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Competing Eyes
:
Visual Encounters
With Alterity in Central
and Eastern Europe

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The primitive nature and the refined culture
Pēteris Kundziņš, *Lietuvēns* 1915

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Introduction

This book is a result of the second in a series of conferences that examined the subject of how the Other has been represented in central and eastern Europe. The conferences were organized by various research institutes in various countries in the area, and supported financially by the Visegrad Fund. The first of these conferences—*Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*—was organized by the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw and held February 18–20, 2010 (Demski and Baraniecka-Olszewska 2010). The second conference—*Visual Encounters with Alterity: Representing East-Central and Southeastern Europeans in the Nineteenth Century and the First Half of the Twentieth Century*—was held at the Institute of Ethnology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences in Budapest, May, 24–26, 2012.

The differences between the first and the second volumes have resulted from the slightly different purposes of and visions for the two projects. In the case of the first conference and volume, we had a rather general intention to gather popular images of the Other from all over central and eastern Europe in order to create a forum within which it would later be possible to scientifically collect and study such visual material from certain time periods. The first conference and its product thus provided us with a means for longer-term comparative research and analysis. Having accomplished this, however, we had not yet focused on cultural comparisons, but planned to do so as a continuation of the project.

The current, second conference volume is generally devoted to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, just as the first one was. While more general issues were targeted in the first volume, such as identifying important relations between images and politics, images and ethnicity, images and identity, images and humor, and so forth, we also hoped to point out mutually formed imageries (e.g., by the Poles and the Lithuanians or the Austrians and the Hungarians about each other) and identify specific subjects of representation (e.g., the Russian Bear or the Orthodox Jew). Our primary purpose, however, was to publish the related visual material—especially newspaper caricatures from the above-mentioned time period. The authors of the second volume, partly overlapping with those of the first, could pose more precise/exact and also (perhaps) methodologically more advanced questions. While more attention was devoted to the humorous aspect of representing the Other in the first volume, the second has widened the scope of investigation and attempted to consider the issue of meeting the Other in its entire strangeness. Thus, we have gained insight into the multifarious process of the transformation of the Other in central and eastern Europe during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

We could study its various forms taking shape during specific interactions that took place between nations, between neighboring cultures, and between remote cultures, and we could analyze interactions that emerged in war, in peace, during travel, and so forth, and with “non-ethnic Others.”

While the first volume restricted the scope of interest to caricature (cartoons), in the second volume, in accordance with the above-mentioned purpose, we thought it necessary to broaden the forms and the media of the visual representations concerned. Apart from caricatures, our authors analyze illustrations taken from textbooks, newspapers, and also photographs, paintings, and even structures of architecture (such as pavilions built for the World’s Fair in Paris in 1867). Two categories/aspects of representations predominate in the second volume: the serious and the humorous.

Finally, there is a difference in the areas covered in the two volumes. In the second, we extended the scope of interest beyond the area of eastern and central Europe. Though the majority of authors, including Demski, Djordjević, Kassabova, and Pădurean, deal with this same geographic area, we have also included valuable visual and textual material from northern Europe, for example, Finland (Halmesvirta); material dealing with central and eastern Europe and their inhabitants from the viewpoint of the cultures of western Europe (Derler, Kozintsev, Rosner, Sz. Kristóf, Żakowska, Voigt); and materials examining representations of distant cultures, for example, Africa, in Hungary (Kicsindi), and various non-European cultures within the same country (Sz. Kristóf).

The title of the second volume, *Competing Eyes*, alludes to and attempts to combine the approaches of two great Western cultural anthropologists: one is Mary Douglas, whose *Risk and Culture* (written together with Aaron B. Wildavsky) has given us the idea of *competition* that we have extrapolated from its original societal reference (Douglas, Wildavsky 1982) to the area of culture and representations; the other is Mary Louise Pratt, whose *Imperial Eyes* has provided us with the concept of *seeing* as interpretation and value judgement, that is, interpreting/appropriating things (Self and Other) from a certain standpoint that is defined both sociologically and politically, colonially or otherwise (Pratt 1992). In accordance with this approach, we had to realize that there is no neutral “gaze” and that “gazes,” that is, representations are always hierarchized and not independent from a given cultural-political situation.

We have found these two ideas extremely useful in understanding the historical period concerned and the specific sociocultural world that has produced the examined representations of the Other in our region. This period was that of the formation of nations and the modernization of feudal structures, on the one hand, and the appearance of nationalistic struggles, rivalization, and armed conflicts as well as societal competition within and between the old and the newly formed social groups (ethnic, professional, status, party, gender groups, etc.), on the other. The period of late Enlightenment and Romanticism was also the time in which the idea

of universal and stadial history emerged in western as well as eastern Europe, the latter transforming later in various evolutionist models of the development of the societies and cultures of the world. Such social and cultural processes have been surrounded by significant images and visual representations expressing, and sometimes also shaping, those processes. Stadial and evolutionist theories of history are all too frequently found among the sources of racial distinction and prejudice documented, unfortunately, from our region and the studied period, too. Plenty of the visual representations to follow will testify to that feature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in central and eastern Europe.

The very purpose of our investigation was to ask: Is there/was there anything like “central and eastern European eyes”? What are/were they like? How were they formed in history? The studies gathered in this book do not provide any single answers to these questions. They argue for a rather kaleidoscopic character—a multiplicity and heterogeneity—of those “eyes,” as well as of their products, the images and other representations of the Other. How did the various, and often competing, representatives of “eastern Europe” form their own look upon the surrounding world? It is well known, and the articles included in this volume testify, that a large portion of intellectuals and other inhabitants of those regions have assimilated numerous Western ideas. However, a distinctly eastern European “gaze” seems, or more exactly, “gazes” seem also to exist, and the present volume provides relevant materials, including both visual and textual examples of them. One of the reasons behind the present series of publications is a need to supplement the insufficient amount of knowledge on the subject of “eastern Europe” and its own specific views of itself and the surrounding world. The idea of “eastern Europe” is not understood here merely as a construct. Rather, it is treated as a geographical-political notion that draws together the countries existing outside the center of western Europe—countries that share, to a certain extent, similar experiences of remaining on the periphery of Europe.

It is our belief that by way of presenting such diverse material we may be able to show certain tendencies and turning points in the manner of perceiving the Other in our region. Despite the many borrowings of western European ideas and artifacts, or even cultural clichés coming from there, the specificities of the central and eastern European countries seem to allow one to speak about “eastern European eyes” (in the plural!). The nations, motifs, and themes presented in this volume represent the elements of both a general view of “eastern Europe” and its local manifestations and perspectives.

The six chapters into which we have ordered the authors’ articles are based on such anthropological and historical considerations. Suggesting how closely the above-mentioned sociocultural processes—and their visual products—relate and are interconnected, indeed, these chapters do not always fit precisely and exclusively into just one of the chapter topics. Still, the six-chapter structure provides a reasonable framework.

The first chapter entitled *Western Eyes, Eastern Gazes* provides a kind of ascent to the problems discussed in the volume as a whole. Vilmos Voigt in his *“Icon Animorum by John Barclay and the Origins of the Characterization of European Nations”* discusses the treatise of a British nobleman, published first in 1614 in London, that, despite the fact that it does not contain any illustrations, can be considered one of the most important predecessors of the textual-visual method of characterizing cultures/ethnic groups in Europe. The approach of Voigt is primarily philological, and he also points to the necessity of investigating the potential reception of that work in different parts of Europe. Although the Jesuits of the academy of Trnava (Slovakia) owned a copy of the book at least from the early eighteenth century on, there seems to have been no reaction to it either from the Hungarian or Slovak side during the period. Poland, however, singles out Łukasz Opaliński, a Polish magnate and political writer who did undertake the task of challenging Barclay’s characterizations in 1648. More research on the reception of this work in central and eastern Europe may lead to new findings, just like in the case of the schoolbook discussed in the second article of the chapter, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf’s *“Domesticating Nature, Appropriating Hierarchy: The Representation of European and Non-European Peoples in an Early-Nineteenth-Century Schoolbook of Natural History.”* By means of a richly illustrated German schoolbook, translated three times into Hungarian and published throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in three different cities in the Kingdom of Hungary, the paper provides an insight into one of the media that has channeled western European late Enlightenment and early Romantic concepts of the natural and social order in central and eastern Europe. *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* was written originally by Georg Christian Raff, a historian and naturalist in Göttingen, Germany. It was translated/adapted in no less than nine different European languages (among them Slaveno-Serbian and Russian). Relying on the pragmatological-sociological approach of Roger Chartier and the French *histoire de la lecture*, Sz. Kristóf analyzes the engravings of the schoolbook that seem to mediate a certain hierarchical, stadial order of nature and human geography that dominated scientific and popular imagination during this period. Circumscribing the distinctive aspects of the Hungarian adaptation, the author calls for a wider investigation of the reception and appropriation of this work in central and eastern Europe. Dagnosław Demski’s *“Playing With Otherness: Within and Beyond Stereotypes in Visual Representations”* closes the chapter with an abundant survey of methodological considerations for investigating “serious” and “non-serious” representations in general as well as during the period and in the region concerned. He underlines that within the same reality there could exist a serious representation of that reality or an event (depending on the state of our knowledge), a humorous version (funny/amusing or unfunny/unamusing), and a playful version. He argues that they reflect several concepts, such as seriousness, discipline, surveillance, humor, and stereotypes, and that these cultural concepts are worthy of further examination. According to Demski, in the serious and playful use of stereotypes, they had the same

general goal—to mark order in a broad, shifting world. The serious representations were unable to detach themselves from what they represented and could create prejudice unintentionally. The humorous representations, due to the attitudes they projected and the tools employed, both playfully and satirically targeting intolerable parts of reality, did not provide space for the idealization of one's own culture and tradition. As a result, they both shape collective imagery in different ways, and both seem to fail to go beyond stereotypes.

The second chapter entitled *Forming Nations and Constructing the Visual "National Body"* discusses one of the most significant aspects of modernity in our region, its relation to imagination as well as the images' complex relation to the sociocultural world in which they are embedded. In Anssi Halmesvirta's "Encountering the Hungarian Alterity: An Analysis of a Narrative by a Finnish Traveller," the case of Finnish intellectual Antti Jalava, who dedicated his scholarly work to Hungarian issues from the early 1870s onward, is discussed. Halmesvirta's approach is historical-analytical. Building on the mutual relationship between Self/Identity and the imagined/constructed Other, he investigates the travel book of Jalava and his geographical description of Hungary from the 1870s/1880s, and his textual analysis is complemented by that of contemporary pictures entitled to show "national characteristics" of the people living in Hungary. As opposed to the Russians or Germans, the Hungarians, though living geographically far away, felt mentally close to the Finns because of the linguistic-kinship relations. The Finns had thus very high expectations for meeting "friendly and receptive relatives" in Hungary. Interpreting the writings of Jalava, Halmesvirta tells us, however, how Jalava was becoming more and more disappointed while realizing how his cherished Hungarians, in their nationalistic fervor for their own language and culture, were prejudiced against minorities' language education. The primary lesson of Halmesvirta's study, namely, that the relation of Self to Other is always historically preconditioned, as are its visual representations, likewise comes through in the next three articles of the chapter. Anelia Kassabova's "Inclusion and Exclusion: The Role of Photography in the Nation-Building Process in Bulgaria From Approximately 1860 to World War I" discusses the relation of photographic practices and the process of the construction of the "national body" in Bulgaria between 1860 and World War I. She analyzes the oeuvre of three generations of photographers Karastoyanov working in Sofia after the establishment of the Bulgarian national state (in 1878) and being integrated continuously into different eastern and western European networks of communication, too. Kassabova relates the majority of the products of such early photography to the nation-state movement of the Bulgarians as a "civilizing" political organization. A bunch of photos showing "revolutionists and fighters for liberty" seems to have been connected to the Bulgarian independence movement (the struggle against the Ottoman Empire), and, after the establishment of the Bulgarian national state, another bunch of photos originated in central (state) order and state practices of "national" memory, showing Bulgarian *lieux de mémoire*. Founding her study on

a fortunate combination of the approaches of Aleida and Jan Assmann, Pierre Nora, and Susan Sontag, Kassabova discusses the emerging representation of Bulgarian national heroes—and acts of heroism—parallel to the emergence of the “ethnic Bulgarian”/rural characters as another of the visual *topoi* of the late nineteenth century. The origins of a newly formed nation, the search for them, and their visual construction and representation also function as leading ideas in Ana Djordjević’s “Social Differentiation and Construction of Elites in Belgrade Studio Photography at the Turn of the Twentieth Century.” Drawing on the methodological considerations of Pierre Bourdieu, Stuart Hall, Edward W. Said, and many others, Djordjević analyzes the ways in which the developing heterogeneous Serbian bourgeoisie used photographs in the formation of a common group identity at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. She examines a selection of photographs taken by one of the most prominent Belgradian studio photographers of his time, Milan Jovanović (1863–1944). According to her findings, studio photos played a crucial role in the formation and consolidation of local elites that often pursued their higher education at that time at western European universities. It was in such urban circles that ideas of the nation and the modern nation-state were brought forward and ideologies of a “proper Serbianness” and of “Serbian tradition” emerged gradually after having become independent from the Ottoman Empire in 1830 (officially only in 1878). While photographs contributed to a large extent to personal identity building, they reinforced feelings of social belonging by visually emphasizing the status and power of the Belgrade elites. As for the specific identities in the Balkans, the experience of the Self as the Other, which has been channeled through powerful Western narratives of the period (orientalisms, the Balkan as Other), seems relevant. As the last paper of the chapter testifies, visual representation had its role to play in the process of the unification of Latvia, too. Gundega Gailīte’s “‘Mother Latvia’ in Constructing Self and Other: A Case of Latvian Caricature From the Nineteenth Century to 1920” demonstrates how the figure of *Māte Latvija* has become part of modern Latvian identity. The author has undertaken to highlight the origins of the image of “Mother Latvia” in Latvian caricature of the period in which the movement for independence was taking place. She investigates how this symbol acted as a means of unification for Latvians during the period, and also studies how it produced Otherness. Gailīte’s sources are caricatures created by prominent Latvian artists, and the drawings analyzed were published in different Latvian satirical journals until 1920. According to the author’s approach, founded partly on the concepts of Benedict Anderson, limitedness is one of the essential characteristics of the nation as an “imagined political community.” This, as Gailīte argues, invites one to study the ways in which the symbolic border between the Self and Other is imagined, and caricature functions exactly as a tool that allows one to draw this border very sharply and visibly. Relying on American scholar Craig Calhoun, Gailīte suggests that nations have frequently been understood as being individuals, and that this perception has created the favorable conditions for female allegories—mothers and wives—too.

The figure of *Māte Latvija* is thus placed next to other female representations of nations, but her characteristic Latvian features are also emphasized.

The third chapter, entitled Reinterpreting Eastern Past for Show, studies a particular aspect of modernity which involved the show of cultural differences in large-scale exhibitions, their cultural-political contexts and their varying impact on their audiences. Miklós Székely's "From Figure to Pattern: The Changing Role of Folk Tradition in Hungarian Representations at Universal Exhibitions (1867–1911)" surveys the practices of putting Hungarian national and rural tradition on show. The author analyzes the role of universal exhibitions as a new phenomenon in the secularized and industrialized society in the late nineteenth century, together with their new form of architecture like "light structured pavilions." Referring to Bjarne Stoklund, Székely suggests that the organizers of the national sections of such exhibitions again and again had to answer the challenge of acquiring "commercial and cultural advantages for their country by creating an original and distinctive image of the country." Such efforts of country-branding often appeared, as Székely stresses, in the form of the show of historical traditions, especially peasant culture considered to be a "primary national symbol" of the exhibiting countries. The author tells us how the interest in (a rather Romanticized) peasant culture appeared at the first universal exhibitions (1851–1860s), and how a historicizing national self-representation reached its peak at the so-called Millennium Exhibition of 1896 in Budapest, aiming to celebrate the conquest of the lands and the foundation of the Christian kingdom of Hungary in the early Middle Ages. This festivity, having a very Hungarian national aspect, offended many of the different ethnic groups living in the territory of the country. The aim of such universal exhibitions was to enhance foreign appreciation for Hungary as a legally equal partner of Austria within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Székely's study estimates the results as well as the limits of those efforts. Miloslav Szabó's "Invasion of 'Judeo-Magyars'? The Hungarian Millennium of 1896 in the Anti-Semitic Caricature" examines the Hungarian millennium celebrations of 1896 from a different angle. His analysis focuses on the celebrations by which the Hungarian establishment hoped to impress other European countries, but which also turned out to be an opportunity for the Hungarian and Austrian Catholic and Christian socialist propagandists who distorted as "Jewish" the recent liberal legislation on civil marriage and the equality of Judaism with other denominations. Founding its analysis largely on the concepts of W. J. Thomas Mitchell and the so-called *pictorial turn*, Szabó shows us how the opposition press in Hungary and Vienna launched an anti-Jewish campaign against the millennium celebrations that was largely based on images. Anti-Semitic political caricature is taken for analysis from anti-liberal Hungarian, Slovak, and Austrian satirical magazines like *Herkó Páter*, *Černokňazník*, and *Kikeriki!*, published around the time of the millennium celebrations. Szabó investigates why political caricature is particularly suited to projecting collective identities and their alleged "Others," and pinpoints how closely images interact with language, processes of visualization,

political discourse, and also human bodies. According to his conclusions, in the anti-Semitic caricature of the late nineteenth century, Jews were portrayed as “morally degenerate liberals, capitalists, and intellectuals, and as ethnically or ‘racially’ ugly and inferior *Ostjuden* in one and the same image.” The visual distortion of the Hungarian millennium celebrations as “Jewish” was thus the result, Szabó writes, of the “stable semantic structure of modern anti-Semitism on the one hand, and specific political constellations in Austria and Hungary on the other.” Another, rarely studied potentiality of the process of visually representing the Other is discussed in the last article of the chapter, Joanna Bartuszek’s “‘Close Exoticism’: The Image of the Hutsuls and Their Region in the Archives and Photographs of the Nineteenth Century and the First Half of the Twentieth Century.” The author calls that potentiality *de-Othering*, and analyzes it by means of images of the Hutsul people and their land, Hutsulshchyna, as they emerge from the visual collection of the Scientific Archive of the State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw. According to the author, a process of *de-Othering* or de-exoticization of a group occurs as the originally “othered” (e.g., mystified, romanticized) image of a group gradually transforms in the public perception, and the group becomes familiar—and even distinctive—in the end. Bartuszek demonstrates that in nineteenth-century Polish travel and academic literature, as well as in the illustrated press, Hutsulshchyna and, generally, the eastern Carpathian mountains were perceived as a kind of *terra incognita*. The district and its inhabitants—having been under the Austro-Hungarian administration as a part of Galicia’s territory for a long time—were thus surrounded by an indefinable, mysterious aura, but were found attractive, exotic as such. Through a series of various visual representations the Hutsuls had gained familiarity and also a sort of prestige by the beginning of the twentieth century, which was only confirmed as the district became part of Poland (in 1918), politically, too.

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The fourth chapter entitled Representations of War and the Other studies the most violent aspect of competition between nations in our region. It focuses on the multiple relation between war and images. Alexander Kozintsev in his “Representing the Other in British, French, and German Cartoons of the Crimean War” studies the oeuvre of six cartoonists whose works have been published in various European humor magazines—*Punch*, *Le Charivari*, and *Kladderadatsch*. The author analyzes the visual propaganda campaign of the Crimean War (1835–1856) as represented by those western cartoonists and suggests that the staging itself, the visual choreography of the events, seems a work of art, a play in three, or actually four, parts. At the “preparatory stage,” the Other (Russia) is dehumanized; in the first part, the “strong one” (Russia) offends the “weak one” (Turkey); in the second part the “noble ones” (Western countries) interfere to protect the “victim” against the “offender”; while the third part—the finale—tells about the deserved punishment inflicted on the “offender.” Kozintsev surveys the various representations of the story and, citing a rich theoretical literature on humor, concludes that graphic caricature fulfills a basically dual role. It can be used as a “weapon of satire and propaganda,”

on one hand, that employs ethnic and political stereotypes in a serious manner. On the other hand, however, the cartoon is also a form of comic art, and as such it satirizes those stereotypes.

Such a staging of war is also revealed in Ágnes Tamás's "From Allies to Enemies: The Two Balkan Wars (1912–1913) in Caricatures." The author pinpoints the importance of the two wars, having influenced greatly the formation of nation states in the Balkans. Ágnes Tamás analyzes how the two wars and their participants were represented in satirical magazines like the Hungarian *Borsszem Jankó*, the Austrian *Der Floh*, and the Serbian *Vrač Pogodač* and *Brka*. She is especially interested in how representation changed through time, that is, after Bulgaria had become an enemy of Serbia. She has found that the most frequently used symbols in the studied satirical weeklies would fit into the categories of symbols of territorial losses, gains and demands (death, sickness, and injury), stereotypes of cultures about each other, and finally, animal symbols (goat, pig, bear, etc.). The author could also point to some long-standing symbols appearing in more than one satirical magazine (i.e., the Balkan nations as children, the angel of peace, the skeleton representing death, various animals, "the sick man of Europe" representing Turkey, and the customary representations of the great powers).

Magdalena Żakowska has also found decodable symbols in her "The Bear and His Protégés: Life in the Balkan Kettle According to the German-Language Caricatures of the *Belle Époque*." Based on her study on constructivist theory, she analyzes the Swiss and German perception of other nations, as they are reflected in the caricatures of three satirical weekly journals between 1876 and 1913: two German, the *Kladderadatsch* and the *Simplicissimus*, and the Swiss *Nebelspalter*. The author is especially interested in the iconographic and also narrative/textual ideas used by those caricaturists to depict events taking place on the Balkan Peninsula from the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) until World War I. She could follow, as she states, three stages of press discourse: "battle," "moral," and "hygienic-oriented." The comparison of the main ideas concerning the Balkans in Germany and Switzerland shows that they were influenced both by the actual political situation and the national ethos in those countries. The German and Swiss metaphors of Russia and the Balkan countries (such as the "Kossack," the "Russian bear," the Balkan countries as *enfants terribles*, the "insects," and the "kettle") were insulting since they were not symbols with which either region identified themselves.

The last paper in the chapter, Petr Karlíček's "Us and Them: Cartoons of the Sudeten German Satirical Magazine *Der Igel* at the End of the First Czechoslovakian Republic (1935–1938)" leads us to the dawn of World War II. The author analyzes the political cartoons published in the pro-totalitarian German-Bohemian magazine *Der Igel* between 1935 and 1938. Karlíček shows the ways of self-presentation and the depiction of political rivals by the cartoonists whose worldview could be summed up as follows: "Whoever is not for us is against us." The main focus of *Der Igel* was the political struggle against the state of Czechoslovakia, and

its cartoons expressed the policies of the newly formed Sudetendeutsche Partei (1935–1938), inspired by the German NSDAP and taking instructions from Nazi Germany. Karlíček has found that the propaganda of the pro-totalitarian SdP divided local society into those who sympathized with them and those who seemed enemies of its policies. Accordingly, a group of “Us” and a group of “Them” was created in and by the cartoons of *Der Igel*, especially between 1935 and 1938, as the pair of traditional national symbols of the Germans and the Czechs (the figure of Michael and Wenzel) had lost its significance. The former group contained the imaginary group of the Germans’ so-called National Community, and the latter group seemed to comprise all the enemies: the political activists of the various leftist parties, “traitors,” Czechs, emigrants, Jews, inhabitants of the colonies, as well as other sorts of Others.

The fifth chapter entitled Political Eyes: From Distant to Close Others still remains in the political sphere of competition but discusses its manifestations in the various registers of everyday life that have been connected to images. Edina Kicsindi, in her “Reinterpreting the Distant Other in Nineteenth-Century Hungarian Political Cartoons,” investigates the ways of representing African natives in humorous newspapers such as *Borsszem Jankó*, *Bolond Istók*, and *Az Űstökös* published in Hungary. According to her analysis, the colonial period constructed a different kind of Other whose form was later transformed. Kicsindi focuses on the local, Hungarian characteristics of the process of arriving from the distant Other to the closer one, and discovers particular visual/narrative traits that remain intact but take on new meaning in the process. She analyzes how, according to the findings of earlier post-colonial studies, the image of the noble savage and the native warriors’ proud aggression have become reinterpreted to signify cruelty and bestiality, and how purity emphasized formerly has come to form the profile of primitivism. She has found accordingly that in the Hungarian press of the second part of the period, the figures of politicians represented as Africans have come to depict political corruption.

Barbara Derler’s “Constructions of Otherness: The Establishment of Studio Photography and the (Non-)Visibility of Muslim Women in Sarajevo Until World War I” studies visual representations made for a Western, that is, foreign, and politically dominant, audience. She develops non-visibility as a crucial concept to discuss the ways foreign photographers have dealt with their subjects in Sarajevo. Commenting upon Edward W. Said’s and others’ post-colonial approach, Derler argues that the photographers’ view reveals asymmetrical power relations between them and their clients/the portrayed people. She shows how each kind of visual representation—postcards, souvenir cards, and studio portraits—demanded different strategies of representation depending on the audience. Photography in Sarajevo seems to have functioned according to a basic opposition: the overall modernization processes initiated by the Austro-Hungarian dominant culture, on the one hand, and, on the other, the emphasis of the photographers on the Oriental Muslim element in the city. Derler’s study raises the question of whether photography can at all be used as

evidence of social reality.

Anna M. Rosner's "The Image of the Jewish Street Seller in Nineteenth Century London" studies the representation of Jews in the caricatures of the British press. According to her findings, some stereotypes were universal, others unique and present only in Britain. In the beginning, the street seller was the main figure. The most universal were those representations that were based on the foreignness of the Jews, their alien tradition, culture, and religion. The Jewish street seller was depicted usually as a stranger, but also as one who does not stand out in the crowd. Later cartoons presented Jewish figures that were difficult to recognize, which, as Rosner argues, reflects the process of their assimilation into British society and culture.

Dobrinka Parusheva's "Bulgarians Gazing at the Balkans: Neighboring People in Bulgarian Political Caricature at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century" closes the chapter. Parusheva focuses on strictly political caricature in Bulgaria, finding her way between opposite perspectives. On one hand, Lawrence Streicher claimed that in the twentieth century, "the news story increasingly ... divorced the *narration* of events from their meaning" because of the struggle for objective reporting and the importance of the social situation in which caricature appears and the understanding of politics, on which the audience relies. She recalls the approach of the most famous Bulgarian caricaturists according to which the artist has to be well versed in the life of the society. Following this way in the presentation of her data she concludes that political caricature involved mostly current domestic issues, and not problems and disagreements with neighbors. Characteristic to this genre was the use of personified political figures rather than abstract ones, representing nations. Parusheva could also observe a shift in attitudes as changes have become visible in the political context.

The sixth and final chapter entitled *New Versus Old: Local Responses to a Changing World* surveys further smaller registers of everyday life in which visibility played an eminent role and in which a certain kind of Othering occurred. Karla Huebner, in her "Otherness in First Republic Czechoslovak Representations of Women," studies the nontraditional images of women in the first half of the twentieth century. She has found that the figure of the *New Woman* has meant something different according to location and time in Czechoslovakia. This seems to have reflected different versions of modernity and nationality in different places and during different periods. Huebner compared various magazines and newspapers published in Czechoslovakia and found that the image of the New Woman was everywhere. She has shown the differences by underlining specific kinds of similarities she has found depending on specific political views (liberal or leftist) or nationality (Czech or Slovak). She has also noticed that the German and Roma women were ignored in the press representations of the period.

Eva Krekovičová and Zuzana Panczová, in their "Visual Representations of 'Self' and 'Others': Images of the Traitor and the Enemy in Slovak Political Cartoons, 1861–1910," investigate characters of caricature in the clash of conservatism and the

rising liberalism in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. They understand cartoons as vectors of collective memory, complementary to others such as, as they hold, folklore or literary texts. Selecting for study a humoristic Slovak journal printed first in Buda (and moving later to Szakolca/Skalica), they observe two main grounds of confrontation conveyed by the images. One seems to have existed between the prevailing conservatism and the rising liberalism, and the other between two historic concepts of nationalism, Hungarian and Slovak. They also discuss the appearance of the Jews as well as the so-called *mad'arons* (Slovak born persons who later declared themselves to be of Hungarian nationality) in the visual representations of the period.

Florin-Aron Pădurean, in his “When Ytzig Met Shtrul: On Schmoozing and Jewish Conspiracy in Romanian Art,” has chosen to study a motif widely present in Romanian visual representations: two Jewish characters talking to each other and performing a specific gesture with the hand. According to Pădurean’s analysis, this is a conventional sign of agreement for Jews, strongly connected with nationality and starting with the social context of almost two centuries ago. It became a kind of ethnic trademark of which the author provides numerous examples—what is interpreted by several researchers, not only as a sign of habitual ethnic unity, but also as an indication of an obvious propensity to chat. He suggests that contemporary Jewish jokes have preserved the memory of that gesture, but as they have become de-ethnicized, the visual element disappeared, only the story survived.

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The last paper of the chapter (as well as the volume), Katarina Šrmpf’s “Residents of Lemberg as Other” discusses a phenomenon in Slovenian folklore tradition. According to the tradition, residents of certain communities—towns as well as villages—have been represented as foolish. As Šrmpf demonstrates, this phenomenon exists in many other countries and regions. Relying on Christie Davies’s approach to humor studies, jokes on foolishness are often told about those on the edge of a country or a linguistic or economic area, with the tellers being at the center. Šrmpf provides visual as well as textual material reflecting this motif of local folklore.

Allowing excellent opportunities to face, beyond the Other, the Self, that is, Ourselves and our pasts, too, such thematic, geographic, and methodological variety as these studies represent constitutes a guarantee for the continuation of our project. Our research will go on, and beyond the tendency of divergence, similarities and conspicuous trends toward homogeneity in visual representations will also be identified in the processes of Othering in central and eastern Europe.

As our international enterprise—the two conferences and the two books—shows, competition among countries/cultures can turn into cooperation. Expressing our gratefulness for all the participants so far, we are full of hope that the next two similar events planned for other countries will also prove to be successful. Taking up the lines of research involved in this volume as well as in the first one, we intend to continue searching for common elements of visual representations that may offer a possibility to single out characteristic features of certain areas as well as significant periods in our region. At the same time we also will look for elements that would

differentiate the latter and which, together, would offer a truly deep insight into the abundant diversity of attitudes and behaviors with regard to the multiple ways of defining the Other in central and eastern Europe.

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