the negative stereotypes of the broader Hungarian community.

The altered form of the institution of marriage

The Gábors emphasize the fact that conversion and the expectations of the religious community are not easy in all cases, there are Gábor customs which Adventist teachings do not accept, but they regard these as essential parts of their ethnic identity which they do not want to abandon. Take, for example, marriage at a younger age. According to the Gábor tradition, girls get married at the age of 12 or 13 to a 15 or 16 year old groom, a match which has already been decided earlier, when they were under age. They strictly marry only another Gábor, and the families must be at the same level of wealth.³⁵ The matchmaking strategy is part of parental duties. Next to the wealth aspect, another one emerged: a girl from an Adventist family should get married with a boy also from an Adventist family. After the wedding, the young couple at the age of 18 get baptized. The Adventist church tries to control early marriage, they accept it when the girl is 16 and the boy is 18. This is the case not only with the Gábors from Etéd but with all the Gábor communities in the country. However, the Gábors want to keep their tradition, because marriage at an early age is important from the point of view of collective identity and this is linked with other traditions such as the education and socialization of children.³⁶ As an example I mention the fact that the preparation of girls for housework (cleaning, cooking) is the duty of the mother-in-law, because the girl has to learn these according to the regulations of her husband's family. Because of the influence of the Adventist regulations, the Gábor community has to reinterpret its traditions, which is hard, and this is the reason why the Adventist Gábors accept a one-year expulsion from the Adventist community as penalty, after which they have to confess their sins in front of the whole congregation in order to be accepted again. Despite this, the Adventist Gábors try to respect the regulations and there are fewer underage marriages among them. This is well exemplified by a small debate that took place in a family around this topic:

Well, it was like marrying the girls at the age of 13, and the boy was 16, 17. This was the custom. It is the custom now as well [Zsuzsi intervenes] it's not exactly

35 On the institution of marriage see: Berta (2005a).

36 "School attendance in the case of girls usually ends with the beginning of menstruation, due to reaching marriage age, and fear from a possible elopement" (Berta 2010: 240).

like that anymore, not anymore. Nowadays we have to wait until the girl reaches 16 and the boy 17. At least those who are Adventists.

T.L. Is this expected by the Adventist community?

Yes, yes. [István intervenes] If someone breaks this, he is suspended. He is suspended from the Church for a year.

T. L. And do you accept this?

Well, what could we do? We accept it. It is not bad. We accept it. [Zsuzsi intervenes] There are some who do it accordingly, there are some, who do not. People are not the same. It would be vain to say anything, as I don't know it and I will lie. [A young girl intervenes]. There are some, Tünde, who do not care about her being 13, they marry her. But that for whom Christ our Lord is important, he will wait until the girl is 16 and the boy 18.

If the young couple wants to get baptized, they have to prove their marriage with an official certificate and earlier this was not part of the traditions of the Gábors either. Weddings also used to last for a few days, but nowadays they are simple with only a modest dinner where they do not serve alcohol, pork and dancing is also missing, instead they sing religious songs.

The institution of marriage changed from traditional culture to a more religious and bourgeois culture, at the same time by preserving some traditional customs (endogamy, economic views, offering presents) marriage customs preserved some aspects of “Gábor” culture.

The Gábor who can read and write

The shaping of the self-image in the view of religious belonging can occur not only on the level of values and lifestyle but also on an intellectual level. The practice of Adventism implies a rational and theoretical attitude, which is based on reading and interpreting the Bible in the broader community as well. The fact that someone is a Gábor means that he or she can read and write, and read the Bible and its teachings and discusses it with the other members of the congregation. So he or she does intellectual work. It is a common phenomenon that adult people learn how to read after joining the religious group in order to be able to read the Bible.³⁷ Reading and commenting the Bible offers an interpretive frame for Gábor believers that offers meaning for their changed lifestyle and value system. It offers the possibility to reinterpret their traditional culture in the frame

³⁷ According to Sorin Gog, within the neo-Protestant congregations it is quite common for convert Romanians to learn how to read from the Bible. They also find it important to educate their children, which, beyond religious aims, also has mundane roles, for instance, to get a better job (2008: 70).

of a transcendent worldview.³⁸ An illiterate Adventist Gábor woman talked to me about the disadvantages of illiteracy when I asked her about how her life has changed after conversion:

T.L. And what changed after you became a believer?

I don't know. You see, I cannot read, so I cannot explain to you everything.

The Gábor families, even in cases where the parents cannot read or write, lay emphasis on the fact that their children should attend school and learn how to read, write and count and also to learn Romani, Hungarian, Romanian and other foreign languages. They think of these as necessary tools to succeed in life and at the same time they think that it is enough. Even though among their children there are some with outstanding skills,³⁹ they believe that 8 classes are enough (in the case of girls 4), because during this time they learn the elementary basics that they will need. They think that studying further is not important as one of my informants said: *You don't need school for business. One should know how to write, read and count money and speak wherever one is. 8 classes are necessary, most of them finish it, mainly for boys, because they need a driving license.*

The attitude of the Adventist Gábors towards intellectual work, writing and reading is, on the one hand, useful for religious purposes, but on the other hand, they regard it as an important tool for surviving in the practical side of life. Religious and profane roles are built on one another, they form a whole.

The rich Gábor

If we analyze the theme from an economic point of view, we cannot ignore the fact that the Gábors from Etéd (and the Gábors more generally) are among the wealthiest people in the village. Wealth is an ethnic symbol for them, which plays an important role in their self-definition against other groups. The multi-storey houses and expensive cars show that they belong to the higher class in the hierarchy of Romani groups. The houses, the cars, the expensive household objects, the spacious rooms, the silver jewellery are all markers of the Gábor culture. In addition to the “ethnic goods” (for example, silver prestige objects, women’s folk costume, Gábor hat), Berta (2010: 236) takes into consideration “ethnic consumption” (huge houses, brilliant furniture, spending money on

38 Examining attitudes towards writing among Pentecostal Romanies, László Fosztó draws attention to the fact that “written/printed text creates the possibility of a novel publicity” (Fosztó 2007: 39).

39 Studying the position of Romani children in the Romanian educational system István Vas mentions the Romanies from Etéd, emphasizing that these children achieve impressive results (Vass 2002).

useless goods) as well. These also constitute symbolic practices through which their ethnic identity can be expressed. Consumption in “Gábor style” reflects value preferences through which they can represent the position they wish to occupy in social hierarchy, the attempt to gain social respectability and separate themselves from other Romani groups.

Faith and economy appear in harmony within the symbolic representations of the Adventist Gábors. According to them, through conversion they become people who are afraid of God and God helps them, at the same time they quit drinking, smoking and socializing, thus they earn more money and as a consequence of rational thinking they can make better deals. This linking of religion with the economic dimension is central to the work of many scholars,⁴⁰ but here I would like to emphasize the thought of Max Weber, according to which religious belief has an impact on lifestyle and economy as well. His thesis holds that religion often serves social and economic interests, thus it can be placed in the duty of non-religious concerns too (2005: 55). Similarly to Jewish religion, many ascetic trends of Protestantism interpret wealth as the earthly sign of God’s mercy. This sort of understanding of wealth may prevail even in cases when the religious aim and significance of economic activity is explicitly rejected (2005: 184). My research findings suggest that this may be the case among the Gábors from Etéd as well.

Being a member of the Adventist congregation does not just mean that they do not drink or smoke anymore, but it also means that they do not cheat on their business partners and they close fair deals, but if not, then God punishes them. Through faith the image of the *reliable Gábor* gains legitimacy, which contradicts the non-Romani people’s opinion according to which the Gábors are tricky and they cheat on their business partners. The good side of this on a material level is that people of other nationalities prefer to close deals with the Adventist Gábors because they trust them. Thus they get better jobs.

Moreover, they prove their trustworthiness and attachment to their congregation – their economic and social position – through generous donations, paying the tenth,⁴¹ which in the Kőrispatak congregation is three-quarters of the income. They are proud that they can support the churches with their donations and this way help the advancement of the congregations, and they are regarded as keystones. A determining fact in the economic growth is that the social web built by the religious communities can be used outside the boundaries of the village, too, for instance, in the shape of work relations.⁴² The importance of the social web within Romani communities is stressed in the works of many researchers

40 Among others: Robbins (1996), Hamilton (1998), Kamarás (2003), Kinda (2007), Tesfay (2007b).

41 The Adventist Church does not receive any material support from the government, it is self-supporting. The overall expenses are paid from members’ donations, which is called a “tenth”, meaning ten percent of their salaries.

42 Krisztián Eparu follows the life of an Adventist Gábor family in Budapest, where the role of these relations is very clear (Eparu 2008).

who analyze the economic strategy of Romanis,⁴³ and which first of all mean the use of relation capital within the group. Whenever an Adventist Romani joins a new religious community, these strings widen because the Adventist members belonging to another ethnic group help their Romani brethren. The feeling of belonging to a congregation exists not only on the local level, but also beyond its boundaries, thus the mobility of the Gábors and their work culture in other cities and countries can add to the helping and coherent force of the religious communities, and this way the social webs can be more useful.

Their attitude towards wealth remains an ethnic symbol due to its closeness to religious values (God helps them because they converted), and it has washed away all the negative stereotypes about them (they do not earn their living in a fair way and they scam their business partners) through the fact that they have become reliable, trustworthy Gábor people in the view of society and they are also afraid of God.

The Gábor who distances himself from other Romani communities

Among the converted Adventist Gábors there are some who distance themselves from other Romani groups. They do not belong to a popular and ordinary religious congregation but they belong to the highly respected and more intellectual Adventist Church. They think that Pentecostal congregations are on a lower level where feelings, spontaneity and the spirit is decisive (for example, speaking in tongues through the spirit, wondrous healings) and in opposition to this the Adventist church is rational (for example, the importance of health, the support of education). They stand for an ecumenical intellectuality as they accept the Pentecostal congregations, they think of it as a positive influence on other Romani groups but they place themselves on a higher level. One of my informants, for example, was a young woman from Szőkefalva (Seuca, Mureş county) who came to Etéd following her husband, her parents are Pentecostal. She did not join any congregation yet, however, she accompanied her husband to Adventists, “cordialized” with their teachings. She compared the two congregations in the following manner:

T. L. Which one did you like most among the two faiths?

Well, I know now how they are, and I like it more here, at the Shabbat believers.

T. L. Why?

I like it more here at the Shabbat believers, relations with God are better here.

T. L. But why, what makes them better?

43 Among others: Stewart 1997.

They put their soul more into it, when there is this tenth, the money, they always give it back, while those who believe on Sundays, many of them do not. Here it is not allowed to eat pork, while the others eat anything.

T. L. Their faith, what it is about?

It's only about going to pray on Sundays, and that's all. I mean, the bottle and the cigarette, they have to put it down as well.

The placing of the Adventist faith on a higher level among the Gábors is linked to the fact that its teachings and rituals are similar to the Jewish religion⁴⁴ that they respect and they think of the Jew as having the same fate (they are everywhere in the world and they are stigmatized) and they have to follow them in order to survive. The Gábors' sympathy towards the Jews existed even before they converted, and nowadays through the similarity of the rituals and dogmas it has also acquired a religious meaning which has strengthened it. According to them, throughout history they learned a lot from the Jews, they borrowed their ethnic symbol, the black hat, which is also called the Jewish hat, and according to tradition they also learned the spirit of business from them. They regard the Jewish nation as the one which stands above all, people from whom they learned a lot and with whom they share the same fate. They compare their persecution and exclusion to the Jewish nation, and they regard their religion similar to Jewish religion. This manifests in the fact that they think of themselves as Sabbatarianists, and when I asked them about the differences between Sabbatarianists and Adventists, they could not distinguish one from the other, they said it was two ways of expressing the same faith.

The Gábors perceive the Adventist faith as an ethnic sign with the help of which they distance themselves from other Romani communities. In this sense we can view it as part of building their boundary. Within the Kórispatak congregation there are no Romanis beside the Gábors from Etéd, and also in other Adventist communities the presence of the Gábors is characteristic, while other Romani communities join different religious groups, mainly the Pentecostal congregations.

The Gábor who perceives his own community as a standardized unit

As I have already stated at the beginning of this paper, the practice of self-representation among the Gábors is a *collective representation* because every person within the ethnic group defines himself as being a member of a uniform community having a *positive self-image*. Being an Adventist also means that

⁴⁴ For example celebrating Saturday, respecting the laws of Moses, paying the tenth.

lifestyle and a set of essential values change and this is the case not only with the Gábors who converted but also with the Gábors who did not. Quite often I met this sort of situation. The community showed me such a collective self-image within which religious and non-religious people too lived in harmony, the strength of the ethnic community held them together. Differences in religious culture and practice seemed of secondary importance in the unified, well-organized, dense kinship networks among the Gábor community. The Hungarian people, who live close to the Gábors, drew my attention to the fact that the Adventist Gábors “look down on” non-Adventist Gábors who are not baptized, and in some cases this even leads to exclusion (they do not talk with them, they do not invite them to family celebrations, they do not include them in work processes) and in this way they bring pressure on them, they want them to convert because only this way can they become members of the Gábor community. Because of the fact that I heard this from other members of the Hungarian community that “the Adventists look down on others” I asked many the Adventist Gábors many times and also the non-adventist Gábors, but they did not state this, they even highlighted the opposite of this. In the discourse of the Gábors these boundaries are continuously demolished in their self-representations. Being together and being a uniform community are important elements of the self-image which they want to show to the outside world. An example of this is the opinion of a Gábor man:

The one who is baptised has the same relations, it's just that he does not eat pork.

Summary

With regard to the self-representation practices of the Gábors from Etéd we can generally state that they try to show a collective self-image that keeps the main elements of their ethnic identity whilst at the same time they downplay the negative characteristics with which the surrounding society stigmatizes them. Belonging to the Adventist congregation, the practice of faith, the changes in mentality and lifestyle give the proper framing and create integration for them so they can preserve their own ethnic identity. We must see the reversal of the stigmatized state in this self-representation because “the thought stigmatization of belonging to a lower cultural status becomes the emblem of belonging to a higher status” (Cohen 1997: 104). Borrowing Sába Tesfay and Patrick Williams’s concept of “to settle on” for this change in ethos we can understand this process better as the Adventist dogmas are taken from the outside (not from the view of the ethnic community) and, as a consequence, they reinterpret their own traditions (Tsfay 2007b: 409). I think that instead of “to settle on” it is better to use the concept of *double identity* because the Adventist Gábors belong to and represent themselves

as being members of two different communities at the same time, and this double identity forms a unit. The Gábors are proud that they have kept their own traditions, language, folk costumes, endogamy, but they let go of their negative customs such as drinking, smoking, having fun and at the same time they have learnt how to write and read and they have even improved on an economic level because they do not live in tents anymore like their ancestors did, society can trust them because they have become trustworthy and upright religious people.

At the same time it is important to emphasize the fact that being an Adventist Gábor is an ethnic boundary within their representation practice which distances them and creates differences from other ethnic communities (Hungarians and other Romani communities), and it also creates uniformity within the boundaries, among the Gábors.

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New Hungarian Mythology Animated. *Self-Portraits of the Nation*

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Abstract. Hungarian civil religion in general, and various ethno-pagan spiritualities in special are deeply unsatisfied with the canonical version(s) of ancient national history. Screening history is an act of powerful pictorial mythologization of historical discourses and also a visual expression of national characterology. In recent years two animated films were released, telling the ancient history of Hungarians, but the stories they tell are very different. Not long after Marcell Jankovics’s *Song of the Miraculous Hind*¹ (*Ének a csodaszarvasról*, 2002), a long fantasy animation based on ethnographic and historical data, another similar long animation: *Heaven’s Sons* (*Az Ég fiaí*, 2010) started to circulate on YouTube and other various online Hungarian video-sharing channels. It seems as if the latter, an amateur digital compilation by Tibor Molnár, would have been made in response to the first film, to correct its “errors”, by retelling the key narratives. Built mainly on two recent mythopoetic works: the *Arvisura* and the *Yotengrit* (both of them holy scriptures for some Hungarian Ethno-Pagan movements), Molnár’s animation is an excellent summary of a multi-faceted new Hungarian mythology, comprising many alternative historical theses. My paper aims to present two competing images of the Nation on the basis of several parallel scenes, plots and symbolic representations from the two animations. A close comparative investigation of these elements with the help of the Kapitány couple’s mythanalytic method will show the essential differences between the two national self-conceptions expressed through the imaginary.

Keywords: alternative history, cultic animations, national mythology, Arvisura, Yotengrit, Turanism

1 The film is registered on the Internet Movie Database (IMDB) with this title: *Song of the Miraculous Hind* (<http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0309114/>) and so it appears on the personal website of the director Marcell Jankovics as well (<https://sites.google.com/site/jankovicsmarcell/bemutakozas/curriculum-vitae-angol-nyelvu->). Still, considering the slang- and other connotations of the English word ‘hind’—meaning ‘female red deer’ (as exact translation of Hungarian: *szarvasünő*)—for this article I prefer using the *Song of the Miraculous Deer*.

1. Introduction

The self-image of a community is a reflection of its cultural consciousness, an expression of its collective identity. However, it is not as definite, pre-defined and unchangeable as a mirror image would be. On the contrary, it depends very much on the beholder's active projection, it requires voluntary, intentional participation in the process of drawing the self-portrait. It is an interactive image, constructed through the stories of cultural (or collective) memory (Assmann 1995, 2004). Cultural memory is the collective identity of an ethnos, of a nation, represented by the past built up from remembrance, fantasy, narrative and myth (Hall 1990). Such historical narratives work best in cultural memory if they fulfil their mythomotor role as genuine myths (or if—as we will see later—they are perceived as such, even if they are not meant to be myths) – in opposition to objective history (Assmann 2004: 75-76; 79-80).

In our contemporary world so saturated by electronic media—both traditional and virtual—the most spectacular (and maybe most effective) way of identity formation by storytelling is the visualization of historical narratives on screen. A group of historians analysed various history films on the premise that “visual media are a legitimate way of doing history – of representing, interpreting, thinking about, and making meaning from the traces of the past” (Rosenstone 1995: 3). In addition, Astrid Erll (2008) emphasized the power of fictional historical media in shaping collective imagination by pointing out how the mythicizing mode of the rhetoric of cultural memory works in cultic movies inspired by recent historical events (Erll 2008: 391). Similarly, in an essay analysing American and Japanese animations, Kaori Yoshida (2011) concluded that historical animation, as a powerful medium for conveying ideas and ideologies, plays a significant role in constructing national identity by reinforcing or re-evaluating stereotypes of the Self and of the Other. Both Erll and Yoshida conceive historical fiction media as mythic narratives, with far more significance than mere entertainment fantasies. In similar terms, the following study will approach two recent Hungarian animation films presenting historical narratives as animated mythologies, regarding them as myths rather than as animation cartoons.

From another aspect, for discussing certain aspects of the narratives presented in the selected animations, I will rely on the idea that national history, as central ideology of nationalism, may constitute a special type of religiosity. Szilágyi (2008) adapts Bellah's concept of civil religion (Bellah 1967 in Máté-Tóth and Feleký 2009) for 'Hungarianism' as a synonymic political religion. In this respect, while discussing the treatment of ethnic prehistory in contemporary Neopagan circles, Hungarian researchers speak about this phenomenon as the sacralization of the Nation (Szilárdi 2013), or the mythic reinvention-reinterpretation of ancient vestiges, sacred places (cf. Marosi 2013; Povedák 2013), that is, (re-)mythologization of national consciousness.

It is exactly this sacred-religious, mythic aspect that explicitly offers itself for interpretation in the two selected animations. The mythanalytic methodology elaborated by the Kapitány couple (2001) will help us discover the emergence and formation of mythic narratives and symbolism, and observe their variations and contrasts predefined by the two opposing historical paradigms.

2. The Controversy of Images

The central issue at stake in the controversy between the various approaches to the nation's past is the legitimacy and validity of the given approach itself – as opposed to the counter-approach(es). Apparently, the debate revolves around a Finno-Ugric and a Turanic ethnogenesis of the Hungarian nation, but the problem has deeper roots: it is based on the question whether investigating distant past is a matter of science or a subject of faith. Or, to put it differently, is Hungarian (pre)history an imposed false ideology under the guise of objective scientific historiography or is it the confession of one's true faithfulness to the Nation? This dichotomy surpasses the classical Assmannian distinction (2004) between cold versus hot cultural memory: it is the hegemonic concurrency of discourses to “own” historical reality. The aim is to determine the “founding history” and through it the “normative past” (Assmann 2006) and thus implicitly impose a normative set of values for the nation's present. In this race for the truth, the two main paradigms struggle for the exclusive authoritative founding myth: whether Hungarians are a European or an Asian nation.² As a last remark to this delicate question that divides Hungarian public opinion, I start my investigation from the premise that the discourses regarding the national ethnogenesis³ ultimately form a mythical founding history. This founding myth of the origins is of utmost significance, since it reflects—or rather it projects—the self-image of the Nation.

It is impossible to fail to notice the almost deliberately emphasised application of myth as a legitimating discourse in presenting the real image of the nation by both discursive paradigms. In the canonized Finno-Ugric discourse this is not so obvious at first sight because of the scientific stance and language of academic historiography, linguistics or ethnography. Still, the “applied” official version of schoolbook national history is full of quasi-mythic narratives.⁴ The propagators of

2 There is more at stake in this question: a strong emotional aspect, which is always emphasized by every different representative of the Turanist paradigm: are Hungarians a European nation—BUT of *humble, primitive, unimportant* Finno-Ugric origin, or are they an Asian ethnos—BUT with a *glorious, superior, civilized* archaic origin? The latter case also implies a distinctive chosenness and a universal historical mission of Hungarians.

3 Whether strictly scientific or “romantic”, both paradigms borrow reciprocally—though assumedly—certain empirical and narrative approaches from the other.

4 This phenomenon of “official history” impregnated by myth is repeatedly analysed by Lucian

the Turanist idea⁵ rely more confidently on mythic narratives, over-emphasizing the normative role the founding myth bears in the formation of national identity of present and future generations.⁶

Historical cinema, as a narrative genre with exquisite visual power, is even more susceptible of unwittingly mystifying historical events. The more so, if the film is meant to be an incursion into the ancient past and the gloomy prehistory of a people, and deliberately uses mythic elements in telling the story of the beginnings. This is the case of the two Hungarian animated films chosen for analysis: the *Song of the Miraculous Deer* and *The Heaven's Sons* presented briefly below.

3. Two Concurrent Mythic Animations

Marcell Jankovics's *Ének a csodaszarvasról* (official English title: *Song of the Miraculous Hind*) is an 89-minute-long fantasy animation based on ethnographic and historical data. The movie, released in 2002, distributed by Budapest Film, was created in the Pannónia Film Studios.⁷ It was made with national government subsidy, visibly as an educational history film.⁸ The second example is a similar 60-minute-long animation film: *Az Ég fia* (*Heaven's Sons*),⁹ produced in 2010—an amateur digital compilation directed by Tibor Molnár—, started to circulate on YouTube and other video-sharing networks.¹⁰

Boia (1997, 2000), who emphasizes that “history is a discourse of the present about the past, a multiform discourse bound to sensitivities and ideologies”, a product of the imaginary beyond “true” and “untrue”, a combination of hard facts and invented stories (Boia 2000: 164-165).

5 The Turanic paradigm is not at all a unitary discourse, it proved to be extremely varied during our recent investigations concerning contemporary Hungarian Neopagan movements (Hubbes 2012).

6 I wish to highlight two prominent cases: one is the website of “Dobogó”, a Hungarian history journal displaying the phrase “*Mythic Hungarian History*” („*Mitikus Magyar Történelem*”) on its header (www.dobogommt.hu); the other is a network community named “*Fans of the Hymn of the Ancestors' Land*” („*Az Óshaza Himnuszának Kedvelői*”), which alludes to a mythomorphic attitude towards history (www.osihimnuszunk.network.hu).

7 For more technical information see: <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0309114/>

8 According to the *Index.hu* news portal, the film was created from a budget of 245 million HUF, integrally afforded, based on a tender, by the Hungarian Ministry of National Cultural Heritage (see <http://index.hu/kultur/mozi/csodaszarvas/>).

9 Or “*The Sons of the Sky*” according to an English transcript attached to the film on the transcriptvids.com online video-sharing network (http://transcriptvids.com/v/HbodRT2bA_Y.html).

10 According to the author Tibor Molnár, who published it on YouTube on his private channel (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dNdHpmHlKjA>), it is an “amateur animation film, about the ethnogenesis of Hungarians, based on Imre Máté's Yotengrit and Zoltán Paál's Arvisura books. The Hungarian nation is compound mostly of Scythian, Hunnic and Avar peoples.” Besides being circulated on online video-sharing networks, the film was also commercialised in its CD version in specialized book stores.

3.1. The Enchanted Deer

The first animation is a fantasy story presenting a half documentary—half imaginary history of Hungarians in consecutive interdependent scenes beginning from the last Ice Age up to the first kings of the Árpád dynasty—lined up according to various legends of the enchanted deer. The title itself: *Song of the Miraculous Hind* alludes to János Arany's 19th-century romantic epic poem *Rege a csodaszarvasról* (*The Legend of the Wondrous Hunt*), an epic reformulation of legends from folklore tradition and mediaeval chronicles. According to some critics, the governmentally funded work is a slightly nationalistic campaign, a “course animation film” (Földes 2002). Others perceive it as a political prophecy with ideological connotations (Bóna 2002)—on the eve of Hungary's accession to the European Union. The film was created by the internationally recognized animation director, culture historian and ethno-semiotician Marcell Jankovics, who had prepared several symbolic anthropological and cultural history studies on the theme of the *enchanted deer* both before and after the making of the cartoon (Jankovics 1996, 2001, 2004). The music of the film was composed by Levente Szörényi, co-author of *Stephen, the King* rock opera.¹¹ The plot represents a relatively close (though not doctrinal) interpretation of the official Finno-Ugric paradigm. However, it treats history with the artist's freedom—it blends myths, folklore fantasy and medieval codex legends with scientific facts. The film makes use of the work of the most prominent scholars like Gyula László (archaeology), András Róna-Tas (history), József Erdődi (linguistics), Vilmos Diószegi, Mihály Hoppál (ethnography), Géza Róheim and István Kiszely (anthropology)—to name but a few of them.¹²

The historical material spanning four thousand years “from the mammoths to Prince Géza” (Földes 2002) is organized in four chapters. Each chapter is symbolized by an emblematic scene of the four-faceted golden jar No. 2 of the Treasure from Nagyszentmiklós.¹³ *Ancestral Land* (*Őshaza*) deals with the role of the deer in the life of ancient Siberian peoples from most distant mythic past. *Hunor and Magyar* (*Hunor és Magyar*) retells the story of joining the taiga and steppe Nomadic peoples through the allegorical story of the legendary twins and their wondrous hunt. *On and On* (*Etelköz*) presents the adventures of the proto-Hungarian tribes in the Khazar Empire during the Migration Period and the “first” Settlement (László 1978). Finally, *Pannonia* takes us from Árpád's Settlement in the Carpathian Basin to the Christianization of ruling prince Géza. The leitmotif of the entire film is the *enchanted deer* (hind/stag) recurring in every crucial moment

11 The cultic rock opera of the eighties was also dedicated to the early history, namely to the first king of Hungary, and the tribulations of the Christianization of Hungarians (a topic revisited also in the film).

12 For a complete list of the scientific arsenal used in the film it is worth consulting the bibliography of the referred studies of Jankovics (1996, 2001, 2004).

13 For description of the jar, see László–Rác 1984.

of the plot. It plays the leading role of the stories undergoing countless animal and human metamorphoses that continually fluctuate between heaven and earth. These metamorphoses of totemic animals are meant to symbolize the transformations of the ethnic characteristics forming the image of the Hungarian nation.

3.2. Heaven's Sons

The second animated film, *Heaven's Sons*, does not display any affiliation to a studio or animation workshop. According to its technical solutions in graphics, sound and even in plot development, it is clearly an amateur work.¹⁴ According to the credit roll, it was realized by Tibor Molnár, together with a small enthusiast staff; probably from private funds and limited technical equipment.¹⁵ The amateurish nature of the film is not a depreciative peculiarity—on the contrary, the very simple language and the primitivistic graphic execution work in perfect synergy. The overall aspect of *Heaven's Sons* radiates an atmosphere of an e-folklore, naïve art creation, created with modern technical instruments, in a contemporary medium and in the context of social networking and popular culture environment.

Like the previous one, this animation is also a collage of mythic stories, doctrinal teachings and long ethnological descriptions. The main thread of the plot is the ethical-spiritual attitude of the ancient Hungarian (Turanic) tribes presented in contrastive superiority in comparison to any other ethnic formations. The plot extends from the time of Creation to Árpád, the Home Settler, divided into two chapters: *Level—Az Égi Lovasisten fia (The Son of the Heavenly Horse God)*; and *Árpád—Az Égi sólyom fia (The Son of the Heavenly Hawk)*. The titles, however, are somewhat misleading. The first chapter is indeed focused onto a single story, the legend of the hunter twins Hunor and Magyar, adapted to the lone figure of prince Level, according to the *Yotengrit* mythology. The second chapter jumps to and fro in time from the mythic Ataisz to the Settling of Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin, based mostly on the stories from the *Arvisuras*. It seems that the story deliberately avoids a strict chronological order, unlike the one followed in the *The Song of the Miraculous Deer*. In turn, it concentrates on the moral and religious doctrines that these stories express or allegorically exemplify.

Heaven's Sons is directed towards a restricted target audience: namely the adepts or sympathisers of the Turanic/alternative historical worldview; and circulating consequently in limited channels and networks. Apparently, the animation is created as a firm answer to the *The Song of the Miraculous*

14 It is not the aim of this study to aesthetically analyse or criticise, nor even to compare the two animations on such terms, however, it is unavoidable to present the indispensable basic facts and technical characteristics of the two works, whatever this description may imply.

15 There is no information available other than the short staff list at the end of the animation.

Deer. It seems an apologetic counter-myth for the in-group addressees meant to reinforce them in their beliefs, correcting (what they may perceive as) the errors and manipulations of the historical realities distorted by the previous film. For this reason, the makers of this animation use some of the legendary narratives accepted as common ground, like the story of Hunor and Magyar, the princely siblings with their wondrous deer hunt, or the totemic dreams and fantastic events around prince Álmos, the forefather's birth. But they use these stories not as symbolic narratives but as real myths, as authentic history, and present them from another, salvation history perspective.

Although they use various legends and folk traditions, and even certain scholarly studies, like László Koppány Csáji's researches concerning the Hunza people in Central Asia (Csáji 2005),¹⁶ the main authoritative sources of the story are two mythopoetic texts that form the basis of two mutually excluding, concurrent Ethno-Pagan religious doctrines. These two contemporary Hungarian mythopoeic systems are Zoltán Paál's *Arvisura (Arvishura)* and Imre Máté's *Yotengrit*. A short presentation of both mythologies is needed for a better understanding of *Heaven's Sons*.

3.2.a. *The Arvisura*

Resuming my previous articles (Hubbes 2011, 2012), *Arvisura* is a vast literary work written by Zoltán Paál (1913–1982), a steelworker who got initiated during the Second World War by a Siberian Mansi (or Vogul) shaman named Tura Salavare, then soldier in the Soviet Red Army. An anonymous translation¹⁷ circulating on the Internet cites from Zoltán Lakatos's (1998) *Arvisura*-commentary:

It contains the guarded literary works and traditional customs of the shamans of the 24 Hun confederated tribes. It would be difficult to identify its literary genre; instead, it most closely resembles the style of the ancient world. The monumental, yet unique historical method, which unfolds before us as we read this prehistoric work, seems to lead us from mythology to our present day. The *Arvisura* history begins with the sunken ancient homeland of Ataisz, which land is similar to Plato's written description of Atlantis, but is still not one and the same. According to the saga, or legend ('rege'), it is from here (Ataisz) that the Huns came to be in Ordosz by way of Mesopotamia, where, in 4040, before recorded time, they formed the

16 Which is at least paradoxical, considering the fact that Csáji is highly critical of the fantasising Turanists (and, admittedly, of the uncritical Finno-Ugric exponents as well) (see Csáji 2007).

17 It is not clear whether Zoltán Barta, the maintainer and (co-)editor of several Hungarian websites and also an English site dedicated to the *Arvisura*, made the translation himself or he just edited someone else's translation of the published *Arvisura* fragments and commentaries. See the article: What is *Arvisura*? (Barta, s.a.) (<http://cometogetherarticles.yolasite.com/the-arvisuras.php>).

association of the 24 tribes. The ‘Palócok Regevilága’¹⁸ concisely describes the 24 Hun tribes’ lives, nation by nation, from about 4040 B.C. all the way to King Matthias, including Maria Theresa. [Barta, s.a.]

The *Arvisura* tells—as its second title suggests: *Truth-telling*—the “true stories” about ancestors from the Sirius and a sunken prehistoric island from where the Hun-Magyars originate back six thousand years ago. This fantastic mythopoetic work “resembling the style of the ancient world” in other words: the mythic language, is a founding myth for several Hungarian Neo-Shaman, Ethno-Pagan groups. Controversially, as if countering in advance the strong Turanist message of its animated adaptation, the *Arvisura* draws and builds up from undeniable Finno-Ugric elements,¹⁹ starting already from the initiator Mansi Shaman.

3.2.b. *Yotengrit*

The *Yotengrit* is a similar mythopoetic system—a rather religious-philosophical text written²⁰ by Imre Máté, poet and shaman (“táltos” or “bácsa”), former Western émigré. He was the founder and leader of a short-lived (2007–2009) homonymous institutionalized Neopagan church in Hungary. According to the *Yotengrit* adepts,²¹ there has been a closed secret community in the Rábaköz region in Western Hungary that has preserved the tradition of a hidden knowledge of the “Táltos” shamans²² originating from as ancient times as the Ice Age. The legendary oral history, healing practices, folkloric-philosophical teachings together sum up as the heritage of the ancient persecuted *BÜÜN* religion—Hungarian spirituality, *par excellence*. While the *Yotengrit* ideology proclaims itself as a religion of peace, love and harmony (suspiciously resembling New Age spirituality), its practices, on the one hand, and its cross-references, on the other, make it a stronghold of Ethno-Pagan Hungarianism. The *Yotengrit* books also contain the famous *Prophecy of Nyirka*—a highly allegoric and apocalyptic Nostradamus-

18 ‘*Palócok Regevilága*’—a subtitle of the *Arvisura*, meaning ‘*The Palóc World of Legends*’, where the Palóc are a regional ethnographic subgroup of the Magyar people.

19 According to several critics, the *Arvisura* is an “anti-Hungarian pamphlet”, a manipulatory Finno-Ugrist conspiracy (Friedrich 2007; Szántai 2005).

20 As in the case of Zoltán Paál, the author of the *Arvisura*, stating that he only put down what the Mansi shaman had bequeathed to him, Imre Máté regards himself not as the writer of the *Yotengrit* books, but rather the one who recorded them from still living folk wisdom traditions.

21 See the official site of the *Yotengrit Community*: <http://yotengrit.hu/>.

22 Important to mention that in spite of certain similarities “táltos” and “shaman” are not quite the same. Beyond the “usual” doctrinal and prestige-related controversies among the different Magyar Ethno-Pagan communities, this issue is of special significance, being the source of reciprocal accusations and mocking. “Táltos” is more specifically Hungarian, being a half legendary mysterious sorcerer-figure (capable of transforming into animals, and bringing storms) of Christian times in live folk-traditions, while shaman is more commonly known as the medicine-man of Siberian and Central Asian ancestors and contemporary kin peoples of the Magyars.

like set of prophecies referring to future events regarding Hungary and global politics. This prophecy came to live a separate life, circulating on the Internet predominantly on conspiracy theorist websites with strong political involvement on the extreme right occultism.²³ The *Yotengrit* doctrine, as its full name: the Sea-Infinite Ancient Spirit (Tengervégtelen Ós-Szellem) suggests, takes its roots also from ancient *Tengrism*—a still living or revitalised shamanic religion among Turkic people of Central Asia. The Tengriist origins make the *Yotengrit* a perfect choice for a Turanist discourse; again, even if it is charged by its critics with hidden Finno-Ugrist ideology (Papp 2006; Szakács 2007).

Heaven's Sons thus succeeds in blending the two competing doctrines by their common ground, the Turanic paradigm, closing an eye to their contradictory stories and teachings, and disregarding even the suspicion of their Finno-Ugric inspiration. It simply uses exclusively those elements that support and express the nationalist ancient mythology, the alternative views of prehistory and draws the Hungarian people's portrait with rugged Central Asian, Turkic features, meant to be universally human.

4. Mythic Images – A Comparative Analysis

In what follows, we will approach the two animations not as films but as mythologies, presuming that they are powerful instruments for the re-mythologization of Hungarian national self-image. For this purpose, we will rely on the myth-analytic and symbolic-semiotic methodologies elaborated by Ágnes Kapitány and Gábor Kapitány. We will also keep an eye on their researches concerning the Hungarian national symbols (2002b). The first method, described in the Kapitánys' *Modern Mythologies* (2001), offers an opportunity to observe how the mythomotoric function works, respectively, how ancient myths are transformed and constructed into contemporary mythic narratives; important for us because it shows a model to capture the self-image of a nation in the process of its formation. The second way is presented (among others) in their *Symbolism of the Eras* (2002a)—which is a methodology of symbolic anthropology research by participatory observation in one's own society. The most notable idea to be remembered from the Kapitánys' series of research concerning national symbols²⁴ is that their general results partially contradict the image(s) showing up from both analysed animations.

On a first observation we may notice several basic similarities and contrasts between the two animation films. Both are built up from the combination of myths,

²³ e.g. <http://kataklizma.info/>

²⁴ Their repeated investigations started in 1997 concerning *symbols of Hungarian national identity* were republished several times in various forms and contexts (e.g., 2002b, 2002c, 2012, the most relevant ones, used for the background of my analysis.)

legends, folklore. But while the *Miraculous Deer* completes them with explicit or implicit scientific knowledge, in *Heaven's Sons* much stress is laid upon religious teachings and verbal and visual propaganda. The first film represents the mainline or “official” academic (and political) discourse(s), bearing a certain extent of mild nationalism,²⁵ showing a Europe-centric attitude (possibly perceived by critical views as EU-propaganda), counterbalanced, however, with subtle ironic scepticism. The other animation represents alternative views of a small but rapidly extending minority, with apologetic and subversive attitude, dominated by radical nationalism.

Following closely the Kapitány-methodology (2001) of myth-analysis, the first question that arises is whether we are dealing with genuine myths or not. The two animations are very different in this respect. The *Miraculous Deer* is not meant to be a myth, but rather an educational school documentary animation executed on a very high artistic level. Nonetheless, it is *perceived* as myth by the (Ethno-Pagan) makers of *Heaven's Sons*, who apparently regard it as a falsifying or deceptive myth, for which a corrective response is needed. Thus the latter animation may be considered as an apologetic and authoritative counter-myth. The *Miraculous Deer* does express a common conviction of the mainline public opinion. Still, the canonized discourse behind it cannot be considered a belief. It has no cults—if we do not count the political commemorations of the millennial and mille-centenarian jubilees of the AD 895-896 Settlement, respectively, the tourist-educational “pilgrimages” to Ópusztaszer Memorial Park with the round panorama painting of Árpád's Entrance or to the monument in the Verecke Pass, and similar memorial places. The film, just as its background narratives, is built both on scientific knowledge and legends, and in strict terminological sense it may not be considered a proper myth. *Heaven's Sons* exemplifies the opposite case: representing not a simple belief but a complex belief-conglomerate with genuine religious aspects. There are important cults related to both the *Arvisura* and the *Yotengrit* as these are absorbed by various movements of Hungarian Ethno-Paganism (see Povedák 2011, Szilárdi 2013, Hubbes 2012). Sacred places (e.g. the Pilis-mountains, the /Csík-/Somlyó-mountain) are frequented, astronomical holidays are revered as revived ancient Pagan or forgotten shamanic celebrations. The animation, while being an anti-establishment dogma-film, explicitly represents the used mythopoeic works as a genuine complex mythology, containing even a well-elaborated catechism of the expressed doctrines.

Concerning the second aspect of the Kapitánys' myth-analysis, namely the classification criteria and relations to transcendence, the two animations show again sharp contrasts. The *Miraculous Deer* is basically non-transcendent, but containing narratives on the transcendent. The ever-present allusions and visualisations of the cosmic (heavenly) scenes are consciously constructed

25 Some critics (Bóna 2002, Földes 2002) find even this slight nationalism as striking.

allegorical representations of earthly events, the other-world being only symbolic in the film. *Heaven's Sons*, on the contrary, is strongly transcendent. The cosmic, heavenly aspects are projected as real events, together with their earthly historical correspondents, but the other-world is hardly ever represented, alluded only in invocation of deities and ancestors. There is, however, a simultaneously cosmic and otherworldly myth adapted from the *Arvisura*. This myth presents the ancestors of Huns (Hungarians) as semi-gods coming from the Sirius, via a sunken legendary utopian continent in the middle of the Pacific Ocean called *Ataisz*.²⁶

In terms of identification, the *Miraculous Deer* plays skilfully with the totemistic ideas of ancestral symbolic animal pairs (deer and horse, wolf and hawk). These totemic figures identify Hungarians as the result of the meeting and mixture of the (Finno-Ugric) “people of the (rein)deer” and the (Iranian-Scythian; Turanic-Turkic) steppe nomad “people of the horse”. *Heaven's Sons* avoids the totemic element, and instead, stresses upon the unitary character of the Turkic nomad people. It virtually identifies all Central-Asian steppe nomads with the ancestral Hungarians. According to the *Arvisura*, the 24 tribes of the sacred Hun-Hungarian Confederation descend from the same mysterious ancient ethnos originating from the continent of *Ataisz*. Thus both films, no matter how differently they present the origins, may be considered primarily aetiological, cosmogonical, culturo-genical myths (or presentation of such myths). The only major difference is that the Ethno-Pagan animation bears a strong implicit messianic-civilisatory character as well, referring to the mission of the Nation.

In regard to the issue of origins and development, both films originate in a well-defined concept of national identity expressed through the views on the gloomy field of prehistoric ethnogenesis. The *Miraculous Deer* represents the hegemonic Finno-Ugric paradigm, built upon more than two centuries of scientific research (historiography, linguistics, ethnography) highlighted by scholars like Gyula László, Károly Rédei, Vilmos Diószegi. The scholarly elements are combined with legends both from the oral folkloric tradition and from mediaeval chronicles like the *Gesta Hungarorum* of Anonimus²⁷ (1196–1203) or the *Chronicon Pictum* (*Képes Krónika*) of Mark de Kalt (bef. 1360). *Heaven's Sons* is combined from living (or invented) traditions, historical legends and the two mythopoetic systems described above. The “chronicles” of the *Arvisura* rely on the older but long marginalized idea of the Turkic–Scythian–Hun origin and kinship (that is,

26 A clear reference to the mythic continent of *Atlantis*, but—by its placement into the Pacific—also to the legendary *Mu* continent.

27 An anonymous notary of Hungarian King Béla III (1172–1196), curiously concretised in the cultural memory as a person named *Anonymus*, even depicted by a well known sculpture in Budapest (to which several serious and ironic allusions are made when portraying the chronicler narrator/s/ of Jankovics's film).

the Turanic paradigm).²⁸ The same Turanism is present in the oral chronicles told by old ‘táltos’ shamans in the *Yotengrit* books. There are numerous propagators of the Turanic idea rooted in deeper layers of the cultural (folk) memory. Many personal mythopoetic narratives stem from these rich traditions, forming a coherent but bushy entanglement of ethnogenesis mythology. *Heaven’s Sons* explicitly relies on two of these personalities and their works: Zoltán Paál, the author or “recorder” of the *Arvisura*, and Imre Máté writer or “perpetuator” of the *Yotengrit* tradition. In this respect, the film strives to reinforce the idea that it tells the true story of the nation and represents the organic, living tradition, using these personalities as authority arguments. This aspect, together with the implicit exploitation of István Kiszely’s vast anthropological-historical work (especially Kiszely 1996), and the direct references to Koppány László Csáji’s ethnographic researches in Central Asia (2005), unavoidably act against the argumentation of organic genuineness, giving a strong appearance of artificial mythology.

The first animation has no intended religious aspects, and is an educational product of the elite culture for the enlightenment of the masses, supported by state politics and mainstream mass media. In contrast, the second film is strongly and intentionally religious. It also bears explicit (but figurative) subversive political messages. *Heaven’s Sons* spreads among the circles of peripheric and counter elite culture, in various religious and radical nationalist subcultures. It represents and also affects the ideas increasingly infiltrating general Hungarian pop culture, with the help of alternative new media. In this respect, the involuntary or intentional amateur creation of *Heaven’s Sons* in all aspects results in a side effect of folklore art character of the animation—worthy of a deeper ethnographic analysis.

The two animations are best conceivable as contrastive mirror-myths, one debunking the other. *The Miraculous Deer*—even if made earlier, tacitly seems to mean to deconstruct the increasingly spreading alternative views of history,²⁹ like those expressed in *Heaven’s Sons*. The first film presents the canonical (official ideological) discourse for the primarily targeted youth in an easily digestible and placid aesthetic way. The latter film is like a statement formulated by the true defenders of the Nation against the concentrated assault of the official historical discourse of the Academia, the political and economic Power, and even the Church.³⁰ More closely, the amateur animation is a direct counter-attack against the *Miraculous Deer*, perceived as a mendacious myth. *Heaven’s Sons* concretely debunks some of the previous film’s narratives by retelling them in the

28 The undeniable Finno-Ugric elements of the *Arvisura* are tacitly neglected in *Heaven’s Sons*.

29 Suspected and charged by the exponents of the academia with ignorance, romantic idealism, exclusive emotional motivation and argumentation, and supposed xenophobia, hatred, distorted superiority consciousness.

30 Suspected and charged by the propagators of Turanism with deliberate malevolence, cowardice, gainsaid emotional motivation and interest-driven manipulation, latent Hungarophobia, and false intellectual superiority.

correct version (e.g. the Wondrous Hunt of the twins Hunor and Magyar, princess Emese's dream, the stories of chiefs Álmos and Árpád). It also virtually redraws all the historical maps presented in the *Miraculous Deer* (see Hubbes 2013).

On a syntagmatic level the two films show more resemblance, but with certain differences. The *Miraculous Deer* is rather mosaic-like, though somehow coherent, incorporating and closely resembling other anthropologically or linguistically relative (northern, Siberian, Central-Asian) peoples' myths, legends and even Hellenic-Roman myths. All the adapted or alluded myths suggest a kind of universality of these totemic origin narratives. In turn, *Heaven's Sons* shows up as organically blended, yet controversial, sometimes incoherent narrative. It incorporates and resembles (the only accepted Central-Asian) relative peoples' myths, legends, blending these origin-myths with the Platonic and Western Atlantis-mythology (Ataisz from the *Arvisura*), as well as a considerable infusion of Oriental (Hindu, Tao) and New Age religious ideas (via the *Yotengrit*).

If we take into account the structural mythic and symbolic elements of the two films, we may observe sharp contrasts again. Jankovics's animation rallies ancestral and animal totemic spirits, an Old Father God (resembling the Ob-Ugrian Numi Torem) and a Mother-of-Beings, as well as the central pair of the twin Hunters. Most prominent, however, is the Deer God/dess in its numerous animal and anthropomorphic incarnations. The *Miraculous Deer* aligns folk-tale-like and well-known historical heroes, among them shamans, hunters, herders, warlords and princes. There are many female personalities both among the godlike and the human ancestors (Hind Goddess-Mothers, Swan Ladies)—implying natural archetypal or historical gender relations. Tibor Molnár's film avoids explicit totemism, and brings to life or invokes anthropomorphic ancestor-gods/goddesses (Ata-Izis, Maa-Tun, Ukkon, Anya-Hita) and (half-)elf forebears. Among the human heroes the *táltos*/shaman spiritual leaders seem to play a more predominant role than the traditional military and royal heroes—a motif supported by both the *Arvisura* and the *Yotengrit*. The female presence on both divine and human level is highly accentuated: there are Goddess Mothers (Ata-Izis), ancestral mothers (Anya-Hita), wise shaman-women called literally “harlot-girls” („rimalányok”—*Arvisura*). Beyond the prominent role of female figures, gender equality is emphasized in the doctrinal (*Yotengrit*)-teachings repeated along the plot.

Dualistic structures can be found in both films. In the *Miraculous Deer* this aspect remains on the level of complementary binaries of geometrical opposites (upper world, underworld), animal pairs (reindeer stag and hind, wolverine and hawk, deer and horse, wolf/hound and eagle). In anthropological terms, this dualism is represented by human doubles (winged hunter and bloody-handed hunter, Hunor and Magyar twins, chieftains Levedi and Álmos, princes Géza and Mihály), lover pairs (White Man and Mother-of-Beings, Eneh and Ménrót, the hunter twins and their fairy spouses). There is no apparent moral

dualism of good and evil, either in internal oppositions, or between (ancestors of) Hungarians and their historical antagonists (other nomadic people, Khazars, Byzantines, Romans, Germans). *Heaven's Sons* is more biased in its dualistic structures. The complementary gender dualism is expressed in beautiful fairy tale-like love stories both in the case of Level and Gyöngyvér,³¹ and in the case of Ügyek and Emese. The moral dualism is projected onto an anthropological level. The Turanic people (representing the ancestors of Hungarians or the Hungarians themselves) are the good, the noble, the morally right ones. In turn, every other (that is, non-Turanic) real or imaginary nation is antagonist, hostile, thus implicitly (sometimes explicitly) evil and/or inferior (e.g. the 'Kinays' / the Chinese/, the Arabs, the 'Thursday Priests' /Zoroastrians/, the Jews, and the 'Atlantean locust peoples').

5. Closing and Conclusions

Due to the strict limits of this article it is not possible to perform the thorough analysis on all levels proposed by the Kapitány couple. But even this restricted comparative examination, touching only the most important aspects and elements of the two animations, has clearly shown that—although with different background and intent—both of them possess definite mythological features.

The question raised by these films is whether there is one single true history of the nation. Consequently: is there only one firm portrait of the nation or are there several others? The *Miraculous Deer* and *Heaven's Sons* show two—not only distinct, but opposing—images of the nation. Are these twin images of the nation or two sides of the same face? Our comparative analysis went round the implicit claim of single truth expressed by both films, avoiding thus the trap of judging the imaginary reality. Instead, it came clear that both animations tell the tales of the origins in a distinct paradigmatic frame, and work as founding myths, fulfilling their mythomotoric role in the cultural memory of the Nation. They project images of the Hungarian people as viewed from (and through) its past—but these images are accepted as authentic only by their own dedicated audiences. The self-perception and self-appreciation of the members of the ethnic community depend on these images that build up a coherent national identity—coherent and intelligible only for those who accept the premises of either one paradigmatic approach or the other.

31 This plot is a typically corrected story of Hunor and Magyar raping the daughters of prince Dúla as presented in the *Miraculous Deer* (where again the conventional legend is also enriched by folk fairy-tale elements: the bathing girls being disguised as swans, water birds).

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The Discovery of Alsatian Space in the Regionalist Art Historiography of the First Half of the 20th Century

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Abstract. Our paper tries to analyse the way in which the regional identity of art historiography in Alsace came into being in the 20th century. Similarly to Transylvania, Alsace represented a highly disputed territory, being claimed by two hostile nations. We shall focus upon the regionalist point of view, which used to be overshadowed by the official nationalist discourse of the centres, Paris and Berlin. We shall examine the way in which a regional identity was invented through works of art. Regionalist art historians did no longer speak of the existence of French or German art in Alsace, but of the existence of an Alsatian art individualized within European art. We shall also emphasise the role the *genius loci* and regional geography played in forging this new identity.

Keywords: regional identity, art historiography, Alsace, regional geography

To Corina Moldovan

Natural borders

The extraordinary influence of Vidal de la Blache's writings (1845–1918) was not limited to the circle of geographers only, but it spread among art historians as well. Beside the analysis of different kinds of artefacts and monuments, regional geography enjoyed a large popularity among regionalist art historians. Artistic works were placed in the immediate geographical context, thus developing new meanings. In addition to that, a tight connection was observed between the geographical area and the work of art, the latter one being influenced by or completed with the peculiarities of landforms. In this way, a new kind of art history was established in which, based on the idea that artistic geographies are influenced by the environment, the plastic and conceptual message of the artistic

productions was strongly determined by the landforms: mountains, hills, plains, valleys, rivers.

Even though most often Vidal de la Blache's ideas were not explicitly formulated in Alsatian art historians' texts in the first half of the 20th century, there are also cases in which Vidal's approach was assumed from the very beginning. For instance, it is quite eloquent for us how some historians and Alsatian art critics chose to start their scientific studies citing names of geographers. This is the case of Raymond Régamey (1900–1996) (Régamey 1925: 3) and of Claude Odilé (1881–1957), to give just two examples at hand. The latter developed Vidal's considerations over several pages, adapting them to the specific needs that the study of architectural monuments and of the ethnographic heritage in Alsace require. The main idea that emerged from here was that, geographically, Alsace is part of both Central and Mediterranean Europe; the territory between the Vosges and the Rhine being depicted as "*real European crossroads*", which goes beyond the limited interests of two nations (Odilé 1934: 7-9). Thus, the perception of Alsace's specific artistic and cultural identity started form a geographical / geological approach. Locating this historical province on the map of the continent meant to describe its particular historical status. The fact that it is placed at the confluence of several "tectonic plaques" implicitly determined a considerable number of cultural influences.

It is interesting to see how Claude Odilé reads this territory by invoking Vidal de la Blache. Alsace was not seen as a neutral territory, without any historical or geographical personality. Being located on the border, it was part neither of France nor of Germany. In other words, no regional West-East perspective of the territory was assumed, i.e. a nationalist French or German perspective. The geographical outlook was considerably enlarged by including Southern Italy in the palette of geographic and cultural influences. It is also notable that the Alsatian art historian did not exclude the German influences from Alsace, on the contrary, he catalogued them as bearing a great significance. According to Claude Odilé "*It is impossible to live in Strasbourg without feeling simultaneously attracted to two poles: the Mediterranean and the other. This other one being the German pole in the case of the Alsations*" (Odilé 1934: 7).¹ Nevertheless, the Francophile perspective contributed with some cultural and ethnographic evidence to justify Alsace's geographical inclusion in the French territory. In fact, the French national character was invoked, which obviously differs from the German way of being, especially regarding its extraordinary capacity to assimilate and integrate foreign elements, a quality which does not characterize the Germans. "*And here is once again Vidal de la Blache who led me to this. 'France, he said, is a land which seems to have been made to absorb its own emigration.'* An admirable definition.

1 "[...] *Il est impossible de vivre à Strasbourg sans se sentir attiré vers ces deux pôles à la fois: le méditerranée et l'autre. L'autre, pour les Alsaciens, c'est le pôle allemand [...]*" [The French quotations have been translated into English by Enikő Pál.]

If Germany were in this situation, we would risk being on the verge of a European war” (Odilé 1934 : 7).²

Whether the views were of more or less regionalist or Francophile nature, references to the geography of Alsace have constantly been present in the writings of Alsatian art historians. Landforms became important not only because they offered Alsace a physical aspect and a moral personality, but they also left their mark on the works of art giving them new potentials through the specific climate and lights (Ahnne 1950: 7).

According to André Hallays (1859–1930), Alsace has a well-defined geographical personality outlined by landforms for which it can be distinguished within the general setting of France:

*No province of France has a geographical individuality as well defined as Alsace. It borders the Rhine River in the east, the Vosges Mountains in the west, in the south it is marked by the watersheds between the Rhone and the Rhine basin and, lastly, it borders the Jura foothills. It is only its northern boundary which fluctuated according to the vicissitudes of history: once it was marked by the Queich Valley, in 1815 being moved to Lauter.*³ (Hallays 1929: 5)

One may detect an almost obsessive concern to identify even the most insignificant geographical coordinates in order to draw the precise contours of Alsace, which is detectable during the evocation of the two minor tributaries of the Rhine which, compared to the Vosges or to the great river, gain a caricature-like aspect. Hallays dealt with the lack of major landforms in northern Alsace, which would visibly close the regional geographic area, by resorting to a trick. According to the author, the fluctuating boundaries in the north were due to the whims of political-military history, which destabilized the existence of a particular geographical stability of the borders.

In 1917, in an article dedicated to Alsatian folk art, the idea of an Alsace which is perfectly surrounded and enclosed by the main landforms was expressed by Anselme Laugel (1851–1928). According to the scholar, a refugee in France after the Franco-Prussian War until 1918, the homeland was considered to be one

2 “[...] *Et c’est encore Vidal de la Blache qui m’y conduit. ‘La France, dit-il, est une terre qui semble faite pour absorber sa propre émigration’. Admirable définition. Si l’Allemagne se trouvait dans cette situation, nous ne risquerions point de guerre européenne.*”

3 “*Aucune province de France n’a une individualité géographique aussi tranchée que l’Alsace. Elle est limitée au levant par le cours du Rhin, au couchant par la chaîne des Vosges, au midi par la ligne des partages des eaux entre le bassin du Rhône et celui du Rhin et par les derniers contreforts du Jura. C’est seulement au nord que sa frontière a oscillé selon les vicissitudes de l’histoire: formée autrefois par la vallée de la Queich, elle a été, en 1815, amenée à celle de la Lauter.*”

of the few regions in the world which are so well defined geographically: “*the Rhine on one side and the Vosges on the other form a ditch and a bulwark of an admirable clarity*” (Laugel 1917: 15).⁴ But the mere display of all the mountains, rivers and valleys was not enough to give a historical and cultural meaning to a province. The interpretation of regional geography offered by Laugel goes beyond this, since the landforms have different meanings and, eventually, are given political connotations. For instance, the mountains united Alsace with France, while the Rhine separated it from Germany. The heights of the Vosges has not been an impediment to maintain or justify the close relationships between Alsace and France, due to the numerous accessible crossing points: Bussang, Schlucht, Bonhomme, Saint-Marie-aux-Mines, Saales or Saverne. The conclusion reached by Anselme Laugel in 1917, while the soldiers of the two rival nations were facing each other on the battlefields of the Great War, was that: “*Doesn't this clearly show that Germany has nothing to do in Alsace, and that, on the contrary, the French could freely enter there*” (Laugel 1917: 15).⁵

It is surprising that where we would expect the most the idea of a *perfect regional geography* to be acclaimed, there the approach has been much more reticent and relativized. In other words, although reporting to regional geography was of equal importance in the discourse of some Alsatian regionalist art historians as well, it was done in a different way. As mentioned before, André Hallays seeks to describe with great meticulousity even the smallest rivers, which, in his perspective, harmoniously enclose the geography of Alsace. According to the *tricked approach*, the regionalist André Hallays only implicitly talks about the topic without any explanation or justification, limiting himself to a “neutral” presentation of some data which give the readers the impression of being about some common places. Robert Heitz (1895–1984) deals with the issue of regional geography in a *deconstructive* manner. Not geography gave the province cohesion but history. Citing the study of Pierre Marthelot (1909–1995) entitled *Géographie humaine de l'Alsace* (Marthelot 1947: 9-40), Heitz reinforced the idea that the unity and peculiarity of Alsace were determined first of all by spiritual elements; namely, the awareness of a common identity assumed by the inhabitants of this province, which made Marthelot and Heitz share the idea that “*In this respect, Alsace represents indeed – and perhaps more than any other province of France – what Michelet called a ‘person’*” (Marthelot 1947: 9-40; Heitz 1952: 26).⁶

According to Robert Heitz, it was historical determination that gave unity to Alsace, not the geographical one. In order to prove his statement, the art

4 “[...] *le Rhin d'une part, et les Vosges de l'autre forment un fossé et un rempart d'une admirable netteté [...]*”

5 “*Cela signifie clairement, n'est-il pas vrai ? que l'Allemagne n'a rien à faire en Alsace, et que, par contre, la France peut y entrer librement [...]*”

6 “[...] *A cet égard, l'Alsace représente bien – et peut-être plus qu'aucune autre province de France – ce que Michelet appelait une « personne »*”

historian from Strasbourg gives a series of relevant examples, exceptions from the rule, which demonstrate that the historical and identitary Alsace does not correspond in all cases to geographical Alsace. No landforms are regarded as borders anymore, Alsace being considered the result of the past's assumption and not a place marked by natural boundaries. Actually, introducing this point of view into discussion, the eternal geographical argument exploded, based on which the French or Germans had made political and territorial demands over Alsace. Accordingly, the Rhine and the Vosges could not be invoked any more as borders *par excellence* since regional geography has always been fluctuating. Hence, this time Alsace was defined from an inner perspective of those who regard themselves as Alsatians. Heitz claims that:

Indeed the unity and personality of Alsace are given by its historical context rather than its natural condition. Despite appearances, Alsace has no natural boundaries.// Not even the Rhine. It forms the eastern border along 183 km. It should be recalled that the territory lying on the right bank of the river belonged to the Bishopric of Strasbourg for a long time, and then to Napoleon, and that Breisach used to be a French territory for a century and a half and that Kehl valley was attached to Alsace under the Empire. In the west, the Vosges are far from being a precise boundary. Historically and ethnically, the middle and upper parts of the Bruche valley were not part of Alsace: they were attached to it in 1817 after the Treaty of Frankfurt only for strategic reasons. In contrast to this, the same treaty left France the territory of Belfort, a former Alsatian territory. In the north, in 1815, a part of the possessions of Wissembourg Abbey and Landau, fortified by Vauban, were given to Palatine. In the south, we have Mulhouse, a small and insignificant town until recently, which joined Switzerland in the sixteenth century and united with France in 1798. Finally, Alsace Bossue (s'Krumm Elsass), attached to Alsace in 1791 together with Sarre-Union and Drulingen, mainly for religious reasons, is actually a part of the Lorraine plateau (Heitz 1952: 25-26).⁷

7 “En effet l'unité et la personnalité de l'Alsace, qui ne peuvent être discutées, sont le fait moins de la nature que de la détermination historique.// L'Alsace, malgré les apparences, n'a pas des frontières naturelles.// Le Rhin, soit. Il forme la frontière orientale sur un parcours de 183 kilomètres. Convient-il de rappeler que le territoire de l'Évêché de Strasbourg a longtemps, et jusqu'à Napoléon, empiété sur la rive droite du fleuve, que Vieux-Brisach a été français pendant un siècle et demi et que la vallée de Kehl, sous l'Empire, était rattachée à l'Alsace. A l'ouest, les Vosges sont loin de constituer une frontière précise. La vallée moyenne et supérieure de la Bruche n'a pas fait partie, historiquement et ethniquement, de l'Alsace ; elle lui a été incorporée seulement par le Traité de Francfort, en 1817, pour des raisons stratégiques. En revanche, le même traité laissa à la France le territoire de Belfort, ancienne terre alsacienne. Au nord, en 1815, le Palatinat s'est vu attribuer une partie des possessions de l'abbaye de Wissembourg et la place de Landau, fortifiée par Vauban. Au sud, nous avons vu Mulhouse, petite ville assez insignifiante jusqu'à une date récente, quitter l'Alsace pour la Suisse au XVI^e siècle et s'unir à la France en 1798. Enfin, l'Alsace «bossue» ou «tortue» (s'Krumm Elsass) avec Sarre-Union et Drulingen, rattaché à l'Alsace en 1791, surtout pour des raisons d'ordre confessionnel, constitue en réalité une partie du plateau lorrain.”

Inner space

In addition to Alsatian art historians' special interest in tracing the natural borders of Alsace, an equally important concern was to define the regional inner space.

Authors like Robert Heitz or Anselme Laugel constructed their argumentation based on the lyrics—written by Émile Erckmann (1822–1899) and Alexandre Chatrian (1826–1890)—of a famous Alsatian song from the '80s of the 19th century, entitled “*Tell me, which is your country?*”.⁸ Although its message was explicitly Francophile or anti-German—see the confession in its last lines: “*Germans, this is my country// What we say is what we do // It would rather change the heart of the place // Than change the old Alsace*”⁹—the regional perspective of the Alsatian territory was only discreetly introduced by a trivial definition which remained in a latent state until it was exploited in a regionalist manner. More precisely, it is the last part of the refrain which briefly defines the inner space of Alsace: “*Tell me, which is your country:// Is it France or is it Germany?// It is a country of plains and mountains*”.¹⁰ In fact, the lines above eloquently illustrate the *specific regionalist ambiguous and diverted discourse*, in which only in a primary phase, or perhaps only apparently, the Periphery expresses its sympathy with one or another centre of power.

In order to be better understood, we shall decode the regionalist message of the poem's refrain to which, later on, Anselme Laugel and Robert Heitz related to. The question *Which is your country?*—already knowing the end of the poem-song which is unfavorable for Germans—has no explicit answer either in favor of France or of Germany. The answer given by the Alsatian poets (French “patriots”) identifies the country from a geographic point of view, defining it as a space with plains and mountains. Actually, it defined nothing else but: Alsace.

The definition of Alsace as “*a country with plains and mountains*” is quite trivial, it could apply to many other provinces and countries of the globe which, of course, are formed by plains and mountains. However, Anselme Laugel gives these landforms a special charm, suggesting that there is a spirit of the place: “*But looking at these plains, crossing these mountains, we shall soon discover their power of attraction uncommonly captivating*” (Laugel 1917: 13).¹¹

The inner space of Alsace may be described not only by evoking these two extreme landforms: plains and mountains. The vineyard up on the hills became the third defining characteristic of the Alsatian territory which, in this way, gained

8 “*Dis-moi, quel est ton pays?*”

9 “*Allemands voilà mon pays// Quoi que l'on dise quoi que l'on fasse // On changera plutôt le cœur de place// Que de changer la vieille Alsace.*”

10 “*Dis-moi, quel est ton pays:// Est-ce la France ou l'Allemagne ?// C'est un pays de plaines et de montagnes.*”

11 “*Mais examinons ces plaines, parcourons ces montagnes, et nous ne tarderons pas à leur découvrir une puissance d'attraction singulièrement captivante.*”

a much more varied aspect. In this *tripartite scenery* of plains, hills and mountains, the specific Alsatian landscape opens up, on which the local artistic monuments appear like in a regional scenography. With respect to this Laugel claims that:

Between the plains and mountains, there line up a series of hills with vineyards which provide a wine that is not to be despised, a benefic wine which gets along with songs and happiness.// It is in the folds of these famous hills where our most lovely Alsatian towns hide, surrounded by walls and defended by towers which once seemed threatening but now seem to emanate a disturbing balance with their sloping roofs, as hats on ears, on which wallflowers and houseleeks creep shaking and crumbling, which does not make them less attractive, and they seem to be surprised that anyone could take them seriously (Laugel 1917: 14-15).¹²

In the definition of Alsace seen as “*a country of plains and mountains*” Robert Heitz underlines the word “and” given his desire to emphasize “*the simultaneous presence of the mountains and plains*” (Heitz 1952: 26-27) in the visual field of the one who contemplates the Alsatian landscape. Hence, the perception of the regional space has become more complete in which all the landforms are simultaneously present forming the specific Alsatian landscape; renouncing the fragmented and gradual presentation of the regional landforms. The Alsatian artistic monuments are profiled on the background of this geography which catches the eye all at once and in all its complexity: “*At the entrance of these mountain passes and valleys and especially in the northern Vosges, where the entanglement of some high valleys makes the transition more convenient, there stand the ruins of strongholds followed by watchtowers and Roman castles*” (Heitz 1952: 27).¹³

Some other art historians, among which André Hallays and Paul Ahnne (1910–1977), highlighted the extraordinary diversity of Alsatian landscape where mountains, valleys, hills, ravines, rivers, forests and vineyard hills harmoniously meet (Hallays 1929: 6; Ahnne 1950: 7). The inner space of Alsace

12 “*Entre la plaine et la montagne, une série de coteaux garnis de vignes fournissent un vin qui n’est pas à dédaigner, vin bienfaisant et qui coexiste aux chansons et aux joyeux propos.// C’est dans les replis de ces coteaux fameux que se cachent nos plus aimables bourgades alsaciennes, ceinturées de murailles et défendues par des tours qui, autrefois, semblaient menaçantes, mais qui, aujourd’hui, coiffées de toits à l’équilibre inquiétant, comme des pochards qui auraient leur chapeau sur l’oreille, couvertes de giroflées et de jubarbes, un peu branlantes et fortement délabrées, n’ont plus rien de rébarbatif, et semblent s’étonner, elles-mêmes, qu’on ait pu, parfois, les prendre au sérieux.*”

13 “[...] *A l’entrée de ces cols et des vallées qui y conduisent, mais surtout dans les Vosges septentrionales, où l’enchevêtrement des vallées peu élevées rend le passage plus commode, se dressent les ruines d’innombrables châteaux forts, succédant aux tours de guet et castels romans.*”

was not divided according to historical, political or administrative criteria. None of the great regionalist art historians have ever profiled the artistic and identity geographies of Alsace based on the two departments of the province: Haut-Rhin and Bas-Rhin.¹⁴ Moreover, neither political history criteria, which would consider the longer or shorter existence of small principalities and free cities, have ever been taken as reference in art historians' discourses. The approach has always been mainly geographical, discussing the Alsatian landscape and its geographical forms where, ultimately, villages, cities and isolated art monuments have been included. According to this, Alsace was considered to be, by turn and/or simultaneously:

A country with mountains, vast forests and narrow valleys; a country of plains where roads and rivers are engraved as in some ancient writing, indeed. But it is also a country of hills and tender valleys where small towns and villages are nestled as much as human presence, where the vine climbs to conquer the slopes marking its footprints and giving this impression; a land of agriculture, industry and art where the names Strasbourg, Colmar, Mulhouse sound like many echoes (Ahnne 1950: 7).¹⁵

The natural environment was sometimes invested with a number of aesthetic virtues becoming an independent work of art such as a painting. Moreover, describing the beauty and richness of landforms led to the appearance of a symbolic dimension of Alsace, i.e. a paradise on earth. For a better understanding of how art historians depicted the artistic monuments in an enchanting and fairylike natural setting, we shall quote the thoughts of André Hallays, who describes nature and art being in a perfect symbiosis where the relationship between space and art is a privileged one: “*But no picture is more impressive and more exciting than that one that carries ‘frau major’ of Moennelstein: the sudden appearance of the plain, villages, steeples; the silver rain and the mountains of the Black Forest making the horizon blue*” (Hallays 1929: 6).¹⁶

14 Although André Hallays' book is entitled *Sites et monuments. L'Alsace (le Haut-Rhin – le Bas-Rhin)* [*Sites and monuments. Alsace (Haut-Rhin – Bas-Rhin)*], the inner conception which oriented the judgement of the artistic monuments did not follow the artificial administrative division of Alsace into its two departments.

15 “[...] *Pays de montagnes aux vastes forêts et aux vallées étroites ; pays de plaine où les routes, les fleuves et les rivières s’inscrivent comme une écriture très ancienne, certes. Mais aussi pays de coteaux et de tendres vallonnements où les petites villes et les villages sont nichés comme autant de présences humaines, où la vigne grimpe à l’assaut des pentes, les marquant de son empreinte et de cette impression ; terre d’agriculture, d’industrie et d’art où les noms de Strasbourg, de Colmar, de Mulhouse résonnent comme autant d’appels ou comme autant d’échos.*”

16 “[...] *Mais nul tableau n’est plus grandiose, plus émouvant que celui qui transportait la ‘frau major’ du Moennelstein: la brusque apparition de la plaine, des villages, des clochers; du pluie d’argent et des monts de la Forêt Noire bleuissant à l’horizon.*”

Beside the historical background, the surrounding environment determined Alsatians' particular way of being. The characteristics of landforms—plains, hills and mountains—led to a well-defined range of behaviors and human qualities. Alsatians' life was included and understood in / from the perspective of regional geography. On this occasion, the existence of a *genius loci* was suggested which determined the moral conduct and attitudes of those who live within the area bound by the Vosges and the Rhine. Last but not least, there can be noticed an attempt to achieve an affective and behavioral gradation depending on the altitude and on the characteristics of the main landforms. This observation is confirmed by Ferdinand Dollinger (1862–1936), an Alsatian scholar with both regionalist and Francophile orientation and editor of the famous magazine of art and culture *Revue alsacienne illustrée / Illustrierte elsässische Rundschau* [*Alsatian illustrated magazine*]:

Its soul seems to reflect the contrast between a serious, often tragic, history and its pleasant nature. This nature itself combines, with 'a constant harmony', this opposition which seems less expected: the serenity of the plain, the exuberance of the hills, the contemplation of the mountain; and this harmony is basically the key quality of the race. Alsatians prefer effective actions to words in vain. They hate ostentation as much as hypocrisy. They deal with serious matters with gravity. Their characteristics are strength rather than finesse, tenacity rather than initiative, steadfastness rather than rapidity. They are conscientious, reliable and trustworthy (Dollinger 1929: 117-118).¹⁷

In his last unfinished text published posthumously, due to his sudden death, Hans Haug does not regard geography and history as two separate entities any more. On the contrary, they overlap and complete each other. According to the art historian from Strasbourg, the Vosges actively contributed to Alsatians' destiny during their history. The relationship between people and the mountains were seen as a direct bond, which went beyond the borders and beyond spiritual, temporal or national characteristics. Additionally, the Vosges became the

17 “On dirait que se reflètent, dans son âme, les contrastes entre une histoire grave, souvent tragique, et une riante nature. Cette nature elle-même associe, dans ‘une harmonie sans cesse présente: “[...] Mais nul tableau n'est plus grandiose, plus émouvant que celui qui transportait la ‘frau major’ du Moennelstein: la brusque apparition de la plaine, des villages, des clochers; du pleuve d'argent et des monts de la Forêt Noire bleuisant à l'horizon”, ces oppositions de tons qui frappent les moins avertis : la sérénité de la plaine, l'exubérance des coteaux, le recueillement de la montagne ; et cette harmonie est au fond des qualités maîtresses de la race. L'Alsacien aime l'action efficace et hait les vains discours. Il a horreur de l'ostentation comme de l'hypocrisie. Il traite avec gravité les choses sérieuses. Il a plus de solidité que de finesse, plus de ténacité que d'initiative, moins de rapidité de conception que de constance dans l'effort. Il est consciencieux, sûr, fidèle.”

immediate keepers of the regional history by preserving on their peaks the art vestiges—intact ruins and monuments—thus evoking the memory of places, of historical facts and legends: “*All this is like a huge living body, swarming with present realities and evocative memories*” (Haug 1966: VII).¹⁸

These external influences of the surrounding environment alone did not draw Alsations’ behavioral and identitary profile. In fact, we might say that, according to some scholars who have written about the art and the history of Alsace, geography was the one that “cast” people in history. In other words, it was the geographic position which determined the specific historical destiny of Alsations who had to defend their territory from foreign invasions of all kinds. Not only the specific regional climate, determined by landforms, was responsible for Alsations’ way of being, but also the independent actions of people who had actively assumed the inhabited territory, protecting it. Thus, Alsace acquired the attributes not only of a paradise on earth but also of a land bathed in tears and blood. According to Ferdinand Dollinger, “*The mild climate and the generosity of the land could have tended to Alsations’ easy and a bit flat existence, if it had not been for the ceaseless defense against jealousy and envy. Thus, this blessed but blood and tear-stained soil like few others produced and formed a strong race which undoubtedly does not despise to celebrate the favorable destiny, but which is more suitable for stoically suffering the worst trials and vigorously defend its personality*” (Dollinger 1929: 116-117).¹⁹ On the other hand, geography and human genius have completed each other since they are two complementary and organically related entities. Finally, people have come to accept their special relationship with regional geography, understanding, assuming and loving it. Anselme Laugel claims that:

*Therefore, the necessary action of nature juxtaposes the free and purposeful action of human personality. Seizing and exploiting the land, creating groups, ensuring rights, claiming freedoms, man contributes in turn to the formation of new concepts which only nature can provide. And the first concept which has been developed is the concept of love and attachment to the land and to the country whose organization had cost so much energy but which gives so many joys and, lastly, where so many prayers were arisen to heaven (Laugel 1917: 11-12).*²⁰

18 “[...] *tout cela constitue comme un grand corps vivant, grouillant de réalités présentes et de souvenirs évocateurs.*”

19 “*La douceur du climat et la générosité de la terre auraient pu incliner l’Alsacien à cette existence facile et un peu plate, s’il n’avait dû sans trêve défendre ces faveurs contre les jalousies et les convoitises. Ainsi, ce sol béni, mais trempé comme peu d’autres de sang et de larmes, a produit et façonné une forte race, qui ne dédaigne pas, sans doute, de faire fête au destin propice, mais qui se révèle plus apte encore à subir, stoïque, les pires épreuves et à défendre âprement sa personnalité [...]*”

20 “[...] *A l’action nécessaire de la nature, vient donc se juxtaposer l’action libre et réfléchie de la personnalité humaine. L’homme, en s’emparant du sol, et exploitant la terre, en créant des*

Vineyards constitute important elements of Alsace's inner space. The architectural monuments were presented in this waving natural setting covered with vines and bounded by the Vosges. Thus *Steeple in the vineyards* [*Les clochers dans les vignes*] became some kind of identitary terminals marking here and there the Alsatian landscape. Although the book of Hansi—alias Jean-Jacques Waltz (1873–1951), an illustrator from Colmar—, which consecrated the phrase, had a clear Francophile, even propagandistic message, *Les clochers dans les vignes* had in fact a strong regionalist message which was exploited as such. Most probably Hansi wanted to keep his book—in which illustration is as important as text itself—far from any kind of diverted regionalist interpretation, militating for an Alsace with French language and culture included in a unitary France. Hence, Hansi strongly opposed to regionalism, which, in his view, had been exploited for strictly political reasons. He claims:

I have seen our leaders trying to do an experiment of regionalism in one single province of France where it should not have been done and maintaining, against all odds, the fiction of an Alsace-Lorraine region which is outdated and impossible. I have seen how politicians seek to win people of Alsace to join their petty cause by ridiculous and unrealistic means; and I have seen how teaching the national language perishes in schools (Hansi 1929: 86).²¹

The significance of the bell tower (campanile) was of particular importance for regionalism. The Italian *campanilismo* derives from the root of the word *campanile*. In order to classify the different forms of regionalism, I gave *campanilismo* a new definition.²² In the same time, in the shadow of the campanile the parochial spirit was born (the awareness of belonging to a small community: a district or a parish) as well as localism or regionalism in their larger meaning. The competition between various towns and villages is well known in art history, the aim of which is to build a more beautiful and higher church completed or crowned with a

groupements, en s'assurant des droits, en revendiquant des libertés, contribue, à son tour, à la formation de notions nouvelles que la seule nature ne peut fournir. Et la première notion qui a ainsi été développée, c'est la notion de tendresse et d'attachement pour la terre dont on avait subi les influences, pour le pays dont l'organisation avait coûté tant d'énergie, où s'étaient aussi récoltées bien des joies, et d'où enfin s'étaient élevées vers le Ciel bien des prières."

21 "J'ai vu nos gouvernants tenter une expérience de régionalisme dans la seule province de France où elle ne devait pas être tentée et vouloir maintenir, envers et contre tous, la fiction d'une région périmée et impossible appelée Alsace-Lorraine. J'ai vu des politiciens chercher à gagner à leur cause mesquine les gens d'Alsace par de basses ridicules et irréalisables; et j'ai vu périer l'enseignement de la langue nationale dans les écoles du peuple."

22 In Romanian language *campanilism* has not been defined yet. Hence the definition I gave it is the following: a form of local or regional patriotism which encharges with a cultural assumption of the past and of the local or regional geography, involving, at the same time, the belief in the existence of a genius of the place (see Trifescu 2009: 413).

bell tower which stands for skill and wealth. From a regionalist perspective, *les clochers dans la vignes* symbolized an identity landscape marked by church towers pointing out various art and identity local features and a well-defined, visually distinct space called artistic geography.

In 1917 Anselme Laugel—and certainly he was not the first one—noticed that Alsatian villages had grown “in the shadow” of the parish church town, taken as a reference, being surrounded (this time) by orchards. According to the Alsatian scholar, the regional unity was emphasized rather than local features. Each and every village dominated by the bell tower had been presented in the framework of an orchard which did not separate these nomadic villages since they were interwoven by a network of roads which provided the necessary connections specific to a unitary space:

Randomly scattered and discarded villages grouped around a tower surrounded by orchards and connected to each other by roads shaded by majestic walnut trees. This is the beautiful garden which Louis XIV admired when, on a beautiful summer day, he saw the top of Saverne hill sparkle, this immense area where light shade of clouds run and then disappear in a transparent, misty distance (Laugel 1917: 13-14).²³

From Robert Heitz’s perspective, the inner space of Alsace gained architectural dimensions being delimited by the Rhine and “the foothills of the Vosges”. In fact, this closed space became a paradise garden (*hortus conclusus*) in which the fertility of the soil led to agricultural abundance. At the same time, the art historian from Strasbourg excluded the existence of an inner homogeneity of the Alsatian territory emphasizing, on the contrary, the infinite fragmentation of the farmlands. Heitz placed the towns and villages of Alsace in this luxurious, well-defined and peculiar landscape. From an overall perspective of the regional landscape, these villages are dominated by the bell towers which rise from the vineyards: “(...) *Alongside these open villages there are fashionable half timbered white houses having their eaves full of blooming geraniums and wisteria. These and the ‘Steeple in the vineyards’ are the favorite topics of Alsatian imagery*” (Heitz 1952: 28).²⁴

*

23 “[...] *Disséminés et jetés comme au hasard, les villages aux maisons groupées autour d’un clocher, sont entourées de vergers et reliés les uns aux autres par des routes qu’ombragent de majestueux noyers. C’est le beau jardin que Louis XIV admirait quand, par un beau jour d’été, il vit, du haut de la côte de Saverne, étinceler devant lui cette étendue immense où courait l’ombre légère des nuages, et qui allait se perdant dans la transparente buée d’un lointain vaporeux.*”

24 “[...] *Les agglomérations devant à leur passé de places fortifiées l’aspect de petits villes, y côtoient les villages ouverts, aux coquettes maisons crépies de blanc, aux colombages apparents, coupées d’auvents, fleuries de géraniums et de glycines. // C’est là, avec les ‘Clochers dans les vignes’, le sujet de prédilection de l’imagerie alsacienne.*”

As shown above, Alsatian art historians were particularly interested in problems concerning geography and the identification of natural borders defining regional space. On the other hand, the description of Alsace's inner space was an equally important concern since it determined the peculiarity of Alsatian landscape where the artistic monuments were integrated as essential parts of the specific geographic environment. In this context, *'Clochers dans les vignes'* [*'Steeple in the vineyards'*] became "*the favourite topic of Alsatian imagery*",²⁵ as Robert Heitz puts it.

Without going into the complex and controversial issue of regional and national artistic geographies, bell towers of Alsatian churches, villages and towns became regional symbols *par excellence*. The next step was none other than trying to nationalize them in order to define the characteristics of Alsace and to discover some affinities between this region and French or German culture. Laugel Anselme's text, published in 1917—just like Émile Mâle's (Mâle 1917: *passim*) combative piece of work—proposed a solution to this problem by adopting an active perspective determined by the impact of the Great War. Laugel claims that: "*But there will come a day when we will resume this talk about the Alsatian spirit – when the Tricolor will float over all the steeples of Alsace – and I could continue my thought by adding, as you expect, that Alsatian spirit is incompatible with that of the Germans, if there is such a thing as German spirit*",²⁶ and finally concludes that Alsatians: "*are essentially of French qualities*" (Laugel 1917: 30-31).²⁷ Later on, this symbolic representation of Alsace's landscape, marked here and there by *steeples in the vineyards* which became national items being "labelled" with the French tricolor, was continued, on every occasion, in the illustrated books of Hansi, where *joyous Alsace*²⁸ was painted in French national colors. It is not by chance that the first thing the French did after they victoriously entered Alsace in November 1918 was to place a French flag on top of the spire of Strasbourg cathedral.²⁹

[Translated by Enikő Pál]

25 "le sujet de prédilection de l'imagerie alsacienne"

26 "Mais le jour viendra où nous reprendrons cette causerie sur l'esprit alsacien – le drapeau tricolore flottera alors sur tous les clochers de l'Alsace – et je pourrais compléter ma pensée en y ajoutant les développements que vous prévoyez, et vous montrer à quel point cet esprit alsacien est incompatible avec l'esprit allemand, si toutefois il est encore permis de parler d'un esprit allemand [...]"

27 "sont aussi essentiellement des qualités françaises"

28 *L'Alsace heureuse*

29 Actually, the French tricolor replaced the red flag which had been placed there by a few communists who took advantage of the political situation in the first days after the armistice of November 11 which marked the end of the war. Similarly, in November 1944, the French national flag was placed again on the top of Strasbourg cathedral, as a token of victory.

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Approaching Literature with Linguistic Means: a Few Conclusions

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Abstract. This paper is a follow-up of my research carried out on the interface area of language and literature, summarizing the conclusions that can be drawn from the approach of literary works with linguistic means. In my research I have analysed the dramatic works of G. B. Shaw with the help of the latest results of interactional sociolinguistics. After a thorough examination of the Shavian characters' verbal interaction focusing on the relevance of ethnic features (Britishness, for instance), this article discusses the legitimacy of linguistic methods in the interpretation of literary works.

Keywords: language, literature, semiotic perspective, interactional sociolinguistics, interdisciplinary approach

1. Introduction, structure of the paper

For those interested in applying linguistic methods to the study of literature an obvious procedure is to use the categories of linguistics to describe the language of literary texts. Literature, as Valéry said, 'is a kind of extension and application of certain properties of language' (quoted in Culler [1975], 2008: 64). The linguist, therefore, can contribute to literary studies by showing what properties of language [are] being exploited in particular texts and how they [are] extended or reorganized (*ibid.*).

In my research I have investigated the interface of language and literature analysing literary works with the help of linguistics, in particular, discussing the conversational strategies employed by G. B. Shaw's characters that shape their ethnic identity. In this paper I discuss the legitimacy of the linguistic approach to literary works in general, specifically referring to the Shavian plays as a corpus analysed with sociolinguistic means.

This paper attempts at summarizing the conclusions that can be drawn from the approach of literary works with linguistic means. Firstly, I introduce the

main topic of discussion, literature, approached as a type of public discourse, a specific genre, also paying particular attention to dramatic discourse. The second part of the paper concentrates on relevant methods employed in the analysis of dramatic dialogues, in general, particularly highlighting the Shavian plays that have been analysed within the research. The final part of the article summarizes the main results of the research carried out on the interface of language and literature, emphasizing the relevance and legitimacy of the linguistic analysis in the approach of the above mentioned plays in particular, making reference to literature, in general.

2. Literature—a type of discourse

In my research I consider literature as one type of discourse, an identifiable type of ‘genre’, whether literary or not. Just as ‘the lecture, a casual conversation, and the interview are all genres’ (Traugott and Pratt 1980: 20), the novel, the short story or the drama are also different types of discourse. ‘This broader view on genre is valuable in that it helps us conceptually to bridge the traditional gap between literary and non-literary discourse. It enables us to view literature as a particular range of genres or discourse type, that is, as a particular subset of the repertory of genres existing in a given speech community.’ (ibid.)

Literature as a range of genres is public, not private, discourse. Additionally, because it is a written form of discourse, it can be read ‘at a far distance in time and place from its origin’ (idem, 21). Moreover, since the texts analysed belong to the dramatic genre (G. B. Shaw’s plays), beside the ideational function of language (according to which language is used to convey experience and information about the context and is best exploited in poetry and prose), the interpersonal function of language is brought to the limelight. Drama is prototypically the literary genre composed almost entirely of face-to-face interaction between characters (Tan 1998).

3. Relevant methods for the analysis of the Shavian plays

The methods of analysis, which focus on the linguistic structure of the dramatic dialogue, belong to the domains of discourse analysis, conversation analysis and pragmatics, which deal precisely with face-to-face interaction. All these prove to be useful tools in analysing the meanings of utterances in (fictional) dialogues. Besides, politeness theory, which is also applied in the analyses, can illuminate the social dynamics and character interaction, while discourse analysis can shed light on aspects of characterization.

Research shows that ‘an increasing interest in the pragmatics of literary texts has been making itself felt across the disciplines of both literary sciences and linguistics’ (Mey 2001: 787). Suffice it to mention the emergence of such salient works as Traugott and Pratt’s (1980) *Linguistics for the Student of Literature*, the Interface Series of Routledge Publishing House and studies in the so-called literary pragmatics (e.g. Mey (1999), Toolan (1994), Fludernik (1993)). In addition, further research articles can be mentioned in this line, included in the journals of this borderline area like *Text*, *Poetics*, *Journal of Literary Semantics*, and especially *Language and Literature*, which covers the latest developments in stylistic analysis, the linguistic analysis of literature and related areas. These journals also provide firm evidence that the combination of literary criticism and linguistics is both legitimate and creative.

The language of literature is one of the most traditional applications of linguistics, ‘one which has been given new impetus by the rapid new developments in linguistics since the development of generative grammar. At the present time, linguistic analysis of literature is one of the most active and creative areas of literary studies’ (Traugott & Pratt 1980: 19-20). Although linguistics is not essential to the study of literature, it can contribute to a better understanding of a text. It can help in raising awareness of why it is that we experience what we do when we read a literary work and it can also reveal how the experience of a work is in part derived from its verbal structure. Above all, however, linguistics can give the conscious reader a point of view, a way of looking at a literary text that will help them develop a consistent analysis, and prompt them to ask questions about the language of a text that they might otherwise ignore. Linguistics helps ensure a proper foundation for analysis by enabling the literary critic to recognize the systematic regularities in the language of a text. In this sense, we can use linguistics to construct a theory about the language of a text in the form of a “grammar of the text”. In this way, linguistics forms an integral component of literary criticism.

Alongside this line of research, my study has examined the ‘significance’ of the literary text from a linguistic perspective, investigating its language from different points of view. In this sense, investigation has taken place on two levels:

1. the analysis of the *language proper*, of the linguistic choices the author (G. B. Shaw, in our case) makes, which draws no distinction between the literary text and other types of texts;

2. the analysis of the *significance of such linguistic choices*, which leads the critic to a deeper, more proper interpretation of the literary work.

The significance of linguistic choices is understood in two complementary ways:

- (i) Firstly, the literary text is considered to be an answer to the everyday social and political questions of the playwright’s time. In our case, Shaw’s adoption of

one of the ideological trends of the age (Fabianism, socialism) is transparent in the texts of the plays, in the characters' attitudes to certain social and political issues;

(ii) Secondly, the work shapes the ideological views of the time. In this sense, the literary work plays an active role in forming the ideology of an age. This point is especially salient in the case of Shaw's plays, as they have been influenced by the ideologies of the age, but they also influenced the critical thinking of the age.

Within this framework, the methodology of analysis applied to the plays is micro-sociolinguistic. The key problem in this field of linguistic research is always the origin and nature of the social valence attached to linguistic forms. Choices of form are primarily determined by the social characteristics of participants and setting. As Brown and Levinson (1987) point out, it is precisely in action and interaction that the most profound interrelations between language and society are to be found: this is the field of micro-sociolinguistics. In line with this approach, the Shavian plays are taken as an authentic socio-cultural linguistic corpus (Bucholtz & Hall 2005). In this context, the social variables that shape the identity of the characters are related to their language use and social behaviour. Born from the writer's fictional world, the language these individuals use is characteristic of the time and society in which the author lived and created them. In this sense, my research has been an attempt to capture the typical sociolinguistic features of these literary figures who—though on the surface have nothing to do with real life at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century—basically are the 'children' of their creator's age, whether the action of the play takes place in the 16th (*Saint Joan*), 19th century (*A Man of Destiny*) or right in Shaw's own time (*Mrs Warren's Profession*, *Major Barbara*, or *Pygmalion*).

By offering an ambiguous view of the created ethnic stereotypes, Shaw *constructs* and *undermines* at the same time his characteristically paradoxical plot and character treatment. My research has concentrated on all the conversational strategies the Shavian characters employ while they act like a typical specimen of their ethnic group or nationality, of their gender or their class, or exactly the opposite. The analyses pursued in the research not only capture these characters in their linguistic interaction with other characters, but, as their ethnical bias is revealed in ways other than language, it also seizes the way they utter certain sentences or make certain gestures, use body language, etc. In other words, the focus of my research has been to analyse how interacting participants use language, which – as a result – shapes their ethnic identity. However, because ethnicity is not neatly isolable from other facets of identity, it is necessary to consider the participants' positioning with respect to other types of group identity (e.g. gender, class, age), as well as personal and interpersonal identities that are adopted, shaped and abandoned in the course of the unfolding interaction.

Summing up, the methods of analysis of the plays are based on the interface of language and literature. The plays are approached from a micro-sociolinguistic

perspective. Although I have followed the close analysis of the texts, concentrating on their different closures which lead us back to the age of structuralism, in my research I have applied post-structuralist, present-day methods, relying on the latest and newly emerging branches of linguistics: pragmatics, conversation analysis, Speech Act Theory, Politeness Theory and other methods of analysing linguistic manifestations of identity, and specifically, ethnicity.

It must be added that through pragmatics, linguistics extends its area of research towards sociology, anthropology, to the study of power relations and language ideology (in the sense discussed by Foucault and Barthes). In my analyses, however, I have remained within the area of linguistics (micro-sociolinguistics), by offering analyses based on cultural pragmatics. Thus linguistics provides a method of analysis, it steels us with a battery of concepts, which bridge the space between text and its ideological and sociological significance. The micro-sociolinguistic concepts employed in the analyses originally derive from the fathers of pragmatics and language philosophy; such concepts as Austin and Searle's 'illocutionary force', Grice's 'conversational implicature', further developed by Leech's 'interpersonal rhetoric' (as it appears in his *Principles of Pragmatics*), and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory. From the vast area of micro-sociolinguistic research we have chosen the method of conversation analysis, which is viewed as micro-sociolinguistic analysis. The discussion of the roles, identities, ethnicity that the different characters assume takes us to the realm of their language use, the field of socio-pragmatics (as Leech defines it in his 'interpersonal rhetoric'¹), also incorporating Speech Acts, viewed as social transaction.

4. Results—the relevance and legitimacy of the linguistic analysis in the approach of literature

So far a great deal of research has been carried out concerning the Shavian plays from the perspective of literary criticism. However, I consider that linguistic methods can give a new perspective and offer a more rigorous approach to the literary text than literary methods, by offering a close analysis of the plays. I have approached them with post-structuralist methods, which are able to foreground subtleties of the literary text, which otherwise would remain unnoticed. I believe that precisely through the pragmatic approach, especially Speech Act theory, through inference and implicature, it is possible to legitimise and bring evidence

1 Cf. Leech (1983: 79) where he shows that both the CP (Cooperative Principle) and the PP (Politeness Principle) are required to account for pragmatic interpretations, and there is a need for a 'rhetoric', in the sense of a set of principles which are observed in the planning and interpretation of messages.

for the claims of literary criticism. These methods have also led to other findings that only the linguistic analysis could bring to the surface. In order to be able to approach the Shavian plays relevantly, they are viewed as a micro-sociolinguistic corpus on which the characters' verbal behaviour, their face-to-face interaction can be followed and analysed.

Following our socio-cultural analysis of five Shavian plays I have come to the following methodological results:

4.1. The general semiotic perspective and within it, the structural approach to the Shavian plays has guided me to a new and relevant interpretation of these texts. According to the semiotic approach to texts, the intention of a text is never completely clear or obvious therefore it seems to allow for several possible readings. It is the structure of the text that steers the reader to comprehend certain elements in a certain way. Research has claimed (Kelemen 1998 following Eco 1990, 1992) that a text always contains all its possible readings. In order to correctly recognize the intention of the text, the reader's task is to use conjectures. These conjectures must be tested and confirmed by the text as an organic whole. If this is achieved, the reader has come to a pertinent interpretation. If not, new conjectures must be made until the text replies to them. The interpretation of a text is therefore a continuous dialogue between the text and its reader.

In my analyses of the verbal interactions of the Shavian characters I have tried to maintain this continuous conversation with the text. I have demonstrated that the author's intentions are coded into the linguistic or other textual strategies employed in/by the text. As a reader of the Shavian texts, as the addressee of the author's intention, I have kept these strategies in mind all along the process of interpretation. All the textual (semantic, stylistic, semiotic, structural) but also ideological, cultural and historical constraints, as integral parts of the internal coherence of the text, are planted into it. If we are to provide a relevant interpretation of these texts, all these aspects have to be taken into account.

In this line, in those cases (*Arms and the Man*, *The Devil's Disciple*, *Caesar and Cleopatra*, *John Bull's Other Island*) where the play has an ethnic reading, i.e. it is ethnicity as a structuring element that the play is constructed around, parallelisms could be drawn between the different versions of Britishness. In that case where the play cannot be read as a discourse about British ethnic identity (*Pygmalion*), parallel identities disappear. Therefore a new conjecture had to be made, and the intertextual reading of the title and, consequently of the play, gave a clue to its relevant interpretation. Though Britishness is not the main structuring element of *Pygmalion*—though ethnic references are to be found in the verbal manifestation of some of the characters—, this text has also been investigated because it offers a larger perspective on Britishness, opening to the more general framework of 'Anglo-Saxon attitudes'. Therefore this play has been interpreted as an overtly

intertextual play about the condition of the creator within a specific historical and social context, intertextuality being offered by the title of the play itself.

4.2. The ambiguity and paradoxical attitude in the Shavian character treatment has some implications for the theory of stereotypes and schema theory, as well. The analyses of the British stereotypes in the selected plays have confirmed the already-known theoretical claim that stereotypes act like schemas, in so far as they are perfectly compatible with all the elements of the category. Consequently, its boundaries can be extended and the schema (in our case, the stereotype) will still remain unharmed. This is in line with the claim (Mills 2003: 202) that stereotypes themselves do not necessarily exist in any 'real' or 'material' form. Rather, they function as hypotheses made on the part of the speakers about what norms and assumptions function within that particular context or community of practice. In his plays, Shaw goes even further. He challenges the boundaries of ethnic stereotypes in such a way that not only does he maintain but he also contests them, for the sake of intellectual adventure but probably for an educational purpose as well.

The other theoretical conclusion regarding stereotypes is the confirmation of the idea that though stereotypes may change due to different social, cultural or historical circumstances—since they assume incomplete factual knowledge—they still remain valid over time.

Strongly connected to this validity concept, our analyses have also confirmed the presence of the same ethnic stereotypes produced by cultural historians (for instance, Doyle 1989, Lucas 1990 and Easthope 1999), sociologists and cultural anthropologists (Fox 2005) or journalists (Paxman 1998). Ample footnotes have made references to them. The stereotypical ethnic traits are thus verifiable in the language strategies of the characters, as the analyses of the character's verbal behaviour have revealed it.

Obviously, the circle of plays analysed could have been extended, but we believe that these five plays can be considered as models of Shaw's pattern of character creation and simultaneous display of ethnic stereotypes and counter-stereotypes. The different varieties of the British stereotype prove to be each other's paradoxically complementary elements. Our analyses have discussed the 'degree of Englishness' the characters exhibit in their speech, behaviour, manner and customs.

4.3. The linguistic methods proposed for analysis of literary texts have thus proved to be relevant. The approach of a literary text with linguistic means and more specifically, discussing the verbal behaviour of the national and ethnic stereotypes of Shavian characters with the help of conversation analysis (including Speech Act theory and Politeness Theory) has been demonstrated to be a proper

and legitimate method. What is missing from the earlier description of Shaw's work (and to my knowledge, utterly absent from research on Shaw's plays) is the discussion on the relationship between his complex ideology and its manifestation in the language of his plays. The micro-sociolinguistic, pragmatic analyses of the plays have demonstrated that the playwright's complex, ambiguous, paradoxical attitude **does** appear in the linguistic behaviour of the characters, as expressions of their identity, in the form of ambiguous, paradoxical ethnic identities. The linguistic approach has been proved to be more rigorous in manner than literary methods and has given a new perspective to the interpretation of the Shavian plays. In my analyses I have found evidence for the issues brought by literary criticism (Shaw's plays as plays of ideas, his mastery of paradox and irony) but I have also come to findings that only the linguistic analyses were able to bring to the surface in the form of parallel and paradoxical identities.

Conclusions

In this paper I have outlined an interdisciplinary approach to ethnic identity, relying particularly upon theories from linguistics (especially micro-sociolinguistics, pragmatics and discourse analysis), sociology, anthropology, and cognitive psychology (in particular, stereotype theory). I have attempted to explain how characters are constructed in their face-to-face interaction with each other. In the pragmatic analysis of the Shavian plays I have tried to explore the dynamics of dialogue conceived as verbal interaction, having implications for the author's character treatment as well as his own ideological, cultural, ethnic identity.

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