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Contents

Dear Reader,

The Department of Humanities of Sapientia University organised the third edition of its Imagological Conference on 15-16 April 2011. The issues that the conference proposed were the following:

- Imagology and intercultural studies, imagology and the crisis of conscience, transformation of national myths, own myths and false national images, ironical stereotypes, the reciprocity of the images of East-West, forming and modelling national images in literature and film;
- What stereotypes characterise folk images that we construct about ourselves and about others?
- Ethnic stereotypes in education;
- Stereotypes in mass-media;
- The role and responsibility of literature and arts in the formation and spreading of stereotypical thinking about the self and about others;
- What changes will the perception of alterity bring about in the 21st century?

The present volume of Philologica contains a selection of the papers presented at this conference. Its topics, accordingly, range from the issues of ethnic stereotypes and ethnic space, intercultural aspects of imagology, the image of the

Self and of Others from cultural, sociological, linguistic, ethnographic, cinematic and pedagogical perspectives.

We hope that you will find interest in this richness and variety of topics. With due thanks to our contributors, we wish you good reading.

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The Notion of Ethnic Space
Sacred Ethnicity and Territory

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Abstract. Benefiting from the experience of the past and being aware of the political dangers of the present, the branches of science that explore issues of nationality do not endeavour to proclaim the immobile state of ethnic territorial structures (in Central-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe) and historical continuity. Their objective is not to serve separatist political decisions but to analyse their effects.

Keywords: spatial projection

1. Territory and ideology

The scientific investigation concerning the territoriality of nationality problems has been revitalised lately parallel to the revival of ethnic conflicts in Central-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe. The investigation has been realised with the help of introducing nationality maps and area processes. The simple representation and analysis of the territorial projection of minorities (with the help of ethnic maps) do not exclusively belong to the field of cartography and geography, but also to other fields of study: the scholars of extremely different areas – from international law to history and ethnography – have set out to answer the complex territorial questions of European minorities.

The interest in the territorial aspect of ethnic questions is not new, since it is of the same age as the formation of modern nation states in Central Europe.

However, ethnic mapping, nationality statistics and the description of ethnic boundaries started to play decisive roles only at the beginning of the 20th century as a means of strengthening political decisions providing the basis of modifying national boundaries. In other words, the research of ethnic spatial projections has emerged as an independent field of study at the turn of the century, in the frames of cartography and geography, serving small state ambitions and relying on the results of national statistical surveys. It is because then any traceable data, forming the basis of so-called ethnographic maps, were used (or concealed) for the purpose of detecting linguistic and ethnic distribution and also for cartographic representation. Hungarian scholars also tried to compile conclusive material and maps about nationalities, which indicate the precise ethnic boundaries and their several-hundred-year-old constancy thus proving their stability. The verification of this permanence was emphasised in those territories which were ethnically mixed and whose affiliation was difficult to define.

> The precise demarcation is made even more difficult by the fact that in villages situated on linguistic borders the population is mixed […] I annexed the villages to this or that linguistic territory on the basis of its linguistic majority. But there are villages without absolute majority. In these cases several factors should be considered: first of all, the relative majority and then the cultural influence of the different nationalities in the given settlement. (M. Kiss 1915: 443)[1]

Hungarian ethnic territorial research is influenced by German geography, which defined its aims of research in the field of ethnic geography and its functions and tasks of education on the basis of a highly influential ideology, which has deeper consequences than the strongly political ones of Hungary. Geo-political and ethno-political territorial theories have appeared since the beginning of the 20th century. On the one hand, they were twisted so that they could serve politics. On the other hand, they were worded by researchers themselves in a way that they could give a scientific ideological frame to German political efforts. Thus, the territorial, political, and national ambitions which had been disguised got exposed and received geographical support. The ideological components of territorial research were *Blut und Boden* (*blood and earth*), *Lebensraum* (*living space*), and *Volk ohne Raum* (*people without space*). These radical views fundamentally defined the mainstream of geography at the time (*Geopolitika* (*geopolitics*), *Rassenkunde* (*race studies*), *Heimatkunde* (*homeland studies*), *völkische Lebensraumkunde* (*study of people's living space*), *Wehrgeographie* (*defence geography*), *Kolonialgeographie* (*colonial geography*). The idea that the state is obliged to view its own ethnic groups, living in different foreign countries as its own territorially unalienable parts, can be found in almost all

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[1] Author's translation.

of these branches of national socialist geography. To realise the political task of unification – often entwined with ethnography, especially enclave ethnography, *Volkstumskunde* and *Deutschtumskunde* – in the frames of ethnical mapping and national territorial science, territories inhabited by German groups were introduced and their spreading was mapped. The supporters of these actions were the famous-infamous institutions like *Publikationsstelle-Berlin-Dahlem* and *Publikationsstelle-Wien* (Kosiński 1976: 21-34).

Thanks to this period, today one can use the extreme expressions like the following: ethnic bastion, ethnic defensive zone, ethnic frontline soldier, ethnic hostage situation, ethnic spiritual weapon or crumbling the ethnic sea. These discordant phrases refer to territoriality, like the expression "enclave", and can appear in the political analysis of the present nationality conflicts. Several experts have critically analysed the place of negative ethnic studies in the history of science.[2] Therefore, it is not surprising that after World War II ethnic territorial science disappeared from the domain of Western-European academia. If there is a scholar applying data of ethnic areal projection, he distances himself at the beginning of the study from "*brown geography*" and tries to define the new aspects of his view compared to the ones preceding the war:

> Die unselige Auffassung einiger älterer Kulturlandschaftsgeographen, daß aus der sog. Landschaft und v.a. den Siedlungsstrukturen Wesensmerkmale des dort lebenden (Kultur-)Volkes (d.i. dessen 'Ethnizität') abzuleiten seien, hat sich disziplingeschichtlich inzwischen selbst marginalisiert. Dadurch hat sich die Geographie von einer Reihe ihrer völkischen Traditionen befreit. Zumindest explizit ist es selbstverständlich geworden, gesellschaftliche Produkte (hier: Siedlungen) nicht mehr als Ausdruck dieses oder jenen Volkstums zu sehen. (Aschauer – Heller 1989: 228)

> "Certain old-school practitioners of anthropogeography used to argue – not quite appropriately, it seems – that the ethnic features (i.e. ethnicity) of (modern) peoples are direct consequences of their so called "landscapes," most of all the structures of settlements they inhabit. More recent considerations of the history of science have led to the marginalisation of this approach. This has helped the field of geography to shed a number of its formerly relevant folk traditions. All in all, it has become unambiguously clear that social products can no longer be taken as forms of expression of one nationality or another."

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[2] For a vast pool of literature on the subject, categorised for the periods prior to and following 1945, see Hesske 1988: 171-173, 211-238, – for charts and sample maps, consult the same source; Weber-Kellermann 1959: 19-47; Weber-Kellermann, Bimmer 1985: 103-113; Kost 1988: 385-395; Corni – Gies 1994; Ebeling 1994; Gerndt 1995: 53-75; Becker 1996: 131-142; Fata 1999; Fahlbusch 1999.

While in the western part of Central-Europe the negative experience concerning national socialism prevented the configurational analysis of ethnic tensions and the organic formation of scientific institutions dealing with minorities, in the eastern part its role in peace treaties and the ideology of international socialism did the same. Although the territorial analysis of nationality problems was discredited because of the reasons mentioned above, parallel to the revival of ethnic conflicts in Central-Eastern and Southeast Europe, the introduction of nationality maps and territorial processes were reborn. But what are the reasons for the strengthening of ethnic processes? Why do we need the territorial aspect in the analysis of ethnic conflicts these days (and the meaning of ethnic territory)?

2. Territory and minority

The territorial approach addresses the divergent meanings of intercultural communication between East and West. If one looks at the situation after the collapse of the Eastern European social system, one can see that in the eastern part of Europe the old reflex concerning the belief in the territorial settling of ethnic conflicts has survived in the context of revitalised nationalism, which prefers the freedom of the national community and the independence (ethnic separation) from an ethnically-culturally foreign political power to individual human rights. Thus, the expression of national minority is not a notion emphasising and referring to individual cultural differences but rather a static, "untouchable", technical term suggesting a historical continuity which signifies a state (Suppan – Heuberger 1991: 208). This is the reason why the legislation of cultural nations strictly differentiates between "old" and "new" nationalities. While the former group has collective rights and protection, the latter group (immigrants and migrant workers) has only individual rights. The accepted definition of national minority in nation states is as follows:

> Nationale Minderheiten sind sozialstrukturell heterogene Bevölkerungsgruppen, die in Folge der Konstitution des Nationalstaats aufgrund historischer Siedlungstrukturen oder Staatsgebietsveränderungen als Resultat von Vereinbarungen oder Konflikten zwischen Nationalstaaten, innerhalb eines in Bezug auf ihre ethnische Identität, Kultur und Geschichte fremden Staatsgebiets leben. (Heckmann 1992: 62)

> "Viewed from the angle of their social structure, ethnic minorities are complex groups of people. Considering their ethnic identities, cultures, and histories, they live on state territories foreign to their nature. This is as much a consequence of the mere existence of nation states, as the historical structure of

settlements, or changes in state territories due to conflicts or agreements between said nation states."

This approach is static. The ethnic affiliation is assumed to be more significant than any other social stratification and this definition homogenises the nationality community on the basis of considerations which are assumed to be objective. Thus, this community is real and not apparent according to the notion of the cultural nation. Moreover, as a consequence of the readjustment of the borders, the given national minority group is presumed to be endangered because of the forced separation from the mother country, therefore it urges the collective rights on the basis of origin, culture, and language instead of the individual's rights. What is more, it assumes measurability (minority statistics) as a guarantee of the collective minority rights:

> We, demographers believe that one of the key issues of nationality politics is the statistics about nationalities. There is no minority protection without minority statistics. (Kovacsics 1994: 42)

But there has been no unified definition in international law concerning minorities. Controversial issues are e.g. the necessary size of the group and definability of subjective affinity. Therefore, the works handling the issues of international minority rights are obliged to discuss minority rights separately on the basis of countries and to try to make their own general definitions of ethnic and national minorities. The absence of the definitions concerning ethnic and national minority rights does not come from the attitude of western states but rather it indicates that they are reluctant to guarantee the collective minority rights which are sometimes forced and are difficult to defend (Brunner 1993).

The straightforward consequence of this attitude towards minorities is the national relation to ethnic territoriality. Namely, that the nation states in Central and South-Eastern Europe make an effort to create a territorial projection of the cultural and linguistic fault lines dividing the peoples living on *their territories*[3]. The idea of ethnic territory *is rooted* in the basic feature of reviving nationalism in Central and South-Eastern Europe: *in the ambition to create state borders, which coincide with the ethnic borders.* Common language, culture, and the myth of common origin play a decisive role in the concept of cultural nation. In this myth of the common origin, people are also included who, despite living *outside* the borders, share the same culture and speak the same language. Although territoriality was not a decisive factor among the original criteria of this nation type (as opposed to the state nation), it was highly emphasised after the mid-19th century

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[3] The italicised words and phrases in the study are the author's emphasis (editor's note).

as one of the ramifications of national awakening and the readjustment of the
frontiers in the 20th century: minorities have the right, and have to exploit this right,
to unite in an independent nation state. Today, each constituent with similar
ambitions – e.g. economic considerations – is subordinated to the territorial
national correspondence. There are open and hidden ambitions to be observed
which try to interpret the symbolic ethnic borders as territorial projections or even
as state borders. That is why we cannot find a new individual identity but the
revival of the old "state identity" in Eastern Europe in contrast with Western
Europe. From the same point of view we can observe the will to distinguish
between ethnic and economic questions on the basis of strict conditions in Eastern
Europe. *While they try to follow the Western European pattern concerning the
economy in Eastern Europe* (*in order to achieve a quick economic integration*)*,
they refuse the models of ethnic co-existence* (*e.g. ethnic-based autonomy*)*, which
are typical in the European Union. Moreover, the artificial separation of ethnic
and economic integration further strengthens the ethnic conflicts because, as a
consequence of an inadequate economic situation in small post-socialist nation
states, the possibility of ethnic conflicts increases.* If, however, the essential
territorial conditions of two ethnic groups overlap concerning the issue of
capitalising on the same possibilities, competition follows. The effort of ousting the
other group strengthens ethnic rivalry. To use a journalistic commonplace, the fear
of complex ethnic separatist movements prevents the West from an economic
integration which the East is longing for – and it turns out to be a vicious circle.

To sum up, the cultural definition of the notion of "nationality" refers not only
to the relations and social structure of a national minority but includes territorial
and geographical elements as well, which are important for the nation states of
Central and Eastern Europe. Stemming from the definition of the cultural state, the
extent of nationality or ethnic group is measurable and thus can be mapped
spatially. On the other hand, the definition presents the ethnic borders as spatial
order legitimised by historic continuity and therefore includes the possibility of
moving or readjusting the borders.[4]

The modern nation states emerged from feudal state configurations, pre-
national precedence in the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the
19th century. The major state-forming nationality groups in Europe grew to be
nations as a result of the process of "becoming a nation." This historical process
established essentially another kind of national state formation. Besides the
developmental type of the cultural state mentioned above we can find the outline of

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[4] It is also true in the context of Central-Eastern and South-Eastern European nation states that the
competition theory involves a treatment of new immigrants and economic refugees which is similar to
the norms prevailing in the western half of Europe (e.g. treaties of deportation). This ensures that
symbolic borders come to the fore in lieu of spatial ethnic borders (Olzak 1992).

the state nation concept. The building blocks of the state nation are shared political-legal status and *the common territory* (simply as a frame).

In the dynamic minority concept of the state nation, the notions of nationality, national minority are not even mentioned or – similar to ethnic groups – are not emphasised among the social minorities. To belong to a nationality is a "plastic" state, that is to say, in this state nation concept language is not the most important cohesive factor of national minorities. The linguistic affiliation can be outdone by an attachment to another social layer or even to an area. The original aim of the western type of development was exactly to put an end to feudal articulation of origin and to assure that everyone living on the state nation's territory would be equal and a free member of the nation. In this way of thinking, *the members* (not collectively but individually!) of other ethnic communities (living with the state-forming nation) did not get (sink) into a minority status "theoretically" but they became parts of the state-forming nation. In this case, there is no point in talking about a national minority, detached as a collective community (Hobsbawm 1991).

Although in Europe another way of becoming a national minority (the readjustment of frontiers) is present beside the formation of nation states, it bears no significance in western thinking because the new "nationalities," becoming parts of the state nation, will become equal with the other civilians independent of their language:

> The second type of minorities in Western Europe is that of national minorities. In this group, to a greater extent than in Eastern Europe, the basic criterion is the consciousness of national affiliation. It would be a mistake to classify the Walloon and Flemish, the Swiss German and French, Corsicans and Alsatians as national minorities or define them as parts of state-forming nations living in another country on the basis of their linguistic-cultural sameness. Most of these communities have political national identities and an attachment to their own country. (Joó 1983: 66)

The different attitudes of these two basic nation types towards territoriality reflect the differences between the western and eastern type of ethnic-based regionalism. Since the second half of the 20th century, the minority communities in different parts of Europe have tried to legitimise their territorial aims alluding to their common origin and the traditions they share, though territorial autonomy in the west is a political *means* while in the east it is *a goal*.

As a means: the legal allowances achieved are to be asserted in political and economic life (as far as mostly underdeveloped regions are concerned: see the central-peripheral conflict), and the minority privileges are to be exploited but the given autonomy remains an integral part of the united Europe (Western Europe).

As a goal: the national minorities should create their autonomy with less and less *dependence* on the target country; in contrast with the feature of regionalism they should not integrate into supranational organisations but, by creating a mini cultural state, they should become separate on the basis of the language and common origin and should strengthen the local entity which is in agreement with the mother countries' local entity (Eastern and Central Europe).

The nationalism, which has been reviving in the process of the modern nation-state formation, gradually discovers parallels to the organisation of the national institutions, the questions of culture and language, and the extension and importance of the "private ethnic area." In the frame of nationalism, the mythicising of space also begins. This process has changed parallel to the rebirth of national activities: "the myth of the ethnic space" has become a significant part of the new nationalism in Central-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, but it has also generated this nationalism.

3. To the concept of the "sacred"

Present-day ethnography uses the concept of the "sacred" most naturally. Veikko Anttonen has devoted a whole volume to the Finnish word "pyhä" – sacr(alis)ed – and he presents the surplus meaning that can be summarised by this word through the phenomena of the Finnish culture (Anttonen 1994). The relationship between "pyhä" and the religious "sacred" is very complicated. The two terms only partially overlap in certain parts of their meanings and are not precisely corresponding categories. However, the comparison of the two expressions clearly delineates the *spatially* important meaning of the sacral attribute in ethnography.

The etymological root of the word "pyhä," basically used as an adjective, means: "to separate". The word "pyhä", the closest interpretation of which is "taken out of the environment", is used to denote such special natural places (eg.: rivers, ponds, hills) which separate the (wild) territories of different peoples. The question is this: Why should we call these spatial phenomena "sacred?" According to Veikko Anttonen, the following criteria should be fulfilled when using the expression:

1. the place is an uninhabited, wild territory
2. this should be the first name of the territory
3. the place has a special function for the owner population
4. the place is special, uncommon from a topographical point of view.

The above-mentioned criteria refer to a conscious activity, through which the residents attempt to reconcile the given place with mythical places in order to reinforce their local identity (Gribben 1990: 277-291).

The word "pyhä" has a *religious* reference only to the extent that it can be related to "sociality" and "territoriality".

"Pyhä": *Social relevance*: Crossing borders can be done only after proper, socially prescribed ceremonies.

Spatial relevance: Spatial borders are of magic, religious nature. "Pyhä" refers to the presence of subjective factors besides religion, which can make certain spatial elements or points of time sacral. In other words, a way of thinking different from religious thinking can also make a place or object "sacred".

The sacral in a religious sense (sacr(alis)ed) simultaneously refers to the process and the result of the process. Although sacral phenomena are recognised by other creeds as well, only followers of the religion concerned are capable of decoding the exact meaning of the sacred. The general content of the sacred (sacral) can be summed up in three points:

1. consciousness in operation
2. recognising sacred things
3. dissimilitude in quality, different from the profane environment

This environment induces the religious individual / community to practice their religion, or simply reminds them of their religion. I believe that we should return to the meaning of "pyhä" in order to describe the Janus-faced sacral landscape and "sacred ethnic space" more subtly.

According to the above-mentioned concepts, the expression primarily referred to the partition (accentuation) of not the built, but the natural *landscape elements* (river, creek, hill, forest) from the profane environment. In other words, the "pyhä" is a concept primarily (but not exclusively) related to the *landscape* (and also to space). So the term is applicable in describing the ecological approach:

- It can refer to the (in this case: mainly) border-constituting potency of real landscape elements existing in the objective environment, and
- It can refer to that content of the conscience which "sets off" the given element from space.

On the basis of this, the functioning of a given part of landscape can be analysed with traditional geographical or/and with (cultural) ecological methods, and with methods aiming the mental space. While "pyhä" has only a limited religious reference (see above), the meaning of this adjective can be transferred to the research of explicitly religious spaces (Anttonen 1999). In this case the link between the religious "sacred" and "pyhä" is *spatiality*.

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Nationalism is connected to ethnic space. The role of the latter is overemphasised and *turned* into the source of nationalism. Therefore, in the nation states of Central and South-Eastern Europe, new nationalism means the struggle for

the territorial realisation of the symbolic ethnic borders (Smith 2000: 97-120). There are different approaches to interpret the notion of nation state. According to a general definition, it refers to states whose populations are homogenous (linguistically and nationally) or which try to unite the inhabitants on the basis of a common culture, symbols, values, and traditions. According to this interpretation, we can say that ethnic space constructed the new nation states at the end of the 20th century (e.g. the nation states of the former Yugoslavia).[5]

Benefiting from the experience of the past and being aware of the political dangers of the present, the branches of science that explore issues of nationality do not endeavour to proclaim the immobile state of ethnic territorial structures (in Central-Eastern and South-Eastern Europe) and historical continuity. Their objective is not to serve separatist political decisions but to analyse their effects.

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[5] This tendency gains an especially strong impetus in situations when foreign ethnic groups inhabit territories which constitute an integral part of the mythical origins of a nation (Conversi 1995: 73-85). The study was conducted under the auspices of project K 78207 of the Hungarian Scientific Research Fund [OTKA].

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Ethnic Stereotypes –
Impediments or Enhancers of Social Cognition?

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Abstract. This paper presents a brief summary of the recent literature on stereotypes according to social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner 1986). It offers a comparison of related concepts such as prejudice (Gadamer 1984) and attitude (Cseresnyési 2004) and relies on stereotype definition developed by Hilton and Hippel (1996). It gives a survey of stereotype manifestation, formation, maintenance and change, focusing on social and ethnic stereotypes, their background variables, transmitting mechanisms and mediating variables. The last part of the paper discusses different linguistic means of expressing ethnicity concluding that stereotypes act as ever-extendable schemas as opposed to prototypes, defined as best examples of a category**.**

Keywords: linguistic and social categories, ethnic identity, schema theory, prototypes vs. stereotypes

1. Introduction

This paper is dedicated to a deeper insight into the nature of stereotypes – as forms of social cognition. First the nature of stereotypes is explored, in their generic sense, defining them from a cognitive approach, experimental psychology. In order to do that, they need to be clearly distinguished from prototypes, as defined by prototype theory (Rosch 1975, Lakoff 1987). This is the contents of sections 2 – 5, also including a short description of stereotype manifestation,

formation, maintenance and change. The next part of the paper presents stereotypes in social sciences, narrowing them to ethnic stereotypes based on social identity theory (SIT), as representations of intergroup behaviour, describing a comprehensive and integrative model of stereotype content formation and change, applied mainly to national and ethnic stereotypes, and proposing three categories of factors (background variables, transmitting mechanisms and mediating variables) which determine stereotypic contents. The last part of the paper is dedicated to a short insight into one, but rather defining linguistic aspect of ethnic stereotyping, that of ethnic humour and ethnic jokes.

2. Linguistic and social categorization: prototypes and stereotypes

Both stereotypes and prototypes are different forms of cognition, two attempts to categorize the unknown world around. However, there is a significant difference between them. While prototype theory is developed from the perspective of linguistics, stereotype theory is achieved from the standpoint of social sciences. In the following section this difference is approached.

For the proper cognition and mental representation of reality, concepts and conceptual categories are of essential value. Categorization involves a mental activity of grouping similar things together into conceptual categories or classes. Categories serve to represent objects, events and entities with maximum information and minimum cognitive effort; hence they can be regarded to satisfying the human need for cognitive economy (Roth and Bruce 1995, Lakoff 1987, Rosch 1999). Prototype theory evolves as an alternative development, reaction to the insufficiency of the Aristotelian classical theory of categorization. Promoters of prototype theory (Rosch 1975, 1999, Rosch and Mervis 1975) contest the Aristotelian view according to which every category is associated with a set of membership criteria or defining attributes, which are both necessary and sufficient. Rosch's theory (1975) claims that the properties defining the categories cannot be shared by all its members therefore all members cannot have equal status as category members; some members of the category have special status. These are called cognitive reference points or prototypes, "best examples" of the category. Asymmetries (so-called "prototype effects") can also be found. Certain members of the categories are found to be more representative of the category than others (e.g. robins are judged to be more representative of the category BIRD than are chickens or penguins). The most representative members of a category are called "prototypical" members. The prototype is conceived as having the highest degree of category membership.

According to Rosch and Mervis (1975), category membership depends not only on degree of similarity to the prototypical member, but also on degree of difference from members of other categories. They claim that "... members of

categories which are considered most prototypical are those with most attributes in common with other members of the category and least attributes in common with other categories" (ibid. 433).

All in all, Eleanor Rosch manages to shift interest in categorization from artificial, "classical" sets of equivalent members towards the study of "natural categories" (i.e. natural language categories (words) and the everyday objects that they label).

Lakoff (1987) further extends this idea arguing for a model of mental representation. According to Lakoff, some categories like TALL, MAN and RED are graded, in that they have inherent degrees of membership, central members and fuzzy boundaries; other categories like BIRD have clear boundaries, but within those boundaries there are graded prototype effects – some category members are better examples of the category than others (Lakoff 1987: 56). Lakoff identifies as major sources of these prototype effects what he calls idealized cognitive models or ICMs. He claims that we organize our knowledge by means of these structures, and that category structures and prototype effects are by-products of that organization.

Beside prototypes and stereotypes, we also introduce the concept of attitude because it is closely related to the two former ones. As defined by social psychology (cf. Augoustinos et al. (1995), Breckler & Wiggins (1992), Fazio (1986)), an attitude is a hypothetical construct that represents an individual's degree of like or dislike for an item. Attitudes are generally positive or negative views of a person, place, thing, or event – this is often referred to as the attitude object. People can also be conflicted or ambivalent toward an object, meaning that they simultaneously possess both positive and negative attitudes toward the item in question. The category of attitude has become part of scientific thinking on social psychology following the works of Herbert Spencer (1862), himself an advocate of the theory of social Darwinism, and it has been defined as "a predisposition to respond in a consistently favourable or unfavourable manner with respect to a given object" (Fishbein & Ajzen 1975). The existence of attitudes is related to the fact that in the process of cognition it is not always possible to verify every assessment, every judgement experientially. Therefore the human mind relies on schemata, a phenomenon similar to that of stereotype creation.

Attitudes, as a result, are evaluations. They denote a person's orientation to some object of reference that acts as a stimulus to that person's evaluation of the object in question. "By denoting the attitude-holder's 'orientation' to the referent, an attitude conveys that person's evaluation of the referent. Thus attitudes involve judgements, are expressed in the language of 'like/dislike', 'approach/avoid', 'good/bad', i.e. they are evaluative" (Augoustinos et al. 2006: 113). Consequently, "an attitude intervenes between an observable stimulus and an observable response, providing the necessary link" (Fiske & Taylor 1984: 340). Additionally, attitudes

display cognitive dimensions because they imply categorization as a necessary state prior to evaluation.

In the next section it is argued that prototype theory, as established by Rosch (1975, 1999) and further developed by Lakoff (1987), as well as the view of social psychology regarding attitudes, are particularly salient for understanding the role of stereotypes in social encounters. Stereotypes cluster around prototypicality as an organising feature. There is also a so-called "prototype model" for stereotypical mental representations which will be described below. On the other hand, Lakoff (1987: 79) defines stereotypes as an additional level of prototype effects (like in the MOTHER category). He claims that the source of these effects is the stereotype of the mother as a housewife. He also adds that:

> Social stereotypes are cases of metonymy – where the subcategory has a socially recognized status as standing for the category as a whole, usually for the purpose of making quick judgments about people. The housewife-mother subcategory, though unnamed, exists. It defines cultural expectations about what a mother is supposed to be. And because of this, it yields prototype effects. On the whole in our culture, housewife-mothers are taken as better examples of mothers than nonhousewife-mothers. (…) [This is the] case of metonymic model in which one subcategory, the housewife-mother, stands for the whole category in defining cultural expectations of mothers. (ibid. 80)

For all these reasons, we adopt this viewpoint, along with Lakoff, that while prototypes are forms of very complex, hierarchically organized knowledge, stereotypes present a simplification of reality, so-called "cognitive shortcuts" based on different sources. In the following sections the current definition(s) of stereotypes, their sources, routes of stereotype formation, maintenance and change are summarized. All these prepare the theoretical ground for the discussion on one special group of social stereotypes called ethnic stereotypes.

3. Stereotypes – the definition of the term

The term "stereotype" initially referred to a printing stamp used to make multiple copies from a single model or mould. However, the journalist Walter Lippman adopted the term in his celebrated 1922 book entitled *Public Opinion* as a means of describing the way society set about categorizing people – "stamping" human beings with a set of characteristics – as well. In his pioneering work, Lippman identified four aspects of stereotypes, arguing that stereotypes are:

1. simple: more simple than reality, but also often capable of being summarized in only two or three sentences;

2. acquired second hand: people acquire (and absorb) stereotypes from cultural mediators rather than from their own experience with the grounds being stereotyped.

3. erroneous: all stereotypes are false. Some are less false than others, and some are less harmful than others. They are attempts to claim that each individual human being in a certain group shares a set of common qualities. Since an individual is different from all other individuals by definition, stereotypes are a logical impossibility.

4. resistant to change: even after several decades, old stereotypes still colour our perception.

However, there is nothing inherently wrong with stereotyping, as it is a natural function of the human / cultural mind and is therefore morally neutral in itself. Every culture seeks to simplify a complex reality so that it can better determine how best to act in any given circumstance. "Despite its acquired negative connotations, stereotyping is a routine, everyday cognitive process upon which we all to some extent depend" (Jenkins 1996: 122).

Stereotypes have been defined in a variety of ways. For our purpose, the cognitive approach seems to be the most useful as a way to promote social perception.

Following Hilton & von Hippel (1996: 240), the standard viewpoint will be adopted according to which "stereotypes are beliefs about the characteristics, attributes, and behaviours of members of a certain group." The process of stereotyping emerges as a way of simplifying the demands of the perceiver (Bodenhausen et al. 1994), it makes information processing easier by allowing the perceiver to rely on previously stored knowledge in place of incoming information (Hilton & von Hippel 1996). Stereotypes also emerge in response to environmental factors, such as different social roles (Eagly 1995), group conflicts (Robinson et al. 1995) and differences in power (Fiske 1993). Other times stereotypes emerge as a way of justifying the status quo (Jost & Banaji 1994) or in response to a need for social identity (Hogg & Abrams 1988)[1]. In other words, they emerge in various contexts to serve particular functions necessitated by those contexts.

Many researchers in experimental psychology conceptualize stereotypes as cognitive shortcuts providing mental economy to perceivers of new information. "For many of us, this temptation to stereotype others is irresistible. The ability to understand and evaluate new information (and people) in terms of old, pre-established beliefs (i.e. stereotypes) is a cognitive skill that serves us well" (Macrae et al 1997: 483). Most of the social psychologists emphasize the conditional

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[1] All references are cited from Hilton & von Hippel (1996)

automaticity of these mental processes which are mostly uncontrollable, unintentional, and effortless (Allport 1954, Brewer 1988, Fiske & Neuberg 1990)[2].

4. Stereotype manifestation, formation, maintenance and change[3]

4.1. Stereotype manifestation

Affective and motivational factors influence the time and mode of stereotype manifestation through their impact on cognition. It is usually cognitive processes that serve as a mechanism for the motivational effects, determining how motivational processes influence perception, judgment, and behaviour. For example, people typically require more evidence to convince them that a disliked person is intelligent rather than unintelligent (Ditto & Lopez 1993). On the other hand, affect can facilitate stereotype formation by increasing perceptions of group homogeneity (Stroessner & Mackie 1992), the likelihood that deviant group members will be assimilated to the group stereotype (Wilder 1993), and reliance on stereotypes as a cognitive shortcut (Bodenhausen et al 1994).

As mentioned above, stereotypes are beliefs about certain groups. Hilton and von Hippel (ibid.) identify two main sources of these beliefs.

- The first are mental representations of real differences between groups, i.e. they are sometimes accurate representations of reality (Judd & Park 1993, Swim 1994). In this context, stereotypes operate much like object schemas, allowing easier and more efficient processing of information about others. Like schemas in general, these stereotypes may cause perceivers to gloss over or to fail to notice individual differences (von Hippel et al 1993),[4] (e.g. cultural stereotypes about food preferences);

- The second route to stereotyping occurs when stereotypes are formed about various groups independent of real group differences. In this case, they are based on relatively enduring characteristics of the person (such as race, religion, gender) and have enormous potential for error.

This second belief is also echoed by Jenkins (1996: 122-125), when he introduces the concept of "attribution" as another important dimension of classification, beside stereotyping. He claims that

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[2] References cited in Macrae et al. (1997)
[3] This section is based on Hilton & von Hippel (1996), all references are cited there.
[4] This may be a cause that stereotyping is considered to be a harmful process and therefore the word "stereotype" has attracted negative connotations. Compare the arguments of many researchers who consider that stereotypes are inherently wrong because they are illogical in origin and resistant to change and that it is "a conventional (frequently malicious) idea (which may be wildly inaccurate) of what an X looks like or acts like or is" (Putnam 1975: 169).

[a]ttribution, [is] the attempt to understand others (...) by inference from the limited information provided by their verbal and non-verbal behaviour. [This] is also at work when stereotyping. Attribution is another attempt to understand the social world and render it more predictable. (ibid. 123)

Research (Hilton & von Hippel 1996) has outlined different models for these mental representations: the prototype model, the exemplar model, associative networks, schemas and base rates. Out of these – for practical reasons – we are going to refer only to the first and most cited one, i.e. the prototype model.

In this model, stereotypes are not defined as a set of defining features, nor as much information about individual group members, but as abstracted representations of a group's typical features. Individual group members are judged by perceivers on the basis of similar comparisons between the individual and the prototype (Hunyadi 1984: 325-390). In other words, the prototype representation is an "averaged" representation of the category across many attributes, with no set of group attributes seen as defining. To put it differently, the shared norms and beliefs of the group are represented by the prototype of the group. Prototypical group members embody the in-group characteristics and, therefore, represent the identity of the group (Eisenbeiss 2004: 21).

An implication of the prototype model is that knowledge about the stereotype is organized hierarchically (Johnston & Hewstone 1992, cited in Hilton & von Hippel 1996), thus it is possible to talk about "base level" categories and "subtypes", which means that stereotype change is accomplished through the creation of subtypes. Another implication of this model is that it predicts that perceivers will often fail to apply stereotypes to individual group members. Because reactions to individual group members are based on comparison between the prototype and the individual, any features, which reduce the similarity between the individual and the prototype, should decrease reliance on the stereotype. The creation of such subtypes can be traced in literary texts, too, in the sense that the author may find new character traits for the given ethnic stereotype, which will become a "subtype" of the base level prototype, therefore extending the limits of the commonly accepted image of the described ethnic group. However, this striking dissimilarity between the individual and the prototype does not decrease reliance on the stereotype, but on the contrary, it extends its circle.

4.2. Routes of stereotype formation

One of the best-known routes of stereotype formation includes – among others – the creation of group differences through self-fulfilling prophecies. They emerge when people hold expectancies that lead them to alter their behaviour, which in turn causes the expected behaviours to be exhibited by people who are

targets of the expectancies (e.g. teachers who expect some of their students to excel elicit superior performance from those students (Rosenthal & Jacobson 1968).

Another route to stereotype formation is through the generalization from the behaviours of one group member to the evaluation of others (which is not necessarily a conscious process). Therefore self-perpetuation of bias may play an important role in the formation of social stereotypes. In the absence of supporting evidence, earlier learned non-conscious beliefs will strengthen the stereotype (Hilton & von Hippel 1996: 245).

A great deal of research has demonstrated that people can come to perceive minority groups in a more negative light than majority groups, even when the groups behave identically. One explanation of this effect is the distinctiveness perspective (Hamilton & Sherman 1989, Mullen & Johnson 1990). According to this, people spend more time encoding distinctive (minority) information than other information. Therefore so-called "illusory correlations" are formed. "Illusory correlations" (Mackie et al 1993: 50) is another mechanism of stereotype formation, which implies that perceivers tend to establish relationships between sets of variables that are not actually related and that provide no reason for association (e.g. correlating teenagers with rebellious behaviour).

The minority-majority difference has lead research to draw several conclusions about in- and out-group differences[5] as well. In this respect, out-group members are not only perceived as possessing less desirable traits than in-group members, but they are seen as more homogenous as well. A consequence of the so-called "out-group homogeneity effect" is that people believe that most out-group members share the attributes of the specific out-group members whom they encounter and that group-level stereotypes are likely to describe individual group members (Park et al 1991). Linville and her colleagues (Linville et al 1989, Linville & Fischer 1993) have proposed an explanation to this phenomenon. In their view, perceptions of out-group homogeneity are caused by the fact that obviously people know more in-group members than out-group members and thereby retrieve more instances when making in-group variability judgments, than out-group ones. This greater retrieval of in-group instances leads to greater

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[5] Within social identity theory (SIT), a large influence on people's behaviour is attributed to the value in having an identity and having a sense of being in a group which is distinct from other groups (positive group distinctiveness). The theory suggests that distinguishing between ingroups and outgroups allows people to discover the value of their own group. This allows group members to gain positive value from membership of their group. An *ingroup* is a social group towards which an individual feels loyalty and respect, usually due to membership in the group. This loyalty often manifests itself as an ingroup bias. Commonly encountered ingroups include family members, people of the same race, culture, gender or religion, and so on. An *outgroup* is a social group towards which an individual feels contempt, opposition, or a desire to compete. Members of outgroups may be subject to outgroup homogeneity biases, and generally people tend to privilege ingroup members over outgroup members in many situations (cf. Tajfel, H. (ed.) 1978).

perceptions of in-group heterogeneity. On the other hand, Park et al (1990) have proposed an abstraction/exemplar model, where group variability information is stored as part of an abstract group stereotype (i.e. a group prototype). For example, minority groups are seen as more homogeneous than majority groups, an effect that holds even in impressions of a minority member's own group (Bartsch & Judd 1993). A side-result of these processes is that perceptions of out-group homogeneity may be critically associated with stereotyping, prejudice and discrimination (cf. Diehl & Jonas 1991, Quattrone 1986).

4.3. Stereotype maintenance: priming, assimilation and attribution

Stereotype maintenance is carried out through a variety of ways, regardless of how they are formed. According to Hilton & von Hippel, there are four major routes to maintain stereotypes: priming, assimilation effects, attributional processes and memory processes.

Priming is an information-processing strategy based on the fact that the way we process (even unambiguous) information, is heavily influenced by information that we have previously encountered. Bruner (1957, cited in Hilton and von Hippel 1996) argued that prior experience operates on current perception by making certain categories more "accessible" during the interpretation of incoming information. In other words, the impact of prior experience on ongoing perception and cognition is pervasive. In the realm of stereotyping, priming plays a dramatic role in the perception and evaluation of out-group members. This mental process can take place both consciously and unconsciously. Here we can refer to those experiments where, after exposure to television commercials in which women are portrayed as sexual objects, males are more likely to encode the next female they encounter in a sexual fashion, paying more attention to her appearance and style of dress than to what she says (Rudman & Borgida 1995). Despite the fact that social behaviours can often be interpreted in a variety of ways, and all individuals are members of many social categories, priming may lock perceivers into a stereotypic frame of reference (Skowronski et al 1993).

Another important route to stereotype maintenance is through assimilation. Individuals are often perceived as more similar to their stereotype than they really are. For example, a student athlete is more likely to be judged guilty of cheating than a non-athlete (Bodenhausen 1990). This is an example of an individual being assimilated to his/her group stereotype. The tendency to assimilate is moderated by a perceiver's expectations of consistency from members of the stereotyped group.

By virtue of their seeming homogeneity (discussed earlier), out-groups will be associated with higher levels of perceived internal consistency than in-groups. Thus, there is a greater tendency to assimilate incongruent behaviours to the group stereotype when the behaviours are associated with smaller rather than larger

groups and when they are associated with out-groups rather than in-groups (Hilton & von Hippel 1996: 251).

Attributional processes are likely to be initiated by behaviours that are incongruent with perceivers' prior expectancies (Kanazawa 1992). When making memory-based judgments, people tend to remember and rely on their abstractions in place of the original behaviours that led to these abstractions (Srull & Wyer 1989). On the other hand, abstractly encoded information tends to be more resistant to disconfirmation and more stable over time than information that is encoded at a concrete level (Semin & Fiedler 1988). To sum up the above, perceivers tend to remember, believe, rely on, and communicate stereotype-congruent information than stereotype-incongruent information.

Attributional processing can also be inhibited by stereotype-congruent information. People typically engage in attributional processing only until they have found a sufficient cause for the behaviours they are witnessing. Once such sufficiency has been achieved, attributional processing usually ceases. Because the stereotype itself provides a sufficient explanation for many stereotype-congruent events, stereotypes can block people's ability to notice and interpret co-variation between stereotype-irrelevant factors and the stereotype-congruent event (Sanbonmatsu et al 1994).

In addition to the information-processing strategies mentioned earlier, memory processes also play an important role in stereotype maintenance. Evidence suggests that people often have better memory for information that is incongruent with their stereotypes and expectancies. This finding suggests that memory processes actually serve to undermine stereotyping. However, it has been demonstrated (Stangor & McMillan 1992) that this is true only when the perceiver believes that the target is relatively homogeneous. For groups from which little internal consistency is expected (such as large groups like African-Americans and women) perceivers should remember stereotype-congruent rather than stereotype-incongruent information.

4.4. Stereotype change

In general, the assumption has been that it is easier to maintain a stereotype than to change it (see above Lippman's view on stereotypes being resistant to change). However, contemporary research has brought about several models of change (see Hilton & von Hippel 1996: 258-261 for a review). Here we will highlight the "subtyping model", which derives from the prototype-based model, according to which knowledge about stereotypes is organized in a hierarchical way (Johnston & Hewstone 1992). This allows for the identification of base level categories and subtypes. The emergence of these subtypes leads to stereotype change. According to an analysis (Brewer 1988), as our perceptions of groups

become sufficiently differentiated, subtypes replace superordinate categorizations and become base level categories themselves. This is so because our experience with some groups (e.g. men and women, young and old) is sufficiently rich to render the superordinate categorizations relatively uninformative. As a consequence, people are likely to rely on subtypes of such groups rather than on the group in general when making stereotype-relevant judgments.

5. Stereotypes in social life. Ethnic stereotypes

We will now turn to the description of ethnic stereotypes, which are considered to be a subgroup of social stereotypes in general. Social stereotypes are defined in social psychology as cognitive or mental representations of a social group and its members. They are not socially neutral, but have a symbolic and ideological nature, their values being relative to the ideological tendencies of a given society. Social stereotypes are "ideological representations which are used to justify and legitimize existing social and power relations within a society" (Augoustinos & Walker 1995: 302). In other words, they are used to rationalize, legitimize individual beliefs and actions, and they have group-serving and system-serving functions.

Ethnic identification and ethnic stereotypes have always been in the scope of interest of social scientists. As stated above, stored beliefs about characteristics associated with social category membership are typically referred to as stereotypes. People have a rich variety of beliefs about typical members of groups including beliefs about traits, behaviours, and beliefs about values of a typical group member. If an individual activates representations of a group to which he/she belongs, there is an instance of autostereotype. Heterostereotype refers to a representation of the group by non-members (Liebkind 1992). Besides, according to Brown & Turner (1981), people have representations of their own person – the egostereotype.

We will approach this issue, starting from social identity theory (SIT) founded by Tajfel & Turner (1986), which has become one of the most influential theories on intergroup behaviour. It is based on the notion that our social environment is divided into groups and social categories that convey meaning and orientation to their members. Social identity has been defined as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of the social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (Tajfel 1978: 63). According to this theory, the concept of social identity is a tri-dimensional construct: it has a cognitive component (i.e. the knowledge of group membership), an evaluative component (values attached to that membership) and an affective component (the emotional ties linked to it). Research reports the terms "social identification" ("the strength of association with

a particular social category") and "social identity" ("the nature or content of a particular identity") (Ellemers et al 2002).

On the other hand, personal identity denotes the definition of the self in terms of unique characteristics and interindividual differences. SIT emphasizes the distinction between the personal and social identity and, correspondingly, between situations that are determined by interpersonal versus intergroup processes (Eisenbeiss 2004).

What is of special interest in Social Identity Theory for the discussion on ethnic stereotypes is today's dominant cognitive view which states that an ethnic group (or nation) is a category which the individual considers himself to belong to and which therefore gets a special role by relating the viewpoints of information processing and self-evaluation. Tajfel (1978) considers that our relation to the different categories is inherently asymmetrical. Categorizing people according to their ethnic or national affiliation affects the judgment of their features: within the category we mostly consider the identity of those belonging to it, our own group is experienced to be "ingroup biased", continuously being overestimated as opposed to the outgroup. This asymmetrical relation leads to the emergence of national or ethnic stereotypes: the common characteristic of people belonging to one category, which – at the same time – is the description of features differentiating them from other categories.

Social stereotypes can be learned either from direct contact with individual target group members or from communication about the target group received from others. These two forms of stereotype acquisition have consequences for the nature and content of the stereotype that is formed. In this line of thought, research (Thompson, Judd & Park 2000) distinguishes between "abstraction-based" stereotypes, learned from significant socializing agents, acquired intact from them, and "instance-based" stereotypes formed on the basis of direct contact and experience with individual category members. Their findings have shown that perceivers' impressions of abstraction-based target groups are more extreme or stereotypic than are impressions that are instance-based. Moreover, abstraction-based stereotypes contain less variability information, i.e. they are less dispersed than instance-based stereotypes. So the "classic" definition of stereotypes (i.e. beliefs about the typical attributes of groups) has been extended by these new findings. They argue that stereotypes contain information not only about these attributes, but also about the degree to which these attributes are widely shared in the target group. In the process of social communication, group impressions are stereotypically exaggerated, groups are seen as less variable, stereotypic attributes are seen as more prevalent and group stereotypes become consensually shared (ibid. 595). It is the process of social communication that is in large part responsible for the inaccuracies that are typically associated with stereotypes.

Stereotyping is, as we have seen, a natural ordering function of the human and social mind. Stereotypes make reality easier to deal with because they simplify the complexities that make people unique, and this simplification reflects important beliefs and values as well. These two characteristics combined mean that a society has two powerful motives to encourage people to "live up to their stereotypes": to encourage them to act like the images a culture already has of them and to thereby fulfil their proper social roles. In other words, stereotypes encourage people to internalize a cultural image, as their goal. This task may be convenient for the culture (especially for the power structure status quo) but it may prove to be both impossible and damaging to the individuals being asked to mould themselves in such a narrow manner (Nachbar & Lause 1992).[6]

As stated above, being stored beliefs about characteristics of a group of people, stereotypes shed light on intergroup processes. They serve, at the same time, as an antecedent and an outcome to analyze the nature of intergroup relations. Bar-Tal (1997) proposed a comprehensive and integrative model of stereotypic content formation and change applied mainly to national and ethnic stereotypes in order to extend our understanding of interethnic relations which are determined, at least partially, by the stereotypic contents that the two parties in relationship hold. The model proposes three categories of factors (i.e. background variables, transmitting mechanisms and mediating variables) which determine stereotypic contents. In what follows we are going to revise these factors.

According to this model, the first category of factors contains macro-societal variables, which serve as a background and basis for the formation and change of stereotypic contents. They involve socio-political and economic conditions, on the one hand, and the present nature and the past (history) of intergroup relations, together with the characteristics of the out-group and behaviour of other groups, on the other. These are indirect determinants, which can either foster or inhibit the formation and change of particular stereotypic contents (see for details Bar-Tal 1997: 497-504).

Transmitting mechanisms are of special importance. Through them individuals receive information which serve as a basis for formation and change of stereotypic contents. This consists of societal (political, social, cultural and educational) channels, the family channel, as a socializing agent and finally, direct contact, through which individuals collect information about out-group members via an impression-formation process.

All the incoming information about an encountered group (out-group) is not represented in its new form, but rather absorbed, interpreted, evaluated, elaborated, organized and stored via a cognitive process which is influenced by a series of

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[6] This idea corresponds to the "myth of the American melting pot".

personal mediating variables (e.g. past knowledge, values, attitudes, personality, cognitive skills and motivations).

Finally, the model suggests that the formed stereotypic contents, in turn, exert their influence. It becomes part of the individual's repertoire (stored knowledge) and serves as a mediating personal variable for the processing of newly acquired information. In addition, on a societal level, the stereotypes formed by the group members have an effect on the nature of intergroup relations and societal channels. They provide important information for the in-group members about the out-group and supply the contents for various channels of communication.

Out of the background variables I will highlight two models, which may lead to negative intergroup relations. The first is the ethnocentric model suggested by Bar-Tal (1990) about the ethnocentric tendency to perceive the other group by virtue of its mere otherness. This tendency is especially manifest when the out-group obviously differs and arouses despise and/or fear (e.g. the relations between Whites and Blacks in the Southern United States). Satisfactory political, economic, social and cultural cooperation, the experience of friendship, security, mutual support and trust are – on the other hand – all translated into positive stereotypic contents.

The other phenomenon, which is related to negative stereotyping, is explained by the "scapegoat theory". These are cases where group members direct their resentment towards out-groups, which are not responsible for the existing injustices or social inequalities. The scapegoat theory is based on Freud's theory of defence mechanisms and the frustration-aggression hypothesis (idem. 1997: 502) and it suggests that hostility including prejudice and negative stereotyping are a result of frustration. Specifically, when group members experience frustration and its source is either too powerful or unidentified, then their hostility will be arbitrarily displaced towards members of minority groups. The act of displacement, including the attribution of negative labels to the minority, is justified by blaming the out-group for the frustration.

Within this integrative model described earlier, ethnicity is mentioned among the demographic characteristics of the out-group, together with race, nationality, religion and size. Power, education, values and norms, as well as cultural roots are enlisted among the societal characteristics of the out-group, while the group's economic resources, standard of living, dominant occupations, or wealth are mentioned as economic features. The information about these characteristics is transmitted through various channels of communication and serves as a basis for stereotype formation by in-group members.

In discussing the societal communication channels it is necessary to direct attention to the function of language in the formation and change of cultural stereotypes. Language used by political, social, cultural and educational sources cues the activation of stereotypes, expresses them, influences the communicative

distance established between the groups, and affects the emotional reactions of in-group members towards the out-group (van Dijk 1984, Wetherell & Potter 1992).

Information about out-groups coming from group sources is always influenced by the group's values, ideology, beliefs and goals. This suggests that the references to out-groups through institutionalised channels of communication should not be seen as merely expressing the stereotypic contents. In fact, these reflect the group's ethos by guiding the provided information and are inseparable from the macro-societal factors described previously (cf. Bar-Tal 1997: 506) (e.g. the dramatic change in the image of African-Americans – earlier called Black people – in the United States; their roles also changed almost completely from low class jobs to middle class, even upper class positions).

In my opinion, personal mediating variables have the most significant role in stereotype formation. Whatever background sources there may be, whatever transmitting mechanism there may exist, the information-processing ego has the greatest role in stereotype formation. Personal variables have influence on how information about out-groups is identified and interpreted, leading to individual differences: at the end of cognitive processing individuals show a different understanding of the same information. These variables are: personal knowledge, cognitive skills, language, values, attitudes, motivations and personality. All these influence the absorbed information and thus the formed stereotypic content, and mediate the information processing. Due to the individual's cognitive bias (connected to the illusory correlation phenomenon mentioned earlier), individuals either overestimate or underestimate an actual association between certain characteristics and certain groups. They selectively process information and subjectively interrupt it on the way to forming stereotypic content (Hamilton & Sherman 1989).

In this context, it is possible to assume that persons with high cognitive complexity foster a more differentiated view of the out-group, storing various contents, which might even be of contradictory nature. In contrast, persons with low cognitive complexity perceive the out-group simplistically, forming few contents and tending to generalise to either overall favourable or unfavourable contents (Bar-Tal 1997, Hunyadi 1997).[7]

6. Ethnic stereotypes in language: ethnic humour, ethnic jokes

Within the discussion of ethnic stereotypes it is also necessary to mention the existence of ethnic humour and ethnic jokes, which signify the presence of stereotyping in everyday language. Ethnic jokes, sometimes referred to as

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[7] For a detailed description of this integrative model see Bar-Tal 1997: 491-523.

race/racist jokes, are jokes that exploit ethnic stereotypes. They are often considered to be offensive, though they still remain popular.

Ethnicity in humorous utterances/texts can be discussed from two perspectives, which can be formulated in the form of two questions:

a) Is the target of humour an individual with strong ethnic ties or an ethnic group? If so, which ethnicity is the target of humour, or of ethnic jokes?

In this case, for instance, we can speak of "Scottish jokes", "Irish jokes" in the case of the British culture, but similarly of "Szekely jokes" in Hungarian, respectively "Moți jokes" in Romanian culture, etc. This is usually achieved by explicitly stating the name of the specific ethnic group or individual and placing them in ridiculing situations.

b)   What is the ethnic attitude of the creator of humour, of the joker?

In this sense, we can speak of English/German/Hungarian/Romanian, etc. humour. Additionally, certain ethnic groups/nations are claimed to have an inherent sense of humour (e.g. the English), or a sense of humour apart from other national/ethnic humour.[8]

a) Ethnic jokes come and go with social change, particularly with waves of immigration from one country to another; for example, Polish jokes, which were once very common in the US during widespread Polish immigration, are now little used, as Polish and other Eastern European immigrants have long been absorbed into the large American community. Similarly, Irish jokes have become far less common in the United Kingdom as the social status of Irish people has risen with increased wealth in Ireland. As public awareness of racism has increased, racial and ethnic jokes have become increasingly socially unacceptable in recent years, and have become socially taboo to tell in public in many regions.

It is claimed by many researchers (Priestley 1929, Lendvai 1996, Davies 1990, Chiaro 1992, Alexander 1997) that ethnic jokes have a basis, "a grain of truth". They may reflect real national values, which may emerge from historical events (for example, many historians have argued that the spirit of American individualism has its origins in the experiences of the pioneers in the Old West). Social scientists (like Richard Robins) have proposed several other possible explanations for stereotypes. They argue that some ethnic stereotypes may have been accurate at one point in history and then persisted while the culture changed; or they may have grown out of historical conflicts between cultural groups.

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[8] Naturally, this may also be called an ethnic stereotype, or even a prejudice. Consequently, it is frequently expected that every English person should have this typical English sense of humour, and it may be the case that this person lacks this character trait. Or, this may be true the other way round, as well: we would not expect to find English humour, full of understatements and irony from the representative of another ethnic group and we may be pleasantly surprised to find its presence. A good example of this latter case is the English humorist George Mikes with Hungarian roots.

Ethnic jokes are often aimed at minorities within certain regions, or peoples from neighbouring areas. A common ethnic joke format is the "stupid person" joke, where the stock character, who is the butt of the joke, belongs to an ethnic group singled out for abuse. Such jokes are often interchangeable, with the stigmatized group varying from region to region. For instance, the English tell jokes about the Irish, Canadians about the Newfies, Romanians about 'Olteni' or 'Moți', Hungarians about Szekelys. Jews, and sometimes Poles as well, are also a common target of ethnic jokes within Europe and North America. "Whether these jokes are to be seen as an act of aggression against the communities in question or whether, being jokes, they are not to be taken seriously, is an open-ended debate" (Palmer 1987, 1988, Rappoport 2005). It is usually the so-called "superiority theory of humour"[9] which is at work when considering ethnic humour or ethnic jokes, and where ethnic stereotypes are present predominantly. A good example of a typical ethnic joke in English is the following:

The Englishman, Irishman and the Scotsman went to a party together. The Englishman took six bottles of beer. The Irishman took six bottles of Guinness and the Scotsman took six of his friends.

There are many jokes of the "Englishman, Irishman and Scotsman"-variety, in which the two latter groups get a negative, foolish connotation, they come off worst, which demonstrates the validity of the superiority theory. Disparagement of minorities gives rise to ethnic jokes (in Britain, including Irish jokes or jokes against immigrants to Britain from the Indian sub-continent; Davies analyzes the origins and scope of these ethnic jokes in great depth (cf. Davies 1990, 1998).

b) English culture is claimed to be humour-permeated, therefore it is common to speak of English humour and English sense of humour. Anthropological research has proved that many English people believe that they have some sort of global monopoly on certain "brands" of humour – the high-class ones such as wit and especially irony. There is indeed something distinctive about it: its real "defining characteristic" is "the *value* [they] put on humour, the central importance of humour in English culture and social interactions" (Fox 2005: 61, italics in the original). It is claimed that most English conversations involve at least some degree of banter, teasing, irony, understatement[10], humorous self-deprecation, mockery or just silliness. The English have achieved a great mastery of "ironic detachment, a

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[9] According to this theory, "an individual (or a group of people) is amused when he or she feels triumphant over another group or when that group is made to look bad in comparison with himself" (Alexander 1997: 121).
[10] Understatements, as a special case of irony, "is amusing, but only in an understated way. It is humour, but it is a restrained, refined, subtle form of humour" (Fox 2005: 67).

squeamish distaste for sentimentality, a stubborn refusal to be duped or taken in by fine rhetoric' (ibid. 72). As Jeremy Paxman (1998: 157) remarks, "[t]he virtues of the English character – tolerance, individuality, humour – are the true repositories of Englishness."

Culture and within it, literature is usually the mirror of the real national temper. When we think of humour in British culture, we may think of "the Britain of William Shakespeare, of George Bernard Shaw, of Lewis Carroll, of Barbara Windsor, of Des Lawson, of Sue Townsend or of John Cleese" (Alexander 1997: 116). In English literature, beside the above-mentioned authors, we may also mention Pope's *Rape of the Lock* (a mock-heroic epic about a feud between two families over a lock of hair), the celebrated satire, Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (1726), or his *Modest Proposal*, the most ferocious satire on England's conduct in Ireland ever written, all these in the Restoration period. We may continue by enlisting some of the most outstanding humorous or satirical writings of the 19th century. The Victorian era bred some of the greatest of English comic writers: Charles Dickens, with an entire gallery of affable fools and hilarious rogues, (Mr Micawber in *David Copperfield* or Mrs Gamp in *Martin Chuzzlewit*); or two great nonsense writers: the already mentioned Lewis Carroll (*Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* and *Through the Looking-Glass*) and Edward Lear's *Book of Nonsense* (1846). Beside G. B. Shaw's plays, in which the presence of ethnic stereotypes is foregrounded in his character presentation and the characters' ethnic bias, manifest in their language use and behavior, Oscar Wilde is the other playwright, also of Irish origin, famous for his "witticisms", as well as ironic presentation of society life and the English upper classes. The list may be continued with the novels of Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat* (1889) and *Three Men on the Bummel* (1900), presenting the light-hearted accounts of the misadventures and philosophyzing of three middle-class young Victorians, with P.G. Wodehouse's stories about the aristocratic cretin Bertie Wooster and his resourceful manservant, Jeeves; with Evelyn Waugh, the greatest comic novelist in the interwar years (e.g. *Decline and Fall*, 1928), Angus Wilson in the postwar era, Kingsley Amis (*Lucky Jim*, 1954), one of the greatest political satirist, George Orwell (*Animal Farm*, 1945).

As we have seen in this section, ethnic jokes and humour are representatives of ethnic stereotyping. Their frequent and widespread use (in spite of their being recently unacceptable) demonstrates the existence of stereotypes in several speech communities. This kind of ethnic humour pervades not only the everyday language use of a community but it is also strongly present in the literature of any language.

7. Conclusions

In this paper we have presented the most important features of stereotypes from a cognitive perspective and a description of their manifestation, formation, maintenance and change. We have highlighted the prototype model as a form of stereotype manifestation, stressing the fact that this model is not to be confused with the prototype itself, as defined by Rosch, Taylor and others. The nature of the basic difference between the prototype and the stereotype is clarified by linguistic categorization theory.

According to prototype theory, (Rosch 1975, Jackendoff 1983, Langacker 1987, Taylor 1989), the prototype is the typical, best member of a category; a member of the category which best represents it. This best member also implies that there are less good members as well. Therefore the category assimilates other elements according to their perceived similarity to the prototype, thus creating degrees of membership within the category.

As opposed to the prototype, the stereotype functions like a schema[11], which is perfectly compatible with all the elements of a category. It is an integrated structure, which contains all the common features of its elements. In this way the schema functions as a frame which can be / is filled with new information all the time during cognition, i.e. it does not allow for perfect and total insight. The stereotype is a typical schema, therefore it can lead to false statements, too.

To sum up, while the prototype is a way to categorize reality, the best member of a category, it is based on well-known data, the stereotype is a schema which assumes incomplete factual knowledge about a certain category and which – during perception – can be filled with elements congruent or even incongruent with the prototype.

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[11] Schema theory equally deals with simplified mental cognitive structures, stored in memory and activated whenever comprehension of an input requires retrieval of those representations. In contrast with prototype theory, which is hyponymy-based (i.e. based on class-inclusion) and envisages single categories or simple hierarchies of categories, schema theory considers *clusters of concepts* organized in complex spatio-temporal structures (Sorea 2006). As defined by Eysenck and Keane (1990), "[a] schema is a structured cluster of concepts; usually, it involves generic knowledge and may be used to represent events, sequences of events, precepts, situations, relations and even objects." The term schema, on the other hand, must be distinguished from the terms "frame" and "script", often employed by researchers to refer to organised mental structures. The concept of *frame* was introduced by Marvin Minsky (1975) and later it was employed in linguistics (see Tannen & Wallat 1999) designating stereotypical knowledge about settings and situations. The term *script* was introduced by Schank and Abelson (1977) to define *sequences* of actions used in the comprehension of complex events (e.g. knowledge about going to a restaurant, i.e. the "restaurant script").

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From Grigore Moldovan to Moldován Gergely

A Career in Homeland

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Abstract. Professor at Ferencz József University in Cluj, a problematic personality at the end of the 19th century, Grigore Moldovan is canonised in the specialised literature of Romanian and Hungarian ethnology with a very valuable activity in this domain.

The problem consists in the fact that neither the Romanian, nor the Hungarian community can accept without critique his identity defined in his works: he is a Romanian intellectual, citizen of the Hungarian state, and loyal to it. The paper presents and analyses Moldovan's apolitical volume entitled *Egy fürdőidény Borszéken* (*A Bathing Season in Borszék*) written in 1883.

The text written in Hungarian and signed with the Hungarian variant of the author's name, presents an aesthetised identity that, nevertheless, keeps a continuous interest in trying to get acquainted with and understand the complex, contemporary interethnic relations of the author.

The national identity in the modern conception of the same period has influenced the minority communities living in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, while the existing forms and possibilities of identification become problematic or inexplicable from the perspective of the end of the 19th century or even from the outlook of our days.

The tension existing in the duality of Grigore Moldovan/Moldován Gergely can be resolved through the study of his intellectual career, of the conceptions and identifications of his personality. This study leads to the comprehension of how the problematic identities are functioning, as well as to the more particular observation of the weak points of the paradigm of modern national identity.

Thus, the research on the literary, cultural relationships between two national cultures implies the evaluation of new possibilities in contactology, such as cultural anthropology, "histoire croisée" and the theory of translation.

Keywords: intellectual, Romanian-Hungarian, identity, the 19th century, Transylvania

In 1884 Miklós K. Papp, the typographer of the *Magyar Polgár* (*Hungarian Citizen*) newspaper in Kolozsvár edited a volume entitled *Koszorú a román népköltészet virágaiból* (*A Wreath from the Flowers of Romanian Folk Poetry*) containing Romanian folksongs translations by Gergely Moldován. Moldován introduces his volume noting that the wild flowers translated by him differ from perfect gardening, but they have the unifying power of folk songs: the sentiments expressed by them unify the country girl with the lady, the common man with the lord, erasing social differences.[1] The activity of translation is interpreted here as a transmission between Romanian and Hungarian culture, but it also had the value of erasing cultural, social and national differences. This concept of translation is influenced by interests: it approximates the different communities and peoples by getting acquainted with artistic and cultural values of others. Moldován considers that the translation represents a double homogenisation: a social and a national one.

This volume of translations is dedicated to Ilona Urmánczy from Maroshévíz (today's Toplița) who, in Moldován's view, represents the perfect example of affection for the people. The translator met this lady a year earlier – in 1883 – documented by another of his works that presents the memories of a summer spent at a spa. The introduction of the volume entitled *Egy fürdőidény Borszéken* (*A Bathing Season in Borszék*) specifies the intention of its author: it is not a scientific work, but it presents Moldován's private feelings related to Borszék, a balneotherapeutic location. He also wants to promote this place where he spent his holidays. At first sight, therefore, it seems to be a literature of escape, but it is more than a light reading. Henceforth, this paper will analyse the intentions of the author, the possible readings of the text, an outline of the above-mentioned surplus of meanings and the presentation of those parts of the book that lead to the problem of identity, as well as Hungarian–Romanian cultural contacts.

The text is written in the second person singular meant to refer to the reader. This perspective of narration and the fact that the text makes reference to real places,

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[1] This articulation of the society is present also in Moldován's political works. Ten years later he publishes his critiques related to the question of nationality in is volume "*Magyarok, románok*" (*Hungarians, Romanians*) and emphasizes the influence of the historical-juridical approach of the structured society on the Romanian community, presenting how this community is distributed into "intelligentsia" and peasantry. The work dealing with the Hungarian social history of Gábor Gyáni and György Kövér defines this categorization as based on rank and prestige (Gyáni and Kövér 1998).

persons and dates authorise us to endue a value of documentation to the text and to identify the narrator with the author. So Moldován, the writer of this book, represents himself in an entertaining text, constructed and written after the experience.

Travelling to Borszék and taking the waters represent a different time and place than the closed world of the city of Kolozsvár (Cluj). In this text, the leisure time is interpreted as spending a meaningful and refreshing time. Thus, the book could be considered as the narration of a trip, also emphasised by this quotation: "Travellers are more curious even than women. They want to know the history of every single mound, they are interested in everything, becoming geologists, astronomers, botanists, zoologists, economists, or rather they'd prefer to become one if they could, as they are observing – and perceiving – things continuously, but they can't explain them later." (Moldován 1883: 10)

Relying on his power of observation and perception, the traveller of the volume encounters – exactly as he steps out of his everyday life – his limits, e.g. that he cannot catch the world in its entirety, he has no tools in comprehending the observed nature. This traveller's curiosity luckily goes together with the folkloric interest mentioned before. Moldován enriches his travelogue with legends from Borszék and with his own collections: e.g. he inserts into the text chapters called *Egy rege a forrásról* (*A Tale about the Spring*)*, Egy másik rege* (*Another Tale*)*, Az erdő leánya* (*The Daughter of the Forest*), *A tündérkert* (*The Fairy Garden*). He publishes data of local historical significance specifying its sources. Due to these the personal travelogue becomes a text written with scientific ambition.

This scientific ambition is also shown by the fact that Moldován categorises and comments the notes made in the visitors' book, such as: simple names without *manu propria*; lovers, melancholic, wise people, people with opinion, ones who attract attention to themselves, ones who make publicity, "revisors" and coward anonymous ones. Or he makes a statistical survey: as per domicile most of the visitors come from Marosvásárhely (Târgu Mureş), Gyergyó (Gheorgeni) and Kolozsvár, then from abroad, mainly from Iaşi and Bucharest. As per employment and occupation merchants (91), landowners (54), teachers (47), people from the private sector (20) are the most frequent visitors of the health-resort. As per gender: "In Borszék the feminine public is always greater in number than the male one", and it includes those women and young ladies who "cannot be categorised according to their jobs, and who form a distinct group in an era that is not acquainted with emancipation." (Moldován 1883: 124)

The Hungarian – Romanian relationship appears several times throughout the volume. The Romanians are shown in the surroundings of the Kossuth-well, where the bathers mingle with the tourists in a linguistic variety. Though they are isolated in this cavalcade as a separate group, they discuss politics in Romanian. Yet, their connection is relative, for example, the narrator draws attention to the different ways of thinking of the Romanians living in Iaşi and in Bucharest.

The connection between the Romanian and Hungarian nation is illustrated by the relationship between Marie Cantacuzine [!] and Ilona Huszár. The presentation of the Romanian girl is a good opportunity for the narrator to write about the Romanians, too. Ilona Huszár "has made a conquest of a soul and thus she met her patriotic obligations" (Moldován 1883: 154), since Marie learnt Hungarian from her and thanks to her, she played Hungarian folk song on the piano.

This example shows both the fact that education makes people receptive and that this could be even a patriotic action. In this case the language acquisition, the interest towards the other culture seems to be one-sided and ideological. The relationship between the two women works as a pattern, in spite of the fact that, according to Moldován, one of the causes of the disagreement between nations can be found in women. Here is a longer quotation from the work:

> … natural scientists can by no means determine either the time that bred and gave birth to the German, the Romanian, the Hungarian and the Jew, or the time that baked – as if they were pies made of an excellent material – the baron, the count, the prince, the plebs, the well-off citizen and the stocking-wearing peasant. They can only determine the time when man came into being in a wild state, stick in hand, naked, orphan and abandoned. [...] even at the health-resort there are high dividing walls between one man and another, one family and another, one race and another. [...] Women make the difference in a society, by job, birth and rank every class raises for itself crotchets and it lives according to them."[2] (Moldován 1883: 138-139)

He specifically outlines the history of the origin of mankind (or only of the Transylvanian nationalities?), according to which people are equal by birth, however, their education, socialisation, as well as their social life make them different. Women are the guarantee of life, but only in the family. Men remain the main actors of social life being active participants in communal events, from which women stay away.

Lujza Blaha, the famous Hungarian actress, who spends her holiday in Borszék, displays a different female attitude becoming the symbol of approach,[3] since her appearances attract very different bathing public to events of

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[2] The author's translation.

[3] The *Ministry of Religion and Public Instruction* establishes the Lujza Blaha Foundation from the income of these occasions, and its interest "should be appropriate to support two poor, but good students *without religious and ethnical differences*". We can make out from the text another important element: a cultic approach to Lujza Blaha. I quote from the narrator's confessions: "I noted down on the actress's fan: Should Borszék be able to carry a hundred times more, /That it carries altogether, / *Because you are an idol of the people*, / You are now its most precious pearl." [emphasis is mine – T. B.] (See: Moldován 1883: 64-65)

entertainment such as the ball, the banquet and the torchlight music event organised by the Mulató-klub (The Club of Amusements).

Bathing as a recreation connected to the preservation of health[4] is also favourable to social life – beside travelling or excursions. For example, love, choosing a partner or the possibility of a future marriage, that are present in several cases throughout the text, turns the weeks spent in Borszék into a pleasant dream, that is beyond reality.

At the beginning of August our narrator and his company make an excursion to Moldova. There are thirteen people, including Lujza Blaha and her husband, Ödön Splényi. In connection with the excursion Moldován's emotions come to the front: "my heart sank on this bridge [at the frontier, at Tölgyes they needed a "passus" – addition by myself, B. T.]. I don't know how others felt when crossing the frontier, but it made me upset. As if something whispered to me: 'Don't go away, stay here!' Though the whole excursion was a joke and I knew that we turned back in a few minutes, yet something pulled me down to the ground so I could kiss it before I crossed it." (Moldován 1883: 68)

These plastic gestures (kissing the mother earth and emphasising the shortness of the journey) show adherence to the homeland, while the crossing of the border and leaving of the country suggest the idea of strangeness and homelessness in this context. With this gesture the narrator expresses his belonging and loyalty to Hungary, his native land. Owing to Lujza Blaha's indisposition, the journey is even shorter. After crossing the border to Moldova Moldován becomes embarrassed, Lujza Blaha gets ill. At this point, even if only implicitly, the text states that the space outside the country, stepping onto the foreign land could be unsettling. Where does this strangeness come from? Geographically Moldova is only the neighbouring country, while linguistically the travellers experience the fact that the Romanian soldiers working at the frontier speak only Romanian.

If the readers of the writer's age, or even you, do not have any information regarding Moldovan's origin, based on the author's name (Gergely Moldován), one could think him without any problem to be a Hungarian and his gesture could be natural.

Now I can reveal to you that Gergely Moldován is an intellectual with Hungarian, or, to be more precise, with Transylvanian Romanian origin. Does this information change anything in the judgment of Moldován's text?

If we look at Moldován, the tourist from a national point of view, who would kiss the earth of his country before crossing it, his relation to the Romanian ground

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[4] In the chapter entitled *Our cure*, with reference to the medical prescription the narrator mentions the tasks related to spending time slowly and peacefully (allowing a long time for accommodation, not thinking, concentrating on the things that we have seen, finding a company), and thus the bathers can regain their strength in six weeks. For differentiating leisure time, or more generally, the notion of time see Gellériné 1991.

is contradictory with his Romanian origin and meaningful name that indicates his origin (Moldova). According to our prejudices, we would have expected him to be happy when crossing the Hungarian border. Similarly we found his gesture strange, contradictory also from a national point of view. However, this gesture might have been natural in those times. Therefore, my paper continues with the discussion of the relationship of different ethnic groups at the end of the 19th century.

With reference to the excursion to Moldova, Moldován mentions the beautiful girls, the Romanian dance that he admired, as well as the event of buying Moldavian cheese and expensive sweets while Lujza Blaha was spending a quarter of an hour there. We can say that he also thinks stereotypically, and this appears also when mentioning other nationalities, but not at all with that emphasis: e.g. the Gypsies are musicians, the Jews are cheerful.

I have not mentioned the Hungarians here because it is obvious that Moldovan identifies himself with their perspective, and beside this, he relates his bathing experiences in Hungarian and he quotes Hungarian sources in relation with Borszék.

The Gergely Moldován who writes his travelogue shows himself in the company of Hungarians, whilst he is paying attention to the Hungarian and Romanian relationships and differences. If we try to differentiate from a national point of view, we get in a pitfall, since – as we have already seen and as I would bring additional arguments to it – the modern concepts of "ethnic identity" and "nationality" are less suitable for the description of Moldovan's intellectual identity. However, these points of reference and categorisation can help us understand Moldovan's thinking from the other perspective.

If the travelogue about Borszék is the space of private emotions, it can be seen that for the male Gergely Moldován not only female beauty gives reason to express these feelings, but the problem of the relation between language, culture and nationality is also ranked among the emotions of personal life, as well as others' social life.

We know that he frankly assumed that he was a Romanian citizen from Hungary, though in this work he wrote about the Romanians in such a way that he covered his own affection for this ethnic group. He can see this ethnic group in a differentiated way, simultaneously as an outsider and as a "native", and, compared to this, he sees the Hungarians as a homogenous group. Thus, we can ask by right: who was the person who published his Hungarian texts as Gergely Moldován from the beginning of the last third of the 19th century. In what way is Moldovan a Romanian? Or, if he admits to be a Hungarian, then how is he related to this ethnic group?

I am looking for the answers to these questions, because Moldovan's peculiar awareness of self-identity, as well as his works related to this, keep him away from national cultures, in the modern sense of the word. Already in his life he was characterised with negative, condemning attributes ("renegade, disinherited"), later

he was called "contradictory" or "the Győző Hajdú of Romanian literature", thus declining the possibility of any deeper analysis or interpretation.

Throughout my research I tried to understand Moldován's scholarly activities, his decisions that seem to have political colouring (since he was in conflict with the Romanian public opinion). Nevertheless, both Romanian and Hungarian ethnology considers them valuable – based on professional arguments. I am recalling the formation of Moldován's career and some of its moments, in order that one can see how much the national identity at the end of the 19th century is not obvious, and that the idea of the nation state involves difficult problems and results in peculiar interpretations on the level of individual identities.

We know that Moldovan studied in Szamosújvár (Gherla) for a short period. Coming to Kolozsvár, he graduated at the Piarists, and, after obtaining a degree in law, he found his first job in this city. The Piarist high school education has a great importance from the point of view of the Romanians from Transylvania: as an institution promoting further education of poor children and giving them even financial assistance, due to charitable people, it attracts the Transylvanian Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic pupils. Charity was not determined by reason of ethnicity, but by denominational and social considerations, as well as by the ideology of the Piarist order maintaining the institution. From the beginning of the 18th century, a full range of Romanian generations emerges from this institution, playing an important role in the formation of their own culture (Bíró 1926: 18-39).

In 1926 the institution was celebrating the 150th anniversary of the school publishing a volume entitled *Öreg diák visszanéz* (*The Old Boy Is Looking Back*) (György 1926). The volume presents illustrious teachers and former pupils, old boys remember their school. Among the texts of Péter Apor, baron Miklós Jósika, dr. Péter Erődi-Harrach, Miklós Torma and dr. Benedek Jancsó, Aladár Kuncz and others one may find the writing of Dr. Gergely Moldován, namely Grigore Moldovan, entitled *A piaristák melegében* (*In the Warmth of the Piarists*) (Moldován 1926).

When analysing the memoirs from 1926 of the now eighty-year-old Moldovan, I deal with the lines of an intellectual living in Romania after the First World War. He writes: "I almost wonder: how was it possible that despite the seven years in Szamosújvár and nine years in Kolozsvár, altogether sixteen years' of impact of the Hungarian culture I started my career as a Romanian writer? Where did I get the ability for this, what preserved the national feeling, the Romanian 'me' in myself, in order to realise the knowledge acquired from Hungarians for the advantage of my race? I would like to give an answer to this question now, since I watch the anniversary of the Piarists with grateful feelings."

Moldovan could rarely experience being close to his teachers, for example, in the refectory, replacing one of his supported colleagues. The text repeats the syntagm twice: "the Piarists were those who made me a man". Then he also gives

us the explanation: he thanks them for his way from satisfactory to excellent grades. Thus, Moldovan's life and career covers a clear developmental path, being a school-inspector, then a university professor, a dean and rector magnificus.

According to his memoirs, the Romanian pupils attended the institution and were present in its organisations, but beside these, they were active in their own school literary and debating society, they sang at the services of the Romanian church. He was a Romanian writer during his school years in one company with Alexandru Radu and Ioan S. Bădescu. He mentions their career after school: Radu became a teacher, the editor of the periodical called *Dacia* in Romania, while Bădescu became a poet, editor, school-inspector also in Romania. By 1926 both of them had already died. Compared to them, Moldovan did not emigrate to Romania, but he stayed in Hungary and – according to his interpretation – he became a loyal citizen of his country.

The closing thoughts of his memoirs are also noteworthy: "the rise from the goose-herd, from the little shepherd to the rector's chair was by all means a beautiful rise. The way, the direction was shown to me by the Piarist fathers. In 1908 I established a foundation with 500 crowns for the literary and debating society of the school to award a valuable literary paper, in the memory of my son, István. For this, I wanted to express my gratitude to those people who had behaved like my father. I raise my hat in front of the Piarist order, the Piarist fathers, and I feel extremely happy that I could express once again my gratitude at their jubilee." (Moldovan 1926: 92)

Moldovan, who takes advantage of the different opportunities to give thanks, not only financially but also symbolically, wants to return the kindness towards him, but with this gesture he seemingly shows himself in the role of those who helped him once: he would support the pupils' literary attempts with his own foundation. He mentions his charity, plastically illustrates his rising career, and he emphasises the importance of the Piarist institution from the point of view of his own career.

Getting out of there, he is not attached to the Romanian community of the literary and debating society, but, as a Hungarian author, he has active positions in Hungarian state institutions. Taking maximal advantage of the citizen's rights and opportunities his career turns into a story of success that has an enormous importance upon him. At least, his memoirs convince us of this.

After his father's death, as well as while studying law in Kolozsvár, his education is made possible by church foundations (or foundations in the possession of the church), and this assumes a stronger denominational affection. When Moldovan emphasises his Romanian nationality, he does not refer to the modern conception of nation. This component of his identity might be legitimised only by his denominational affection, as well as the presence of Romanian culture and politics as regular topics in his Hungarian works.

The question is also worth seeing from the point of view of his family's history. Moldovan had only one son, István. He was born on 15 August, 1871, in Kolozsvár, (Szinnyei 1893-1914),[5] studied law in Graz, Geneva and Kolozsvár, in 1894 he took his doctor's degree, while in 1896 he took his diploma as a lawyer in Budapest and in 1897 he opened a lawyer's office there. At the same time, he became cattle overseer of his lordships, Count György Bánffy (1845?–1929) and the family's legal adviser.

The young Moldovan's career was formed similarly to his father's, though under different circumstances. He had the chance to continue university studies abroad, which was a great gap in his father's education. His doctor's title was not only honorary, but a degree obtained in a specialisation. He was also a lawyer, following the steps of his father, but he kept to his chosen profession. We find him in the service of the Bánffys' even at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1907 the father spends Christmas at his son in Bánffyhunyad (Huedin) where the younger Moldovan's lawyer's office is. He died in 1908.

I have mentioned before that the younger Moldovan studies at the university of Graz at the time of the Monarchy, and he registers at the university's register in this way: "Moldovan Stephan (Moldován), nationality: ung., age: 18, place of origin: Klausenburg [the German name of Cluj], religion: römisch-katolisch [Roman Catholic], father's profession: univ. prof., entering 1889 W, leaving 1890 S, faculty: Jurist." From our point of view, this list of data has several interesting aspects.

The rectification of his name in parentheses, the national identification is aimed to legitimise that the student was Hungarian. The fact that in the register at the religion section appears "Roman Catholic" and not "Greek Catholic" (disregarding the possibility of a mistake/clerical error) can be meaningful from his father's perspective: it may have happened that the father had his son baptised not as a Greek Catholic – which indicates his ethnical affiliation, (too) – but as a Roman Catholic, which is an over-represented denomination in Hungary.

Thus, it is more convincing if one mentions the father as Gergely Moldován rather than Grigore Moldovan. On the one hand, this was the practice in Hungary at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century, e.g. in the case of Vulkánu József, Eminescu Mihai or Verne Gyula. On the other hand, there were also Hungarian citizens in the country whose ethnical identity differs from the national one, and they have a certain kind of attitude to this situation. The Romanians, the Saxons, the Slovaks, etc. got to a difficult situation at the time when the nation state came into being, since according to the official Hungarian concept of nation the mother tongue and the culture that uses it became one of the crucial criteria of affiliation.

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[5] At this time Grigore Moldovan was a law student, since he had graduated in 1872 and became a lawyer in Kolozsvár.

Thus, Moldován sees himself as a Hungarian writer; he has good relations with the Hungarian intellectuals from Kolozsvár and from Hungary but problematic ties to the Romanians. However, his case cannot be seen as a change of nationality. We cannot speak about assimilation in the case of Moldován since he is persistent to the utmost in asserting that he is a Romanian. However, his son's identity in the university registration highlights a process of assimilation. According to Moldovan's family history, we have seen that the Greek Catholic Romanian grandfather has a Greek Catholic Romanian-Hungarian son, who has a Roman Catholic Hungarian son. The changes take place on the male line, but surely these are not indifferent from the viewpoint of the family's female members. Thus, the change of nationality or the assimilation takes place in István Moldován's case.

Gergely Moldován was judged mainly by those who profess extremist political theories (Onisifor Ghibu, Ioan Slavici). He is not the only Hungarian citizen with Romanian origin in the second half of the 19th century who forms and later makes good use of his knowledge of Hungarian and his Hungarian net of relations in Hungarian state institutions. Here we can think of Iosif Vulcan who edits his periodical called *Familia* in Budapest and Nagyvárad (Oradea), or of Emanuil Gojdu/Gozsdu Manó, who is also problematic regarding his identity, and who is also condemned by his contemporaries just like Moldován. However, he could become a positive figure since with his fortune and foundation he sponsored the education of more than a hundred Romanian students.

Moldován's work starts from Romanian publications, and through Hungarian translations of Romanian folk literature and a Hungarian overview of Romanian literature and popular culture it arrives at exclusively Hungarian literary texts that thematically are always connected to Romanian culture. I think it is not practicable if one puts aside or condemns the work of life of Moldován and of the intellectuals similar to him. Interpreting his literary achievements, the ideas hiding in these, the motivations and interests moving his career are much more important since they take us closer to the consciousness of the self-identity that is difficult to understand. On the other hand, they can explain to us that what we now call a hybrid identity could be even natural at the end of the 19th century in Hungary, where in 1896 the millennial existence of the independent nation state was celebrated, though Moldován's homeland politically belonged to a dualistic regime, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The undecidedness of the Moldovan/Moldován question, understanding the identification gestures of the intellectual with Hungarian citizenship and Romanian origin requires further analyses that could start a new series of research in relationship history. As I have shown earlier, the Romanian-Hungarian attributes that in my paper are defined as features of intercultural connections, in the 19th century were less suitable for unambiguous identification, the more so since this

field of science was part of a process of institutionalisation in the 20th century called relationship history, contactology or comparatistics. However, this question should be the topic of another paper.

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Behavioural Stereotypes in Intercultural Communication

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Abstract. This paper intends to point out the importance of cross-cultural communication within the constraining framework of the cultural stereotypes and cultural differences, which can be, in the long run, softened or dissipated by placing them into the proper context and using them adequately.

Keywords: behavioural stereotypes, cross-cultural communication, cultural differences, context, communicative competence

The anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1973: 89) defines culture as a "historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols … by means of which men can communicate, perpetuate and develop their own knowledge about and attitudes towards life." In other words, culture in general is concerned with beliefs and values on the basis of which people interpret experiences and behave, individually and in groups. Broadly and simply put, "culture" refers to a group or community with which you share common experiences that shape the way you understand the world. However, for the business environment, the concepts of cultural stereotypes and cultural differences rather than that of culture are much more active in approaching the most appropriate behaviour and conduct business people should be able to handle. Therefore, the complexity of the situational context involved gives credit to a shocking assertion with respect to the behavioural code business people have to acquire to cope with the international

dimension of their activity: "*Culture is more often a source of conflict than of synergy. Cultural differences are a nuisance at best and often a disaster.*"[1] **(**Hofstede & Hofstede 2005: 37)

This paper intends to point out the importance of cross-cultural communication within the constraining framework of cultural stereotypes and cultural differences, which can be, in the long run, softened or dissipated by placing them into the proper context and using them adequately. Do cultural stereotypes function when a business person relates to a partner of another culture? Are there cultural taboos one needs to be aware of? These are only two questions business students should be aware of when they learn to communicate cross-culturally and when they aim to develop intercultural communicative competence.

Hofstede and Hofstede (2005) see culture as the "software of the mind"; that is, while human beings all have the same "hardware", the human brain, our "software" or "programming" is rather different. It is the same experience when you interact with someone from a different culture – their words, assumptions, gestures, values, and other aspects of their culture will not make sense when transferred to your frame of reference. This assertion is clearly illustrated in their book *Cultures and Organizations* (2005: 6) by the following figure.
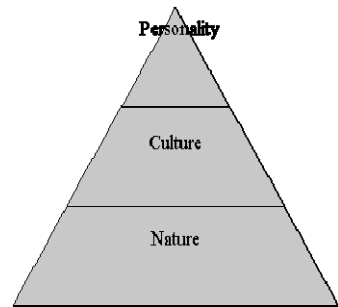
Roughly interpreted, all human beings are completely the same, completely different, and partly the same and partly different. This can be diagrammed as seen above. We are all the same as our "human nature" is regarded – we are all part of the same species, we all have the same "hardware". We are all completely different as our personalities are regarded. And we are "partly the same and partly different" on the territory of culture. As far as culture is concerned, a special notice should be taken into account here: the same person can belong to several different cultures depending on their birthplace, nationality, ethnicity, family status, gender, age, language, education, physical condition, sexual orientation, religion, profession, place of work and its corporate culture. However, culture is the "lens" through which you view the world. It is central to what you see, how you make sense of what you see, and how you express yourself. Cultures – both national and organizational – differ along many dimensions. Among them, four are the most important: Directness (get to the point *versus* imply the messages); Hierarchy (follow orders *versus* engage in debate); Consensus (dissent is accepted *versus* unanimity is needed); and Individualism (individual winners *versus* team effectiveness).

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[1] Author's emphasis.

As we will try to demonstrate, the four dimensions may appear with slightly different connotations or descriptions in various interpretations in the toolbox of cultural stereotypes. According to the Webster Dictionary, a stereotype is "an idea or statement about all of the members of a group or all the instances of a situation". The American Heritage Dictionary defines it as the "conventional, formulaic, and oversimplified conception, opinion, or image" or "One that is regarded as embodying or conforming to a set image or type." According to a further definition, "a stereotype is a simplified mental picture of an individual or group of people who share a certain characteristic (or *stereotypical*) qualities. The term is often used in a negative sense, and stereotypes are seen by many as undesirable beliefs which can be altered through education and/or familiarization". http://www.wordiq.com/definition/Stereotype

When referring to behavioural stereotypes in business, I will rather try not to assign a negative connotation to the term "stereotype", but to associate it with Hofstede's *model of cultural dimensions*, which has already become an internationally recognized standard business people should be aware of. National cultures and organizational cultures should be studied interactively, as Geert Hofstede did when he came up with the four cultural dimensions, but more than that, in my opinion, some behavioural patterns should be identified as stereotypes for a better understanding of each and every culture and for a comprehensive image of how values in the workplace are influenced by culture.

Becoming more aware of cultural stereotypes and cultural differences, as well as exploring cultural similarities can help us communicate with others more effectively. When someone encounters a confusing situation, that person should analyze how culture may be shaping his or her own reactions, and try to see the world from the other's point of view. One should be aware, first and foremost, of some fundamental patterns or stereotypes of cultural differences, such as different communication styles due to specific culture-influenced beliefs, different attitudes towards conflict due to a distinct set of values, different approaches to completing tasks due to particular perceptions, different decision-making styles due to inherent culturally-shaped expectations, different attitudes towards disclosure due to specific attitudes, or different approaches to knowing due to culture-influenced assumptions.

The above-mentioned differences produce, at an inferior level, behavioural stereotypes commonly encountered in business environment. The most common areas in which certain patterns of behaviour may occur are *non-verbal business communication, the dress code in business, intercultural business communication, communication barriers in business communication, culture shock, cross-cultural negotiations,* and *cross-cultural marketing*.

Non-verbal business communication styles are generally associated with business meetings. In some cases, it is common sense that may help us (i.e. leaning

on the back of the chair is perceived as rude in Europe and America; leg crossing is perceived as threatening or accusatory in Muslim society). In other cases we rely on the assumption that messages conveyed by laughter, smiling, and crying or expressing emotions of enjoyment, anger, fear, sadness, disgust, and surprise are universal and if there is a culture where their connotation differs, it is only the smallest exception of them all. When it comes to nonverbal language, even though one can never understand and apply it fully, universal common sense has been turned into politeness by millennia of experience and goodwill.

The dress code in business submits to some general rules commonly accepted within the international business environment but it can also be inferred from a culture's beliefs and customs. Therefore, another rule one has to take into consideration is a common sense one, asserted by Ashley Rothschild *The Rothschild Image*: "You have to honor the country and the culture." The conservative dress has generally become a business stereotype; almost all the business etiquette guides contain the well-known piece of advice: "Men should wear dark conservative attires… Business suits are most suitable… Women's dress should be conservative too…" What in fact is really important is that one should seriously take into consideration and respect the dress codes of the countries that they go to.

Intercultural business communication represents a major source of producing behavioural stereotypes that may contribute to the success or failure of a business enterprise. However, business can be considered a fundamental type of cross-cultural communication; a history of international business practices can be framed in terms of the evolving structures of rules that governed how people ought to communicate to make decisions, trades, and partnerships. The major differences among business organizations follow cultural patterns that are found among all discourse communities, and some principles of cross-cultural communication can help an outsider to predict an organization's expectations. Germans, for example, highly rank directness in communication, similarly Americans are in favour of debating issues directly and openly. As with many Latin countries, communication tends to be predominantly oral rather than through the written word. Asians and Chinese are perceived as being rigid (this is only because they find it extremely difficult to say 'no'). The Arabic conversation can be very hyperbolic with much use of flowery language and flattery.

Communication barriers in cross-cultural business communication are generally considered factors such as language, modern technology, stereotyping and prejudice, anxiety, assuming similarity instead of difference, ethnocentrism; all these may lead to intercultural miscommunication by providing a narrow image of the "other" culture. Such barriers that may be perceptual, emotional, cultural or interpersonal need to be avoided, first and foremost by becoming aware of possible preconceptions (prejudice and stereotypes) to function along with the intercultural

dialogue. Perceptions are determined by the person's life experience and the history of the culture – and they differ from culture to culture. Furthermore, the role society prescribes for persons varies greatly by culture; cultures commonly impose roles by gender or social class. Another outstanding barrier in communicating cross-culturally is ethnocentrism, already mentioned above. Judging other cultures by the standards of our own culture, and associating this with a feeling of superiority of one's own culture should be counterbalanced by not stereotyping other cultures and by increasing mutual cultural awareness.

Culture shock represents another area of cross-cultural communication, in which behavioural patterns are worth discussing, especially for the business environment; how culture shock is experienced and how it can be faced while being included into a particular culture is another discussion closely connected to the idea of multiculturalism. At present, any modern nation is a complex society with corresponding variations in culture. It is made up of different ethnic groups, it is stratified into classes, it is differentiated into regions, and it is separated into rural and urban settlements, each having its distinctive cultural characteristics. These facts indicate that it is not a simple matter to acquaint oneself with the culture of a nation, let alone the culture of another nation.

When it comes to *cross-cultural negotiations*, theories take largely into account the human behaviour and the way it is perceived during negotiation. When considering negotiation at an international level, several underlying factors are extremely important for a cross-cultural perspective of negotiation. I have in mind factors such as the purpose of negotiation, the role of distance, complexity (team size and the role of each member), duration, cultural differences (language, behaviour standards, religious beliefs and values, social practice, sensitivity to time, etc.), and differences in law systems. With reference to the importance of these factors, for example – according to each country's cultural pattern – negotiation teams are organised differently, or time allotted to negotiation process, for instance, is also determined by how time is perceived by various cultures. How to avoid stereotyping in negotiations? By assimilating knowledge about the other culture, discovering and evaluating the cultural differences, and being tolerant towards the other culture. Only by taking cross-cultural negotiation training, can negotiators give themselves an advantage over competitors. Considering this perspective, business students should become aware of the fact that two negotiators with the same potential client, having identical proposals and packages will have different results in negotiating if they approach the other culture's values, beliefs, etiquette and business behavioural patterns on a surface level or exhibiting a deeper insight of those values. Doing or saying the wrong thing at the wrong time makes all the difference in negotiation process. Cultural patterns such as eye contact, personal space and touch, time, meeting and greeting norms, gift-giving etiquette

are only several factors that pass beyond stereotyping and help students tailor their behaviour in a proper way to maximise their negotiating potential.

Last, but not least a few words on *cross-cultural marketing*, which is a strategic process of marketing among consumers whose culture differs from that of the marketer's own culture; it demands marketers to be aware of and sensitive to cultural differences.

Having identified such stereotypes and cultural differences, a question arises: How are these differences exploited for the benefit of the business students? First of all by making them aware that while some of our assumptions are universal, in that most people in the world have them, others are culturally specific. It is these culturally specific assumptions that can often cause miscommunication. When an interaction is not working, the following questions can help explore the underlying assumption generally induced by stereotypical judgment:

- What is the basis for this assumption/stereotype – is it personal experience or someone else's opinion?
- Does this assumption/stereotype check out against what can be objectively observed?
- If the assumption(s)/stereotypes were set aside, how would it help the interaction?

First of all, special treatment must be addressed to the specifics of national business culture because having an insight into the cultural dynamics of a country or region can be very helpful to understand why people act the way they do, and the appropriate way you should act while in that country. There are three areas of interest which account for the impact of business stereotypes, no matter the culture differences:

- appearance, which highlights business etiquette do's and don'ts involving dress, clothing, body language, and gestures;
- behaviour, which highlights business etiquette do's and don'ts involving dining, gift-giving, meetings, customs, protocol, negotiation, and general behavioural guidelines;
- communication, which highlights business etiquette do's and don'ts involving greetings, introductions, and conversational guidelines.

These three areas address the business instances most commonly practiced within the organisational environment, i.e. business meetings, negotiations, presentations, and interviews.

Starting from the above-mentioned business landmarks, stereotypes – seen not as undesirable beliefs which can be altered through education and/or familiarisation but as something that *is regarded as embodying or conforming to a set image or type* – play the role of functional indicators of different cultural categories that require different patterns of treatment. Consequently, from this perspective, Geert Hofstede's dimensions analysis can assist the business person or traveller both in a better understanding of the cultural stereotypes and intercultural differences within regions and between countries, and in choosing the most appropriate code for business communication. The rules that govern this code are influenced and assisted, in my opinion, by patterns of behaviour that make the difference between organisations, business people, or business environments.

Irrespective of the country analysed, by using the above-mentioned dimensions the conclusion one can draw is that the differences are significantly relevant and the only possible solution is to turn to some basic assumptions, generally encountered and accepted, not far from what, for instance, the business etiquette exhibits.

Understanding culture in general and specific individual cultures in particular can make the difference between success and failure in the global market and economy. Therefore, associating this idea with accurate identification of cultural differences and behavioural stereotypes, to which we apply an appropriate use of politeness rules and business etiquette prescriptions, can provide the adequate conditions for the success and effectiveness of business communication.

For students pursuing careers in international business, this means learning to manage cultural stereotypes and cultural differences on three levels: *self*, *interpersonal*, and *organisational*. According to Martin and Vaughn (2007: 31-36), "Cultural competence refers to an ability to interact effectively with people of different cultures." It comprises four components: the first two components address the first level (*self*), and they are the awareness of one's own cultural worldview and the attitude towards cultural stereotypes and cultural differences. The other two components refer to the *interpersonal* and *organisational* levels. They are the knowledge of different cultural practices and worldviews, as well as cross-cultural skills. Within this framework, developing cultural competence represents the "ability to understand, communicate with, and effectively interact with people across cultures" (ibid). Hence, international business managers rate the ability to work with people of other cultures as the most important quality of success, particularly in overseas assignments (Bhawuk and Brislin 1992).

We would like to highlight that the answer for developing cross-cultural competence in the academic field (and more specifically in the case of business students) is to enhance the students' performance in multicultural settings and to teach them *to be interculturally competent.* Teaching intercultural communication requires a target for a more specialised and applied teaching/learning methodological

approach since cross-cultural skills in general and communication intercultural skills in particular are a major criterion for success in the global business environment.

When working in the global commercial environment, knowledge of the impact of cultural stereotypes and cultural differences is one of the keys to international business success. Improving levels of cultural awareness helps business students build international competencies and enables them to become more globally sensitive.

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Breaking the Linguistic Norm in Mass-Media
The Limits of Neology

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Abstract. The paper argues in favour of adopting a whole-integrating perspective to fully understand the demand for a new eco-linguistics without rejecting neology as a manifestation of the live spirit of a language. Thus students will be in the position of handling the avalanche of media terms, whose prestige raises inversely proportional to the degree of instruction of the one who produces the news, either as an agent or as an actant.

We highlight the idea that beyond the journalistic value of the news as such, a more adequate selection of the linguistic support is required in more and more instances, especially into the audio-visual field. The inflation of weird or inadequate terms can compromise a piece of information or the news, either by being rejected by the receiver, or by altering the initial message. It is important to study this linguistic phenomenon, as in the case of non-native Romanian speakers, the impact is increasingly noxious since the novelty of innovation surpasses the language knowledge of an intermediate level speaker.

Keywords: communication, collocation, non-mother tongue, mass-media, neology, contextual inadequacy

The power and importance of mass-media lies in the "knowledge" with which it operates on the level of significance. In Roland Barthes's terms (1968: 64), the process of signs multiplying is accomplished by the appearance of a secondary series within the area of signification, which – on the one hand – can be assigned to connotation, and to myth, on the other hand. Connotation covers, at large, the area of the subject, and *myth* signifies objective, conceptual values. If we agree that *myth*

attributes to the world conceptual values originating into the language of those particular societies, we will also agree with the fact that news is, in modern society, creator of myths. Obviously, the term must be re-assessed according to the use, frequency and duration of **press/media novelty.** Considering these circumstances, we can fully justify the observation of one of our students, who equals the Romanian language to "the language of 'manele'". Witnessing such constructions as "a face o aroganţă" ("to make an arrogance"), "să facem o concluzie" ("let's make a conclusion") (Sport.Ro 02.04, Realitatea TV 26.03.)[1], highly repeated on some TV sports programs, the above-mentioned attitude is fully justifiable. The student proved to be only a keen observer. What kind of conceptual value is implied by a text of the type "produsele îţi trăgeau cu ochiul de pe rafturile pline" ("the products were peeping over to you from the full shelves") (ProTV Ştiri/ProTV News, 04.03.), where information intermingles not only with subliminal advertising, but also with faint traces of a badly perceived nationalism by bringing into light some paremiological constructions totally inadequate to the communicative situation. Only by adopting a whole-integrating perspective will we fully understand the demand for a new eco-linguistics, which – without rejecting neology as a manifestation of the live spirit of a language – will be in the position of handling the avalanche of terms. Its prestige raises inversely proportional to the degree of instruction of the one who produces the news, either as an agent or as an actor.

Deviation can function both as style and as a sign of a certain linguistic strictness, which is to be implied for the correct functioning of media-institution. The fact that some bilingual speakers consider this institution as one of the most important (if not the most important) ways to check the accuracy of their language, the necessity of some normative clearing up on several levels of the language becomes vital. Beyond the journalistic value of the news as such, a more adequate selection of the linguistic support is required in more and more instances, especially into the audio-visual field. The inflation of weird or inadequate terms can compromise a piece of information or news, either being rejected by the receiver, or by altering the initial message. For non-native Romanian speakers, the impact is increasingly noxious since the novelty of innovation surpasses the language knowledge of an intermediate level speaker. Volosinov's "multi-accent phenomenon" (1973: 47) refers to the ability of signs to contain an "evaluative accent" together with the concept and a sound/sonorous continuum. This evaluative accent refers to the fact that the sign has not an internal fixed signification, but rather a signification potential, which can be directed or stressed on a certain signification. Consequently, the problem of *false friends* is a fully real one. The structure: *Are decât o posibilitate*, taken from the English *They have but a choice*, is more and more frequently used both in the media and in other language

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[1] Romanian television channels.

instances. In all normative studies the adverb "decât" is exclusively used in Romanian in negative constructions together with the negation "nu", but this rule is not obeyed in some communicative instances and it is inadequately used. The prestige of the user of a particular construction functions as an influential factor in making some other speakers use that particular structure. The situation becomes complicated when that particular word already exists in language, but with another signification: *punctual, aplicaţie, determinare*, etc.

The explanations given by the Romanian Explanatory Dictionary (DEX) for these words will constitute a disturbing factor rather than a useful instrument to learn and use the language for non-native speakers of Romanian, as in the example below:

> *punctual = ~ă (~i, ~e) 1) Care manifestă grijă şi corectitudine în realizarea datoriilor şi promisiunilor; cu responsabilitate şi exactitate. 2) (Adverbial) Care are loc la momentul prestabilit; produs la timpul fixat.* [*Sil.* **-tu-al**] */punct + suf. ~al*[2]

Another aspect of the semiotic implications in studying "media" is that signification will never be found inside the sign or the text. Signification will be the result of a dialogical interaction between the speaker/text/discourse and the listener/reader/viewer. "Each of the significant elements that can be perceived in an assertion, but also the assertion as an indivisible entity, is mentally translated/transposed into another context, active and capable of producing a response. *Any effective comprehension is dialogical by its nature.* Comprehension represents, for an assertion, what a dialogue dash/line represents for the following assertion." (Volosinov 1973: 102)

The concrete way in which mass-media renders and reproduces the world mainly depends on both the nature of signs and the combination rules that generate signification. Without re-discussing the nature of the sign, we have to underline the arbitrary feature of the relation significant-signified, highlighted by Ferdinand de Saussure and the extremely useful distinction between pairs (sound/image) as long as it performs the opposition inside the system: "Their pervading characteristic is that they are what the others are not." (Saussure 1998: 117) If the native speaker experiences a rejecting reaction due to the inadequacy between significant and signified based on his already mastered knowledge, the speaker belonging to another linguistic community is provided a fake reality, this time by means of language. We will analyse some theoretical aspects, which may offer a

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[2] In English: "punctual" – 1) One who manifests care about and correctness in achieving one's duties and promises; with responsibility and exactness. 2) (adverbial) something that takes place at the pre-established moment; produced at fixed time. Further on, the word is shown as separated into syllables, and its morphological construction (editor's note).

comprehensive image of what media should represent as a unifying factor of a culture, and what it represents now, especially from an informative point of view, for the area of the contemporary audio-visual.

> "News: newly received or noteworthy information, especially about recent events, presented or assimilated as new information; a broadcast or published report of news; informal information not previously known to (someone); a person or thing considered interesting enough to be reported in the news" (Oxford English Dictionary)

If we carefully consider this definition of media, we will understand that it is not the news that represents the event valuable as such. The value is given by "the act of reporting or accounting the event" (Hartley 1999: 21). Consequently, the news discourse will be made up of signs that combine on the basis of some codes, which will generate signification. The news behaves like any other "semiotic object", since "the relationship between the observer and the observed gets the first place, becoming the only thing that can be observed... Consequently the true nature of things may be considered to be grounded not on facts as such, but on the relations we build and then perceive among them." (Hawkes 1977: 17)

It follows from here that the world the way we perceive it represents a result of the language, seen into two complementary aspects:

a. become real by means of language
b. understood as real by means of language

News discourse exhibits, like any other discourse type, a conventional structure at a global level, which is able to direct both the discourse production and, mainly, its reception by the press consumer. The directing of the discourse production and reception depend on some constant elements such as explanation, forecasting, interpretation and evaluation. If the linguistic source is over-filled with terms or constructions/structures insufficiently selected, the constant elements cannot perform their function optimally any longer. With respect to this phenomenon, Adriana Stoichiţoiu-Ichim clearly observes that "Our option to approach the English terms that appear in the news register from a perspective that should be predominantly normative, is based on our conviction that press represents not only the fourth power in the state, but also an important cultural and educational factor..." (2001: 85). "Linguistic education", as identified by the author, due to mass-media prestige, can be both a cohesion factor, but it can also become a source of an imprecise, ambiguous way of expression, in the worst case, by its inadequacy to the communicative situation. For instance, *a suporta* (to

sustain, to bear, to tolerate, to endure) is an "aloglot" term – taken from the English *to support* –, with no connection with the pre-existing meaning in Romanian, because its constant use in mass-media leads to an assertion like: *Dl. profesor vă suportă foarte mult* (*The teacher tolerates you a lot.)*, which totally alters the message (instead of *The teacher supports you a lot* [3]).

Titles/headlines of news or stories express the most important information, being more relevant and "shocking". They summarise and simultaneously interpret the events or actions from the point of view of the journalist or of the journal. The title's essential function is to gain attention, by suggesting the topic(s) that might be of interest for a possible reader. The headline may often appear fragmented into a main title and one or two sub-titles or a super-title (chapeau). From a grammatical point of view, titles are often elliptical sentences, with nominal structures, without determiners, mostly followed by localization (circumstance) of the particular event. If the title contains one or more foreign terms, insufficiently adapted to the language system, distortions in receiving the message will happen:

"Dacă ministrul nu are *agrementul* partidelor, nu este votat" (TVR 1, 02.07) (If the minister does not have the parties' *amusement/diversion*, he won't be voted for.")

"Lionel Jospin declară că Franța *este determinată* să sprijine România" (Antena 1, 03.11) (Lionel Jospin declares that France is *persuaded/convinced* to support Romania").

"Organizațiile umanitare încearcă *să*-i *acomodeze* pe refugiații din Kosovo" (PRO TV, 13.06) (Humanitarian organisations are trying *to accommodate/ adapt/conform* the refugees from Kosovo").

Preambles offer the concise summary of the events, by specifying the time, place, circumstances, the most important participants and the essential action(s). More specifically, the preamble may contain the essential results and consequences of the debated action, together with the main reactions of the actors. Both the title and the preamble constitute "the favourite place/space of the implicit option" (van Dijk 1972: 14).

We are not particularly interested in this area since here some other categories also operate – categories that exhibit an ad-textual feature and generate what we will name, generically, ideology. This topic was approached when I analysed the language of totalitarian systems (Irimiaș 2003: 126) and I described the way in which the ideological selection was structured. Here is one example of that moment:

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[3] Editor's note.

"Noi, reprezentanţii studenţilor din capitala RPR întruniţi în adunare publică ne exprimăm deplina solidaritate cu lupta dreaptă plină de vitejie şi eroism a popoarelor din Asia şi Africa, împotriva *odiosului jug colonial pentru libertate şi independenţă*, pentru o viaţă mai bună." ("We, the representatives of the students from the capital of the People's Republic of Romania, gathered in this public meeting, express our total solidarity with the right fight full of bravery and heroism of the peoples from Asia and Africa, against the *odious colonial yoke, for freedom and independence*, for a better life.") (*Scînteia tineretului* nr. 3612/ 25 Dec. 1960)

Approximately the same mechanism can be found in advertising industry by "hiding the alternative options" (see Eco 1982).

Following the two constant elements presented above, "the body of the press story" appears. **The press story** is not governed by a temporal, conditional or causal ordering, but rather by *levels* or *strata* referring to the degree of generality and specificity (important event/detail). It results that the "press story", opposed to other types of discourse, contains a *category of the event,* which determines its intrinsic value guiding both the previous information and the following one.
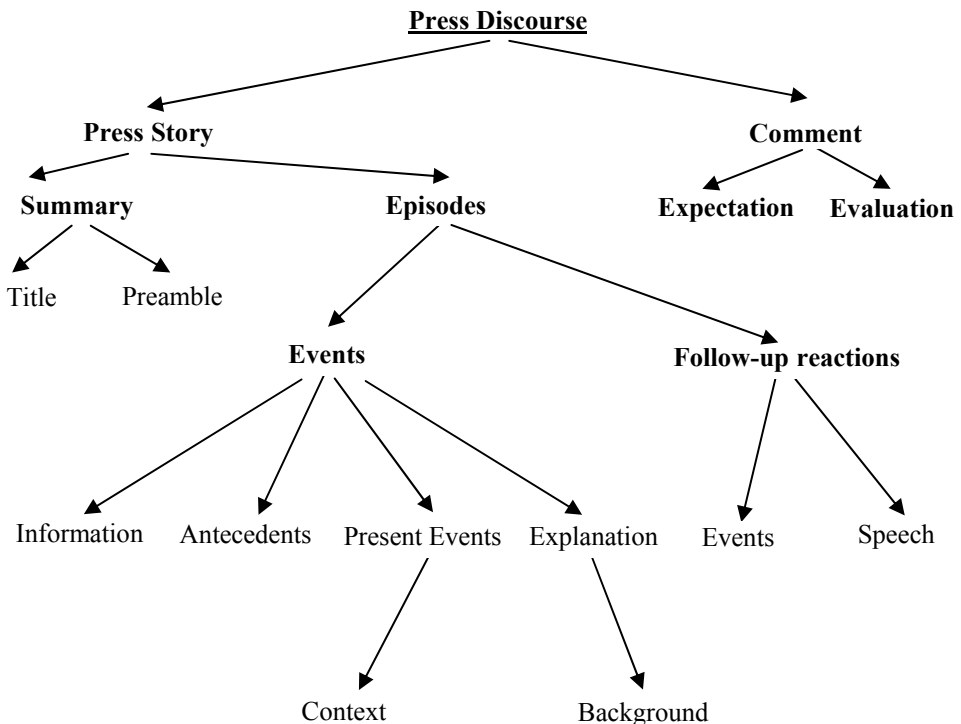
In news "corpora" there are some constant factors that individualise it from some other types of discourse, that have no ambition to direct the events towards a desired/programmed course of action, elements such as **explanation, forecasting, interpretation, evaluation.** The components of the press discourse, together with its pragmatic dimension are clearly presented in the following diagram presented by Teun van Dijk in his *Textual Structures of News in the Press* (*working notes*) (1981).

If we consider the levels/strata of the diagram above, we can identify some global and specific dimensions of the analysis. A stylistic variation appears in terms of lexical selection, topic or syntactic structures at the same time with different ways of approaching and using the written/printed/spoken discourse, as well as monologic/dialogic structures, etc. The different units, categories, dimensions, and levels, together with the rules that govern them, will be considered *textual structures.* It is obvious that the discourse and, consequently, the media discourse as well, cannot be considered a mere "linguistic object", but the concrete accomplishment of the communicative phenomenon in a specific socio-cultural situation. The context of discourse production will decisively influence the structure of the *press news,* whose aim is to inform, entertain, stimulate, and arouse interest but also to indoctrinate and control the potential consumer.

We can study the general principles of the coherence of narrative structures and of style within the basic structure, or the contextually determined features in particular cases. The distinction between the "real" object and the "constructed" object is known. In the case of discourse this means that the real object sometimes appears as "incoherent, unfinished, meaningless, ungrammatical, etc. according to some more general rules and principles – but it doesn't mean that it cannot, at least partially, be interpreted or function adequately." (van Dijk 1972: 13).

In fact, the deviation regarding the construction rules can be, on the one hand, intentional – in order to fulfill some rhetoric or aesthetic purposes, and on the other hand it can be the expression of some social or cognitive characteristics specific to those that are using the language like "memory limitations, strategic aspects of discourse production, etc." (van Dijk 1972: 17).

If we agree that the notion of "otherness" refers both to the way I perceive the one next to me, and to the way I am perceived by the other, it is obvious that the way the world is reflected in our languages will represent a reliable criterion in acceptance, rejection or avoidance. The closeness mentioned at the beginning of this paper between two lexical areas whose nature is not of the same calibre, can be partially justified by the ease with which the Romanian language accepts at present (as a reflex of its impoverishment or of the new Orwellian language) all sorts of new terms as "xénisme" (J. Dubois 1994: 512), which deregulate to a certain extent the Romanian lexical system, either by overlapping already existing terms, or by an inadequate fitting to the "spirit" of the language. Stoichiţoiu-Ichim (2001: 85) observes in this respect: "If we compare the typology of semantic change in the

media of the last decade (...), we will see that denominative neology (motivated by the need to create a new referent) is not so powerfully represented as stylistic neology (subordinated to the expressive function)."

The need to surprise or patronise is much more visible than the need to "adequately refer to something", both in mass-media and in some other types of languages: political, juridical, or even colloquial. This phenomenon is due to some psychological factors known as instruments for lexical selection. Consequently, it is more and more difficult to find the source of the "lexical innovation", whereas the result will be directly proportional to its novelty. And finally, a few further examples in Romanian, which are both picturesque and inadequate in a communicative situation, but nevertheless relevant:

a face diferenţa – to make the difference
a-şi face treaba – to do one's job
a face o aroganţă – to make an arrogance
a face o concluzie – to make a conclusion
a declica – (no translation is available)
a se risca – to risk oneself (?)
a chestiona (o teorie) – to question/ examine (a theory)
a tragediza – to tragedise (?)
a dedica (un produs) – to dedicate (a product)
a aplica – to apply
capabilitate – capability
suportativ – supportative (?)
plăcubil – pleasable (?)

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Romanians in the Italian Newspapers:
Image, Reality and Media Impact

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Abstract. This paper aims to analyse the image of Romanians in Italy, as seen in the mass media of the Peninsula. The interest is concentrated on the impact of Romania's accession to the European Union on January 1st 2007 on the Italian society and on the image created by the mass media during the successive years – we refer to several Italian newspapers with a wide national distribution: Corriere della Sera (liberal), La Repubblica (progressive orientation), Il Giornale (right-wing), Il Manifesto (left-wing) – in order to highlight the social dynamics and human relations. We will analyse the measure in which the articles published in newspapers are concerned with cases of "black chronicle" – especially the rape in the Caffarella Park in Rome – to increase the sensationalism in presenting criminal cases with Romanian actors, causing an exaggerated debate, in general, regarding the presence of foreigners in Italy and, in particular, of the Romanian community. At the same time, attention will be focused on the reaction of the Romanian citizens in Italy and of the Romanian and Italian authorities, concerning the events that have been topics of discussion in the newspapers.

Keywords: immigrants, foreigners, mass media

The 1st of January 2007 represents the date when Romania officially adheres to the European Union, which subsequently led to a growing presence of Romanians in the West and, of course, in Italy. In early 2007, Caritas Italiana (Pittau, Ricci, Slilj (eds.) 2008: 90) estimated that Romanians in Italy represented the largest group of foreigners, with over one million people. This massive

presence on Italian territory, to which the echo of the mass media was added, that presented news and events of "black chronicle" involving Romanians, helped to spread a sense of fear among the Italian population of a generalised "invasion" and, therefore, a state of hatred and rejection of foreigners. Romania's entry in the EU, which should have been a recognition and an acknowledgment of the progress made by Romania, at economic, cultural and social level, became a serious problem of social integration because "the Romanians acquired a negative perception, that, years ago, the Moroccans and Albanians used to have" (idem. 2008: 5), a situation aggravated by the difficulties of Roma integration, because most of the "people coming from Romania are Roma" (ibid.).

Therefore, the year 2007, which seemed "to be initiated under the auspices of enthusiasm, at least in a country like Italy where the first arrivals were Magrebians, Romanians and other foreigners, confirming once again that immigrants are already a structured part of the Italian society" (Confederația Caritas România and Caritas Italiana 2010: 50) represents the point when the population and the media began to express their concern about the control of the new community, perceived as a disturbing factor of safety and, therefore, of the equilibrium at social level and on the labour market (cf. Caritas Italiana 2008: 24-31).

In this complex and delicate situation, the Romanian community in Italy received special attention from the public and the media, opening to controversy and debate. The criminal cases have been emphasised, without mentioning the positive aspects of the Romanian presence, from cultural, social and economic point of view, and, especially, their contribution to the Italian production system, knowing that in Italy the immigrants cover two thirds of workforce necessity, Romanians providing an important contribution in this regard.

The mass media, therefore, did not focus on the positive contribution of the Romanian community. They used the figures attesting the growing number of Romanians in Italy to cause concern for and even fear of newcomers.

In the Italian newspapers of the year 2007, Romanians were the protagonists of most of the extremely serious crimes of rape, in an endless succession of alarming news, culminating with the murder of Giovanna Reggiani, at the end of October 2007, by "Romulus Nicolae Mailat, the 24 years old Romanian, accused of homicide"[1] (Corriere della Sera, November 1st, 2007). The suspect is therefore called "the 24 years old Romanian arrested and charged with voluntary manslaughter" and the fact that he belongs to the Roma community appears in the article that contains certain statements of other Roma living in the same camp set up illegally (the news is taken over by the Romanian press, Mediafax generally using the information that appears in the Italian newspapers).

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[1] http://www.corriere.it/cronache/07_novembre_01/rom_accusato_omicidio.shtml

From this moment, a real general "hysteria" followed and Romanians were considered, almost without exception, to belong to a nation of criminals to be "sent back to their country". Despite the balanced and rational statements of a part of the population and of the personalities of public life – President Giorgio Napolitano, Pope Benedict XVI –, who stressed that the Romanians are not a danger, the tension continues, fuelled by the interest of the mass media for this kind of subjects, capable of ensuring the attention of the public and, therefore, a firm "rating".

Two years after the "Mailat case", according to an article of the Dire[2] news agency, there is an increase in the cases of racism, the Romanians being the most concerned in this regard: "Increase of racism cases presented by the mass media, especially physical violence against Romanian citizens. In 2007 there were 119 cases, 124 in 2008 and 76 in the first three and a half months of this year[3], with a total of 319 episodes of this kind. Press monitoring is an integral part of the White Book on racism, realised by the Lunaria association, with the support of the members of the Green Party of the European Parliament and presented in Rome."[4] (Author's translation)

The image of the Romanians, somewhat rehabilitated during those years, still maintains the "shadows" of the past. 2009 is the year of "relapse" because, exactly on Valentine's Day, on February 14th, a 14 years old girl is raped in the Caffarella Park in Rome. Will culprits or scapegoats be searched for? The mass media describes the investigation. As on other occasions, it is noted that the media has no hesitation in immediately disclosing the national membership of the defendants. Repeating the fact that they were Romanians could not have changed the situation in any way. A rape remains an abominable crime, regardless of the nationality of the aggressor. National identity should not be an instrument for the press to cause new phobias, but it should be considered an element of identification, similar to height, sex, colour of the eyes, hair colour, etc.

The reverse situation is also interesting, when a drunken Italian driver kills a Romanian woman. This time the title chosen by the newspaper ("*A man driving drunk hits and kills a Romanian*") does not express the media tendency to emphasise the nationality of the agressor, fact observed by the journalist Edmondo Berselli who writes: "Strange story. The other day an Italian from Turin, who was found positive to the alcohol test, hit and killed a 37-year-old Romanian woman [...] After 48 hours no protests and no complaints could be heard regarding the fact that Italians could be prone to crime, delinquency, alcoholism or drug [...] But if a

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[2] http://www.officinagenitori.org/php/content_art.php?id_content=2345
[3] Reference to 2009 – editor's note.
[4] http://www.officinagenitori.org/php/content_art.php?id_content=2345

Romanian (drunk or not) would have hit an Italian, could you imagine the chorus?" ("La Repubblica", December 10, 2007).

"The guilty ones are Romanians" becomes a *leit motif* for the Italian press also regarding the rape in Caffarella. "Corriere della Sera" on February 17, 2009 publishes an article with the title "The Caffarella rape, two Romanians arrested", recounting how the youngest of the assaulters, Alexandru Isztoika Loyos, was recognised by the victim and her boyfriend. Regarding the older accomplice, Karol Racz – who planned to flee to Spain, the newspaper adding this alarming and alarmist information – was captured in Livorno, thanks to Loyos's indications. The article notes that during the whole operation the collaboration with the Romanian police was decisive.

The newspapers describe in detail the stories of the two Romanians, their relationship with the Roma camps, their previous crimes in Romania and Italy, focusing on the efficiency of the security forces, the superintendent Giuseppe Caruso saying proudly: "It was a street work of pure investigation and intuition, without technical means. A work of real policemen". For this work the President of the Senate, Renato Schifani, and the President of the Chamber, Gianfranco Fini, expressed their gratitude and admiration.

In conclusion, although the article contains detailed information on the two accused Romanians, it can be seen that the interest is focused rather on the forces of order and on the authorities involved, intending to bring a "tribute" to those responsible for public safety and therefore, attempting to (re)add credibility to state institutions.

A similar tone is adopted by the newspaper "La Repubblica" in an article that appeared on the 18th of February 2009, reiterating that the two "are Romanians: already having been identified two weeks ago in the Primavalle district after another rape" and adding some details to the description of one of the accused, details that are far from helping the investigations, but amplifying the negative image of Karol Racz, presented as "short, dark, 36-year-old, face of a pugilist".

On February 17, 2009 "Il Giornale", brings the article entitled "Rape in Caffarella, a Romanian captured in Primavalle". As in the case of the other newspapers, the reference to the nationality is maintained, while the supposed aggressor is indicated only by his initials, L.I., while Karol Racz is not mentioned. A different piece of information is on the actions of the police, that does not confirm the capture of the aggressor, but speaks about the continuation of the investigations in collaboration with a team of policemen from Bucharest.

"Il Manifesto" (February 16, 2009): "Rape, violence has no nation", adopts a critical tone. The left-wing newspaper uses once again the occasion to refer to the debates about immigration and security to condemn the government's intentions and actions.

The impetus of the mass media in search of subjects of sensation, of crimes that seem to be committed only by Romanians, as crime was not part of the whole society, is tempered by a "coup de théâtre". Nearly a month after the unfortunate event, the DNA tests prove to be incompatible with the samples taken from the two men and the investigations seem to be reversed, the new evidence being taken into consideration. But the two remain in custody (being accused of other crimes), Karol Racz (accused of another rape on the 21st of January, the new DNA tests showing that he was once again innocent) is the one who, through his lawyer, declares his innocence, claiming that Loyos accused him only to protect two other Romanians.

At the same time, La Russa, the defense minister himself, calls for calm and correctness, claiming that, without incriminating evidence, Racz should be released.

Investigations are therefore repeated, this time the authorities are much more cautious in making statements. On the 20th of March 2009, two other Romanians, Gavrilă Oltean and Ionuț Alexandru are arrested. They recognise the rape and receive their sentences of 11 years and four months and six years respectively. Moreover, Gavrilă's punishment is a combination of two crimes of rape, seven years and four months for the rape in Caffarella Park and four years for the rape of a 22-year-old young woman in July 2008.

The element that had an important emotional impact, especially after Racz was released from prison, was his destiny, the Romanian being called "the pugilist" only to enhance the idea of force and violence which he could have exercised in Caffarella Park. Racz is certainly not a model of civic behavior, but he is for sure not the beast described in the newspapers. His image is transformed from the aggressor to a victim, the public being extremely sensitive to the story of an innocent man who stayed in prison for a month, being accused of serious offences.

In this context, on 24th of April 2009, the TV program "Porta a Porta" on the national broadcast RAI 1 had a decisive effect. It was presented by the famous journalist Bruno Vespa, in which Racz had the opportunity to tell his touching and sometimes pathetic story in a simple way, with tears in his eyes. He was accompanied by his lawyer, Lorenzo La Marca, who said that initially they had fought against everybody, the declarations of his client being later confirmed by the DNA test and that they finally found justice. Besides Racz, the mayor of Rome, Gianni Alemanno was also invited to the talk show, who greeted the Romanian shaking his hands in front of the cameras.

Racz's statements, made with the help of a translator, rendered his whole life story, starting from his childhood in an orphanage in Romania, his work as a baker in a monastery and his inclination to become a monk. He claimed that he had not committed crimes in his country, as mass media had spread. Racz spoke without anger, without underlining that he had been the victim of injustice, insisting on his desire to remain in Italy, to work and have a normal life.

As mentioned before, this programme had a particularly strong impact in the following days, when there were several job offers for Racz, fact which was emphasised by the press, which was accusing the Romanian with a "pugilist face" of rape only a month before. According to the information from "Porta a Porta", a famous restaurant owner in Rome offered Racz a job as a confectioner. Another offer came from a land owner who decided to help him having seen him on television: "I thought it was unfair, he was in prison as an innocent man, I would be happy to hire him. The same thing happened to me a few years ago, I was the victim of an error of justice and got in prison."[5]

The change of attitude of the media, in this case, is radical and it is closely related to the desire to maintain credibility. It may also suggest a kind of remorse for a situation out of control caused also by the unjustified exaggerations of the mass media that scared the population and seemed to forget – as it has frequently occured lately – that journalism means, among other things, measure and decency. Even if initially there is a well-intentioned desire of providing information, the news often becomes excessive because of the tendency to transform it into a "sensational" event. The reaction in the newspapers was immediate: "La Repubblica" dedicated a large space to Racz's innocence, "Il Messaggero" apologised in the front page of the March 25, 2009 edition and "Corriere della Sera", in an article signed by Aldo Grasso, underlined that Racz "known as the pugilist face, was the victim of an error of justice, with an infamous accusation. But his main fault was of physiognomic character and as such, suitable for television: with a Romanian, nomadic, Roma face, the confectioner could only be the rapist from Caffarella. A perfect scapegoat, created by the circumstances, by the rush to find someone to blame. [...] Bruno Vespa has not conducted a TV program, but a public ceremony officiated in order to erase the guilt that we feel (or should feel) and to restore the image (dignity) of the victim. [...] One can have a pugilist face, a flat nose, dark gypsy look, but he is not necessarily a criminal", added the journalist with bitter irony.

Through the dynamics of deeds, Racz's case proved the power of the media on people, how crucial the media's influence is on public opinion which, despite the denials, continues to perceive Racz as a potential threat. This is evidenced by the reaction of some women, employees of the restaurant where he was about to start work, who threatened to resign because they did not want to work with a Romanian accused of rape. Subsequently, the offer for employment was therefore withdrawn.

Issues of this nature are complex, as well as their causes. This article can not give a complete picture and exhaustive explanation of such a varied phenomenon. However, it can be claimed with certainty that the media has highlighted in a

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[5] http://geniv.forumcommunity.net/?t=25758868

"programmatic" way and with an excessive frequency the negative cases in which Romanians and Roma from Romania were involved, news of this kind appearing almost daily (especially in 2007 and 2009). This practice diminished in 2010 and 2011, but the tendency to publish negative news about the crimes committed by Romanians still continues, instead of highlighting the courageous acts of Romanians who did not hesitate to help Italians in danger (one case reported on April 11, 2011 by the online newspaper "Corriere di Ragusa"[6] which reported that two young men, an Italian and a Romanian, saved an old man from a fire).

Another factor that influenced the course of events refers to the fact that "no special attention was paid to prepare the local population to welcome and accept immigrants, to create effective systems to receive and integrate them through a careful policy of mediation" (Motta and Ricci 2011: 6). It should also be underlined that the involvement of Romania's diplomatic representatives in Italy to clarify some aspects regarding the Romanian community – including the level of mass media – was inconsistent, while the commitment of the Italian authorities involved in managing the numerous immigration issues made concrete results, so, at least regarding the EU citizens and, implicitly, Romanians, specific procedures have been simplified for those who want to live in Italy **legally**. The 2007 wave of insecurity caused by the media (Caritas Migrantes 2010: 213) – as the sociologist Ivo Diamanti considers – seems to be just a memory, a fact confirmed by the decrease of the number of people who believe that crime has increased (from 88% in 2007 to 76.7% in 2009) and the decrease of the percentage of those who believe that immigrants are a public danger (37.4% in 2009 compared to the record percentage of 50.7% in October 2007, but higher than the minimum record of 32.5% in September 2003).[7]

Based on these data, we can make the difference between true, concrete delinquency demonstrated by figures and the delinquency presented by the mass media, in a survey being demonstrated that those who "fear more are people who watch television, especially the news on TG1, TG5 and the show Studio Aperto" (Caritas/ Migrantes 2010: 215). This opinion was confirmed by the news on TG1 on April 11, 2011 which contained some information published just one day before during the midnight news and announced a new crime committed by four drunken Romanians. The press can exaggerate the news and repeatedly publish the story, but apart from this propensity, the condemnation of such horrible acts, as an Italian, but mostly as a Romanian living in Italy and as a law-abiding citizen, is inevitable and necessary.

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[6] http://www.corrierediragusa.it/articoli/cronache/ragusa/13078-anziano-tenta-il-suicidio-col-gas-provoca-incendio-dell-abitazine-in-via-pozzallo-e-rimane-ustionato.html

[7] Cf. Caritas/ Migrantes, *Immigrazione, Dossier Statistico 2010, XX Rapporto*, Pomezia, 2010, 212-220.

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Romanian-Saxon Intercultural Aspects in Braşov

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Abstract. The Saxon civilization becomes a factor of unique significance due to the guilds that turned medieval Braşov into an oasis of freedom and material welfare. The Saxon civilization functions as a catalysing element in the cultural, literary and spiritual development of the Romanians. The two nations co-existed, one bearing the stigmata of a minority, they lived in the same geographic area, but not together. However, the influences from the main culture to the one undergoing a process of sedimentation were of major importance.

Keywords: Saxon civilization, Romanian culture, guilds, printing press, Romanian media, Humanism, Enlightenment

> Perspective creates the phenomenon.
> (Eliade 1992: 15)

The notion of cultural diversity needs no more explanation. It has been researched from socio-political, anthropological, historical, cultural perspectives, proving its substance in a unified Europe and a globalised world. The most suggestive approach seems to be that of Kevin Wilson in his ample work dedicated to this phenomenon, *Aspects of European Cultural Diversity*: "everyday life, learned behavioural patterns, interfacing knowledge, conventions and specific signs

of identification shared by the members of a given community and transmitted both consciously and unconsciously" (Wilson 1995: 10).

The most pertinent opinions can be expressed about this complex and subtle phenomenon not by appealing to the memory of documents and libraries, but living together in explicitly multi-cultural environments. Since the Middle Ages the multi-ethnic structure of Transylvania (Saxons, Romanians, Hungarians, Jews, Szeklers) have constituted the most determining factor of cultural evolution and connection of the Romanian culture to the great movements of ideas of the Renaissance and Reform, of the Enlightenment and, last but not least to the awakening wave of national consciousness in the hectic nineteenth century. Even if socially and politically inter-ethnicity was not favourable to the Romanians' history, the cultural benefit was incommensurable.

The principle of cultural diversity in Braşov – *pars pro toto*, in Transylvania – had to prove the fundamental modelling role of the Saxons, Hungarians and Jews in the Romanian ethos. These ethnic groups contribute to the configuration of a certain moral life of the Romanians, leaving on them an undeletable mark not to be deleted along centuries. Moral life, and implicitly Romanian cultural life are the results of a permanent cohabitation. The inter-ethnic dimension took on a cultural diversity dimension of a certain quality, German influence (in Transylvania, the Saxon one) that Lucian Blaga defined as catalytic and creative. The national specificity does not need to be approached from a racial perspective, but from a cultural one. The fact that Romanian cultural life, especially in Transylvania, is the result of a steady "cultural mélange" does not represent an exclusively Romanian phenomenon. It would be absurd and hilarious to support the idea of a racial purity, living in a historical and geographical area crossed through along the centuries by migrating or immigrant peoples.

Vasile Moraru, in a study entitled *Despre saşi, morală şi tăcere* [*About the Saxons, Morals and Silence*], as a starting point for the discussion about the way in which the Saxons have exerted their influence on the Romanian population from Transylvania, proposes the Bergsonian distinction between *open morals* and *closed morals*. Both nations carried with them, according to this theory, both types of morals. Notable is the fact that the type of closed morals has never developed a major conflicting situation. An only exception could be the perpetuation of a feeling of superiority from the part of the Saxons and, implicitly one of inferiority from the part of the Romanians. The author of the essay goes further, distinguishing between *deontological ethics* (the spirit of work, consciousness and punctuality of the Saxons) and *a teleological ethics* (that of utility, in the case of the Romanians).

The idea of the Renaissance and of the Enlightenment arrived in Transylvania earlier than in Walachia and Moldova and took on an unmistakable Transylvanian touch, given by the cultural melting pot. In order to contour an image as suggestive

as possible of the medieval Braşov in contact with the ideas of the Renaissance, a few preliminary social and cultural statements have to be made. In Braşov the Saxons were socially and professionally organised in guilds and neighbourhoods. Both phenomena render an exclusivist, closed character of cast. The society of the feudal type is one in which stratification from *up to down* made clear and insurmountable distinctions between the different social levels. The guilds enter Transylvania with the coming of the German colonists, later having an organisation similar to those in Central Europe. Afterwards, this form of craftsmanship production spread amongst the Romanian population as well. These guilds had a closed character, foreigners having access forbidden. Neither the Hungarians who politically administered Transylvania had access to these guilds, not to speak of the Romanians. In Walachia and Moldova guilds appear much later, after the sixteenth century. Their model of organisation and functioning is an example of the German tenacious and creative spirit. The working hours in a guild were form 4 a.m. to 6 p.m.; the unmarried men had no right for association; widows were permitted to work in their deceased husbands' places; the members of a guild had to follow a civilised behaviour (saying hello, punishment for raising their voice, being forbidden for drinking alcohol). Members had to reward the best apprentices and they were forbidden to "steal" customers from another craftsman. Some privileges and prerogatives formulated in the guilds' act were in fact abuses against the other nationalities, outside the guilds. The explanation of this attitude was given by the Saxons themselves in the saying: "*they, the Saxons, could have a bigger love of industry than the other nations*" (otherwise, Voivode Vlad Ţepes's destiny became tragic as a result of his trying to break the spirit of caste in the Saxon guilds). In 1447 governor Ioan Hunyadi strengthens the caste character of the city of Braşov passing a law to protect the Saxon towns against the claims of the feudal lords, awarding them a privilege on 4th November 1447 by which he forbids all nobles in Transylvania to oblige the serfs to settle in the Saxon towns and territories. In this way the Saxon city becomes an oasis of freedom in an endless feudal desert. Even if the German ethnic exclusivity is made into law, the citizens still enjoy personal freedom and immunity. Anybody who settled in town became a free man, no matter what his previous social situation had been. In such a climate of freedom and benefiting from the unconditional financial support of the patricians, the ideas of the Renaissance entered unhampered and gained an unmistakable local aura. An ethos cannot become real only through really valuable representatives. These existed in the cases of both nations, the Romanians and the Saxons. It is to be noticed that the Romanians in Braşov took an interest in and were influenced by the Saxon creative, building spirit, church playing an important role, too.

Johanes Honterus (1498-1549) was contemporary with important personalities of the Renaissance: Erasmus of Rotterdam, Thomas More, Albrecht Dürer, Martin Luther and Paracelsus. He is, without a doubt, the best humanist in Transylvania.

His name used to be Honter, but he added the Latin suffix to follow the good Renaissance tradition. A student at the university of Vienna, he becomes master of arts, and afterwards he enrols on the university of Krakow, where he publishes two fundamental texts for humanism: *The Latin Grammar* and *The Basis of Cosmography or The Description of the World*. In 1553, he is invited to come back to Braşov to reform education, enjoying the respect and appreciation of the whole community of Transylvanian Saxons. We owe him the establishment of the first printing press in Braşov, in 1539. Textbooks will be printed here, books in Greek and Latin, he works of ancient writers (bringing Antiquity back to life in the spirit of the Renaissance). In the spirit of the great discoveries, the wish of the human being to overcome his limits, in search of absolute freedom, Honterus draws a map of Transylvania, to be published in Basel in 1532, being the first cartographic representation of this territory. The most important books of the Reform are published in Honterus's printing press: *The Book of Reform for Braşov and Bârsa County* (1543), *Church Regulations for all Germans in Transylvania* (1547). At this printing press did Coresi work too, between 1556-1583, and with support from the leaders of Braşov, Johanes Benkner and Lukas Hirscher, he prints dozens of books of religious character.

Johanes Honterus is the author of the first School Regulation in the country, *Constitutio Scholae Corensis,* in which he establishes the basis of organising the students, through a youth organization called *coetus*. A profound humanistic spirit, Honterus dedicated his whole life to education: he set up libraries, schools (the oldest girls' school in Transylvania) and he laid the moral foundations of the educational principles in Transylvania.

The Romanian school existed side by side with the one in the heart of the town. The Romanians from Scheii Braşov were responsive to the humanist-reformist ideas that modelled the life of the city. In Scheii Braşov, people spoke and wrote in Romanian continuously. At this school the first *Grammar of Romanian* was written by Dimitrie Eustatievici Braşoveanul. The first Romanian school functioned within St. Nicholas Church and it is the first Romanian school on Romanian land. The documents that confirm its age are the papal documents issued at the end of the twelfth century. Through this institution Braşov becomes a focus of Romanian culture through translations of biblical and lay books, textbooks and grammar books written here and through generations of scholars who were brought to the Romanian culture by this city. The importance of Coresi's printings is underlined in a succinct notice of the historian Nicolae Iorga: "it encompasses in itself what will shape the thought and feeling of future generations: literary language" (Pavalache 2008: 125).

Contemporary studies bring extra depth to Stefan Coresi's personality. If for a long time he was considered a simple printer, today his role is undoubtedly that of a cultural founder, founder of Romanian language and literature, being influenced

by reformist theories that changed the world. The Romanian printing press in Scheii Braşov had a financial factor. Beyond the encouraging reformist atmosphere, that made Coresi's prints spread all over the historical regions, the governor of Braşov, Lukas Hirscher writes the following to the governor of Bistriţa: "both the Moldovan ruler and also the one in Walachia, with the approval of their nobles, have imported many books to their territories" (Pavalache 2008: 126). Coresi's books are financed by the Saxon community, the interest coming more from Johanes Benkner and his daughter, Agneta Hutterin. Thus they used the paper produced at their own paper-mill, their earnings becoming remarkable. The governors of Braşov had direct financial interest in Transylvania, the cultural interest being of secondary importance. The argument to this idea is the famous *Neacşu the Nobleman's Letter* from 1521, written to governor "Hanas Benkner" in which he warned of the Ottoman peril.

The emulations of the German spirit are considerable along the centuries. Humanism, and later the Romanian Enlightenment are contaminated by the German spirit. A decisive moment of the Romanian-Saxon interaction is that of Paşoptism movement. The revolutionary ideas of the European Paşoptist movement enter Transylvania due to literary magazines that are published in Braşov in the nineteenth century. In 1837, literary magazines like "The Romanian Courier" of Heliade-Rădulescu, "The Courier of Both Sexes" or the Geek periodical "Athina" arrived in Braşov with difficulty. The Hungarian and German magazines arrived much more easily: "Beobachter," "Siebenbürger Zeitung," "Siebenbürger Bote," or "Erdelyi magyar hírvivő." We cannot talk for the moment about a local press in 1837. George Bariţiu and Timotei Cipariu had the intention of starting it. Because of financial reasons (safe estimated earnings), the printer Johanes Gőtt, having Ioan Barac for editor, publishes the first periodical in Romanian, entitled "Sunday Paper". In 1837, the same printer publishes the German periodical "Siebenbürger Wochenblatt" and then the supplement "Unterhaltungsblatt für Geist, Gemüt und Publizität." The same year, Iacob Mureşanu arrives in Braşov, his family playing an important part in creating a literature inspired by Paşoptism. Iacob Mureşanu is a teacher, Member of the Romanian Academy, and the editor of the prestigious "Gazeta Transilvaniei" (Transylvanian Gazette). Andrei Mureşanu, his brother, is the author of the national anthem "Deşteaptă-te, române". Only in 1833 the publication "Foaie pentru minte, inimă şi literatură," (Leaflet for the Mind, Heart and Literature) and "Gazeta de Transilvania" appeared, a magazine where sonorous names of the Romanian Pasoptism wrote: Mihail Kogălniceanu, Alecu Russo, Cezar Bolliac or Nicolae Bălcescu. Johann Gőtt supports not only the publication of Romanian magazines but also those in Hungarian. So in 1837 he publishes the periodicals "Erdélyi hírlap" (Transylvanian News) and the supplement "Mulattato" (The Amuser). The famous Sámuel Brassai and Zsigmond Kemény write for these papers, Braşov

being the only town in Transylvania in which papers in three different languages, Romanian, Hungarian and German, are published.

At the same time, Johann Gőtt sets up a literature cabinet and a party society under the name of "Lesecabinet und geselliger Verein", afterwards named "The German Casina". The intellectuals of the time, Romanians, Hungarians and Germans meet here, they read the papers of the time and the books provided by a small library. So does the cosmopolitan way of life of the nineteenth century unfold in the same ambiance of cultural diversity, cohabitation and inter-communion of the three nations.

The history of Braşov is fascinating. Fascinating are, taken separately, the myths and legends that are woven around the existence of the three cultures, which, as stated previously, have peacefully cohabitated. This cohabitation is owed not only to the local genius, but also to the church, which made peace with all the cults along the centuries and contributed to the citizens' education. Also, the social, cultural and anthropological results of the cultural diversity speak for themselves. The Romanians belong to a minority culture, but, as Constantin Noica remarks, this affiliation does not mean a qualitative inferiority of this culture. We can conclude by saying that Braşov is a cradle of Romanian Humanism and Enlightenment, with specific touches given by the Saxon cohabitation.

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The Role of the Local Press in the Production
of Regional Image

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Abstract. The paper examines the question: what are the chances of the agents of the local media who take part in shaping the image of the region in the rural area examined by me, namely the Ciuc basin. Through their content messages the press materials become active parts of a local-scale ethnic self-representation. The paper argues for the fact that the conditions are given for the local media to recognise the role of the media which, beyond local and ethnic self-representation, is also a partner in regional self-definition. Time is ripe for the cultural turn, and, consequently, the region would display its cultural conditions in a wider sense, besides, it would become aware of its own role in the construction of the regional image. In this way it could be an important factor in the discourse production about the region.

Keywords: regional image, local media, minority media, regional discourses

1. Introduction

One of the consequences of joining the European Union is regionalisation. The macro and micro regions enter the competition for various resources, and in this competition the creation of self-definition and of the image is pivotal. Besides the traditional description and analysis of macro-structural changes, the regional researches with a new approach deal with the interdisciplinary research of other elements of regional reality (e.g. the representation of the region, questions of

power, network analysis). Raising the questions of discourse and representation in regional researches, Pierre Bourdieu (1985) or Marc Mormont (1987) expound: the question is not what region is, but how region is perceived, how the various participants interpret region and what this reveals about the social division and power relations of society (Mormont qtd. in Csite 1999). This is called the cultural turn of regional researches.

The post-structuralist regional sociology, related to Imre Kovách's name in Hungary, the discursive concept of creating the region can be compared to the approach of cultural sciences. Examining the evolution of the concept of the region, Kovách states that several concepts and images of the region circulate in the representation of the region both in social science and in public discourse. A discursive competition takes place for the definition of the region, since the contest for consumers and development resources is settled by proper discursive strategies and by images formed about the respective products, regions and rural settlements. The regional images have a great role in obtaining the development resources, since the political decision-makers bring decisions both on development policies and concrete projects based on plans and images (Kovách 2007).

Four types of regional discourses can be distinguished (Jones 1995 qtd. in Csurgó 2007), according to who produces the discourse, who disposes of the authority to fix whether it is valuable or valueless, whether it is competitive or not, and what the consequences of all these are. These are the following:

1. Lay discourse, the communication among the people populating and inhabiting the region;
2. Popular discourse, in which the region is constructed through cultural products (literature, media, art, etc.);
3. Professional discourse, regional discourse of political and administrative decision-makers;
4. Scientific discourse, region constructs of regional researchers.

The revaluation of discursive strategies is also a consequence of the rural development policy of the EU. The regional development system of the EU, as well as the post-productive age have resulted in radically new rural development techniques and strategies both on the part of the developers and that of the users. The role of the formation of new local identities, of the local cultural tradition, of local development resources, of local knowledge increases, the role of local cultural heritage is revaluated, the traditional cuisine and food, the local sights, museums, archaeological sites, natural sights, buildings, folk customs and traditions are reconstructed in accordance with the viewpoints of development (in compliance with the plans and systems of the EU) (Csite-Kovách 2002).

My question refers to what the role of the local press is in the formation of the image of the region.

The local press can be regarded as an element that plays a role in the creation of regional image, as a mediator which thematises the local cultural events, represents and encodes them in various ways, and returns them to the public. This is primarily why I consider it important to raise the questions: how do the local media carry out the act of thematisation, what kind of meaning constitution takes place in local publicity, and how is all this determined by the role conception of the agents of media?

The examined target group consists of the journalists of two regional daily papers of the Ciuc basin, of the *Hargita Népe* county daily and of the *Csíki Hírlap* daily. I made structured interviews with 6 local journalists; the main guideline of the interviews consisted of questions referring to the knowledge of the local journalist community, to the role of the local and minority media, and to the selection of news.

I start from two statements:

1. Regional researches emphasise that, although in the period following the change of regime several media were established, no Hungarian speaking publicity has been formed at a country level, however, several local and regional press organs have been formed, within which the printed local press has a special role (Papp Z. 2005).

2. Researches draw attention to the noteworthy presence of local cultural events in the local Hungarian printed press, to the special role of the media in presenting the events, in the display of ethnic and local self-representation (Bodó 1999).

2. The minority and local journalist

Based on the interviews made with the journalists of the two local papers, in the following I would like to summarise the more significant themes which are relevant to my topic. I think we can search for the answers by approaching the topic from the conception of the journalists' role. I made interviews with journalists dealing with local cultural topics. The questions of the half-structured interviews refer to how the interviewee regards the role of local media, and within it, his/her own place, how s/he sees the readers, how s/he is informed of the news of the event, and how news selection works.

My questions are relevant in a local context, and it is in the conditions deriving from this situation that I try to outline the role of the minority and local journalist. The system of relations of the local journalist consists of the readers, the events organizers, the editorial staff s/he belongs to, as well as the journalist of the competing editorial office. Most of them also report for one of the national media at the same time, some of them are employed by Duna Television. Thus, their work is determined by different editorial expectations, and, from time to time, by a different reading public. During the analysis of the interviews with the journalists, I

formed the following topic groups: professional socialisation / qualification, popularity / relations, (minority and local) role conception, indication of topic / selection of news, opinions formed about cultural contents, access to news.

3. Professional socialisation

As compared to the state of the change of regime, we can see that the generation change has taken place: whereas at the end of the 1990s elderly and male journalists were predominant (Papp Z. 2005), the journalists have been replaced by now, the local circle of journalists got younger and renewed. Their professional qualification took place at the academic specialisations of journalism, social sciences and philology, already in the years following the change of regime. These profiles had not functioned before, so the start of the Hungarian-language academic specialisations is spectacular and dynamic after 1989. The training of the journalists was done in three different ways: at the university in Cluj, at the press college in Oradea, as well as in the form of courses held by professionals from Hungary. There are examples for each of the three among my interviewees. "I graduated journalism at Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj in 2003. I could say that I have been a journalist ever since, but this also works like obtaining the driving licence and driving ... At first I was working in the editorial office of a Catholic weekly and periodical, I was getting used to the work around editing, to making interviews, but I was aware that the daily and the rush around it would mean the thick of the profession" (A.).

The journalist can also get socialised in the editorial office, relying on his/her professional knowledge which derives from his/her qualification: "I acquired the profession from the elder colleagues, there was a real intellectual workshop in the editorial office of the *Hargita* at the time, then at the *Hargita Népe* after the change of regime. After 1990, when the Association of Hungarian Journalists from Romania (*Magyar Újságírók Romániai Egyesülete, MÚRE*), and its adult training workshops were formed respectively, I took part in several courses and professional trainings led by professionals from Hungary, most of them teaching at the Bálint György Journalist School of the National Association of Hungarian Journalists (*Magyar Újságírók Országos Szövetsége, MÚOSZ*)" (S.).

"I was thinking, well, let's see, I moved to Miercurea Ciuc in 1996, I applied for the job at the Antena 1 in 1998. I remember, it was also then that a job at the town library was announced. Since I also had the qualification of a librarian, I thought, I could still be a librarian, but not a journalist. Earlier I had been working for the *Udvarhelyi Híradó* as a proofreader, printer's reader, I also edited the first calendar. In the meantime, I attended a crash course on journalism in Odorhei in 1991, it was held by professionals from Hungary, I obtained a certificate, I have my authorisation as an undertaker registered based on that, too." (D.)

4. Popularity

One might as well say, one of the most specific traits of the local journalist is his/her popularity. It makes the situation of the journalist dealing with local topics easier and more difficult at the same time. "So I have a certificate, but I practically do not use it, I show it twice or three times a year, maximum." (Sz.)

Popularity also occurs as compared to practising journalism in a big city: "if... you see what I mean, here the personal relations count more, and people rather want to make use of it. There is also pressure, but it is rather personal. However, for me..., my principle is always to provide at least a short piece of news about any kind of cultural event, or whatever we might call it." (Sz.)

"It is more important to be a local journalist. It is in vain that I worked for the Duna [Television], nobody knows who you are. Your name is known better." (D.)

5. The regional role of the local press

Every journalist states that the role of the local press organs, just like that of the national ones, is to inform people on a daily basis, authentically, about the fields of public, economic, sports and cultural life, to announce approaching events, as well as to reflect on those which have already taken place. This is the field which is mostly covered by articles written in an objective tone. Besides, they highlight the importance of subjective writings, reflecting opinions, such as editorials, notes, feuilletons and squibs. "A local paper will only fulfil its task if it works with a team of journalists which can represent both genres." (A.)

The journalists of *Csíki Hírlap* connect their role to locality more explicitly. According to them, it is also an important task of the local newspapers to reinforce communities, to form values. A local paper does not have to deal primarily with the events of the so-called high politics, but rather with questions related to the respective region, since they are about local events for local people. A local press organ also has to provide information on an event which is important in the life of the given community, but which may not have the value of an item of news in a national paper.

The journalists of the *Hargita* highlight the importance of providing a high standard piece of reading, respect for the traditions of the Hungarian press, and raise their voice against the tabloid tendency and superficiality.

6. The regional role of the local journalist

The editors of the *Hargita* identify the role of the local journalist with that of "the journalist," they make no difference from a professional point of view and they also emphasise it. Being a journalist means professional devotion, sense of

vocation, professionalism and humbleness towards the profession. They also make reference to the tabloid media discrediting the honour of the profession, because of which the readers unanimously label both the profession of journalism and the journalist negatively.

Certainly, the role achievement of the local journalist is dependent on their personality. I would call the type below the practical-participant one, being committed to certain local matters, issues.

"It depends on what one wishes to do. Maybe you do not solve more (locally, as in other places, ed.). Maybe you can influence culture at a local level. This is my purpose most of the time. Yes, I often write the article with the expressed purpose that things should change. I want to teach a lesson, I touch on sensitive points." (D.)

Another example is the objective attitude, saying that this is what happened, and its most frequent representation technique is a quotation or reference to the subject. "Well, the article reports on the event, as well as on what is said. Well, that they ... of course, nobody will interpret an event negatively, but a journalist does not write down his/her opinion most of the time. Thus, political essays, notes are exceptions, but at other times the journalist reports on the event, and then, s/he includes in the article one part of what the participants in the event say ..., arranges the article to be a whole, having a beginning, a middle and an end, to be readable and concise. Thus, in this case there is no attitude expressed, either a positive or a negative one, so that ... in this case we do not express our attitude." (Sz.)

The journalists agree upon the fact that as compared to the national press, the journalist of a smaller region is in a better situation, since s/he can form a personal system of relations with the institution leaders and with people counted as key figures in his/her domain, in this way his/her work becomes more humane. His/her work is facilitated by the fact that s/he knows who s/he addresses. The reading public of a local paper can be delimited more clearly; by living in the respective community the journalists know the expectations better, it is easier to form relationships, and, last but not least, a local journalist is more "accessible" for the reader, which may also be a burden. This is formulated by the journalists of both papers: "... the organisers of every tiny event lay claim to the presence of the press, to the press reaction, and the excuses are unpleasant if the elaboration of certain topics is not motivated. Still, they call on the journalist and demand an explanation of why the respective event has not appeared in the paper, in this way the role of a local journalist also implies facing offendedness and dissatisfaction. The larger the region a press organ covers, the more the organiser of the event understands that it does not necessarily deserve publicity." (A.)

7. The role of a minority journalist

It turns out from the interviews what the journalists of the two papers think about the duty and role of the minority journalist. The journalists say that the status of the minority journalist implies a surplus of responsibility. They primarily mention the professional requirements (authentic information and generic variety). His task is to form and teach the claim to correct Hungarian language, to proper speaking and writing. Besides, he has to be aware of the fact that due to the power of the printed word the journalist is a considerable factor in influencing public opinion, and one must not abuse of this situation.

"It is a delicate matter, a special situation. I have already read that there is only good and bad journalism, but if we live in minority, then there also surely is minority journalism. In our case, of course, it means taking on the case of the Hungarians in Transylvania, dealing with issues, topics touching upon the community. In the field of topic selection and elaboration, certainly, another role is incumbent upon a minority journalist. As a minority journalist we can be committed to the public interest within the limits of goodwill, however, we must not avoid talking about the problems within the community by any means. Unfortunately, there are examples to this, it is rather the principle of 'others hurt us, at least we should not hurt those belonging to our nation' that prevails." (B.)

8. Topic selection

The issue of what becomes the material of a daily paper, what individual and editorial filters it goes through, what kind of offered and accepted or unaccepted interpretations come to light, and where the stress is laid is a very complex question. It is only one part of this complex question what the journalists think, experience, and how they solve this problem themselves.

The journalists compete with time, it represents a difficulty for them if events are organised in the region simultaneously. It occurs in the interviews that in their opinion what is important is the role of educational events and drawing attention to values. However, it cannot be said that topic selection works in accordance with any kind of strategy, beyond the fact that events have to be reported on a daily basis.

"I would already break with daily newspaper writing with pleasure, I do not wish to pursue the daily activity with the Duna Television, I am not interested in a lot of things. I would be interested in more profound topics, in dealing with one single topic for two weeks. I do not have time, because if I write about something, it is true one day, and the other day it is no longer true ... several times we report on things which are only the products of imagination, and then it is not achieved, we do not even demand an account of them ..." (D.)

Tradition is one of the most thematised elements, concepts of media. The concept of tradition has always taken part successfully in the practice of minority identity formation, additionally, it is successfully run by the media as part of the image shown and produced about the region, it is the obligatory recurring feature of self-definition, what is more, in the global discourse high hopes can be attached to it related to heritage creation and the afferent tourism.

"I used to be a member of the *MÚRE* (Association of Hungarian Journalists from Romania), but I am no longer, I am no longer preoccupied with it. I am preoccupied with preserving tradition, with national survival, because I am such a person. If I were a member of the majority, the very same things would preoccupy me, namely, our language, the preservation of our traditional costume." (D.)

The endeavour to systematically present the values of the region cannot be pointed out in the interviews.

It is an interesting question what the relationship between the minority topic and the local topic is. Whereas in his/her relation with the local public the journalist sets himself/herself the target of making known the local programmes for an ever wider public, it can be seen that the image of the region "ordered" from the outside sticks to continuously supporting and reinforcing the image created by itself.

"From the viewpoint of politics, I was interested in expressed minority topics as long as I was reporting for Duna Television: they are very boring ... For example, the Csángó topic always appeared. We reported on it a lot, but somehow it was too much for me. There were events which were ordered year by year. To report on the same issues every year, the Peril from Siculeni … I earned my living from that, but I did not understand why [Duna Television] was interested in this particular topic and not other … more serious problems. I included in the topic preview of the religious programme that the Catholic population decreased in number, and the speaker presented the reasons for this, such as the appearance of new religions..., however, it was not included in the programme, because we do not report on negative things. This was my case with thousands of things ... with old topic previews, which were not ordered. And I did not want to present programmes only on the minority topic." (D.)

9. Summary

In my paper I have examined the question of the chances the agents of the local media have, who take part in shaping the image of the region in the rural area examined by me, namely the Ciuc basin. Regional research states that after the change of regime the local publicity has been reinforced, characteristically, it consists of insular entities, its authority, objectives and concerns are related to particular regions, where the everyday problems of people get into focus. Within

the Hungarian-language daily papers, it is the reading of the "local daily" that is one of the most infiltrated, ingrained habits of the Hungarian community from Transylvania (Magyari 2000: 2003).

Along with the analysis of the interviews made with journalists I delimited the following topic groups: professional socialisation / qualification, popularity / relations, (minority and local) role conception, topic indication / news selection, opinions formed on cultural contents, access to news. The role of the local and minority journalist gets shape along these lines. It turns out from the interviews what the journalists of the two examined papers think of the role of the minority journalist. The journalists consider that the status of the minority journalist implies a surplus of responsibility. They primarily mention the professional requirements (authentic information and generic variety). It is part of this role to form and teach the claim to correct Hungarian language and to proper speaking. Researches underline that the legitimising role of media materials can be detected in the practice according to which more reports are published afterwards than before, with an informative character. Through the content messages the press materials become active parts of a local-scale ethnic self-representation, and at the same time it is through this that the mental/symbolic adjustment to the ethnic "whole" takes place (Bodó 1999).

It is a very important statement of regional researches that the series of events organised after the change of regime and the participation of the media in them use up the forces shaping society, what is more, it may conceal the possibility of other presentational endeavours in which it would also be possible to use the media successfully. Viewing from the specific concerns of the region it can be seen that the conditions are given for the local media to recognise the media role, which, beyond local and ethnic self-representation, is also a partner in regional self-definition. Time is ripe for the cultural turn. Consequently the region would display its cultural conditions in a wider sense, besides, it would become aware of its own role in the construction of the regional image, in this way it could be an important factor in the discourse production about the region.

Translated by Judit Pieldner

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The Happy Times of Peace

Building the Myth of George Bernády in Târgu Mureş[*]

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Abstract. The study examines an account of the past and local identity creating mechanisms by giving an example of the mythical figure of the twentieth century mayor of Târgu Mureş, George Bernády. The paper specifically makes inquiries about what stereotypes construct the past centred around the individual, what stereotypical rituals and discourses the community uses, how it builds up its own spatial and temporal boundaries and why they resort to this figure from the past to construct their collective consciousness. In order to preserve the reconstructed past certain ceremonies are created, establishing the ritual space and time, and they define activities that are symbolic in nature and are rule-driven; they produce discourses, narratives that legitimise the guarding of the respective past. The subject of the investigation is the pictorial representation of George Bernády's cult, too, the narratives formed around it and the elements of the personal cult. The cult of the legendary mayor calls forth various forms of manifestation in the local society. His figure is always defined by the current situation, it is not final but perpetual, and it exists in the series of re-creations by the use of constant and variable elements. His remembrance gains functionality within the limits of an ongoing communication and interaction of the social group.

Keywords: cultural memory, memory location, commemorative ceremonies, festive speeches, George Bernády's cult

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People need stereotypes in order to achieve the understanding of the present times, the development and relative completeness of individual and social identity. Thinking in stereotypes, inherent in the thinking mechanism itself, is a part of cognition (Katona 1996). This thinking in categories is also extended to historical cognition, as well as to a group's creation of a collective identity, which is based on the reviewing of its own history. My research focuses on the collective memory of Târgu Mureş, with the main emphasis on George Bernády, the mayor in charge at the beginning of the twentieth century, and on his age. The first and most important question that arises in this context is: why would the identity development of the years 1900–2000 reach back to an era nearly a hundred years earlier; what are the values found then that are missing at the end of the twentieth century, which the city so gladly identifies with after such a long time. Why is it particularly this mayor that the very strong cult is built around? The answer seems obvious: this is what comes naturally. It was in the early 1900s, during the management of Mayor George Bernády, that Târgu Mureş, the provincial town became an urbanised city. The city dwellers walk daily past the buildings that were built in that period, so these buildings are something that cannot be ignored. Why is this part of collective memory so prominent? It is because the political elite seek to nurture this cult, at the same time trying to strengthen the collective consciousness of the Hungarian ethnic group as well.

This paper tries to establish an account of the past and local identity creation mechanisms by giving a stereotypical example of the figure of the twentieth century mayor, specifically asking what stereotypes construct the past centred around the individual, what stereotypical rituals and discourses the community uses and how it builds up its own spatial and temporal boundaries. In addition, through remembering to what extent does the community identify with the memory of a bygone era and to what extent it dissociates itself from it?

George Bernády was born in Bethlen on April 10, 1864. He came from a family of pharmacists. He was still a child when he moved to Târgu Mureş with his family. His father purchased the Golden Stag (*Aranyszarvas*) Pharmacy in the main square of the town. George Bernády graduated the Reformed College in Târgu Mureş, then he continued his studies first in Cluj, then in Budapest. First, he held a doctorate of pharmacy, and then he also received his doctorate from the Faculty of Political Science and Law. After finishing his studies he began to work in his inherited profession, he became a pharmacist. Soon after he became involved in public life as a parliamentary representative, in 1890 he was a member of the municipality; in 1900 he functioned as the Chief of Police. For many decades he was also the Chief Elder of the Reformed Church in the Castle Church and in the Reformed College. In 1902 he was elected mayor with acclamation (Marosi 2006). First he was a mayor till 1913, then for five years he served as a high sheriff. In January 1919, the city came under Romanian administration; as a result the bulk of

Hungarian officials were removed from public institutions and a strong policy began to turn Hungarians into Romanians. The implementer of this process over time was Mayor Emil Dandea and his team. Between 1926 and 1929, however, as a settlement on the basis of party politics, George Bernády was elected mayor again (Pál-Antal 2007). From 1926 he became the Member of Parliament representing Maros-Torda County. In 1930, he seceded from the National Hungarian Party and founded the Civic Democratic Block, thus continuing to participate in political life. He was still working hard for the interest of his own nation, nationality; however, the population of Târgu Mureş largely remembers him as Mayor Bernády.

When Bernády occupied the mayor's chair, the population of Târgu Mureş was only 19,522, which by 1915 increased by 10,000 inhabitants. At the beginning of his career, Bernády applied for huge amounts of money, which he could use to start businesses. In 1903, for the first time after 80 years, the city closed the financial year with profit. Thus, the city became creditworthy, the mayor asked for millions in loan, only the bankers knowing about this. The city council only knew about hundreds of thousands in order to avoid frightening the members of the council. Modernisation mainly occurred in city planning. The entire city and its limits were remapped, the land registers were organised, followed by the opening or upgrading of 117 streets and squares. All of them were covered in stone, asphalt, granite or ceramic stone. On the sides of the new streets rows of trees were planted; hundreds of acres of parks were created. Channels were built in the city, the public lighting was introduced, the Maros River was regulated, dams and bridges were built, the city was equipped with plumbing, an electric station was inaugurated, and the city received a gas plant, brick factories, and warehouses. Those who wanted to establish industrial companies, factories, were granted significant reductions in the custom duty, discounts for the plots and construction material and transportation benefits as well. Sixteen small and medium-sized plants were established. The petroleum refinery, a number of customs houses, greenhouses, nurseries, the slaughterhouse, the Trade and Industry Chamber, the Palace of Pensions and the Art Nouveau-style new City Hall were built during this period. Thus, a significant modernisation of public life occurred. At the same time a series of educational, social and cultural institutions were established: the orphanage, five elementary schools in the city's different districts, a higher elementary school (today's Technical University), later, the commercial school (now also a technical university), a secondary school for girls (now secondary school), the public administration school, the military school (now the Medical University) were built; the urban music school, the public library and an art gallery were founded. In the last few years of peace the Cultural House closed the list, thus the modern city centre of Târgu Mureş was completed (Szepessy 1993). In the first decade of the 1900s three banks were built.

As a result of the establishment of institutions, the cultural events commenced, therefore, in 1909, through the intermediation of George Bernády, the first symphonic concert took place with the participation of a symphonic orchestra formed by musicians from the ceased People's Theatre in Budapest. In 1910 the city's own philharmonic orchestra held their first concert. In 1912 an acclaimed Erkel-concert took place in the Transzilvánia building. In the same year Béla Bartók performed another highly successful concert. In 1913 a concert was held to inaugurate the organ of the Palace of Culture, there and then the cinema screened the first films as well. The societies and associations formed in the second half of the nineteenth century continue to actively operate. A growing number of theatre performances took place, at the same time the sports life also flourished. New magazines, newspapers were published, as well as many Yearbooks, Calendars and Almanacs (Sebestyén 1999). George Bernády's modernising activity created more space to the civil recreational activities as well. Summer cold baths, later warm steam baths were opened. The building of the Somostető was started; the inn and the sport shooting range were inaugurated, at the same time picnic sites with stoves were set up. The newly developed bank of the Maros River was also suitable for the weekend holidays, common urban picnics.[1]

In the press and publications appearing at the beginning of the twentieth century a growing number of traders posted advertisements. References are made to several cafès, hotels, restaurants, men's and women's fashion stores, drug stores, department stores selling home appliances and other mechanical devices (Flórián 2003b). The existence of these commercial units implies the demand for goods among the inhabitants of the city. On this basis, all those ads and commercials constitute the proof for the economic prosperity and the process of bourgeois development. George Bernády also took significant steps in preserving the national and local memory. It was at his initiative that the bust of Ferenc Rakóczy II was erected in 1907. A few years later, in 1912 the Petőfi-column was unveiled. These and the previously erected monuments were removed after Bernády's mandate and even after the change of regime in the state system (Flórián 2003b).

The inter-war era was hardly favourable for further urban development. Later, the powerful communist policy of minority assimilation also sought the destruction of cultural values, among these attempting to destroy the values surviving after Bernády's time, as well. Although some of the Hungarian intellectuals living in the city arose to the tacit protection of these values, they could not do more than that. Due to the constraint of the regime, the symbolic occupation of space by the Hungarians was out of the question. The continuously controlled public speeches were not supposed to contain even a shred of reference to the former Hungarian

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[1] There was a situation when, during the campaigns prior to the governmental elections, László Borbély (ethnic Hungarian politician representing Târgu Mureş today in the Romanian parliament, editor's note) attempted to organise such common urban picnics again.

city or its builder. Therefore, the nourishing of his memory was pushed back into the private sphere. The cult became public and suddenly powerful after March 1990 thus referring to the fact that Bernády's figure corresponded from every point of view to the mechanisms of the preservation and amplification of local identity.

The remembrance of traditions is a complex process. The past is produced within the knowledge that the community shapes and made public (Fejős 1996). And this does not only mean the accumulation of the knowledge of the events, but also a selection process in which the remembrance plays a role as important as forgetting. The community inducts so-called "cover memories" in order to prevent access to disturbing memories.[2] Thus, remembrance becomes a simplifying process in which the cultic person monopolises an era, thus becoming a symbol of it, and in this way allowing for the formation of stereotypes. In this spirit, George Bernády is that cultic person in Târgu Mureş who becomes a symbol of the conjunctural time. From the cult of this era certain motifs have been preserved, such as the enrichment of the town with bourgeois houses, the building and functioning of civic, educational and cultural institutions, the development of cafés, bars, and the emergence of common spare-time activities such as the picnic on the banks of the Maros River. And to all of these we can link George Bernády's name, whose person is surrounded by such stereotypes as: Bernády the city builder, the outstanding organiser, the George Bernády who is faithful to his principles, who accomplishes all his plans for urban renewal in spite of all hindrances, the George Bernády with an excellent economic sense, who lifted the city out of the sea of mud, who developed the province into an urbanised town; George Bernády who is able to descend to the little people, the mayor who is able to find a solution to any problem.

The specific knowledge resulting from the recollection is characterised by a specific discourse, as well as by ritualised behaviours and symbolic actions that constitute this discourse. This complex is the "social memory," which is individual, biographical, and collective, as it applies to historical events experienced in a shared environment. In addition, the collective memory has a diffuse nature imbued with emotions (Fejős 1996). This is proven also by the memorial ceremonies related to George Bernády in Târgu Mureş.

In 1992 the George Bernády Cultural Foundation was established, whose members – city councillors, doctors, and journalists – worked continuously in the following years in order to develop the Bernády cult. As a first step a statue of George Bernády was erected in the square named after him. A few years later the Bernády-days started to be organised. Since 1997 this event has taken place in the city annually, on a regular basis memorials are erected, inaugurations, wreathing, speeches are presented, various texts are published. An integral part of the event is

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[2] For current research carried out about social memories, see Olick and Robbins (1999: 19-43).

the awarding of a memorial plaque, which is usually given to honour the citizens who brought significant benefits to the city through their work. In the following I shall attempt to describe these cultic events and the discourses formed around them as well.

The activity spaces of the remembrance-ceremonies in each case are in some way linked to the name of George Bernády (cf. Keményfi 2002: 140). The full figure statue was erected in the square named after him. During the annual celebrations this statue and the tomb of the former mayor in the Protestant Cemetery are decorated with wreaths. The students' competitions or drawing competition that are held on these occasions usually take place either in the Bernády House, or in the festival hall of the Bolyai Farkas Theoretical High School. This association brings us to think of the fact that George Bernády used to be the Chief Elder of the college. In 2004 this festival hall was named the George Bernády Hall to honour his name and a memorial plaque was solemnly placed at its entrance. In 1998 a scientific session was held in the memory of the former mayor and his age in the main hall of the City Hall, which had also been built by Bernády. On the occasion of the Bernády-days in 2002 in this very place a relief was unveiled representing the hero's face. The venue of the Gala held on these occasions is always the main hall of the Palace of Culture which was also built by George Bernády. Book launches, lectures are mostly held in the small hall of the building or in the Bernády House.

The memorials unveiled during the Bernády-days are usually also placed into these buildings. In addition to the formerly mentioned memorial plaque and relief, his bust was inaugurated in the Hall of Mirrors at the Palace of Culture in 1998; in 1999 a memorial plaque was placed on the mayor's former house on St. George Street. In 2007 the Bernády Memorial Room was opened on the first floor in the Palace of Culture. Therefore, the scenes are, in most cases, justified. The resulting memorials play a role in the development of the mental maps of the commemorating community and in binding their historical memory to a particular space. Thus the local community sets a monument, marks in space the events of its own history (cf. Barna 2002: 154). The monuments, as well as their establishment and the recording of their narration, narratives, their conservation receive a special role and importance. These objects become the means to keep alive and further perpetuate memories, it is due to them that the neutral physical space becomes a sacred space that bears a symbolic content and which is inseparable from the history of the community (Barna 2002).

To the mentioned scenes, in each case, a ritual, a celebration is associated, which serves to transpose the past into the present. Such a relationship that is connected to the past shapes the identity of the remembering community. Thus, the collective identity is not displayed in the mundane but in the ceremonial communication.

The first public memorial ceremony was the unveiling of the full figure statue of George Bernády in 1994, in the Bernády Square. The event was held on the 56th anniversary of the former mayor's death. The inauguration was preceded by several years' preparation, thus the selection of elements, the determination of the sequence of events were all very thoughtfully planned. The ceremony was opened by two choral pieces, Mihály Vörösmarty's *Summons*, as well as a piece composed for the occasion entitled "To the Founder of the City;" Boldizsár Csíky's piece for choir uses the lyrics of Sándor Reményik and András Sütő. Then two speeches followed, an entrusting and a receiving opening speech. The President of the George Bernády Foundation, László Borbély has entrusted the care of the statue, on behalf of the authors, to the city of Târgu Mureş, the Mayor, Győző Nagy, accepted the custody of the statue, also on behalf of the city. This was followed by its unveiling, then the wreathing. Speeches were held by the county prefect, Ioan Racolţa, by the writer and Kossuth Prize winner from Târgu Mureş, András Sütő, and then by the President of the World Federation of Hungarians, Sándor Csoóri. After these other choral works and poem recitations followed. On the site memorial badges and Târgu Mureş city blazons were sold.

The process of the memory assertion is therefore saturated with symbols referring to the mayor who built the city. The text of the choral pieces composed for the occasion bear obvious references to the situation of the Hungarian minority subjected to the assimilation propaganda during the communist era: "Great son of Atlantis, city builder, / as a statue you can no longer see your peers! / Kossuth, Rákóczi sank deep into the sea; / you alone send your consolatory bronze. / Târgu Mureş, our towered hope, / your old city picked up from the dust / quotes you and bears the siege!" (Nagy 1999). The reference to the removal of the statues of Rákóczi and Kossuth appear as the collective symbols of local identity. At the same time Bernády and his age appear as a reference. The remembrance of this ensures the preservation of identity, even in difficult times, in the time of the sunken city as well. The lyrics of the song undoubtedly serve the preservation of the ethnic identity through the mechanisms of memory.

The need to preserve collective memory, the momentum of the conscious creation of tradition and the collective preservation of identity can also be perceived in the delivered ceremonial speeches. The Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation emphasised the importance of the strengthening of self-consciousness and common local identity:

> Time is incorporated into the body of this statue, an entire era, the turn of the century, a piece of history. It was a true joint venture all along, the city's collective public act, the evidence that Târgu Mureş has not forgotten his mayor who was the builder of this city. This statue is proof that the hosting

world, the so often despised, misjudged barbecue town, our Târgu Mureș, knew very well how to value Bernády's performance.[3] (Mózes 1994: 3)[4]

This and other ceremonial speeches also reveal that the statue of George Bernády represents that artificially created memory location from the past which the community does not want to break away from. The statue is the means for the local historical memory to permanently strengthen itself (Gyáni 2000). Some of the commemorative speeches bring back other cults as well, besides the cult of George Bernády. Let us take, for example, the speech of András Sütő:

The bells talk about the year of '49[5], when they had descended and Áron Gábor cast cannons from them, which made the dictatorship dread them even ten years later… George Bernády and his era had created the values of the city which the regime tried to ruin. Injustice, which brings prejudice not only for the Hungarian population of Transylvania, but also violates the traditions of the Romanians, should never be accepted. The melting of the statues of Kossuth, Petőfi, Rákóczi does not abuse the Hungarian spirit only, but also the spirit of those who live in these parts. We look forward to such an era when every city and town should belong to those who build its spirit, culture, keep and maintain its libraries, those who build, sweep its streets, those who make all this possible through their work. No city is obliged to steer its values to the place where ordered, but it can use them to the benefit of their self-government. [...] I'll be happy when I see children climbing onto Bernády's shoulder and no one wants to lock them up for this. (Mózes 1994: 3)

Each ceremonial speech refers to the previous period, the regime of the communist dictatorship; once being freed from it, the collective identity can be openly assumed. For example, Sándor Csoóri's festive speech was:

Here, in the alluring vicinity of this statue, which will soon be unveiled, our first thought could be addressed to this deranged, abominable century of ours. As suffering witnesses we could proclaim with other hundreds of millions, that in our era many have reigned over us, those who have erected not only sculptures, but cold and cruel city-monuments with the profligacy and wobbly arrogance of Byzantium have erected over us the deterioration, destruction itself as a monument. In contrast with their work of art, erecting a statue to

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[3] The speeches held both at the unveiling of the full figure statue of Bernády, as well as at the unveiling of other monuments associated with the cult were published in the columns of the local newspaper called *Népújság* (*The People's Newspaper*) on the days following the speeches.
[4] The translations of the articles belong to the author (editor's note).
[5] Reference to the revolution in 1848 (editor's note).

honour the mayor that lived a meaningful and useful life almost seems like bagatelle. It seems like placing on a pedestal a speck of dust while joggling around with rocks and myths. And yet this is not the case! On the contrary, it is a bold attempt to restore a derailed world. It means administering justice to the past, to labour, to the self-esteem of the trodden. Because, as of today, the statue of George Bernády will be more than a subtle and silent adornment of this city. This statue, similar to the person it was modelled after, will be working hard. Remember, remind! (Mózes 1994: 3)

The events and texts of the 1994 inauguration of the statue preserve the virtually Transylvanist manifestations that followed immediately after the communist dictatorship; the organising and coordinating role of the ethnic elements is highly perceptible. This may be regarded as one of the so-called restoration processes of the ethnicity displayed by the publicity that is organised and managed by the ethnic elites (Biró 1996). This is not the situation in the later cases of memorial ceremonies. As the years went by, the memories of the former regime increasingly faded away. The collective remembering naturally still carries elements of ethnic identity-preservers, and it is still a tool for the symbolic use of space, but the hidden references to the previous system gradually subside.

The building and nurturing of the cult of George Bernády commenced at the very beginning of the 1990s, when the leaders of the still evolving local political party, the Democratic Alliance of Hungarians in Romania (RMDSZ) established the George Bernády Cultural Foundation, thus creating the framework for the nurturing of his memory. Beyond the previously mentioned statue inauguration, from 1997 the systematic memorial nursing process began with the organisation of the Bernády-days. The event is held in the autumn of each year, usually spreads over a couple of days, and lasts from Friday afternoon until Saturday evening, and there are constant elements that – as concomitants of the myths – provide the ritual nature of the event. Thus, on each occasion, after the Saturday morning student competition, a wreathing ceremony takes place at the statue of George Bernády on the Bernády Square. The Foundation, the mayor's office, Maros County Council, the Castle Church, county and city RMDSZ members of the district participate in the wreathing ceremony each year. This ceremony is accompanied by ceremonial speeches, fanfare, choral works, and recitations. The memorial evening or gala evening is also held as a permanent motif each year, and on these occasions alongside various presentations, speeches or other festive events the Bernády memorial plaque is handed over to the person who has played an important role in the progress of the city. The plaque depicts the Town Hall built by George Bernády and serves as an award, an encouragement, deference to that person. For example, such persons were Mayor Imre Fodor, architect Gyula Keresztes, Ottó Darabán, the director of the waterworks, etc. Various cultural events also receive a regular place.

Thus, most commonly, photo and painting exhibitions are opened, books are launched, and performances of different styles of music are organised, indicating that George Bernády boosted the city's cultural life as well. Beside the constantly recurring segments of the events the organisers always try to offer something new to the inhabitants of the city in order to keep the memory alive. In this way the city builder's bust was unveiled in the Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Culture, his memorial plaque at his former house, his portrait in relief in the building of the County Council and the memorial room was opened in the Palace of Culture.

In 1998, at the above-mentioned wreathing ceremony of the full-size statue, the speech of the mayor of the time illustrates emotionally heated cult-nurturing:

> We honour with reverence the memory of Dr. George Bernády, on the sixtieth anniversary of his death, and we thank him for his leading by example. (...) He was not only a pharmacist, a Member of Parliament, a police captain, a mayor, a politician, the city's politician, but also a Chief Elder of a church and a college. He has created something enduring in these qualities of his, as well. In 1934, on his seventieth birthday, László Gagyi, a college student and later a teacher greeted him with a poem, in which, among other things, he said: 'One deed means more than a hundred polished speeches, / The lesson is already worn in the flesh / A generation fighting for a new future / I wonder if we are wearing the edification in our flesh today?' I think as far as good will, desires and piety is concerned (see the statue of Bernády, the Bernády-days and our presence at the Bernády-days), the answer is yes. (Nagy 1999: 69)

This text highlights the need to record the historical past, it enumerates the merits of George Bernády, and it encourages the audience to honour him as a role model. Similarly, it is primarily the emotional attachments and the emphasis of his being an ideal that are reflected in the speech of the Vice-President of the Foundation's Board of Trustees at the unveiling of the bust in the same year.

> The population, the Hungarians of Târgu Mureș probably think of the House of Culture as the closest to their hearts from among all of the Bernády-works, this great tabernacle, where music and theatre, library and art gallery, science and literature, past and present, tradition and innovative spirit alike found a home. As the mayor sensed the need to build another floor on that American cruise ship, and he promptly took action for his idea to prevail, similarly we must all make haste to build further and further levels on our knowledge, our spiritual ascent. Thus we can grow constantly stronger in our Hungarian nationality while also becoming competitive by European standards as well. This is the suggestion, the warning that George Bernády's portrait gives us starting from today; we gathered here in such an impressed state of mind and

in such an intimate atmosphere to set this statue up. Over the years the attitudes these memories evoke have changed somewhat in character.

This also proves that a hero is not final, not an *a priori* given figure, but it exists in an ongoing series of re-creation. He is always adapting to the new social and political situation, to the new demands. The solidarity, the microsociology-type group cohesion, the need for unity are however a constant theme in the act of keeping the memory alive. (Fejős 2001)

The expression of the merits of the cultic hero with the outstanding work of a life-time seems sometimes redundant, as well as the encouragements to follow his example. In this respect, the local community uses epic clichés and constant colloquialisms such as: "Such people are needed by the Hungarians in Transylvania," "everyone's moral obligation" to do something to maintain traditions or in order to maintain Bernády's memory; let us bring back and re-live the "happy times of peace;" "George Bernády's city" flourished and should flourish, "the benefactor of Târgu Mureş;" the legacy, the intellectual heritage of the "city builder Bernády" should be nurtured.

In the discourses, on the one hand, the outstanding work of the hero is displayed. This is the past that is deeply embedded in the local community's system of knowledge; these are the relations of the elements that hardly, if ever, fall out of the memory precisely because of their frequent use in texts. This item of the persistence of the cultural memory mainly refers to the preservation of such texts that play a role in the upholding of the ethnic identity of a community (Hoppál 2002). This important role of George Bernády's remembrance is demonstrated by the references to the contemporary age accompanying the merits of the mayor, that appears in those texts.

The language tools canonised in public speeches become the building blocks of the wording of personal memories. The previously mentioned discourses seek to maintain the local culture's own identity, and this is achieved through channels. On the one hand, texts are presented in public spaces, at gala-evenings, inauguration ceremonies; on the other hand, the knowledge is passed on during the student contests. Finally, in addition to the orally communicated knowledge, a large number of written texts are present as well. As the members of the Foundation seek to erect a new monument, a new memorial place each year, they also reproduce something from it in written form each year. The local publications can be segmented in the same way from the point of view of the content as they can be segmented from the point of view of the oral narratives. Similarly, they lay emphasis on the former mayor's achievements, also publishing public summons, encouragements to preserve memories. Beside these, contemporary texts related to George Bernády appear, such as the mayor's writings and his correspondence, anecdotes about him, publications, and poems. All of these play a great role in the

process of turning him into a mythic hero. The publications have appeared under the attendance of the George Bernády Cultural Foundation. The sequence has begun with a photo-album that appeared in 1993 entitled *The City of George Bernády*, which was edited by László Szepessy, and it contains the documentary-report of Barna Marosi with a foreword by András Sütő. In 1994, at the inauguration of the full-figure statue, a small booklet was issued entitled *The Bernády Memorial Day*. This was followed by the volume *The Memory of George Bernády*, in which Miklós Kund Nagy collected and edited the materiel that was presented at the 1999 Bernády-day scientific session. In 2002 a photo album entitled *Preserving Otherness – Tuenda alteritas* was published edited by the same Miklós Kund Nagy; a small booklet introducing the Dr. George Bernády Hungarian Cultural Centre was also released to the public. Then, in 2004, Zsigmond Bálint's photo album followed with the title: *From Christmas to Pentecost*. A new album was issued in 2005 authored by the textile-artist Kati Bandi. In the same year, the Dr. George Bernády Cultural Foundation published a new debut pamphlet entitled *The Bernady House*, this time both in Romanian and Hungarian. In 2006 the documentary-report of Barna Marosi entitled *The City of George Bernády* was re-released, its precedent actually being a volume about Bernády from 1962. Finally, in 2007, edited by Miklós Kund Nagy, some of George Bernády's memoirs appeared. Every one of the publications is of high quality, well edited, with colour pictures. In the texts there are discourses that are mostly characterised by pathos used by the authors to suggest the emotional impact and the emphasis of the mythical space and time. The similarly well-printed, realistic pictures mostly portray cultic objects: monuments, historical documents, diplomas, objects that were created in the course of Bernády's activity (the glass paintings in the Palace of Culture, relief, the objects from the memorial room, etc.). In the same way, there is more than one web page that either specifically aims at the maintaining of the Bernády-cult or the familiarisation with the old image of the city, its history and its famous people as well – and a significant part of this is constituted by the Bernády-cult.

Similar to the local publications, there are texts appearing on the Internet introducing George Bernády's lifelong activity accompanied by local historical writings. The aim of the writers is also to maintain the local memory, and the methods are similarly relying on the emotional sphere.

Both the local publications and the websites are supposed to serve the continuity of recollection, that is to say, the tradition itself. Here we can also observe the demand to display the past as history. The texts and pictures published both in printing and in electronic formats may be considered memory locations as much as the special elements of the cult.

The formerly mentioned set of topoi that appears in spoken texts, local publications and online texts is also significantly published in the press.

Descriptions presenting George Bernády's activity receive space from time to time in the columns of *Népújság*. At the same time they will continue to inform the public about the memorial ceremonies. The linguistic instruments applied are the same as in spoken and published texts. The explanation is simple, the journalists who publish such writings are the same as the ones who are also involved in the organisation of the cult, and they are mostly members of the Foundation.

Thus, the role of the concept of the culture-hero can be outlined in the creation and the sustaining of the community's forms of identity. In turn, this role is embodied in the establishment and strengthening of social ties.

George Bernády's leader-personality embodies the power of collective desire. In the course of maintaining his memory other social ties are considered almost worthless, the leader's mysterious strength and power, the supreme law of his will become dominant (Cassirer 1997). The build-up of the cult is also reflected from the topoi-set of the written and oral narratives. Therefore, George Bernády can become, if needed, the instrument of political representation, or the means of cohesion, or a means of strengthening the historical past. In all cases, he fulfills the need of group-cohesion. By remembering him the local community achieves the division of time.

Historian Sándor Pál-Antal distinguishes five distinct periods in the life and the development of the twentieth-century Târgu Mureş according to the new direction, the frame that the determining events imposed on the history of the town. Accordingly, the twentieth century began with the age of Bernády or the age of urbanisation, followed by the inter-war period, the first "Romanian–era", then the period of World War II, that is the "Hungarian–era"; the age of communism, and finally the time after the '89 revolution or on the way towards Europe (Pál-Antal 2007). Only two of these have been preserved in the city's memory, two stereotype eras: the age of George Bernády who was active in the first half of the twentieth century and the socialist-communist era that dismantled the human-civil values. The first period is the age when the city's image changed. It is the liveliest period in the history of Târgu Mureş, when the city takes a huge step forward on the road of civilisation, it turns from a rural settlement into an urbanised centre, the infrastructure is improved, education and culture are developed; these are the happy times of peace, to which later on the collective memory returns. The second period, the time of communism, is the time when the economic and social conditions are violently changed, it is the time of nationalisations, deportations, imprisonments, the individuals considered dangerous to the new system are placed at a disadvantage, it is the time of industrialisation and centralisation, the time of the elimination of the inheritance.

From among these stereotypical ages the local reminiscence has chosen to date back to the beginning of the twentieth century, thus the division into periods is intertwined with George Bernády's figure, of whom the surviving articles, press releases speak in a biased tone, testifying to the fact that he was well respected both by the elite and the people of the city due to his activity, to his elegant but strict codes of conduct. The articles in the contemporary press reveal that during his service as a Mayor he also received special attention indeed, but we must not lose sight of the further process of turning him into a myth, process which embellished the past. I have found articles from the 1920s about Bernady's unifying efforts, an article that refers to the riots, accusations against him. However, this was not the only manifestation of hostility. Various surviving anecdotes also illustrate the occasional disapproval of the inhabitants of the city against Bernády's aspirations and energetic attitude. The fact that nowadays his person is described with positive stereotypes is mostly demonstrated by the statement of Miklós Kund Nagy, the Vice President of the George Bernády Cultural Foundation:

> Bernády already divided the city during his time. Thus, there were those who supported him in everything, and there were those who strongly opposed him, there were the little people who loved him, worshiped him because they felt that he was one of them, and there were those who considered him their enemy. Now, this image, of the enemy, has completely softened – that is, the image of the enemy that settles upon us, as all-powerful ruler of the city, but with time this has completely softened. Now sometimes, where there are reminiscences, such as life work summaries, there are references to this, that he had opponents as well, and he was also mocked at, and so on, but this is only marginal, because by now his merits are the ones that fully culminate.[6]

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[6] Miklós Kund Nagy's verbal disclosure (March 2008)

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A Common Image Loss, A Common Memory Image
Attempt for an Anthropology of Art

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Abstract. Teilhard de Chardin writes: "Man, ever since he has existed, offers himself as a spectacle for himself. In fact, he has been regarding nothing else for millennia than himself".[1] In search for the meanings of regard, spectacle, and vision, we have chosen the syncretic field of art since works of art initiate mechanisms of cognition the duration of which goes beyond perception. This is what we have experienced in the case of Federico Fellini's (1920-1993) film *Rome* (1972), and János Géczi A.'s (1953-2005) short story *Mint szénagyűjtéskor az árnyékban* [*Like at Hay Gathering, in the Shade*]. Fellini is a legendary figure in the history of film, while János Géczi A., the outstanding Transylvanian writer, editor of Kriterion and Polis Publishing Houses, founder and head of Kalota Publishing House, who passed away tragically early, is only known by few. His individual volumes are: *Holdfényben* (*In Moonlight*, 1987), and *Patthelyzetek* (*Deadlocks*, 1992).

Writing changes in time even within a given sign system, it is simplified, its logic becomes different. An image however has the same elementary and immediate effect on its onlooker even after thousands of years. Cave paintings, to the best of our present knowledge, primarily had a role in community building, with mystical

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[1] Quoted by Péter Nádas as a motto to his lecture *Az égi és földi szerelemről (On Heavenly and Worldly Love)*.

powers attributed to them (for instance, power over the beings they represented); the image living underground entered in a dialogue with its onlooker. Both the film and the short story mentioned are stories of such an underground encounter: there the image, disturbed in its (sacred) intimate concealment, takes effect and is ruined at the same time. They wish to develop the eternal city – let this be the centre. On the periphery, in the town of Torockó (Rimetea) between the "Birgej" and the Székelykő (Szekler's rock), the human presence slowly fades away, while the built heritage increasingly becomes a mere stage set: Adam and Eve may look at each other only as a couple alive and dead. (The short story mentions the hillside (Bergej) famed because of the burial places hollowed into the rocks by the name of "Bergi". The name of the town Torockó does not appear in the text.)

The shaping of society is the history of civilisation, the human-guided process of interference. The selected episodes of both the short story and the film are motivated by a (good or evil) thirst for knowledge. This is what Dante calls "natural thirst".[2] Beyond curiosity, however, economic factors are also observed when man wishes to surface, or at least see or understand, the (material) sources of the past. Our thematic comparison parallels the entire short story with a fragment from the film.

The short story presents a mysterious attempt of a father and son to overturn a grave; the son thinks he saw a female shape in the rock grave which resembles his mother, but which turns to dust instantly because of the light and air that penetrates inside, drawing the son into an eternal internal sway of obsessions.

The mosaic-structured film presents Rome through Fellini's eyes, with the help of past and present episodes.

The journey to knowledge

The look is drifting with the swirl of the city, amongst the always-noisy inhabitants of Rome. This is how the director characterises his creative state: "I was like an archaeologist, who joins the bits and pieces of ancient vases, while trying to guess how the missing parts could have looked like. Rome itself is just like a broken ancient vase; they always patch it up so that it wouldn't fall apart, but it still preserves its original secrets here and there. I get excited thinking about the different levels of my city, and wonder what lies there hidden in the depths, under my feet."[3] (Chandler 1998: 195) The eye penetrates these levels. Imagination, memory, dreams, the figures of the past are just as alive in Fellini's panopticon as those of the experienced present. *Rome*, as several of his other films, was inspired

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[2] XXI. 1. (Purgatory). Translated by H.F. Cary.
[3] Later Fellini says, "While I was shooting *Satyricon*, I was under the influence of frescoes. The people who once lived their lives in reality, have become shapes on weathered frescoes by the end of the film". And indeed: Encolpius's image is absorbed in the wind.

by a dream: "I saw before my mind's eyes how in the first century after Christ I stepped into an intactly preserved house in Rome, as if I had lived there myself." (ibid.: 200) Of all the dimensions of the past, it directs the imagination towards the spaces of life, and not the locations of funeral culture. He seeks and finds in the past that what is alive, the figures which bear the colours of life.

In the short story, the father and son arrive from a village, but not in order to present their last honours, according to the local custom, to a newly deceased person, but to rebury an old one; following this taboo-breaking act, they return in the same way they came, although the younger of the two in a confused state of mind.

Hypogeum

Dante's *Divine Comedy* emerges as a useful ground in the series of alternatives for comparison, as a *poema universale* containing interpretive principles which mingle narration and image use, popular beliefs and erudite creation. In addition to the motif of the journey of knowledge, the emphatic position of social knowledge may lend a stylish status to this double-authored interpretive attempt.

In the two stories the glance explores the underground dimension of secrets. *Underground* means at the same time an "underground" vehicle (a metro), as well as everything else that lies beneath the ground: secretive, hidden, self-regulating, forbidden, or mystical organisation, as opposed to things happening on the surface. The pioneer, becoming aware of his violation of the boundaries, recoils, as he perceives the defence mechanism of that undecipherable territory, back to his own used-up world, up below the sun (because as a reflected Icarus he approached the secret too closely). The profound knowledge of the earth lies underground, and its disturbance implies serious consequences.

These depths must not be discovered alone: in both works the anxiety caused by the events going against the bans is dissolved by collective experiences. The burden of the secret is not physical, yet it can be shared. The earth is a reflecting surface – like a bottomless lake which does not reflect the features of the person who looks into it, but an inner, invisible self, in a formation outside his body, yet connected to it. Finding ourselves is the search itself. Engineers who built metro tunnels spoke about a place called *Cessati spiriti*, where the underground river springs (maybe the Styx itself?). In Dante's *Inferno* we meet a similar tendency to revive and modernise the traditions of Antiquity, where the association of Virgil and Dante represents the dialogue of various ages, and the heterogeneous elements of the setting fuse into a complex space in the course of their journey.

Image vision

Words are not superfluous in Fellini's film. The cries of surprise echo concrete and abstract meanings, and cause a Babel-like chaos:

"Michael, look at their faces."
"Keep your mask on."
"It is as if they were looking at us! Look! Direct the light down there!"
"The frescoes are starting to fade."
"Because of the air streaming in from outside. The fresh air ruins the frescoes."

In this episode taking place in the present, the crew visits the building site of the Roman metro. The drilling machine exposes the ruins of an ancient villa in front of their eyes, but because of the polluted 20th century air the frescoes that have been untouched for centuries now start to fade out.

János Géczi's hasty old man shares a similar experience with his son, who moved to the city and lost connection with popular beliefs: "the grave is moving... It got air and now everything is falling apart... Coffins and everything degrade now more than as if it had remained untouched for ten more years."[4] (Géczi 2009: 42)

The curiosity about the past creates imaginary visions, which carry within themselves the transience of living beings; we know, it is true, the work of art must gain its independence from its creator, yet it is interesting, nevertheless, to see how Fellini explains his dream, the pre-existence of the film: "as I opened the previously hermetically closed doors of the rooms, the degradation that had been delayed for centuries now began in front of my eyes. Statues and frescoes turn to dust in one single instance, encompassing two thousand years" (idem. 200). Rome's distant past (the pomp of ancient Rome: as a school subject, as impressive architecture preserved in ruins, as the theme of feature films), near past (the chaos of the world during and after the war), and present (traffic jams, organic city atmosphere, Rome of the hippies, which Fellini himself – similarly to Dante who appears as well in his own work – records with a film crew) are all present.

In Fellini's film one faces a reverse process of developing, in which images are not revealed, but disappear, become latent by the effect of light. The figures on the painting withdraw to an invisible dimension, away from the obtrusive eye. The drilling machine breaks the way for the regard in the tunnels of the unknown, just like the digger in the short story. Géczi's *hypogeum* is also a delusion, resembling the cave of Plato's ideas, it shows a world of shadows instead of a real one. No mortal can live with an experience or knowledge of the otherworld and not long for that otherworld. Dante expresses this psychological question with the rivers of

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[4] The translation of the Géczi-fragments belong to the authors.

oblivion, by the juxtaposition in part 28 of the *Purgatory* of the two rivers (Lethe, the river of forgetting, and Eynoe, the river of good remembering, both of an existential importance). However, the grave diggers of János Géczi A. did not drink from the water of good remembering.

Paradiso, song XVII

"Però ti son mostrate in queste rote,
nel monte e ne la valle dolorosa
pur l'anime che son di fama note,
    che l'animo di quel ch'ode, non posa
né ferma fede per essempro ch'aia
la sua radice incognita e ascosa,
    né per altro argomento che non paia."[5]

Women figures form the object of contemplation in film and short story alike. The sitting female figure, blurred in the burial vault, and the monumental white statue of a woman, ruling over the two thousand-year-old house, raise in the onlooker the simultaneous feelings of being lost and finding home at the same time. An enrapturing attractiveness emanates from them, just like from the ancient representations of the *Magna Mater*. In Fellini's *Rome* the city's femininity is emphasised everywhere, starting from the she-wolf in the Capitolium, through the girls in the brothel and the huge mother-image lying in her bed, to the appearance of the greatest Italian actress of the time, Anna Magnani, playing herself. Therefore all the concrete or symbolic instances of the motif of entrance in the film can be interpreted as an act of penetration, as the possession of all new mediums, the transgression of boundaries, wanted or unwanted initiations: the Rubicon, the forbidden images of childhood, cinema and the Variété, the brothel, the lengthy entrance to Rome (the tent of the rain seems to turn the motorway into a tunnel), the drilling of the underground channels of the metro. The deep hollow in the ground may also be a metaphor of the absence of the mother in Géczi's short story.

(In Marsala, on the 2B fresco of the *Crispia Salvia hypogeum*, a group of men holding each other march towards a female figure seated on a throne. The formation is very similar, except that the group on the wall shown in the film is made up of women.)

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[5] http://www.centocanti.it/Template/detailCanti.asp?LN=IT&IDFolder=198&IDOggetto=2037; English translation: "Therefore are shown to thee within these wheels, / Upon the mount and in the dolorous valley, / Only the souls that unto fame are known; / Because the spirit of the hearer rests not, / Nor doth confirm its faith by an example / Which has the root of it unknown and hidden, / Or other reason that is not apparent." Translated by H. W. Longfellow.
http://www.everypoet.com/archive/poetry/dante/dante_x_17.htm

Cognition

Digging – in both works – actually fulfils the role of suspense. There are two given points between which a connection, a tunnel must be made. A channel. (Let us think of Jakobson's communication pattern, the connection made between the transmitter and the receiver.) The creation of the contact between the searcher and the searched, the feeler and the felt takes time. Because this is about nothing else but touching the *spectacle.* In *Rome* the spectator finds out sooner about the house behind the wall than the group of drillers. In the short story, the father knows about the existence of the grave sooner than his son. It is as if the secret were prior to any kind of viewpoint.

In his *Confessions*, Saint Augustine connects the meanings of perception, thinking, and remembering to metaphorical places. "And I enter the fields and spacious halls of memory, where are stored as treasures the countless images that have been brought into them from all manner of things by the senses. There, in the memory, is likewise stored what we cogitate, either by enlarging or reducing our perceptions, or by altering one way or another those things which the senses have made contact with; and everything else that has been entrusted to it and stored up in it, which oblivion has not yet swallowed up and buried. (…) The vast cave of memory, with its numerous and mysterious recesses, receives all these things and stores them up, to be recalled and brought forth when required. Each experience enters by its own door, and is stored in the memory. And yet the things themselves do not enter it, but only the images of the things perceived are there for thought to remember."

Remembering is thus similar to light, which suddenly or gradually gains ground in the cave inhabited by memories. Aristotle's *eikon*s linger in the mind deep down, unseen, passively hidden.

The sin of iconoclasm

"At least I don't have to watch inside" (Géczi: 44) – Bandi tells himself in the short story, as he irresistibly strives to see something absolutely clear.

The quick degradation and disappearance of the images can seemingly be explained by scientific reasons: the opening of the closed spaces with constant temperature, the penetration and guidance of the light initiates the process of destruction. In the symbol system of Fellini's films, the wind always stresses an emphatic episode in the film, its presence indicates transgressible boundaries of dimensions and time levels, it accompanies on the way of mental wanderings (memory, insanity), creating all over the same kind of cosmic monumentality on the level of sound effects which is there also in the spectacle. The wuthering wind does not only penetrate the tunnel thus as a natural element, mingling within itself

the cries of the "colonisers" of the space, but it also stirs up everything that has layered in the course of time, it conjures ghosts, it overthrows the state of balance, it degrades the uniformity of the surface (of earth, of consciousness).

The short story draws the reader into the unutterable spaces of consciousness: "Deeper inside the peg-shaped corner, a strange heap... not a heap, a shape... A formation – he realised. When someone sits leaning against a tree. Women sit like this on the meadow at hay gathering, in the shade." (ibid.)

The boy sees in the darkness, he explains the perception:

"Look, there, in the corner, somebody leaning against the tree … I mean to the rock... Under the influence of shock, he grabbed the lamp from the Old Man's hand. And he lit the corner with wild curiosity. For the fragment of a second they still saw the web-like golden streams of the headpiece tilted forth, the untouched ribbons which filled the space which opened between the headpiece and the skirt, round even in its transparency, no longer as ornaments but as necessary clams. Then the beam of light reached its target. Under its live weight, the formation succumbed, freeing billions of whirling-quivering dustmotes." (Géczi 2009: 46) (Or was it just a spider's web that was shining, an inner image which was reflected on the wall of the stone grave? The writer knows how to conceal, suggest, and leave us alone in this vision). The image – the seated woman – displays the special body position of a sacrifice rite, as a family *ex voto* for the salvation of the deceased, the final rest of the possibly haunting figure. Untying, searching, apology, sending-off.

Punishment

The profane curiosity is followed in the short story by a sort of psychological punishment. The contrapasso[6] (the punishment) appears in several parts of the *Divine Comedy*. Several inhabitants of the Inferno and the Purgatory are inflicted with punishments, which may be equal in degree to the sin they committed in their lifetime. In the case of the fourth *bolge* (bolgia) (Inferno, song XX), the heads of sorcerers and witches stand reversed on their necks. They wanted to see the future that is why their eternal punishment is to always see the past, both in a literal and figurative sense. They freely chose themselves this fate, by the decisions they had made in their lives (Brand and Pertile 1999: 63-64). What is the punishment of he who watches?

"Why haven't you told me before it was here?" the son asks his father.

"We would have been peeping all the time", the father confesses his obsessions identical with his son's (Géczi 2009: 44). Whoever sins with his eyes, loses his sight

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[6] Counterpoise in English.

(or rather his rational judgment), "My mother used to sit like that all the time" (Géczi 2009: 45) – argues the boy while pushed to the surface, and the simile equally reveals recollection and the Icarus-like destruction of the strength of mind.

The concluding images of the film *Rome* contain no human speech. The rumbling swarm of motorbike riders rushes through the stations of the city at night, which are tourist sites during the day. Bíró Yvette writes about this scene: "The deafening siege of sounds, the experience of movement in a wild tempo in the midst of the innocent beauties and precious art treasures of the world's most museum-like city, in a forced symbiosis with them: this becomes the summary of the whole film's subject. A poem, about the madness of our culture to be communicated, constrained into one single symbol, by the uniquely genuine connection of the extremities of our existence, its distance end-points." (Bíró 1991: 205) Modern horse-riders of the apocalypse.

A double-authored interpretive attempt

In both works, man (the character, the audience, the reader, etc., versions of the same role, in fact) becomes the prisoner of his own desire of knowledge. We recognise Thomas, whose faith strengthens by empirical perception.

Man created the image in his own image and likeness. And since he is made of perishable material, his image is equally perishable. The sight of perdition is painful or unbearable because it represents our own ephemeral nature rolling in front of us as a film, as a sand-glass. According to Dante, whoever "searched for a body at a shadow" (Dante XXI. 113) will be disappointed: the imago of imagination is image and self-image – it is not merely a matter of perception. Dante leaves off Virgil in the middle of the journey, the ultimate explanations address human reason. Following the vision in the cemetery, the two boldly curious men gain different experiences in János Géczi A.'s so-called story of a shock (compunctio).

The two words deriving from a common root, *idea* and *eidos* refer to the object seen – the shape, the form – since the *idon* designates the seer. The *eidos* designates the person who knows, that is, the person who achieved knowledge not merely in a bodily, but also in a spiritual form. Károly Kerényi wrote in 1941, in connection to Platonism, about the soul freeing itself from the chains of time, and reversing into pre-existence.

The *self* belongs to the world in which it lives, which it perceives with body and consciousness, with which it is permanently in interaction. However, the analysed works stand as evidence for the fact that this interaction does not presume a physical embodiment of both sides, although beyond doubt the entities which possess spectacle also possess this characteristic. But in order to show their effect, they need the regard, or its inner variant: imagination. Perhaps these initiation

journeys need two persons in order for one to always see, while the other to sacrifice himself for the syrene song of imagination.

Translated by Emese Czintos

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Cinematic Image and Alterity in András Jeles's Art

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Abstract. The study starts from the premise that the "own" is always formed in relation to some kind of alterity. In this way, the national specificities also depend upon alterities and respectively, the medial specificities (the medium of the image, of the film) are also formed in confrontation with alterities. Starting from the approach of the concept of alterity in view of image theories, the study follows the experience of foreignness which basically determines the reception of the films of András Jeles, providing the reader with the aesthetic experience generated by the alienating effect of the non-filmlike film, of the distorted/deteriorated image, of the intolerable image (Jacques Rancière). The paper touches on the problem of the representation of the national image, identifying the (Hungarian) national character as being also formed in terms of alterities.

Keywords: alterity, experimentalism, new narrativity, representation of national image

The framework of my study consists in the approach to the concept of the image in the context of twentieth-century phenomenology. I will examine alterity in terms of the aesthetic experience of strangeness generated by visual representation, focusing on issues related to image theory brought into discussion, or rather, "into vision" by András Jeles's cinematic art.

Lévinas's as well as Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology opposes the approach of the issue of the *Other* represented by Husserl and his predecessors, according to which the cognition of the Other can be conceived on the analogy of the Self (*alter*

ego) and rather solicit the reinterpretation of the concept of alterity from the viewpoint of radical difference, from that of foreignness resistant to the own.

In my view, it is in the light of this concept of alterity that the Otherness of the visual universe created by András Jeles can be comprehended and interpreted in the most legitimate way. One might as well say that in all his films András Jeles elaborates his own aesthetics of the *non-filmlike film*, of the *distorted/deteriorated image*, resorting to devices which urge or compel the spectator to get detached from a usual, stereotypical way of watching and to *face* a deeper experience of foreignness, affected in his/her entire existence.

The image-event, displaced towards revelative, radical otherness, is accompanied by a thematic representation of alterity/alienation, carried out in ever widening circles: at an individual level, that of an adolescent hero in search for his identity in the framework of social order in *Little Valentino* (*A kis Valentino*, 1979), at the level of a social layer, in the story, more precisely, *non*-story of the working class of the past regime in *Dream Brigade* (*Álombrigád*, 1983), at the level of an ethnic group in the Holocaust-themed *No Man's Land* (*Senkiföldje*, 1993), as well as at the ontological-anthropological level of human existence in *The Annunciation* (*Angyali üdvözlet*, 1984). In this ever enlarging horizon the viewer is confronted with the realisation that the basic experience of human existence, at the same time, the ultimate, legitimate scope of representation is foreignness, alienation.

The world view transposed in András Jeles's work into cinematic images, into "adaptation" and into "story" respectively, also integrates reflections upon the representation of the national character, but it is far from the angle of the persona of an artist assuming collective commitment. Here the problematics of Hungarianness, through a system of artistic gestures aiming at national self-interpretation, is also inscribed into the problematics of foreignness in broader sense; the own becomes presented in terms of the Other. For András Jeles, representing the pre-war conditions of the Jews as a parable of alienation can function as the readiest means in this respect, especially as at Miklós Erdély, who had influenced his views to a great extent, this topic and its cinematic references are also present.[1] In this way, in András Jeles' film entitled *No Man's Land* the history of the persecution of the Jews turns into a transposed Hungarian parable of fate (and naturally, beyond this, into a universal parable of being, dissecting the urging problem of infanticide portrayed as a human product).

Furthermore, in his film entitled *Joseph and his Brothers – Scenes from a Peasants' Bible* (*József és testvérei – Jelenetek egy parasztbibliából*, 2003) the *mise-en-scène* of stories from the Old Testament, profanised by the iconographic

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[1] In 1981, Miklós Erdély shot a film entitled *Verzió* (*Version*) in Balázs Béla Studio about the trial of Tiszaeszlár subsequent to the disappearance and death of Eszter Solymosi. It is a free transcript of Gyula Krúdy's documentary-novel written in 1931 dealing with the antisemitic show trial from 1882.

set into a Hungarian worldly series of events, is offered as a humorous-ironical overwriting of the Hungarian tradition of national self-interpretation, which throughout its cultural history has frequently projected its own fate into that of the Jewish people.

Firstly, I will discuss some aspects of the topic of visual foreignness, which I will illustrate by the solutions in imagery elaborated by Jeles's experimental film, offered as both an anthropologic and aesthetic construct.

András Jeles's visual and sonic solutions are aimed at conceptually overwriting the kind of aesthetic experience which is the result of the consonance of the impressions perceived by the senses and which can be epitomised by the Augustinian term *voluptas*; instead, the dissonance between the image and the soundtrack, the various layers of the sound played off against the visual and against one another result in the kind of aesthetic experience which can be best described by making use of the Augustinian term *curiositas*. These Augustinian terms, taken over by Hans Robert Jauss in discussing the diachronic changes of aesthetic experience (Jauss 1997), are applied to avant-garde and neo-avant-garde aesthetics by Magdolna Jákfalvi, Hungarian scholar specialised in the avant-garde theatre, in which, she says, *curiositas* prevails, the conventional conditions of *voluptas* are not created, in this way aesthetic experience becomes an event distinguished by moments of alienation, testimony and exposure (Jákfalvi 2006).

If we situate the concept of foreignness in the context of art history, on the one hand, we evidently have to take into account the change of the concept of art itself; being aware of this, according to Gadamer, proves to be a prominent assignment not only for aesthetes or philosophers but for every human being, as it is important for everybody related to art in one way or another or seeking connections with it to consider the change that has taken place in art and in its view (Gadamer 2006). Basically, this change is related to the emergence of the art "no-longer-beautiful," defying our concept of art deeply rooted in the aesthetics of Romanticism.

Jacques Rancière emphasises the importance of distinguishing between the intolerable presented on the image and the intolerable character of the image in an age that seems not to believe in the "means of testimony about reality" and resists the gesture of disclosure (Rancière 2011: 60). Through the Brechtian effect of alienation, András Jeles's "intolerable images" mobilise the intentions of testimony and disclosure. In Jeles's films it is not only the spectators but also the protagonists that have to confront with the limits of comprehension. Thus, absurd-grotesque game spaces are created; in them, the possibility of interpersonal communication, the finality of being, the conditions of a meaningful existence are questioned, in accordance with the concretisations and practices of the avant-garde mode of artistic expression, which interprets artistic creation as an independent discourse, detached even by the norms of reception (cf. Jákfalvi 2006: 212).

The discourse of András Jeles' films, radically differing from the classical mode of narration in the Bordwellian sense, as well as from representational schemes of cinematic fiction, has to be situated, in the first place, within the context of experimentalism, and secondly, in that of cinematic *new narrativity* emerged in the late 1970s.

Abstract film, absolute film, avantgarde film, independent film, experimental film, expanded cinema, environments, project film, concept art, structural film, underground film, or with their common term, experimental film art is, as a matter of fact, tautology. In the wider sense of the term, experiments no longer exist, as we are permanently in the process of experimentation, in other words, art is born on the soil of experimentation; art resists convention – at least until the moment it becomes convention itself. Several experimentalist artistic endeavours are already regarded as canonised forms. Still, in the narrower sense, the term "experimentalism" indicates a multivocal film trend getting shape in the 1970s and 1980s, initiating various forms of dialogue with the film culture of the early avant-garde.

In the period under discussion experimentalism is related to a subversive way of operating with signs. The term *subversion* was put into the use of a semiotics-based art theory by the structuralists of the 1960s, primarily by the authors of the *Tel Quel* journal, who turned their attention towards sign systems and procedures of meaning constitution representing destructive or subversive potential as opposed to structures, ideologies and other symbolic systems supported by the power, by established customs or norms (cf. Kristeva 1971).

In Hungarian film history, experimentalism does not refer to a specific style of film expression, but rather to the artistic endeavours of kindred spirits, such as András Jeles, Gábor Bódy and Miklós Erdély, who wished to relieve Hungarian cinema of the ideological sediments that considerably restricted the possibilities of expression. From among the three, András Jeles has proved to be the survivor; in his published diary notes he confesses his inner attachment to Bódy and to Erdély: "As we all sink deeper and deeper – they in death, as in some kind of honey, whereas I in the mud and chaos of my life –, as we keep drawing away (at least still for some time) – I miss them more and more painfully. Thus, in our *meeting* something worthy and majestic must have taken place, which, of course, we ourselves had not noticed; I could call it the *harmonisation of essences*, rhyme – love" (Jeles 2000: 12).

József Havasréti, researcher of the forms of cultural resistance in the Hungarian culture of the respective period, argues that the subversive power of the neo-avant-garde artistic language proved to be more powerful than in the western world where the underground cultural movements were actually born. "The sophisticated system of taboos and dogmas, the obscure character of the rules of the game, the unforeseeable improvisations of culture control, the paranoic sensitivity of the controlling organs formed together such a norm kit, as compared

to which any avant-garde or experimental endeavour may have been regarded as subversive" (Havasréti 2006: 131).

In the specialist literature of Hungarian film history there exist the terms "the 1970s," "the 1980s" as categories of periodisation, however, Gábor Gelencsér and András Bálint Kovács treat them with restraint, since the periodisation of Hungarian film history does not necessarily adjust to the succession of decades. In the context of the 1970s Gábor Bódy's *American Torso* (*Amerikai anzix*, 1975) can be rightfully regarded as the landmark of Hungarian experimental film, as the forerunner of alternative ways of filmmaking, of a kind of *new narrativity* in film (cf. Kovács 2002: 241-242).

The greatest achievements of the 1980s are condensed into the frame of the year 1983: Gábor Bódy's *Dog's Night Song* (*Kutya éji dala*) as well as András Jeles's *Dream Brigade* can be related with the *prose turn* taking place in Hungarian literature.[2] These films touch on existential experiences and oppose ideological concepts specific of the respective regime, in this way experimental film becomes a possibility of breaking taboos and of creating a field of resistance. However, this resistance primarily manifests itself as a resistance to traditional ways of visual expression. Still, *Dream Brigade* was confiscated even before it was released, as it offered a counter-narrative, at the same time a devastating critique of the "production film," genre of the 1950s conveying the ideology of the working spirit of the early communist regime. András Bálint Kovács highlights the deadlock character of the search for ways of expression represented by the mentioned films, as they indicate close down the boundary of a period, but it appears that they do not open a new one, standing as "monuments of the end of a twenty-year-long film historical tradition without showing the possibility of continuity" (Kovács 2002: 250).

The primary aim of new narrativity consists exactly in the retraction of medial and generic automatisms. As Zoltán Gregus asserts about the films of new narrativity, "It is by no means a kind of 'new symbolism' which gains place in these films; on the contrary: the primary level of meaning does not get dissolved in the general meaning guided by the representation, instead, it appears in its strangeness diverging from the customary" (Gregus 2009: 119). This produced-emerging foreignness is considered attainable by film directors of this period, among others, through the reinterpretation and proliferation of the possibilities of expression of documentary films.

In Gábor Bódy's use of the term, "documentary" goes beyond the authority of a film genre, acquiring significance at the level of film philosophy. On the grounds of a critical consideration of Bazinian realism, Bódy emphasises the power of film to reproduce the traces of reality, and aligns himself with the view that while the

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[2] One of the landmarks of the Hungarian prose turn is Péter Esterházy's *Production Novel* (*Termelési regény*, 1979).

various forms of representation preceding the motion picture represent objects as being distant, the film forms an organic, *indexical* relation to the reproduced segment of reality. In his writing entitled *Where is "Reality"?* he argues that the film's photochemical or magnetic recording is conceived as a procedure of recording the imprints of the real: "As the foot of the fox leaves a trace in the snow, every frame is a silhouette, a death-mask of an instant which took place" (Bódy 2006: 105). Accordingly, the cinematographic image creating imprints of the objects of reality is basically of documentary character. Thus, every film is, in the last instance, of documentary character. However, this trace-like documentary character of the cinematic image is unavoidably and necessarily overwritten by artistic mediation, by the rhetoric of fiction transforming reality into image series. This dual character of the cinematic image is what his term *double projection* refers to: "The pure document, though we know well that it runs on the screen, is invisible for us, it appears only in the *ratio* of document to fiction. (…) It is no exaggeration to say that the 'documentary' is the philosophy of film" (Bódy 2006: 105).

Whereas Bódy expounds his views upon the dialectical unity of document and fiction, Jeles's *Theory and Action* (1976) regards document and fiction not in terms of reconcilable unity, but as embodying a sharp antagonism; thus, he rejects traces of fictionality in film, for they are unavoidably burdened by the ideological debris of narration. Jeles considers stylisation as the possibility of the escape from the ideological contents of narration and fiction. According to Gábor Gelencsér, "(…) Jeles' work focuses not on theoretical and practical issues of 'documentarism and/or fiction,' but on the issue of the style" (Gelencsér 2002: 395). At Jeles the function of stylisation consists in playing off the particularities of fiction and documentary against each other.

The fiction film entitled *Little Valentino* (1979) may properly exemplify the function of stylisation highlighted above: a filmmaking of documentary-like tonality is mingled with stylised role-plays; the text written over the image signals the influence of the French New Wave cinema, especially that of Godard, at the same time turning a *quasi-trouvée* cinematic image into artefact. Language, present whether in form of interpersonal communication or inscriptions, is distorted, deteriorated, it is deprived of its function of rendering some kind of articulated meaning, and is pushed towards the edge of becoming iterative, and thus, self-effacing, of becoming a noise (cf. Gregus 2007). The revelative value of this found cinematic image, as well as of found meaning is expressed by an *ars poetica*-like "impossible" visual solution: the message of the statue suddenly appearing out of a burnt-up garbage container might be relevant for the entire work of Jeles, referring to the event-like character of art, being revealed in the Heideggerian sense of *Ereignis*.

Therefore, stylisation in *Little Valentino* is present as a dissonant contrapunctual quality to documentarism, as a means resulting in visual and sonic alterity. The adolescent protagonist is seeking for himself among the adverse incommensurability

of familiarity and foreignness, his search for an alternative may be regarded as a parable of the relationship of the individual to the society, to social order, while the film itself as the first stage of the Passion outlined by Jeles' films.

In the *Dream Brigade* (1983) representing the next stage, the parable of alienation appears not as the story of the individual, but rather as the *non*-story of a social group, that of the working class. Here stylisation, the various effects of visual alienation, the destructive apparatus of the film contrasts primarily the schemes of narration, while at a deeper level it penetrates all filmic means of expression, from the *mise-en-scène* through composition and structure, to the relationship of sound and image. The *Dream Brigade* reiterates earlier narration types, firstly the discourse of propaganda movies of the 1950s. It systematically distorts any technique of traditional filmic narration. In a classical Aristotelian sense, there is no narrated story, there is no conclusion, the rehearsal of the worker-actors is not crowned by the performance, the film's closure alienates into a surrealistic vision, forming a counter-narrative which Tibor Hirsch terms "the last Hungarian production movie" (cf. Hirsch 2004).

I shall mention some of the elements of the "subverting narration": the narrator's voice outside the image frame seems to boast his full domination over the narration in the shower-scene, when he literally "dresses up" the naked worker. His omniscience however soon turns into its opposite: not only does he not understand the story, but he also renounces his "office," giving over his place to the narrator who reads Gyula Oláh's diary, sometimes stalling, the reading of the diary entries functioning as narrator's comments partly with the bigotry of a party official, partly with the cynicism of an informer. In the course of further scenes, the narrators pass through narrative levels, their voices and the voices of the actors try to reconstruct a lost and disintegrating story, unable to become meaningful.

The grandiose words of "company", "syndicate", "party committee", "housing problem", "working class", "solidarity", "personal cult" are embedded into an incomprehensible, meaningless context, the discourse of the dominant ideology is torn apart in obscure dialogues. The narrator's voice and the actors' voices are superposed on occasions, or the actors speak over each other: both procedures are meant to undermine comprehensibility. Fragmentariness sneaks under the level of elementary units, that is, the level of words in language, and the level of a scene in filmic image (words stripped apart into vowels and consonants, scenes broken by intercalated images and image quotations).

The film also rewrites the function of montage, the juxtaposition of images translates a kind of Dadaist randomness, an arbitrary succession of images, rather than a classic Eisensteinian 1+1=3 composition, cause-effect relation, and surplus of meaning. The image frame and the voice frame do not overlap, the narrator's comment, the musical soundtrack, noises and various sound effects cross the borders of the individual scenes. At the end of the film, the idea of collectiveness is

ironically deleted in single-sentence-long "monologues" and slowed-down sound recordings of individuals standing with their sides or backs to the camera.

Jeles's film entitled *The Annunciation* (1984), representing a step further from the level of society towards the level of universal human condition, reveals a contradictory attitude to language, manifested, on the one hand, in Jeles's paying tribute to the literary text, to Imre Madách's *The Tragedy of Man*, and on the other hand, in his mistrust in the language bearing on itself the imprints of ages and ideologies. This duality is present as a tense contrast in the four adapted scenes. Just like in *Dream Brigade*, the division of words into vowels and consonants uttered by different child protagonists appears in this film as well, deteriorating the conditions of comprehension. *The Annunciation* contrasts the viewpoints of tragic depths of existence and children's innocent naivety, and this results in a grotesque quality of the images. This contrast becomes strikingly evident in the *danse macabre* of the London scene, in which the children perform the memorable sentence from Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*: mothers "give birth astride of a grave."

Similarly, the child's perspective and the incomprehensible and unprocessable trauma of reality are confronted in Jeles's Holocaust-themed *No Man's Land* (1993), in which the literary, artistic and musical representations of child suffering and child death deepen the horizon of the film. Gábor Schein writes about the film: "Thus, *No Man's Land* is not interested in the final phase of the Holocaust, in the otherwise unrepresentable extermination camp, in the human suffering deprived of everything personal, but rather in the loss of home, in the inward and outward story of becoming a foreigner. It is interested in the way one who used to be somebody the day before becomes a nobody, and in the way a country becomes a no man's land" (Schein 2004: 62). In Jeles's vision the focus on the Jewish fate becomes meaningful in broader terms, namely in those of the hopeless confrontation with the powerful authority striving not for accepting and getting to know the Other in its alterity, but for its extermination.

The last film to be mentioned here is *Joseph and his Brothers – Scenes from a Peasants' Bible* (2003), which parallels two passion stories told in different registers, determined by distinct cultural codes: the story of a prostitute and that of Joseph and his brothers, completed by further figures and episodes from the Peasants' Bible. The parallel stories of defencelessness can be regarded as "leading out" of the realm of familiarity in the film. In their own ways both storylines perform the rite of deteriorating the motion picture: the episodes of the prostitute story recorded with special filters lend an infernal quality to the spectacle, whereas the biblical story is performed in form of a shadow play, which reduces the three-dimensional motion picture into two dimensions, turning the actor's motions into theatrical stylisation.

The representation of the biblical stories by means of iconographical elements alluding to the Hungarian national character is based on the frequent associations,

in Hungarian culture history, of the fates of the Hungarians and the Jews. Miklós Erdély regards this analogy as a complementary relation: "The emotions of Eastern-European people and the painful complaint of the Jews are also in a complementary relationship. Typical complementarity" (Erdély 1995: 250). Jeles explores the humorous side of this fate analogy in the shape of a Hungarian stereotypical figure, that of the gendarme wearing a cock-feather ornamented hat, jumping out of the manure heap. In the burlesque-like shadow play episode God's angel kicks into the manure heap and a "Hungarian" jumps out of it, he curses and wants to check the identity of God's angel. The episode is accompanied by the following words uttered by the narrator's voice: "Where are you for the time being? Then he made such a gesture as if the window were dim, then he wiped it. Thus, the matter of the Hungarian was dropped for the time being" (cf. Varga 2004: 72-73). Evidently, the anachronistic ethnical stereotype is the source of humour, but at the same time it also has an alienating effect, offering an ironical reading of the matter of national character.

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The Effect of Visual Representations on Conceptions, Dreams and Visions Related to Saints

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Abstract. The Church encouraged the commemoration of saints, the celebration of their feasts mostly through priests' preachings. In these preachings, a role was often given to legends about saints, which also inspired folk beliefs. In this way, the beginning or finishing of some work, or different beliefs, routines were connected to one or another saint's days. Saints operate as mediators of grace at the same time, since people pray to saints so that their requests will be granted. Besides the preachings and teachings of the Church, different visual representations also have an impact on the notions, conceptions related to saints. In my essay I deal with the following questions: What kind of image do the different visual representations present about the given saint? How does this saint appear in dreams and visions? Is there any difference between an "average" settlement and a place of worship regarding the conceptions of a particular saint?

Keywords: sacred images, devotional pictures, the Blessed Virgin Mary, conceptions, visions, dreams

1. Introduction

In a special sense of the word, those persons are called saints who are chosen by God, and who, accepting His grace, realised the gift of sanctity on a heroic level. The Church commemorates them individually because they are the role models of Christian life, who should be venerated and can be called to help. The veneration is not due to them directly but to the divine grace that acts in them, so venerating saints

is a form of worshipping God. In order to avoid misunderstandings the Church had to emphasise that religious worship has more forms: adoration (latria) is due to God only, the highest level of worship is due to the Blessed Virgin, then comes Saint Joseph, then everybody else (the apostles, martyrs, ascetics, confessors, holy bishops and founders of holy orders) (Müller 1993).

In folk religiosity saints are worshipped as mediators of God's protecting power and bliss, and as patrons of human cases, since "through becoming one with Christ more intimately, the blessed stabilise the entirety of the Church in sacredness even better … They ceaselessly intercede for us at the Father […]. They do not cease to care about those whom they left here on Earth … Now they are serving God's plan with their intercession …" [ellipses in the original] (Hetény 2001a, 42-43).

There are many forms of veneration towards them, such as kneeling, prostration, bowing, praying, kiss, songs, pilgrimage, incensation, candle-lighting and the veneration of images and relics of saints. At the same time, representations can have an effect on the conceptions and often on the dreams, visions related to saints.

In my study I am going to outline how, through which channels can this process go on and how the notion of a particular saint is influenced by the researched settlement being a place of worship. I began my research in the well-known holy place Máriapócs (Hungary) in 2008. The town made a reputation because of the repeated weepings (4 November, 1696; 1-2, 5 August, 1715; 3-19 December, 1905) of the devotional picture that can be found in the basilica. The icon was painted in 1676 by László Csigri, magistrate of Máriapócs, and he donated it to the church out of gratitude for being set free from Turkish captivity. After the first weeping of the icon, Kaiser Leopold had it taken to Vienna, after this, it was the copy that weeped again. Máriapócs has been visited by hundreds of thousands of pilgrims since the first weeping, and up to now the settlement has broadened its area of influence and has become the largest and most important Greek Catholic place of pilgrimage. Because of this, the rate of Greek Catholics is the highest in the settlement, there is only a few percentage of Roman Catholics.

Later, I continued my research in a nearby village, Piricse. Piricse also lies in the Nyírség region, about 14 km from Máriapócs. The rate of Greek Catholics is also high in this settlement that has about 1,900 inhabitants, so here I also had the opportunity to examine how they imagine the saints they pray to, then I searched for the answer how these notions are affected by the different visual representations. The reason for involving the second settlement was to find out

whether Máriapócs, a place of worship and the notions of its inhabitants make any difference to those of another village that is not a holy place.[1]

2. The role of pictures in Christianity

The history of pictures is the history of thinking because people put the surrounding world into pictures over and over again, hereby unintentionally expressing how they think about it. The history of the veneration of sacred images in Christianity is the history of Christian thinking. Christianity used the opportunity offered by visual representations in many ways: as the support of philosophy, theology, education, praying and devotions. The history of Christian thinking can be followed on the basis of Christian art (Nacsinák 2005).

In the history of Christianity the veneration of images has so far been of utmost importance. The knowledge represented by the picture, through its visual nature has been able to be understood more easily. From to Middle Ages to the last century the significance of pictures was much greater than today. According to the teachings of the Church, the images are closely related to the Salvation History and their task is to raise the believers' hearts to God, and to strengthen their faith at the same time. This idea is supported by Patriarch Germanos (8th century), for example, who gave reasons for the veneration of sacred images with the following pedagogical arguments: pictures are suitable for arousing attraction towards the represented saint, so they encourage us to follow their morals. Visual representation helps to understand what the preaching abstractly expresses, it encourages believers more directly during the viewing of the image to follow what they heard. At the same time, visual representation suits human nature, since the picture confirms what faith assumes. This is what distinguishes the veneration of sacred images from idolatry (Vanyó 2007).

Saint John of Damascus's (8th century) opinion about the veneration of images was defined by the worship of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the saints. He made a distiction between the veneration of images and idolatry. According to his theory, the homage expressed toward the picture goes back to the represented saint (proto-image) (Vanyó 2007).

The pictures are filled by God's grace, which is called to them by those whom they represent. Although pictures mediate grace, they are not equivalent to sacraments: in case of sacred images the essential presence of the Holy Spirit is out of the question. However, the sacred image also mediates revelation in a certain sense: the spectator gets through the representation and in 'immaterial contemplation" gets to the proto-image. Thus the icon gives a starting point, it

inspires thoughts and becomes the target of spiritual observation. So the fact of the Incarnation fully legitimises the representation of Christ in a human form, since the Son appeared in the world as a real man: the Incarnation spiritualised the material and made it suitable for its own representation.

A dauntless preacher of icon-veneration was Abbot Theodore Studites (759-826) who said that viewing icons is everybody's moral obligation (Vanyó 2007).

The ends of Christian use of pictures stabilised at the end of the Middle Ages: on the one hand, theological illustrations with a strictly organising purpose, on the other hand, pictures of private worship. The theological illustrations are pictures made with didactical purpose that try to put abstract thoughts or thought systems into clear, visual form. These illustrations rendered help to learning philosophy and theology or served as a starting point for further contemplations. As opposed to this, the images of private devotion had the task of encouraging private devoutness. During the viewing of the picture, the thought has to adapt to the view: the picture inspires the personality, transforms the viewer. Thus these pictures speak to the emotions in the first place, they serve for immersing in the spiritual content, and on a higher level, for mystic recognition. The flowering of the pictures of private devotion fell to 14-15th century: it was at this period that a great many smaller, portable boards and emotionally upsetting illustrations of prayer books appeared. Their common quality is that their purpose is always recalling a certain mood or emotional state, and through inspiring the heart, the encouragement of a prayer-state. The representations of pictures of private devotion deepen and emphasise emotional contents: for example, tender love and care in case of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in case of the Passion, they fix and detail the narrative components, thus encouraging the viewers to derive from their own emotions and reviving the passion of Christ and identifying with it (Nacsinák 2005).

So the use of pictures is also important because they speak to all of our abilities and they encourage us to act. The more you let the picture capture you, the more you are formed by the content of the images. With representations it is not the content that is the most important – the mystery that the picture tries to make you understand – and not only the artistic perfection. An important means of religious socialisation is the teachings of the Church represented through images. Its mostly accepted means in everyday life were the small pictures representing the saints, Jesus and Mary (Korpics 2006).

According to Karl Rahner, the image is the representation of the reality in connection with man, which is characteristic of human thinking. This is based on the idea that in human cognition perception is the sensation through seeing and because of this, "concepts" can only be understandable with the help of "notions". Here, the sight of the viewer is defined and also transformed by the visually represented content and the individual ability to see (imagination). The veneration of images is a "relative cult" because it bears relation to the represented person

(only s/he is entitled to the "absolute cult"), so the image has no cult value of its own. Only God can be granted real prayer, the picture gets veneration only. The degree and importance of the homage can increase in consequence of the Church tradition, or because of the history of the picture itself (pictures, icons at places of pilgrimage) (Rahner – Vorgrimler 1980).

There are three types of sacred images pertaining to places of pilgrimage:

The first group is that the devotional pictures (Picture 1): the cult of the particular place has developed in relation to them. There is no connection between the artistic quality of devotional pictures and the degree of worship. Veneration does not belong to a person who likes arts, but on the one hand, it is homage to the saint represented in the picture, on the other hand, it is respect paid to the contents symbolically related to the history and miracles of the holy place.

The second picture type belongs to the other aspect of the cult surrounding places of worship, this type is the votive picture (Picture 2). Votive pictures are the pictures of thankfulness and gratitude. The pilgrims express their gratitude to the holy person – in most cases, the Blessed Virgin Mary – in an objectified way. The golden age of votive pictures is the 18th century when it was a habit mainly among the nobility, although in later centuries it also became widespread among lower layers of society.

The third category is the sacred images sold as "souvenirs" at holy places (Picture 3). According to Zoltán Szilárdfy's definition, sacred images are usually flat religious representations, independent of size, material, technique and function. In a narrower sense, in this category belong the works of graphical nature that have devotional purposes. In the course of history there was a differentiation between sacred images meant for the public and made for private use, but they only became mass products, cheap goods sold at fairs and parish feasts with the appearance of multiplying graphical operations. (Szilárdfy 1995)

The sacred images themselves represent saints, biblical scenes, and their cult has been demonstrable up to now: they are the vehicles, mediators of religious ideas, preventive and healing power is attributed to them. The pictures made with the purpose of becoming presents have been sold at places of pilgrimage since the Middle Ages, they have also become souvenirs, their holy nature was ensured by touching them to the devotional picture. In these places it was necessary so that the pilgrims could take them to be reminded of the shrine. The advertising role of the picture was also important because the small picture had the purpose to make the holy place more popular in distant places as well. Sacred images still play an important role in the life of places of pilgrimage. (Korpics 2006)

In my research I examine the influence of devotional pictures and sacred images. In the two settlements – Máriapócs and Piricse - there is not wide-ranging saint-worship, the central saint is Mary, and some people also mentioned Jesus.

3. The veneration of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the conceptions about Her and Jesus in connection with sacred images

The worship of the Blessed Virgin has a central significance in folk religiosity. According to János Hetény, people search for the ways of an encounter and a kind of coexistence with the Virgin. It is a typical idea that this encounter can happen at any time, because she often visits the inhabitants of villages. Folk devotion places the Mother of God in its own country environment, so She can be approached and understood through human sympathy. However, the encounter with Her is never finite, but each Marian feast offers another new opportunity of living together with Her. (Hetény 2001b)

In folk religiosity there is a very complex image of the Blessed Virgin Mary: she is the heavenly mother, the patron of pilgrims, she forgives sinners, protects from evil and troubles, she can heal, perform miracles, help, etc. So on the one hand, She is a miracle-worker with extraordinary powers, a being with divine attributes, on the other hand, she is a woman with qualities like that of an average human being.

My experiences so far have proved that the sacred images form only a part of the variety of the factors influencing the image of the Virgin (e.g. teachings of the Bible, miracles, revelations). Generally – though not sharply separable – it can be said that the influencing factors change according to the appearance, looks (beauty, brown hair, white clothes) and inner qualities (good, loving, caring, anxious) of the Saint. The Virgin's inner qualities are based on the Bible: she is a special woman because of her immaculacy, who had been and remained a virgin before and after the birth of Jesus. Her role being The Mother of God in the Salvation History presents us the image of a "warm-hearted, affectionate" holy mother, a saint woman. However, Her miracles and revelations, messages to different mediums emphasise that She is also a helper, a mediator of grace, who intervenes for people, who pleads their cause, the forgiving of their sins with Jesus. In this way, She is the saint you can always turn to, She listens to all the requests. All this is reinforced, confirmed by personal experiences in many cases: "I was called to go Medjugorje, I told them I couldn't, I didn't have money. I told the Virgin, 'I know you are calling me, because I can feel it, but you also know what kind of limits I have. If you solve it, I leave it to you.' In a week my financial problem was solved." (Interview with P. Jánosné Vilma 2011). "My husband died in the August of 1985, I was ill, with two children under age […] with the help of the Virgin I was able to get through this very hard period" (Interview with Z. Sándorné Mária 2011).

The visual representations mostly take part in determining the Virgin's look, but inner quallities can also be reflected in them. According to the pictures through which people imagine Her, the Mother of God is described as "very beautiful", "the most beautiful", an "enchanting" beauty. Jacques Maquet, in his work entitled

The Aesthetic Experience expounds that the words "beautiful" and "magnificent" summarise the positive visual response to the object, so they are more related to the state of mind than to the description of the topic. So when somebody calls a representation "beautiful", they think that while watching, they are fascinated, captivated by the visual experience. The materialistic justification of the aesthetic meaning is based upon the forms. The whole composition of the work is an important formal characteristic feature. As the contemplative viewing of pictures is holistic, the symbolic meaning of different colours and forms is apprehensible to the senses instinctively; thinking and analysis come later. The symbol and the symbolised are parts of the same process: when the viewer gains experience about a symbol, s/he knows about what it symbolises at the same time (Maquet 2003).

The Blessed Virgin Mary is always represented as a woman in a long dress, with a shawl on Her head, Her face and figure is drawn with fine, arched lines, which suggest femininity, softness, fineness. In the belivers' imagination Her dress is white or light blue, Her face is light pink, and Her hair is brown, just like in many sacred images (Picture 4). These light colours all symbolise peace, harmony, tranquillity, and white is the colour of chastity, purity. The Mother of God is always described as a young woman by the inhabitants of both settlements. They mentioned another quality: that She is a calm, smiling woman.

The posture and movements of the represented person also carry a symbolic meaning, which also influence the overall effect of the picture (Picture 5-7). The Saint is either represented with the child Jesus or praying with clasped hands, at other times with outstretched arms or with arms stretched forward. All these suggest different things for the viewer and in this case the already mentioned inner attributes also return: the representation with the little Jesus means motherly love, caring, concern, protection; the praying posture of the hands suggests the mediating role, the representation with outstretched arms also means the intercession, helpfulness, support for people.

A special phenomenon is when the believer imagines the Virgin as seen in the icon of the holy place. Despite my previous hypothesis (that this is true for most of the people of Máriapócs), I met such people not only in Pócs, but in Piricse, too, but this is true for only part of Pócs people. These notions are not dominated by aesthetic principles (like the ones mentioned before), but by simplicity: Mother Mary is a simple woman with the Child in her lap, with a necklace of pearls in her neck, a flower in her hands. So in this case people place Her in their own environment, as opposed to the previous case, when She is imagined as a beautiful woman, so She is an unattainable, unworldly creature. The conception generated by the icon is sometimes in connection with the "changing" of the icon (Pictures 1 and 8): "I imagined Mary as I saw Her in my childhood in the old icon of Máriapócs, in a cloak, with a sad face. I imagine Her as a dark bride. Now like the icon of Pócs:

simple, smiling, light, with a necklace of pearls, with a flower" (Interview with G. László 2011).

However, because of the effects of visual representation, the believers do not always manage to form a unified image of the Blessed Virgin. The different representations of Her – devotional pictures, icons, sacred images – can raise confusion on the one hand, as the Virgin Mother is represented differently in each type (Pictures 9-12). One of the women of Máriapócs says the following about it: "I have the picture of Lourdes and the picture of Medjugorje and Pócs on my mind, I'm arranging them in my head, that all these are the same one person, but I can't imagine Mary" (Interview with S. Attiláné 2011).

On the other hand, according to another woman: "I have been to many churches, the Virgin is different in all of the churches, I have seen Her being ugly, but I can only imagine Her being beautiful. I can't compare Her to any of the pictures, it isn't true that She looks like the way She is painted, because the Mother of God can't be compared to earthly things" (Interview with Cs. Miklósné 2011).

Like with the Virgin Mary, the notions related to Jesus also show the variety of visual representations, at the same time you have to rely more on your imagination (Pictures 13-15). I would like to quote one of the Pócs women's opinions:

> Jesus is different, Him I must almost imagine, like how tall He is … I have to imagine how Jesus looks like, He is quite tall, He has brown hair and a beard… His face always reflects agony, it is not sad, rather grave. I've seen pictures of Him, paintings and pictures, but they can't represent Him because there is this thing, His eyes, for me always these eyes, at the moment of resurrection I look into those eyes, it's as if he'd pierce through my whole being. For me these eyes are like this. However, His hands are rougher, so it's not gentle like the Virgin's hands, very soft and silky. […] But for me, His face is not sad, it is grave. It is always like as if He wanted to tell or make me feel something important, but He doesn't say it. […] Because when He speaks, says things, then His face is kind of brighter [ellipses in the original]. (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011)

It should also be noted that apart from devotional pictures and sacred images, other forms of visual representations should be taken into consideration that also influence the notions related to saints. It can be seen in the notions about Jesus: in several cases believers said that they imagine how He looks like not only according to sacred images, but also according to the influence of TV and films.

There is another outstanding example, when Jesus appeared to a woman like the way she had seen Him on a noticeboard in the church: "and then the door of the tabernacle opened, Jesus came, He came out of the tabernacle, He looked like the

picture on the door saying 'Welcome', well, Our Lord Jesus was represented with this half-long hair and smiling face and He looked like as He was coming out of the tabernacle and He held a key in His hands, a key with a key-case" (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011).

The fusion of the saint and the image can be perceived in both settlements. People do not talk about the sacred images as the representations of saints but when they see the face of the represented saint changing, they say: "If I trespass, Jesus doesn't look at me that way, I can see on Him that He knows I trespassed" (Interview with S. Attiláné 2011). "We were singing and then it smiled (the statue of the Virgin), then there was a case when we went there and another group came and the Virgin Mother is so sad, so sad" (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011). In folk belief the rational civilian classification of the non-living material is not valid for the sacred objects representing saints, but they almost have a personal existence. So the representations are completely identified with the given saint. In this way, the representations can give the direct experience of the heavenly world and divine presence to the believers.

4. The Blessed Virgin Mary in visions

The sign of the intimate relationship with the Blessed Virgin is that her living manifestation is often perceived in the form of dreams or sometimes visions.

For believers a transcendental world exists as real, which is populated by supernatural beings, similar to the earthly world. For those who accept the heavenly sphere it is natural that supernatural beings can appear to them and communicate with them (Pozsony 1991).

According to Éva Pócs, a vision is a subjective experience about the personal encounter with the supernatural: supernatural communication. It depends on the function and cultural context of the vision what kind of spiritual beings the visioner communicates with, so a Christian person supposedly encounters the Blessed Virgin Mary or Jesus. The main function of religious visions is getting revelations, and the mediation of messages to the living. There are more practical roles among them: messages to the community, village or family; teachings, warnings; commands to build a church or to found a shrine. Visions in the 20th century can contain a warning concerning personal life or instructions related to religious devotion. In the birth of visions, isolation, loneliness, fast, meditation and/or contemplation can play a role. Those women who are more deeply religious, who are inclined to contemplation, who have a connection with the other-world through prayers or meditation have more visions (Pócs 1998).

However, according to Tamás Grynaeus it is not right to use the term "vision" in connection with these experiences, since dream, light sleep, wakefulness and rapture are states with different integration of consciousness, where the

classification of "normal" and "abnormal" is different. Among the members of communities with different behavioural and moral standards, it can be a source of (sometimes tragic) misunderstandings (Grynaeus 1991).

In most cases the visions are experienced at home, in dreams; they are iconic-visual or object-visual and they are related to verbality and to a person at the same time.[2] The visions experienced in dreams occur more frequently and they have rich symbolism. Some interesting examples:

> We were at the mass, and it is on my mind, I remember the details, too and the father, and there were many young people, and he said he needed help with the communion, to hold the tray, so that he could administer the sacrament, but there was nobody, then when he came to my pew I told him that I would [help] and took hold of it. First, two hosts fell to the ground, then there was another young man, he took them up, but I don't know what became of him, he just took it up, so they shouldn't be stamped on. Then three more fell and I lay low next to them so that nobody could step on them, but I held them, then they disappeared around me, everybody disappeared, but I was there with the host and then the Virgin took my hands. We were floating, went in the air, we went on and we landed at the edge of a kind of cornfield, but the host was there on the ground, but in my hands, too, but the Virgin was holding my hand and the cornleaves were rattling, then came a snow-white lamb, and a huge snow-white dog was chasing the lamb. Then I knew that the dog is very shifty and then the Virgin told me that "you have Jesus with you, is there anything to be scared of?" (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011)

> There is another case that I remember with the Virgin, it was that I longed for a pilgrimage, especially to Krakow, but I couldn't go, I didn't have money, and the pilgrims went and it hurt me, you know, that I couldn't go, you know, and then I almost started to cry, you must be able to surrender and I tried to console myself. And then I dreamt that the Virgin said "Don't worry, come!" Then we went and She took me to the picture of Jesus that is in Krakow "My Jesus, I trust you!", She took me there, and it was such a joyful feeling after that, that although I wasn't able to go, only in my dream, but I saw that picture anyway, and I was able to pray in front of it, and I said: "Do you find out everything? Do you do everything?" (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011)

Another similar, Mary-related experience is when the Mother of God showed her "own empire" to a woman, on the first anniversary of her 11-year-old son's death, and she led her into a beautiful quince-garden. "One of my children died, he

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[2] For the classification, cf. Limbacher 1998.

was 11 years old, he drowned in the water, and of course I cried and then, on the first anniversary of his death: 'Don't cry, because it is very bad for me, but come and I'll show you my empire'. And She took my hands and She took me to a very beautiful quince garden, the like of which isn't anywhere on Earth, and angels and farther the Virgin and I feel very good here. This is what she showed me and then I stopped crying" (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011).

In these dreams Mary often appears similar to the representations in pictures, but at the same time she is completely different. "She has beautiful brown hair and long, but usually just the veil, it couldn't be seen very well, but I saw her hair. […] She cannot be compared to a picture and especially not to a statue" (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011).

So according to those who went through similar experiences She cannot be compared to any of the pictures, and "especially not" to a statue. However, it occured that She was compared to a photo of a statue. Since in dreams the Virgin appears as a very beautiful woman, she is rather perceived as a supernatural being, and the statues cannot reflect this in the same way as the pictures.

In the visions the Virgin usually appears as a heavenly mother: "She radiates motherly love. It can be expressed this way, so that I guard, protect, I am concerned for, I feel a kind of solicitous love. As if She approved that it is right, like when we tell our children 'It's OK, my son, it's good, well done'. She is kind of guarding, protecting, approving, so like this… it can't be explained, I can't explain it." (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011)

There is a phenomenon similar to the notions related to sacred images: when the Mother of God appears in the believer's dream as the image of the wonder-working icon of the holy place:

I imagine her very beautiful, because I saw her in my dream, too. Now, that I was about to be operated on, I saw the Virgin in the hospital. I told my beads every morning. I was lying in my hospital room next to the window where the moon and the morning-star accompanied each other. I fell back to sleep and I saw the Blessed Virgin Mary in the form in which She is reconstructed in Pócs. I saw her legs, too, in full form. When I returned home, I told the others to mind my words that I would fall seriously ill. (Interview with I. Jánosné 2008)

In the other group of visions the pictures come to life while praying: during the Way of the Cross, wounds and blood appear in the Jesus-picture, during the prayer blood flows from the edge of the Virgin's mouth in the picture.

With Jesus it was very hard… there is the Jesus face from the veil. It was after a holy confession, I was given the Way of the Cross by Father Illés, and I

didn't live here but on the other side, but this picture was the way as it is now. I'm kneeling here, you know, and I'm contemplating through the Stations of the Cross. In connection with this I have a booklet entitled 'The Way of the Cross With the Virgin'. She is next to me and we are crying and hugging each other and when I do this, it's fantastic. She is by me. When there was the Way of the Cross and after the first two stations I'm so involved that I'm almost there and the picture … scars began to appear on it and the scars started to come to life, and the whole face came to life and it shed blood. Oh, it was such a terror that I cried, 'Don't show, don't show it to me, it nearly kills me, I don't want to see it'. (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011)

In my opinion this can be explained by the fact that during the viewing the representation itself enhances the impression raised by it. During the sensation viewers lose the sense of place, time and body, they identify with what they see in the picture. This is another example for how a picture influences the way believers see the saints, which, in this case, really happens.

The Virgin's appearance as a mother in visions gives a sense of safety and protection to the visioner, which can also raise the illusion of reality in them. The woman who had more dreams and visions with the Virgin sees Her as a real person, she talks to Her and the Virgin protects and helps her. "My relation with the Blessed Virgin Mary becomes so intimate as if she was alive, she looks at me, like when we talk. I don't have a conception, for me it's like reality, it is reality. I don't imagine Her, for me it's like as if She was really there, and for me it's reality, not fiction." (Interview with P. Jánosné 2011)

5. Summary

As seen above, sacred representations define the conceptions of saints significantly, although these objects are only a part of the factors that have an impact on these notions. This study examined the effect of sacred images and devotional pictures made for private devotion in two settlements: a place of worship, Máriapócs and a nearby village, Piricse.

The composition of the representation is very significant in the case of both picture-types, since the viewers perceive the picture as a whole, while the different shapes and colours affect them instinctively. All these have a great influence on how the believers think about the appearance and inner qualities of a particular saint – in this case, the Blessed Virgin Mary.

As a conclusion, it can be said that the Virgin means the heavenly mother, love, family and protection, safety for the believers of both settlements. It is

reflected not only in the conceptions about Her and the names given to Her – Virgin Mother, Mum –, but also in dreams and visions about Her.

In connection with the researched settlements it can be stated that a town being a place of worship does not have significant influence on how its inhabitants imagine the Virgin Mary. So the inhabitants of Máriapócs do not imagine Her according to the devotional picture of Pócs: they are more influenced by the different sacred images and pictures of other holy places.

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Cs. Miklósné, Máriapócs, 2011.
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Z. Sándorné Mária, Máriapócs, 2011.

Self-made photos (2008-2010)

Picture 1. The devotional picture of Máriapócs

Picture 2. Votive picture

Picture 3. Sacred images
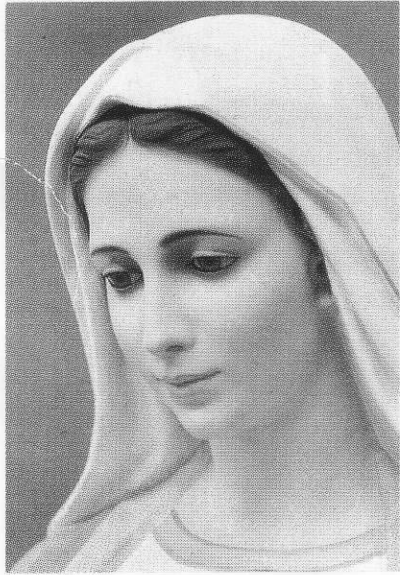
Picture 4. The Virgin as the believers imagine Her

Picture 5. The praying Virgin

Picture 6. The Virgin with the child Jesus

Picture 7. The Virgin with outstretched arms

Picture 8. The"old" devotional picture of Máriapócs

Picture 9.

Picture 10.

Picture 11.
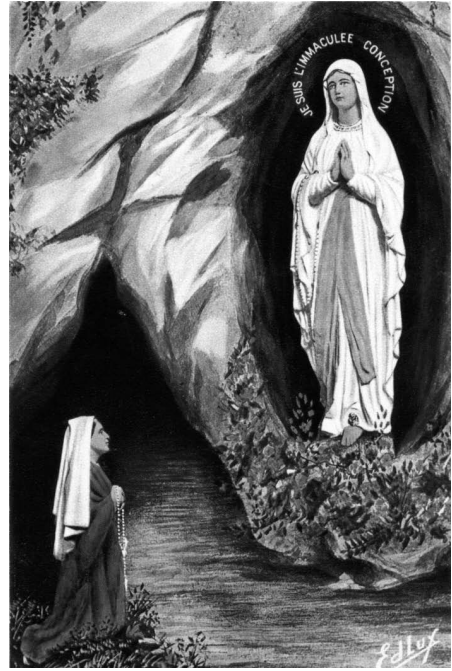
Picture 12.
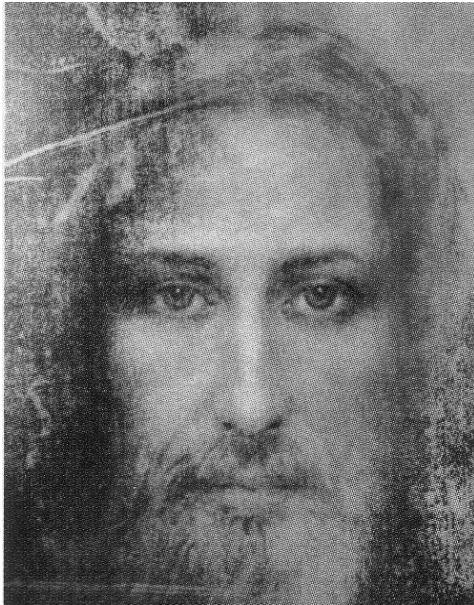
Picture 13.

Picture 14.
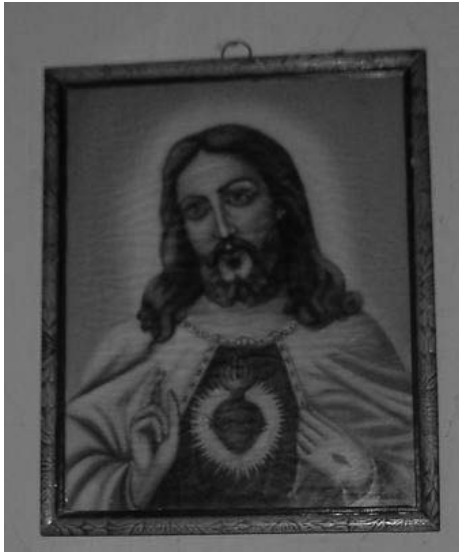
Picture 15.

Textbooks and Stereotypes

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Abstract. The textbook is the carrier of social contents, relations and values. In the international research it is examined as the document of the era, knowledge carrier, matter of policy, pedagogic device, medium, socialisation factor and as a product. Besides knowledge forming, developing skill and ability, it mediates social values, expectations, plays an important role in socialisation. The world presented in the textbook may develop stereotypes, may contribute to consolidation or losing of the already established stereotypes. Due to the family upbringing and parental authority, generalisations originating from lack of experience and acceptance of the majority's views without supervision, stereotypes already take shape in infancy. In schooling age, in the course of school socialisation learning of the stereotypes created by society continues, inter alia from textbooks as well. In my study I have examined the textbook as a socialisation factor with one of the research methods of textbook theory, content analysis. In my examination I would like to point out the function of the genre stereotypes within primary school Hungarian literary readers in Vojvodina. I compare the results with the results of the reader analyses made in the region.

Keywords: textbook analysis, representation of genders, stereotypes, socialisation, hidden curriculum

Three years ago Serbia's educational ministry proposed an action entitled *Free textbooks for all first-graders*. Beside the first-graders of primary schools, the second- and third-grade students are also receiving free textbooks this year. The

educational ministry defined the conditions the textbooks accepted for publishing have to comply with. At the time of selection they paid attention that the textbooks should not mediate stereotypes and inequalities, namely because the textbook is such a teaching device that, besides forming knowledge, develops skills, abilities, and accomplishes complex educational tasks. It reflects the mentality of the society of a given age, its ideology, level of development, economic relations, and technique (Karlovitz 2001). It is the carrier of social contents, relations and values. In the textbooks the different manifestations of discrimination may appear neither in open, nor in hidden forms (verbally with illustrations and examples)[1] (Ivić–Pešikan–Antić 2009: 87). Textbooks mediating discriminative and intolerant contents may not be put onto the schoolbook list because they would negatively influence the children's socialisation, the formation of their world view.

The development of textbooks is in close connection with the current social relations; the change of the latter brings about the transformation, the paradigm shift of the former. At the very beginning of textbook research, the textbook as a document of the age was analysed with a historical method from an ideological approach. After the 2nd World War evolving textbook theory took into consideration the expertise and subject pedagogy peculiarities of textbooks. A textbook is a multifunctional product, its studying can be done along these main functions. In international research it is examined as the document of the age, knowledge carrier, matter of policy, pedagogic device, medium, socialisation factor and as a product (Dárdai 2002: 13). This study contemplates a textbook as a socialisation factor, and examines it in accordance with one of the research methods of textbook theory, with content analysis. The reader analysis applied all over Europe has been carried out with this procedure.

Textbooks play a considerable role in gender socialisation, and also in the development of gender stereotypes. Due to the family upbringing, as a result of generalisations originating from the experience deficiency and the acceptance of the majority's views without supervision, stereotypes already take shape in infancy (Trebješanin 2002: 92). In schooling age, during school socialisation, learning the gender roles and gender stereotypes created by society continues, among others from textbooks. Examining the social stereotypes established in western type cultures, traceable in textbooks as well, Éva Thun concluded that the scenes of stereotype-learning are primarily the family, school, the media and contemporaries.

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[1] Discrimination is the insulting naming and classification of a social group or community, underestimated and disdained manifestations, emphasising negative opinion, negative interpretation contradicting the facts, open and hidden stereotypes and prejudices, exciting intolerance and hatred towards some groups, racist, nationalist, chauvinistic, sexist, religious, ideological exclusivity, ignoring and leaving out some social groups where the context would require their reference, if the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of some group, respectively the human rights established on the basis of the agreement about the children's rights get damaged (Ivić–Pešikan–Antić 2009: 87).

School with the contents of textbooks and curricula influences the socialisation of gender stereotypes because they reflect a given society's gender values being based on stereotypes. Schools strive to offer respect and equal opportunity, equal treatment for genders, but the hidden curriculum proves to be more effective than the objectives: "The children – together with the acquisition of the pupil's role, with learning the behaviour and activity forms expected by school – simultaneously, continuously and firmly get those impulses that control and consolidate the learning of the social gender role." (Thun 1996: 407) The curriculum of the textbooks mediates hidden messages; László Tamás Szabó calls this phenomenon a hidden curriculum. The expression "hidden curriculum" (implicit curriculum) denotes the entirety of experiences, norms, values, the "curriculum" that is unplanned, it is not in the curriculum and not fixed in the substance of the subjects, yet the students acquire it in the organised, institutional teaching-learning process in an implicit manner, with passive learning (Szabó 1988). The hidden curriculum has an identity forming function, "it transmits for both genders the non-specific expectations and system of values of the society, and consequently it contributes to the reproduction of social inequalities in an indirect manner" (Kereszty 2005).

In recent decades more and more studies have appeared with the objective of examining the readers[2] from a sociological viewpoint (family models, the image of a man and a woman, depiction of society). In Hungary the first analysis with such a sociological viewpoint was made at the end of the seventies, and it appeared in the volume entitled *World with a Textbook Smell* in 1980. The authors of the volume, Judit Háber and Judit H. Sas defined the textbook as a model that conveys values, behavioural rules, and has – together with the educator mediating the curriculum – an outstanding control, informational, emotional and sanctioning power. By examining the primary school readers that appeared in Hungary in 1972 and 1973, the authors were looking for the answer to the question: what kind of values and knowledge does school mediate, namely what kind of world does it build from the knowledge and values obtainable from the readers. The selection of the object of the analysis was justified with the fact that the reader "explicitly assumes the mediation of school, family, historical past, social structure, free time, work, education, with the separate chapters of the normative behaviour of what is proper or not, with the "world view" models for 6–10-year-old children through the characters and roles (Háber – H. Sas 1980: 12). The authors state that men dominate in the world of work, they have an occupation, profession, the women do the housework, and supply for the family, most of them fulfil exclusively the function of a mother or a grandmother. If they work, they do such work that

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[2] In this article, the term "reader" is used to refer to a textbook that teaches young children to read. (Editor's note)

women used to do a long time ago. As opposed to boys, girls receive a much smaller role in textbooks: "The adult society concentrates on boys, suggesting by this their more important role as the girls'. A lot more thing happens to them, a lot more people deal with them, by virtue of their numerical proportion they acquire a distinctive importance by making the girls' participation, the opportunity of their participation in the world's important matters more insignificant." (H. Sas 1980: 77). In 1996 in the thematic issue of the journal *Educatio* Czachesz–Lesznyák–Molnár's study appeared presenting the different interpretational strategies of the two genders and their textbook representation. The authors took as a starting point the fact that the experiences gathering in the course of human life and their processing is not independent of gender. The primary aims of school equipments and textbooks are to form the subject specific skill, as part of the hidden curriculum mediating the society's values and world view, respectively forming a real picture – to a certain extent – of the existing society. The textbook may strengthen the already formed stereotypes in the child, or it may reduce them. Their research shows that there are little references in the textbooks and the obligatory readings onto the girls' experiences; the canon offers few female authors' creation to the students. In her study entitled *Family Picture in the Pupils' Textbooks* Klára Dálnokiné Pécsi examined the texts and illustrations of twenty-four readers published in the nineties in terms of the family picture. She concludes that depicting the family members' features and the construction of the family is stereotypical: "The father, the breadwinner rarely appears; he is the working man, the child looks up to him. The mother is present in everyday life; she does the housework, in the evening she tells tales. The real emotional bond is linked to her. The father is rather distant, ideal-like. However, the notions as divorced, widow, orphan do not appear. There are no stepbrothers at all. An adopted child appears in only one tale. It is also observable that the parents hardly talk to each other; they appear only through their child. The grandparents almost always live in a village and are very old, their depiction is remarkably stereotyped. The grandmother wears unfashionable dresses, headscarf, and knot, she does the housework, or plays with her granddaughter. The moustached grandfather with stick in his hand, in slippers, cares about his grandson, or fusses about the garden, picks fruit. The active grandparents who have a good mental-external state of mind are totally missing." (Dálnokiné 2001: 103) Ligeti Csákné did the analysis on four different publisher's first class readers in 2001, among others in terms of educational opportunities. According to her study the "traditional" roles of the parents appear on the drawings and the sentence readings as well. ("Mother is cooking." "Mother is shopping." "What is mother buying?") (Ligeti Csákné 2001) Orsolya Kereszty's textbook analysis performed in 2005 pointed out that the primary school grammar books depict the gender roles in a "traditional" and stereotypical manner (Kereszty 2005).

The textbook representation of the genders has been examined in Serbia as well. In 2002 in her research Isidora Jarić drew the conclusion that the Serbian textbooks present such stereotypical patriarchal socialisation samples in which there is no opportunity for openness, for the formation of new forms and contents of gender roles, respectively for their decentralisation. The Serbian textbook authors attach to little girls such traditional activities that are associated with responsibility, compliance or mercy. As opposed to this, the boys are characterised by courage, intellectual curiosity and adventurous spirit. Almost all social roles of the female characters can be deduced onto the pattern of the two mythical figures of the Serbian folk poetry *Jugovitys' mother* [*Majka Jugovića*] and *The girl from Kosovo* [*Kosovka Devojka*], with which the modalities of the female roles fatigue in the traditional Serbian culture. The textbook authors spotlight patriarchal stereotypes formerly surpassed and discriminate those achievements of modernisation that women achieved for themselves (Jarić 2002). The latest reader analysis done by the Serbian Helsinki-Committee did not show any change either. The seventh- and eighth grade readers in Serbian language do not support the emancipation of genders, the acceptance of otherness is not encouraged, henceforward man authors and heroes and the traditional family model dominate, the family construction with a new form (e.g., single mother or father bringing up their child) is not even mentioned. The analysed textbooks and the "messages" mediated by them do not comply with the law, which defines the aims of education (Section 3) and with the Constitution of the Republic of Serbia (Section 15 guaranteeing for the emancipation of genders, and Section 49 the prohibition of expression and inciting racial, ethnic, religious and other inequalities) (Grahek 2009).

The Croatian organisation named *Ženska mreža* (*Women's network*) initiated a campaign in 2003 with the aim to banish all kinds of discrimination from the curricula and the textbooks, particularly concerning female stereotypes, the woman's social and family role. After carrying out the analysis, the organisation objected that there are no invalid persons in the textbooks with a bad tooth, clean-hocked, jug-eared, bespectacled children; the family model of the textbook is mother-father-two children, which does not correspond to the facts. There are no differences in the textbooks, not talking about morals of difference's normal, nice, desirable and fertile being. The textbook authors depict a false picture about the family and racial idyll in Croatia. The distinctness which cannot be evaded – like the ones between man and woman – are put into the context of the 19th century. The numerical appearance of women and men, and their roles occurring in the textbook show that women are overwhelmingly men's attendants, mothers, wives, co-regents. They are mostly passive, their physical beauty dominates in the descriptions, their depiction is suitable for the expectation what little girls learning from the textbook have to become: devoted, working for others, forgiving, kind and expecting nothing in return for all these. Women do plain manual labours, or

are inactive, decorate the pages of the textbooks. As opposed to this, men are active, possess authority, scholars hold books and tools in their hands (Marković 2003). The results of the latest researches indicate that some improvements happened in the Croatian textbook representation of genders, but not enough (Janušić 2008: 61-80).

(***Examination of 5–8. class Hungarian readers in Vojvodina***) I applied the aspects of textbook analysis by Czachesz–Lesznyák–Molnár in the course of the reader analysis grouped by the topics: presence/invisibility, work and profession, family and household, work and activities apart from work, man and woman image of textbooks, personality.

The examined textbooks are the currently employed readers in the upper class of primary school, which have been drawn up and written by female authors, except the reader for the 5th class. The examined coursebooks are: Béla Csorba: *Olvasókönyv az általános iskolák 5. osztálya számára* [*Reader for the 5th class of primary school*]. Belgrád, Tankönyvkiadó Intézet, 2007; Edit Pintér Molnár–Erzsébet Kojić Csákány: *Olvasókönyv az általános iskolák 6. osztálya számára* [*Reader for the 6th class of primary school*]. Belgrád, Tankönyvkiadó Intézet, 2008; Erika Bence: *Olvasókönyv az általános iskola 7. osztálya számára*. [*Reader for the 7th class of primary school*]. Belgrád, Tankönyvkiadó Intézet, 2009; Éva Toldi: *Olvasókönyv az általános iskolák 8. osztálya számára*. [*Reader for the 8th class of primary school*]. Belgrád, Tankönyvkiadó Intézet, 2010.

AUTHORS The authors of the readers' extracts are mainly men. In the fifth-form reader from among the 23 authors only one woman occurs, Ágnes Nemes Nagy. The works of 21 male authors are legible in the sixth-form reader. In the seventh-form textbook 30 male (93,75%) and two female authors, Margit Kaffka and Éva Janikovszky (6,25 %), in the extract substance of the reader of the eighth grade 40 men (88,88%) and 5 women (Krisztina Tóth, Eszter Tóth, Vida Ognjenović, Ágnes Nemes Nagy, Anne Frank) is the authors' proportion (11,12%). In the four textbooks this proportion expressed in percentage is 75% (male authors) and 25% (female authors), namely from the text substance of the readers the children may draw the conclusions that literature belongs to men's scope of activity.

PRESENCE AND INVISIBILITY. In the reader texts the male characters dominate. The difference is most visible in the case of the sixth-form reader: from among the 115 characters ten are women, and in the character structure of the stories these are mostly minor characters. The major part of the readings were written from men's point of view and about men, the upper school students interpret altogether eight texts that have a woman/girl as a main character. We can only find three texts in the 6th class reader, in which girls also act: Pál Böndör's

poem entitled *Regina és a szemtelen fiúk* [*Regina and the Cheeky Boys*] displays the school life from girls' viewpoint, Gyula Gobby Fehér's short story entitled *Az ujjak mozgása* [*Motion of the Fingers*] is the story of a girl learning to play the piano, and a mother's who wants to accomplish her juvenile dreams through her daughter, from among the three child actors of Iván Mándy's short story entitled *Kék szófa* [*Blue sofa*] one is a girl.

The proportion of male and female characters	5th class reader	6th class reader	7th class reader	8th class reader
Men	60.60 %	91.30 %	71.42%	76.70%
Women	39.40 %	8.70 %	28.58%	23.30%

In the illustration base of the readers women are depicted in the midst of some kind of leisure activity – walking, reading, relaxation, etc. – or mostly while doing some kind of housework. We may notice the stereotypical approach in the case of the pictorial elements as well: to the illustration of Kálmán Mikszáth's writing entitled *A pletyka* [*The Gossip*], the image editor employed Berthe Morisot's painting *Nővérek a kanapén* [*Sisters on the Couch*]. 66.63% of the textbook illustrations depict men.

Number of men and women on illustrations	5th class reader	6th class reader	7th class reader	8th class reader
Men	82.45 %	52.77 %	58.33%	72.97%
Women	17.55 %	47.23 %	41.17%	27.03%

OCCUPATION. In terms of our examination, the text selection of the readers in the latest edition hardly differs from the previous ones. The women's role, their occupations are: wife, mother, grandmother, housewife, lover, schoolgirl, (old or nasty) witch, piano teacher, pianist, needlewoman, market-woman, tsarina, nanny, cook, housewife, princess, fairy, woman of pleasure, servant, day labourer. There are altogether five women in employment, Éva, the cook and Julis, the servant, both of them are the minor characters of Géza Csáth's short story entitled *Szombat este* [*Saturday Evening*]; a woman figure works as a secretary, another as a teacher and yet another as a pharmacist.

The men's roles, their occupations: father, husband, pope, king, emperor, grand župan (grand prince), landlord, prince, county earl, doorman, embassy secretary, alderman, official, soldier, gladiator, architect, engineer, student, fisherman, schoolmaster, teacher, headmaster, woodcutter, farmer, servant, day labourer, judge, musician, turner, school-porter, vet, author, poet, magician, bodyguard, spaceman, doctor, ambulanceman, butcher, pharmacist, clerk, footballer, shepherd, coachman, rogue, pandour, bard, Lord Mayor, knight, hoer,

cave guide, track watchman, town crier, innkeeper, postman, remover. Men, as opposed to women, have an occupation, a profession, a workplace at their disposal; however these occupations are strange to the world of today's students.

   FAMILY AND HOUSEHOLD. The division of labour in the readers takes place according to genders. The woman mostly plays the two traditional female roles, mother (stepmother) and wife; her task is to accomplish the works around the home and the family. The father hardly takes part in the children's upbringing, he does not take his share of the housework, all this belongs to the woman's range of duties, on the other hand there are examples when the parents do not have time to deal with their child: the parents accomplish all of the wishes of the child from Pest, but they do not have plenty of time to raise him (Lajos Nagy: *Pesti gyermek egy napja* [*A Single Day of a Child from Pest*]). In the short story by Sándor Kányádi entitled *Kenyérmadár [Bread Bird]* the father takes his seven-year-old son out into the forest to help him chop wood. The boy gets lost, towards evening the father goes home ("He is already a big boy, the wolves will not eat him!"), the child spends the night alone in the forest, but his mother goes in search of him, and does not come home until she finds him. In the texts of the readers the women make the beds, cook dinner (*Tündérszép Ilona* and *Árgyélus*), weave, clean up (*Holle Granny*), lay the table for their husband returning home from the work and for the guests arriving at dinnertime, drain, are on heat (János Arany's *Családi kör* [*Family Circle*]), plant cucumber (Miklós Mészöly's *Tréfás mese* [*Witty Tale*]), bake bread, pack the food into a haversack for their husband, their son (Sándor Kányádi's *Kenyérmadár* [*Bread Bird*]), have a coffee, talk (Iván Mándy's *A kavics* [*The Pebble*]), prepare dinner, set the table, do the washing-up, dry (György Spiró's *Esti műsor* [*Evening Program*]). In the fairy play entitled *A földesúr és az ördög* [*The Landlord and the Devil*] two female minor characters appear: Mother I and Mother II. Both of them are peasants' wives, one of them is nursing a crying baby in her arm. The narrator also mentions the landlord's wife, who similarly pursues a female "occupation", she does the shopping: she buys everything in the city that is beautiful and expensive. Dezső Kosztolányi's short story entitled *Házi dolgozat* [*Written Homework*] is the problematisation of the father-son relation through the test writing. István Németh's narration entitled *Színötös* [*Excellent*] is also built on the father-son relation: the boy feels that his father is an insensitive man without affection, but one night it becomes obvious that in spite of the fact that he cannot reveal it, he loves his son very much. The daughter–mother and daughter–father relation is only presented by a few texts, the rest of them – in which the main character is a boy – spotlight the relationship between the boys and their parents.

   The family models have the following construction: father, mother and one, three or four children. In the textbooks there can be found family types different

from the traditional ones: in the Grimm tale entitled *Holle anyó* [*Holle Granny*] the mother raises her daughter and her stepdaughter alone, according to the stereotypes she certainly does not like this latter one. In Miklós Mészöly's tale entitled Gyigyimóka the father raises his son but he does not have time and inclination to treat his child, he drinks, works all day, and the child finally abandons him. Widows occur three times in the texts (one of them raises her son alone), divorced or persons living in cohabitation do not appear in the readers. Homosexuality is a taboo topic.

ACTIVITIES APART FROM WORK AND LEARNING. Besides the social roles and works attached to women and men the literary and folklore products also reflect the expectations towards them. Men fulfil social functions related to the external world; women's social functions are restricted to the family and domestic tasks. Men and boys live an active life, work, travel, hunt; women's living space is the family home. Boys go to school, play, read, cheer, compete, wander about, play cards, play football, fight, go fishing, while girls' life is passive, help with the housework, wait for their lover to return from the battlefront. As opposed to this boys go to school – the site of eight narrations is boys' school –, invent all kinds of pranks, their father takes them to his workplace, they overcome in various adventures. Reading, as women's leisure activity appears in two texts – in the Csáth short story entitled *Olajág* [*Olive Branch*], in Géza Gárdonyi's short story entitled *Apám* [*My Father*] the father is reading, and tells his wife every morning what he read in the previous night. The wife is curious about the sequel, and reads through the novel: "Consequently lunch got burned and my father was annoyed at the fact that my mother told him in advance what the protagonist's end was. He did not borrow Hungarian books any more only German ones. My mother was not skilled at this"[3]. In the sixth-form reader both men and women read, we do not receive any information about women's other leisure activities: in *Aranysárkány* [*The Gold Dragon*] the boys fly a send up kite, Gyigyimóka breeds a goldfinch, patches a casket, the protagonist, Andreas Sam in Danilo Kiš's writing entitled *A fiú és a kutya* [*The Boy and the Dog*] spends his spare time with his dog, Dingo, J. Burai and his friend tease the postman and go fishing (Nándor Gion's *A postás, aki egy ujjal tudott fütyülni* [*The postman who could whistle with a finger*]*, Virágos Katona* [*Flowery Soldier*], *Pál utcai fiúk* [*The Paul Street Boys*] play on the sandlot, the favourite pastime of Géza Szines, Ági Drugics and Csutak is the theatre, they direct plays as well (Iván Mándy's *Kék sofa* [*Blue sofa*]). In the narrations by Pál Békés entitled *Vattacukor* [*Spun Candy*] and that by Vida Ognjenović entitled *Gyermekláncfű* [*Dandelion*] the boys and the girls play

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[3] The author's translation (editor's note).

together (their ringleader is a boy), they go to the cinema, to the dance-school, to the funfair together.

THE PICTURE OF MEN AND WOMEN. It emerges from some readings that the woman's fate is defined by the man, for example in the Székely folk ballad *Kőmíves Kelemenné* belonging to the type where wives are built into the walls, Kelemenné (Mrs Kelemen) falls prey to the greed of her husband and to the ancient belief requiring human sacrifice, she does not have the right of refusal, she may not decide about her own life, she is helpless with regard to the assault of her husband[4]. In the origin-legend entitled *Csodaszarvas* [*The Wonder Deer*], Hunor and Magor capture and drag along the wives of Belár king's sons into the marshes of Meotis together with all of their properties. They obtain their wives alike: they also capture the two daughters of Dula, the prince of the aláns, Hunor marries one of them, and Magor marries the other one. The *Képes Krónika* [*Illustrated Chronicle*] does not mention what the girls say to all of this. On the other hand, in the tale novel by Ervin Lázár, *Szegény Dzsoni és Árnika* [*Poor Dzsoni and Árnika*] we find the contrary of this: King Östör does not allow the guest knights in his court who come to propose his daughter to fight each other, he does not want to decide who his daughter should marry, so he entrusts this decision to Árnika. In the Serbian heroic song entitled *Szent Száva* [*Saint Sava*] one of the most beautiful literary examples of filial affection and appreciation for the mother can be found: in the heroic song presenting István Nemanja Serbian grand župan's (grand prince) faith and the results attained in the field of religious education, Saint Száva mentions that Nemanja built the Studenica monastery in memory of his mother, tsarina Jelena. The 6th class reader begins with the six-line poem by Ferenc Fehér entitled *Padtárs* [*Desk Mate*]. The gender of the lyrical I does not emerge from the poem, however, from among the questions that help in its discussion. The first one asks specifically why the little boy misses the girl, albeit in everyday life two girls may sit next to each other at their desk, namely the lyrical I is not identical with the poet.

We can mention as a positive example that the author of the 8th class textbook quotes Anne Frank's note made on 4 April 1944, in which the girl writes about her literary ambitions: "Apart from my husband and my children, I will need something through which I can realise myself." The explanatory text helping in the interpretation of János Arany's ballad entitled *Tengeri-hántás* [*Corn Peeling*] does not condemn the blotting girl, in connection with the tragedy caused by the communicational disturbance that sets between the girl and the man; the author

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[4] According to Imre Katona the ballad *Kelemen Kőműves* (*Mrs Kelemen Kőműves*) a gradual feminisation of the genre of the ballad is observable. During the course of time the wife gradually gets into the centre instead of the husband. On the basis of his survey there are more killers among the male characters in the ballads, the female ones are mostly victims. Women's misdemeanours are more strictly punished (Katona 1999: 97).

asks about the correctness of Ferkó Tuba and Eszter Dalos's action, the man's responsibility, about the attitude of the community, about the rigour of its judgement. In connection with the text entitled *Sári bíróné* (*A halálra táncoltatott leány*) [*Mrs. Sári Judge* (*The Girl Died with Dance*)] the author emphasises that the folk ballads (see above the reference to the woman who was built into the wall, the girl gets seduced or dies with dance) usually depict women in an exposed situation: they are portrayed as sinners. The reason of their sin is to be sought in the man or parent desiring to possess them; still it is frequent that they have to suffer with death. The cheerful counterpart of the ballad with tragic outcome is also represented: the main character of the comic ballad entitled *Kihajtottam ludaimat* (*A gunaras lány*) [*I have turned out my geese* (*The girl with ganders*)] is a different type of woman. She does not pass over in silence being aggressive against her mood, but turns the experienced insults to her benefit, nevertheless the textbook author makes the students realise that despite this, the girl with ganders is also a victim. In connection with Kálmán Mikszáth's writing entitled *A pletyka* [*The Gossip*] ("But what would many women and old ladies do, if beside the coffee it would be allowed to sop only the buttery croissant into it, they would have to hush up their fellowmen, and it would not be allowed to sop them likewise into a little gossip-sauce.")[5] the textbook generates a debate on whether the gossip is an activity which can be subjected only to women, or men gossip as well, and points out the hiding stereotype in the text.

In the analysed textbooks we can find examples to otherness as well. Among the characters of the readings there occurs a fat, inflated child, whose mind is like the tripe (Ferenc Karinthy's *Arányi*), a skinny boy (Csutak in Mándy Iván's short story), a boy complying with everybody (Nemecsek from Ferenc Molnár's novel entitled *A Pál utcai fiúk* [*The Paul Street Boys*]), drunken (the postman in the Gion short story and Gyigyimóka's father), foolish (Gyigyimóka), little red one (one of the characters of Fränkel *Ákombák tanár úr* [*Teacher Ákombák*]), on the illustration belonging to the Mándy text, on Mounia Dadi's painting entitled *A kék szófa* [*The blue sofa*] a bespectacled little girl stretches on the bed. Only one invalid person occurs in the text, the lame fighter in *Családi kör* [*The Family Circle*].

The task of teaching literature is a certain kind of transfer of cultural knowledge – dealing with the culture, social history and history of an age, etc. The readers with the *Olvass még!* [*Read more!*] and *Tudod-e?* [*Do you know?*] labelling convey educational and literary texts, illustrate the lives of outstanding men (Saint Sava, Saint László, János Hunyadi, the English king Edward), folk-tale and folksong collectors (the Grimm Brothers, Elek Benedek, János Kriza, János Erdélyi, Béla Bartók, Zoltán Kodály), explorers (Henry R. Heyl, the Lumière Brothers, Thomas Edison), painters (Vincent van Gogh, Rembrandt van Rijn),

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[5] The author's translation.

composers, authors, poets. These texts establish a correlation with other subjects, and are meant to expand the students' historical, cultural history knowledge; however women have been completely left out of this part of the textbook's didactic apparatus.

With the content of the curriculum, its construction and base of illustration, the textbook affects the personality of the student: it cultivates for work, regularity, ethical rules, norms, positive view of life, induces emotional and volitional effects, and develops creativity (Karlovitz 2001: 82). The textbook has a considerable function in the school socialisation of genders, in the development of the gender stereotypes, because as part of the hidden curriculum it mediates social values and expectations. The task of the elements of the hidden curriculum "is also to provide a real picture of the world and of the existing society. The world presented in the textbooks may contribute to the fact that the stereotypes formed in the child are allowed to strengthen, to extinguish, or perhaps to take new shape" (Kereszty 2005). Research on the representation of social genders, on the family models, the image of men and women, respectively the depiction of society in school textbooks show that the textbook models and samples do not reflect real life but the scale of values of a given society based on gender stereotypes.

The examination of primary school readers from a sociological viewpoint has revealed that the texts depict a false picture about reality, stereotypical patriarchal socialisation samples are presented. As a result of this, the notions concerning the genders' social and family role are confirmed in a hidden way (how should a man and a woman be in a given society, how do they have to feel, behave, appear). On the other hand, if there is something else in the textbook, then in reality it may cause a considerable educational conflict. The student may question the authenticity of every other information, if in everyday life he experiences something else than what his textbook contains (Ábrahám 2001: 373–374). Despite the fact that the work of the textbook writer is influenced by more than a hundred factors, ranging from social, political, ideological, educational policy, sociological, scientific, educational, pedagogical, psychological, typographical, subjective, etc. (Karlovitz 2001: 58–74) – and here we may not disregard the fact that the textbook implies the curriculum defined by the curriculum makers in school-work –, and that the sociological requirements, viewpoints constitute only one factor group from among the dozens, it is necessary to take into consideration that the world constructed by the curriculum makers/textbook authors strongly affects the children's emotional state of mind. Because of this it is justified to look into what kind of view our textbooks represent, and how they form the students' mentality and view of life.

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Book Review

Attila Imre
A Cognitive Approach to Methaphorical Expressions
(Sapientia Foundation – Institute of Research Programs,
400112 Cluj-Napoca, Matei Corvin 4., 2010,
ISNB 978-973-1970-38-7, pp. 261)

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1. The structure of the book

As the title indicates, Attila Imre's book gives the reader an introduction into the field of Cognitive Linguistics. The specific focus is on English, Romanian and Hungarian metaphorical expressions that contain prepositions or verbal prefixes like the English *over, through, above, across,* the Romanian *prin* and *peste,* or the Hungarian *át, keresztül, felett* and *felül.* The examples are taken from representative dictionaries of the above-mentioned three languages. The book consists of two main parts: The first gives a theoretical background and the second describes the semantics of metaphorical expressions.

In the first part, the author addresses the main ideas of Cognitive Linguistics. Besides examining, among others, the issues of categorisation, conceptual metaphors, and image schemas, the first part gives an introduction to the history of metaphor and deals with metaphor as it is addressed in Cognitive Linguistics. The first part serves as a detailed summary of the cognitive linguistic literature on metaphors and also shows the author's standpoint on several important questions in Cognitive Linguistics.

The second part of the book gives a cognitive linguistic analysis of 10 prepositions and verbal prefixes in three languages. The author demonstrates the use of metaphors and thus gives the reader an insight into how metaphor theory is applied in the practical analysis of linguistic expressions. For instance, Imre

examines the English preposition *over* applying Lakoff's theory ("The Case Study of *Over*", 1987) in his analysis. The book gives a thorough examination of metaphorical expressions using a cognitive linguistic approach. The author also presents the reader with figures in order to make the analysis easy-to-follow. Imre starts with analysing English prepositions and verbal prefixes, continues with the Romanian examples and finishes with the Hungarian ones. All chapters are carefully written and present the reader with detailed figures and tables.

2. Theoretical background: Image schemas

Although the theoretical background is detailed, some questions remain unanswered in several chapters of the book. To mention one shortcoming of this type, in Chapter 7 titled "Metaphorical Expressions" Imre states the following: "In our presentation of the English, Romanian and Hungarian prepositions we apply a system of abbreviations which differs from Langacker's terms" (67). In order to understand the highlighted difference, it would be essential that the reader has a clear picture on Langacker's theory because it serves as the basis of the analysis presented in Imre's book. In section 3.4 Imre gives an introduction to Lakoff's image schema theory; however, he fails to give sufficient information on Langacker's view (he only touches on it in section 3.3 titled "Relationship, participants, perspective") and, thus, he does not provide the reader with a firm background to the analysis he presents in the book.

3. Metaphorical expressions

The analyses of expressions are summarised in figures that, first of all, prove to be beneficial for learners of second languages. One specific purpose of the book is to contribute to improving techniques of second language teaching. The illustrative figures of each chapter help to reach this goal. An additional shortcoming of the book appears however when the reader looks into the analyses of particular linguistic expressions. An examination similar to that of Lakoff and Langacker (from grammatical sentences to image schemas) would have given an extra value to Imre's book. Lakoff in *Cognitive Semantics* (1988: 145) examines the preposition over as it appears, for instance, in the following sentences:

Sam walked over the hill. (path)
Sam lives over the hill. (end-of-path)

Similar to Lakoff, it would have been useful for Imre to go beyond the linguistic expressions in his analysis and focus more on image schemas that motivate the meaning and the understanding of the expressions.

Langacker in *The Cognitive Basis of Grammar* (2002: 23) examines the preposition *above* as it appears in the following example.

The lamp is above the table.

Langacker gives a comprehensive analysis: he not only describes the role of the preposition, but also that of the noun and the verb (the other parts of the sentence), as well as their relation to each other. The comprehensive analysis leads Langacker to the conclusion that the meaning of *above* is based on an underlying image schema that is dependent on the relation of lamp and table.

Similar to Langacker, an examination of the prepositions as they appear in context (the way they are related to other parts of the sentence in which they appear) would have helped the reader better understand the role of image schemas in metaphorical understanding. In order to enhance second language learning, it would have been useful to include comparative data in the figures and tables as well.

4. Conclusions

The book offers promising topics for future researches in the field. For instance, the thorough examination of the Romanian prepositions *asupra* and *deasupra* or that of the Hungarian *túl* and *végig* would provide a comprehensive picture of the role of prepositions, postpositions and adverbial particles in metaphorical understanding. A shortcoming of the work however is that the author fails to give sufficient introduction to image schema theory – as for instance, that of Langacker – that serves as the basis of the examination presented in the book. Imre's book is a valuable contribution to the cognitive linguistic literature that in particular describes the comparative analysis of metaphorical expressions in different languages. The analysis of English, Hungarian and Romanian expressions is especially beneficial and recommended for learners of second languages.

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