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



L'Harmattan

Ez a mű a Creative Commons Nevezd meg! - Ne add el! - Így add tovább! 4.0 Nemzetközi Licenc feltételeinek megfelelően felhasználható.
https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/



Competing Eyes. Visual Encounters with Alterity in Central and Eastern Europe

Edited by Dagnosław Demski, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, and Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-3977-0294, https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8598-1212, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9560-3167

Antropológia, néprajz / Anthropology, ethnology (12857), Kultúrakutatás, kulturális sokféleség / Cultural studies, cultural diversity (12950), Társadalomszerkezet, egyenlőtlenségek, társadalmi mobilitás, etnikumközi kapcsolatok / Social structure, inequalities, social mobility, interethnic relations (12525), Vizuális művészetek, előadóművészetek, dizájn / Visual arts, performing arts, design (13046)

visual studies, ethnic studies, stereotypes, Central and Eastern Europe

ISBN 978-963-646-306-9 (pdf)

DOI: https://doi.org/10.56037/978-963-236-706-4



https://openaccess.hu/

1924

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

INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY
RESEARCH CENTRE FOR THE HUMANITIES
HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY
POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Competing Eyes

:

Visual Encounters With Alterity in Central and Eastern Europe

EDITED BY

DAGNOSŁAW DEMSKI
ILDIKÓ SZ. KRISTÓF
KAMILA BARANIECKA-OLSZEWSKA

L'Harmattan

BUDAPEST 2013

ADDRESS
Institute of Ethnology
Research Centre for the Humanities
Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology
Polish Academy of Sciences
L'Harmattan Kiadó
1053 Budapest,
Kossuth L. u. 14-16.
Tel.: (+36-1) 267-59-79, Fax: (+36-1) 328-09-19

Graphic design and cover: Albert Salamon
Typesetting: Andrzej Zabrowarny
Linguistic editor: Paula Douglass
Proofreading: Paula Douglass

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

This work has been supported by the Visegrad Fund (Grant No. 21210049).

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means,
electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording
or otherwise, without the prior permission of the copyright holder.

© L'Harmattan, 2013

HU ISBN 978-963-236-706-4

Contents

9 Acknowledgements

11 Dagnosław Demski and Ildikó Sz. Kristóf
Introduction

1. Western Eyes, Eastern Gazes

26 Vilmos Voigt
Icon Animorum by John Barclay and the Origins of the Characterization of European Nations

40 Ildikó Sz. Kristóf
Domesticating Nature, Appropriating Hierarchy: The Representation of European and Non-European Peoples in an Early-Nineteenth-Century Schoolbook of Natural History

68 Dagnosław Demski
Playing With Otherness: Within and Beyond Stereotypes in Visual Representations

2. Forming Nations and Constructing the Visual "National Body"

100 Anssi Halmesvirta
Encountering the Hungarian Alterity: An Analysis of a Narrative by a Finnish Traveller

112 Anelia Kassabova
Inclusion and Exclusion: The Role of Photography in the Nation-Building Process in Bulgaria From Approximately 1860 to World War I

140 Ana Djordjević
Social Differentiation and Construction of Elites in Belgrade Studio Photography at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

170 Gundega Gailīte
Role of "Mother Latvia" in Constructing Self and Other: A Case of Latvian Caricature From the Nineteenth Century to 1920

3. Reinterpreting Eastern Pasts for Show

190 Miklós Székely
From Figure to Pattern: The Changing Role of Folk Tradition in Hungarian Representations at Universal Exhibitions (1867–1911)

212 Miloslav Szabó
Invasion of "Judeo-Magyars"? The Hungarian Millennium of 1896 in the Anti-Semitic Caricature

230 Joanna Bartuszek
"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

4. Representations of War and the Other

252 Alexander Kozintsev
Representing the Other in British, French, and German Cartoons of the Crimean War

278 Ágnes Tamás
From Allies to Enemies: The Two Balkan Wars (1912–1913) in Caricatures

304 Magdalena Żakowska
The Bear and His Protégés: Life in the Balkan Kettle According to the German-Language Caricatures of the *Belle Époque*

330 Petr Karlíček
Us and Them: Cartoons of the Sudeten German Satirical Magazine *Der Igel* at the End of the First Czechoslovakian Republic (1935–1938)

5. Political Eyes: From Distant to Close Others

352 Edina Kicsindi
Reinterpreting the Distant Other in Nineteenth-Century Hungarian Political Cartoons

374 Barbara Derler
Constructions of Otherness: The Establishment of Studio Photography and the (Non-)Visibility of Muslim Women in Sarajevo Until World War I

392 Anna M. Rosner
The Image of the Jewish Street Seller in Nineteenth Century London

418 Dobrinka Parusheva
Bulgarians Gazing at the Balkans: Neighboring People in Bulgarian Political Caricature at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

6. New Versus Old: Local Responses to a Changing World

440 Karla Huebner
Otherness in First Republic Czechoslovak Representations of Women

462 Eva Krekovičová and Zuzana Panczová
Visual Representations of "Self" and "Others": Images of the Traitor and the Enemy in Slovak Political Cartoons, 1861–1910

488 Florin-Aron Pădurean
When Ytzig Met Shtrul: On Schmoozing and Jewish Conspiracy in Romanian Art

516 Katarina Šrimpf
Residents of Lemberg as Other

534 List of Illustrations

542 Contributors

Acknowledgements

The Budapest Conference was an experiment of sorts, owing to the combined Hungarian and Polish efforts to realize it. We are convinced that the whole enterprise was a success built on the contributions of many, and these contributors all deserve to be named. What is especially worth stressing is the Hungarian-Polish cooperation, which represents the commitment of so many people whose personal dedication, acting jointly across borders, contributed to the final scientific result and the exceptionally friendly atmosphere of the Conference. The event will remain in the participants' grateful memory for a long time.

We would like to express our particular gratitude to the Institute of Ethnology, Research Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences for agreeing to host the Conference (Balázs Balogh), for organizing the event, and for participating in the joint decision-making that was necessary at the first stage of the arrangements related to the project (Ágnes Fülemile). Apart from the above mentioned, most of the credit is due to Fruzsina Cseh and Anikó Báti, to Éva Deák for coordinating organizational work, and to Károly Zsolt Nagy for creating the webpage.

We would like to thank the Institute of Ethnology, Czech Academy of Sciences, and the Institute of Ethnology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, for their support and cooperation in this project and to the Centre of Contemporary Anthropology, Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, of the Polish Academy of Sciences for supporting the cooperation between the four participating countries—Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and the Czech Republic.

Arkadiusz Bernaś, the director of the Polish Cultural Institute in Budapest, was the person who most contributed to the excellent atmosphere around the Conference. Please, accept our heartfelt gratitude for so actively supporting the event.

The Österreichisches Kulturforum Budapest should be thanked for taking part in the opening of the conference. The exhibit of Felix Kanitz's pictures of South Slavs accompanied the conference.

Many thanks to all the participants, who turned out in force at the Budapest Conference and who together contributed to creating its wonderful atmosphere.

We would also like to thank those participants who, for various reasons, failed to submit their papers. Their input was very significant for the realization of the project.

We owe a deep debt of gratitude to Visegrad Fund for its financial support in the form of a grant. Without this funding, the organization of the conference and the meeting of the scholars working in the field of visual othering would not have been possible.

Dagnosław Demski and Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

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 pragmatical-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 Pasts 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, Černokňažník,* 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.

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 Pogađač* 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 Üstökös* 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 visuality 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.

The last paper of the chapter (as well as the volume), Katarina Šrimpf'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 Šrimpf 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. Šrimpf 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.

References

Demski D., Baraniecka-Olszewska K. (eds.) 2010, *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*, Warsaw.

Douglas M., Wildavsky A. B. 1982, *Risk and Culture: An Essay on the Selection of Technical and Environmental Dangers*, Berkeley.

Pratt M. L. 1992, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London.

1. Western Eyes, Eastern Gazes

Vilmos Voigt

Icon Animorum by John Barclay and the Origins of the Characterization of European Nations

Gente Caledonius, Gallus natalibus, hic est
Romam Romano qui docet ore loqui.
[Scotsman by nation, Frenchman by his birth,
Here is the person who teaches the Roman to speak as a Roman.]
—Hugo Grotius: distych for the portrait of John Barclay

In illo tempore the famous political essayist and writer John Barclay (born January 28, 1582, in Pont-à-Mousson; died August 12, 1621, in Rome) is today a neglected figure in the history of "European ethnology" and of European social and cultural studies.

A classical authority of characterology of the various groups of Europeans, son of a Scottish teacher of law and a French mother, he was an English nobleman who spent most of his life on the Continent, writing exclusively in elegant Latin (i.e., neither in French nor in English). Educated in Jesuit schools, he did not become a priest, and he was not a courtier or an employee of any person or institution. Today we might call him a freelance intellectual or an independent scholar. In 1618, he moved to Rome, receiving support from Pope Paul V. Barclay died in Rome.[1] Continuity and shifts earmarked his biography.

His first important book was the *Satyricon* (1603), a picaresque novel in three parts, written under the influence of the classical Latin novel of Petronius (*arbiter elegantiarum*), so much cherished by decadent intellectuals of the turn of the twentieth century, for example, the Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916; see his famous novel *Quo vadis?* 1896) and by the Hungarian—at least relativist—Dezső Kosztolányi (1885–1936; see his famous novel *Emperor Nero, the Bloody Writer*, 1922), and immortalized recently (1969) by the even more decadent film *Satyricon* of Federico Fellini.

---

[1] On Barclay's life with a later evaluation from Scotland, see Lord Hailes (n.d.) and Irving 1839. Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes (1726–1792) was a noted historian of Scotland, and, among others the Grand Master of the masonic Grande Lodge of Scotland (1774–1776). A useful bibiography of his works: Becker 1903. The entry in Pierre Bayle's famous *Dictionnaire* (primary source in late 18th century) has some errors.

Barclay's *Icon Animorum* (London, 1614; republished 1620) was generally understood by the contemporary European public to be the fourth book of the *Satyricon*. But in fact it was a different kind of writing, from literary approach to political sociology, and was an intriguing scholarly treatise on comparative anthropogeography, history, anthropology, and to some extent psychology—a *megaessay* on "comparative cultural studies"—to use another modern term. The book offers a witty characterization of individuals and nations in Europe. It is not easy to know whether Barclay was speaking about contemporary politics or if he wanted to show the "eternal" character of "the Europeans." That was the ultimate reason why the book had been uninterruptedly read by succeeding generations in Europe, until about the French Revolution. The great upheaval then created a new context for European characterology.

There appeared soon its translations into French and English.[2] The first ("scholarly") re-editions of Barclay's book—still in Latin—appeared in Germany (Bremen, 1660, and Dresden, 1680, by August Buchner) followed word-for-word the original publication. Two German scholars, August Buchner and Christian Juncker, added copious additional footnotes to the chapters, trying to explain all the background and meaning of Barclay's statements. Their enlarged edition (in Latin) was printed by Theophil Grabener (Dresden and Leipzig, 1733). It is the source for my analysis.[3]

Seven years later, in 1621, Barclay's other, even more famous book, *Argenis*, was published, a pseudo-chivalry novel about the constitutional and political situation in seventeenth-century Europe. It is a sophisticated literary work, and it was a bestseller in Europe until the French revolution. *Argenis* had many contemporary decodings of its characters and stimulated various imitations. But the analysis of the novel falls outside of the scope of this paper.

Icon animorum (a carefully printed book *in-sexto,* (*b* = 18 + 400 p, *index auctorum, index rerum, index verborum* in *cc – dd*= 32 pages – in the 1733 updated edition) starts with a long letter of dedication to the French king, Louis XIII. It explains the importance of the book for the successful training of the court staff. Then sixteen chapters follow with two chapters as introduction, including the four ages of man: childhood, adolescence, manhood, and agedness. Then follows the part of *Genius seculorum et regionum* and, then, seven descriptive chapters on *Gallia*; the

---

[2] See in English: *The Mirror of Minds, or Barclay's Icon Animorum.* English by Tho[mas] May, Esq. London, 1633. There is a later edition too. In French: *Le Pourtrait des Esprits de Barclai, mis en François.* Paris, 1625. Another French version is deliberately free, on the title page giving an exhaustive reference to the major topics in the book: *Le Tableau des Esprits de M. Iean Barclay; par lequel on cognoist les humeurs des Nations, leur aduantages et defaux, les inclinations des hommes, tant à cause de leurs propres naturels que des conditions de leur charges. Nouvellement traduict de Latin en François,* Paris, 1625.

[3] The full title of the publication: *Joannis Barclaii ICON ANIMORVM virorum clarissimorum Avgvsti Bvchneri et Christiani Jvnckeri notis illvstrata recensvit ex manvscriptis et svis passim animadversionibvs novo item indice verborvm rervmque avxit Theophilvs Grabenervs A. M. Ill. Afran. Coll—Dresdae et Lipsiae, apud Godofredum Leschivm. Anno M DCC XXXIII.*

English, Scots, and Irishmen; the Germans and Belgians; the Italians; the Spanish; the Hungarians, Poles, and Muscovites; and the Turks and Jews. The last seven synthetic chapters cover mental capacities and character, the power of obnoxiousness, tyrants and legitimate rulers, men in the service of the court, magistrates and patrons, divine experience, and religious leaders. There is no summarizing chapter, conclusion, or postscript in the work; nor are there illustrations, maps, or pictures of Europe or of the Europeans. The original publication has no explanatory notes or indices. To the later editions, notes and remarks were added, first in Latin and later in German, explaining difficult phrases, deciphering allusions, and adding further hints for the correct understanding of the sentences. However, these later additions do not change the premises or the conclusions of Barclay's original work.

The extremely well-educated author deals with four major topics: the general characteristics of man; the spirit of different historic ages; a description of the great European countries and nations; and the education, behavior, and capacities of men of various social status. It is not surprising that Barclay did not use the term "European," neither in the title nor in the chapters of his book, because the context of his book was self-evident.

For contemporary readers, his third topic, the description of a dozen European peoples, is the most important. The order of the peoples described is essentially practical (from the viewpoint of the author): he lived in France and owed the publication to the French king, but he was an English subject with a family background in Aberdeen, Scotland. There is no ranking among the mentioned peoples, and the author does not explain his reasons for ordering the lands and peoples as he did. Some well-known European peoples (like the Swiss, Portuguese, peoples of the Balkans, including the Greeks) are not separately mentioned in the descriptive chapters. In several chapters there are brief references to other cultures or peoples, but they are not extensively discussed. In some cases the described peoples are in fact not properly Europeans. Barclay's work is an early concise characterization of the "early modern" Europe. It differs from the general typology of man, so well known in the (European) Renaissance, and it is also different from later national, ethnic, or even "racial" characterology, so popular during the Age of Enlightenment. As far as I know, Barclay's book has not been treated in major works concerning ethnic stereotypes in Europe. However, here I can say only a few words about Barclay's systematization of the European "mind" (*animus* and not *anima*).

Unfortunately, we do not know much about the immediate sources of the book. His own impressions or the learned wisdom was his intimate source. We do not know whether Barclay was informed about a similar, but two generations earlier English book, *First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge* (1542) by the English physician Andrew Borde (1490–1549), an amusing and witty but not scholarly book based upon the author's extensive travels in Europe, which offers sarcastic remarks about many European ethnic or cultural groups, including the English, Cornish, Welsh, Scots, and many Continental peoples, mostly based on their behavior in inns.

The juxtaposition of different human types or nations is as old as history, geography, or ethnography. Hippocrates had already created a typology of men, peoples, and cultures. Barclay regularly refers to the classical authors, from Ammianus Marcellinus to Virgil. Of "modern" authors he mentions only a few: Jean Bodin, Justus Lipsius, Samuel Pufendorf, Gerardus Johannes Vossius: that is, all the specialists of the doctrines of the state, some of whom were then the most "modern" authors, famous contemporaries of Barclay. It is typical that theologians are (in fact) not mentioned in the book.

In order to give a description of the book, the following items should be stressed. Describing the various nations, the book uses the Latin word *indoles* as a general term, but which has a wide range of meanings. It is not a simple task to present here all the statements of Barclay, because his chapters are concise and apodictic. First, he gives a short geographic and historical description of the country, but he does not systematically cover the names of all rulers, important battles, capital cities, and so forth. Then he presents a general interpretation of the social and political system of the given nation. Usually he does not give contrastive characteristics with other peoples, but occasionally he compares, for example, the French with the English, or the Italian with the Spanish. The nation-describing chapters of the book are more or less of the same length (20 to 30 printed pages), offering the possibility of a fairly balanced (but not too long) presentation of the leading nations of Europe. The style is not polemic; the statements are clear and short, not entirely positive or negative, but well proportioned and written in a sophisticated (but not purely classical) Latin, thus, offering a variety of possibilities for interpretation (or translating) of the key words and summarizing statements. Barclay does not give statistics, figures, or scales and maps; his remarks are those of a "philosopher of culture." The chapters are not divided into sections or paragraphs, and they look like carved sculptures of great blocks of stone. The author uses the style of an experienced intellectual, suggesting in a smooth way that his statements will be considerably valid under different circumstances and also in the future. Four hundred years after the publication of Barclay's book, its novelty and intellectual *niveau* remains.

Barclay was a moderate partisan of the theory of "milieu," explaining social and political features by the natural environment. As we know, Montesquieu and other social philosophers—more than a century later—were later adherents of the same approach.

The first descriptive chapter (III) deals with "Gallia and its inhabitants." According to the text it is the largest "province" in Europe. (The statement is false, but it has been commonplace in European ideology until today). Barclay continues, "It is the most developed place, enjoying the import of goods—silk from behind the Alps, artefacts from Germany, necessary or luxury merchandise from England."[4]

[4] Hereafter I refer to parts of and quotations from the book by giving simply the page numbers in brackets.

(pp. 70–71). The several regions of France are described as being very different from one another.

She has not one, but two seas: the Ocean and the Mediterranean, offering thus contacts also with Spain, Africa, and Egypt ... She has occupied several other provinces: Lombardy, Naples, Sicily, etc. The hospitality of her inhabitants is graceful; they do not measure from which country someone comes, but according to the spirit and merits of the individual ... They give citizenship not only to noblemen, but also to anyone who asks for it. French maintain the privileges of the nobility, but accept the role of commerce (and of the middle social class) as well ... In France people do not use the competition to select officials. They do not break the joy of the spirit, and are not afraid of excelling knowledge (pp. 72, 77, 81–82)

(In order to show how erudite the style of Barclay is, I quote here his statement in Latin: *quae nec Gallis certe deest, laetitia capacis animi exuberans, eique non efficta prudentia fraenum imponens* [p. 88]). As for their weaknesses, French persons gossip, especially at the theatre and banquets (p. 93). Overall the spirit of the "Galls" (*Gallorum animus)* is positive. There is nothing more comfortable in human society than to accept the traditions of the state, in a decent form (*Nec aliquid in humana societate felicius quam consuetudinis tam politae erecta, virilisque suavitas* [p. 94]).

We might add here that the book includes similar summaries about the other
30 chapters. But instead of repeating them all here, I want to show only some of the remarks by Barclay as regards other Europeans.

Chapter IV concerns the British Isles and speaks about the three groups of their inhabitants: the English, Scottish, and Irish. Their basic and characteristic feature is their "insularity": the country is more typical of an island than is Sicily, Crete, or Cyprus. In Wales and Scotland, there still live more of the ancient inhabitants than of the later invading Saxons and English. Picts were also a very old population. The land is best for pasture and not for agriculture. Barclay also describes the feudal rank titles. The spirit of the Englishmen is grave (p. 107), and they tend to be seamen. Their laws originally came with the Normans from Normandy and were practiced first in the French language (*Gallica lingua*). English people use mathematics, geometry, and astronomy for pragmatic purposes and their religion coincides with reason. There are three major trends in the religion, and their followers struggle fiercely with each other. The main controversies in the religion are concerning the relation between the Father and the Son and about the form of the communion (p. 115). The mob, especially when drunken, tends to attack the foreigners (p. 116). On the other hand, immigrants can defend themselves also before the judges. In the same chapter there is a concise description of *Scotia* and *Hibernia*: the Scots "never give up hope" and the Irish "stick to their vices" and do not like to work, focusing instead on the future (pp. 129–130). In Chapter IV, there is no direct or detailed comparison of the three peoples.

Germans and the Low Countries (referred to as *Belgii*) are the topic of Chapter V. The core of the region is the river Rhine, fluctuating from the Alps to the

ocean. Both in the past and the present times, Germans have lived there in several different states. They like the mobility and invite the visitors for drinking. This chapter describes first "social drinking" habits (pp. 135–136), and only later the author turns to the systems of law and culture. In the cases of Austria and Bohemia, Barclay claims that although they actually belong to the German world, originally they were not German territories, which is still manifest in their genuine habits. Germans have made many inventions, including typography and gunpowder (p. 141). They have wars among themselves, and the imperial power is executed by rotation (the remark is about the *prince electorate* system). Barclay describes here at length the different systems of the royal and provincial power in Germany, France, and England (pp. 144–150), in a comparison that can also be found today in good handbooks of European feudalism. The chapter ends with a description of the Low Countries, mentioning the actual political situation, e.g., the Spanish rule and Prince William of Orange (*Guilielmus Ariacus*—p. 160). But there is no word on Luther or about the German reformation, or about the Fifteen Years War.[5]

Italy (in Chapter VI) is shown from the point of view of the morphology of culture. The buildings are built not of perishable material, but of marble and stone; they are well decorated with splendid windows, and there are statues in public places (p. 167). There are many visitors in the country, who see here many unexpected things: homosexuality, sodomy, vain rhetoric, cruel bandits, etc. (pp. 174–175). Italy is divided into many political units, differing also in their habits. The people boast of horses and arms, and seek glory and magnificence (pp. 177–178). Into Barclay's description, a few quick comparisons with French, English, or Spanish culture are included. The importance of the classical heritage is mentioned, too, but not in detail. The characterization in the Italian chapter is the closest to the use of "ethnic stereotypes" (as it is said in today's phraseology). Detailed description of the religion is in fact omitted. We learn only that Rome is the Seat of the Pope, but otherwise the religious importance of Rome is not mentioned at all.[6]

Hispania (Chapter VII) is described as a border area of Europe, which went through a varied history from the Romans to our days. The historical past was the origin of both the vices and virtues there. (*Et hic illis vitiorum ac virtutum causa est*—pp. 191–192). The spirit of man is grave, with a constant wish to win. The ora-

---

[5] On some other aspects of describing the Germans see the sentences quoted by Julian Huxley. See footnote no. 11.

[6] However, in other works of Barclay the problems of religion are dealt with with great interest. As a young scholar he was editing his father's posthumous work: [William Barclay] *De Potestate Papae* (1609). The book was attacked by not a less important person, as Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino (*Tractatus de Potestate Summi Pontificis in rebus, adversus Guilelmum Barclaium...* Roma, 1610) and the controversy was followed in the coming years. Barclay published in Paris, in 1612, a defense of his father and himself: *Joannis Barclaii Pietas.* Soon after Barclay's settlement in Rome, his *Paraenesis ad sectarios* (1617) served to justify his views on religions. Thus, there is reason in being silent on religion in many chapters of the *Icon animorum.*

tory is exaggerated. Spaniards are better at individual fighting (including duels) than in troop battles. Barclay tells an anecdote about the ever-present pride of the people, including that of the women. (The story is about a beggar women, who protects still her high degree of pride). Then a somewhat surprising negative remark follows: in Spain they do not cultivate literature, the arts, eloquence, or history (p. 195). This is not a simple error on Barclay's part, because he adds here a long admonition about the perils of neglecting philosophy, science, and academic teaching (pp. 195–196). And the statement is also in contrast with Barclay's remarks at the end of the same chapter, where (p. 199) he mentions the *pompa verborum gestuumque* (abundance of words and gestures) in Spain. The Royal Couple (Ferdinand and Isabella) is named, but the word "America" occurs only in the later commentaries to the book. Barclay probably shared the "jealous" opinion of some of his contemporaries, who saw the sudden immense wealth of Spain (thanks to "American gold") as a dubious benefit, leading to limitless pride and self-over-estimating, culminating in the outmost conservatism of the rites and customs of Spanish way of life.

Except for the author's goal to present a "complete" book on European "Icons of the Mind," there is no direct reason why he would have written an entire chapter (VIII) on Hungarians, Poles, and Muscovites, who then played a minor role in common European affairs. Hungary (mentioned as "Pannonia") is described in seven
32 pages (201–208), Polonia in five pages (208–212), and Russia in ten pages (212–223). The description of Pannonia starts with historical and geographical characterization. The agriculture is rich. Each year they drive a hundred thousand cattle to Germany. The wines are as excellent as in Spain. The weather is extreme, terrible cold in winter and hot in summer, strengthening thus the physical capacity of her inhabitants (pp. 202–203). There are rich salt and metallic ore mines, including gold, which also floats in the rivers. (The reference is to gold washing, which had been practiced in Hungary continuously from antiquity). The rivers have plenty of fish. The demeanour of the people is grave, because of the horrible events (the Ottoman invasion) of the last century. Wars (in which several groups of European soldiers from many countries participate) have marked daily life. Even the noblemen have become rude, and the homeless country folk are simply dangerous robbers. The robes are of Oriental style, with purple and sky-blue decorations. (*Togis et tunicis utuntur ad morem orientis, purpureis maxime, aut quae caeruleum colorem accepterunt*—p. 204). Men wear short, curved sabres. The Hungarians and Germans as unkind neighbours often share the same historical attitude. They know each other fairly well, and reciprocally tell both true and false stories (*probra*) about each other (p. 205). Hungarians are horse-breeding people. They do not follow the vices of the Italians. As regards the Hungarian mind, they are rough, very free, and do not like to obey to anyone. Even in the parts occupied recently by the Turks, they have not given up hope of freedom.[7]

[7] Scholars were unable to find the primary sources of Barclay's knowledge concerning Hungary—beside of the well known handbooks. It is unlikely that he ever visited the Hungarian Kingdom. The

From page 207, there follows a short description of the Adriatic coast, mentioning the then-current wars between the Ottoman Empire, Venice, Austria, and Hungary. Polonia is a flat country (from the Scythian language: *pole* "flat land"—p. 208). She has a continental climate, does not have many stone houses, and especially for the noblemen, freedom means the highest value. Her eastward neighbour is Russia, where the ruler is the prince of Moscovy, who earned that name from the town Mosc/um/. The common people there are born to slavery, and they feel comfortable living in the yoke. (*Servituti gens nata, ad omne libertatis vestigium ferox est...*—p. 213). They also send the immigrants into serfdom. Very few persons can read and their knowledge is much limited. At the end of Chapter VIII (pp. 217–223), there are brief comments on the Crimea, the Baltic, the original homeland of the Germans, and a short description of Norway (*Norvegia*). Denmark and Sweden are mentioned, but there is no sentence about the Finns.

The first part of the relatively long chapter (X) deals with the "wild" Turks. Their history is explained in the chapter, including such events as the capture of Constantinople, Beograd, and Buda, and the battle at Mohács (1526), which terminated the existence of the independent Hungarian Kingdom (p. 228). The author describes the kidnapping of children from the Balkans for Ottoman military schools, and discrimination against Christians. The mind of the Turks is rustic and depressive. They do deserve, however, freedom and dignity, of which they do not want to achieve. (*Turcis enim rustica ac demissa indoles, neque digna libertate, quam non curant vindicare*—p. 232). They do not consider any science that is not in accordance with the Koran. Most people are afraid of being poisoned; and position in common offices can be obtained by money or treachery. Sex with young boys—especially among warriors and princes—is not regularly punished. The rulers are the military leaders. The bodyguards of the ruler (*quos Janissarios vocant*) are well trained and they decide also the inner conflicts of the state (p. 243). Then follows a detailed description of the various Turkish military service branches and there are references to the Crusades. The actual military situation under Sultan Ahmed (ruled 1590–1617) is described *in extenso*, including his political dealings with Transylvania, Hungary, and Austria. This kind of interest of the author in specific contemporary events is unusual in his book.

The Jews, mentioned in the title of the same chapter, are described succinctly on pages 253–254. There the main question is whether the Jews are like other Oriental peoples (such as the Turks, who also practice circumcision) or more like the Christians? It is a well-known fact, says Barclay, Jews live in Diaspora among all other peoples, and with mixed habits.

In the second half of the book, in the seven synthetic chapters (X–XVI) Barclay is not giving a summary of the previous descriptive chapters, but he constructs

---

Papal court in Rome gave extraordinary possibility of getting information from all parts of Europe.

clever essays of the above-mentioned topics: such as body and soul; accidental and general typologies of behavior; the sure and vain aspirations of man; good and bad rulers; ruling groups and institutions; the origins, means, and aims of education of the citizens; institutions, religion, faith, superstition, etc. In these synthetic chapters, the author does not repeat or summarize the previous chapters, nor does he give simple, synoptic, or didactic comparisons. The tranquil style of the synthetic chapters is faultless. Barclay mentions sometimes the famous persons of antiquity, and sometimes refers to his contemporaries, e.g., he characterizes the Hungarian king of Poland (Stephanus Báthory, Grand Duke of Transylvania 1571–1586, King of Poland 1575–1586) as a "rare type" of the generally accepted "good ruler," who was serving not himself, but his country (*Pauci cum Polonorum rege, Stephano Battorio, quid agant, non ex se, sed ex salute patriae, metiuntur*—p. 329). While speaking about the different ways of interpretation of religious doctrines, Barclay contrasts the Ottoman versus the Persian way of the Islamic faith (*Eiusmodi interpretum lites Ottomanorum gentem multo acerbius diversitate superstitionis, quam aemulatione imperii, in Persas incenderunt*—pp. 390–391). Juxtaposing thus the Shiites and Sunnis, and calling their religion "superstition," Barclay is saved from expressing his probably similar relativistic view concerning Catholics and Protestants in Europe.

The characterization of nations and peoples is given only in the descriptive chapters. We have already observed that the construction of such chapters is similar, but there are important differences both in the order of the themes and in the style and topics of the descriptions.

In each chapter we first learn about the geographic situation, with special emphasis on the "open accessibility" of the country (especially to sea or ocean). The same issue returns when import and export of goods, trade, commerce, and industry are treated. Then the climate is described, which for Barclay is an important fact, although it does not fully determine the ways of life of a country. The same could be said about the history. It gives essential background information but it does not explain the actual situation of a country. Barclay mentions some contemporary events, but he does not mention, e.g., the exploration of the New World, or the events of the Reformation. The exception is Turkish imperial ambitions under Sultan Ahmed, which is described at length. Language is not treated as a major factor for the *indoles* in Barclay's chapters. He does not always mention the actual language used in one country. Barclay explains that the different groups of Germans belong to the same group linguistically, but fails to say it e.g. about the Italians, Spanish, or French. We can conclude then, that geography, climate, history, and language are pre-distinctive features in Barclay's systematization.

As a political philosopher, Barclay pays more attention to political features. He describes the forms of the states, the rank of the rulers, and the feudal rank system. He contrasts the local and central power systems of the various countries. The more or less importance of regionality is shown, but it does not seem to make a vital

difference in Barclay's thoughts about the operations of the states. Of course, he refers to wars and soldiers, too, even in terms of the peoples' attitude toward horses, weapons, battles, etc.

Thus, although politics appears as a distinctive feature in Barclay's work, it still is not elaborated into a full comparison of European countries and their institutions.

Some topics become recurrent motifs, in Barclay's chapters. To the modern reader, it is surprising that he describes so often attitudes toward foreigners, visitors, immigrants, *peregrini,* etc., in the different countries. Another preoccupation is the "attitude to freedom" of the citizens as an important theme in every chapter. Barclay is not biased in this respect. He rejects Russian or Turkish despotism, but does not hail e.g. Polish or Hungarian individualism either. Some topics, such as the importance of arts, sciences, and philosophy are mentioned only in some chapters. It is interesting to notice that drinking habits are more often described than eating habits. From his statements, we may suppose Barclay might have been a friend of wine rather than of beer or strong liquors. Diseases or epidemics are mentioned only in a few cases. The level and effectiveness of medical and law services is also outside the author's concern.

Those topics are without doubt over-distinctive features in describing European cultures. It would be easy to make a matrix about the different cultures, just by putting together the remarks by Barclay. But he was not thinking of such a systematization or characterization of the Europeans.

In *Icon Animorum,* the major term for the "mind" of Europeans is expressed as "*indoles et mores.*" It often occurs both in the chapters and in their titles. But it is not simple to decipher the correct meanings of these words. Both Latin nouns have complicated semantics. *Indoles* means "nature, characteristic feature, capacity, ability, tendency," and *mores* can be translated as "habit, custom, tradition, behaviour, way of life," etc. It would be easy to say that Barclay thus contrasts the general *indoles* with individual *mores.* In fact he is using both words in a looser way, and not always in opposition. In Chapter II, the term *genius* "spirit" occurs, and the title of Chapter VII is "*De Hispanorum genio ac moribus,*" but in Chapter XII *animus* is the term used. In the title of the entire book, we find another combination of two nouns: *icon* and *animus.* "Icon" in this case means "description" or "general description"; "animus" can be rendered as "mind"—another vague term indeed.

Why did Barclay not formalize his descriptions of the Europeans? Why did he not make a matrix, showing comparisons of individual/common characteristics? It is easy to give a quick answer to those questions: Barclay did not want to make a system of European features of culture, for his aim was to show the countries of the continent in their complexity. He was a forerunner in the field of political science; only today do we see him also as a forerunner in ethnic characterization and cultural semiotics.

As far as I know there appeared only one polemic publication against Barclay's characterization. The Polish magnate and political writer, Łukasz Opaliński (1612–

1666), Court Marshal of the Crown (since 1650) published a pamphlet (*Polonia Defensa contra Ioan. Barclaivm, Vbi, occasione ista, de Regno Genteque Polona multa narrantur, hactenus litteris non tradita*—Dantisci/Danzig/Gdańsk, 1648, 138 pp.—the author's name is not mentioned on the title page) in which the author corrects the errors of Barclay, as regards Polish matters. Opaliński was educated first in Poznań, then also at the University of Leuven, the University of Orleans, the University of Strasbourg, and the University of Padua, and accumulated thus a practical comparative view on several European countries. He not only refuses the biased remarks (*calumniam & opprobrium gentis nostrae*) concerning the "non-European" characteristics, but corrects all "mistakes." (E.g. Poland is not a "flat" country, there are mountains; in the country there lives not one kind of bee, but two kinds of bees, etc.). Opaliński refutes Barclay's view that Polish people are "savage and licentious, speaking of liberty"—saying that Scots are equally "savage." "*Ferociam ad Scotos jam ablegavi, agnitam ab ipso Barclaio. De libertatis apud nos modo & statu, dicam infra. Nunc vero legem, qua nos barbaros facit, a calumnia vindicabo*" (Ibidem p. 79).

This is a typical word-fencing! And of course similar opinions might arise in every nation in Europe, dissatisfied with the critical remarks by Barclay. But I do not know of other cases in published form. Barclay did not reply to Opaliński either.

As for the later generations' influence of the *Icon Animorum,* we should say
36 that from the eighteenth century onward, the comparative description of European peoples became very popular, particularly in the area of ethnic stereotypes.[8] Barclay's book is not a direct source for those works. A new German edition (*Johann Barklai's Gemälde der menschlichen Charaktere nach Verschiedenheit der Alter, Zeiten, Länder, Individuen und Städte. Mit geschichtlichen Nachweisungen von Anton Weddige Pastor zu Lippborg*, Münster, 1821) was serving the new, post-Napoleonic interest in European character. A later French book[9] follows the same way. The nineteenth-twentieth century modern books on "Europeans," as e.g. by Hermann Graf Keyserling (*Europas Zukunft* 1918, *Das Spektrum Europas* 1928, in English translation: *Europe* 1928) or by Salvador de Madariaga (*Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards* 1928), in which the Englishman is classified as *l'homme de l'action,* the Frenchman as *l'homme de pensée,* and the Spaniard as *l'homme de passion,* may be closer to Barclay's views. (See also de Madariaga's later summary: *Europe. The Unit of Human Culture* 1952) But they do not refer to Barclay. From the number of copies kept today in Hungarian libraries (see ill. 1,2) we admit that Barclay's book was directly known in Hungary (at least) until the nineteenth century.

Because of the limits of my paper I am not going here into details about the *Völkerpsychologie* by Wilhelm Wundt (second, enlarged edition in ten volumes, Leipzig, 1912–1921), or the problems of psychological characterology, which may

---

[8] See e.g. Brand 1700 (It is a desk painting from Steiermark).

[9] Colignon 1906.

deserve a special study.[10] In my essay I wanted only to call attention to an important early modern Latin work, which fits very well into our actual interests during the early years of the extended European Union.

It is an interesting fact that one of the early builders of the "New Europe" after World War II, Julian Huxley gave a short but positive evaluation of Barclay's book, placing him more favorably above than the modern idea of innate inferiority of certain "races" in the work of the French Count Joseph de Gobineau (*Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* 1853–1855).

Huxley quotes some passages from Barclay's derogatory remarks about the English and the Germans.[11] They are very similar to some ethnic stereotypes of today. Barclay being part Scot and part French naturally distributes his favours between these two peoples, who fairly divide the virtues, and leave few over for the others. Thus, according to him, the English are gluttons and their lower classes puffed up with pride and, *horribile dictu*!, even with wealth. ... As for the Germans, they are one and all "infected with a wonderful love of drinking," a habit which impressed Barclay immensely. Moreover, they "hate all kinds of subtlety, either because they themselves, loosened by drink, cannot firmly keep a secret in, or because their minds in such coarse bodies know themselves to be dull and are ever suspicious of the subtleties of others as bent against them and aiming to overreach them." ... As for learning among the Germans, Barclay assures us that "they write more than they read; and value their reputations by the number and greatness of the volumes which they publish in print. Their wits, as they are dark and dull, so are they strong to endure endless toil." He generously allows, however, that Germans are less given to treachery, deceitful cunning, or lust than some that he could name and that they possess also some positive virtues.

I hope the recent French edition of Barclay's work: *Jean Barclay Le Tableau des esprits* (Edition, annotation et introduction par Paulette Choné et Sylvia Taussig, Turnhout 2010) may revitalize the interest in his book.

The main topic of our conference was "representation of east-central and south-eastern Europeans in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century," Barclay's book differs from it in two respects. Firstly his geographic horizon is broader: including western Europe. But he speaks about central and eastern Europeans as well. Secondly as regards the time period, Barclay's book is today 400 years old, representing seventeenth century absolutism.[12] But if we want to understand the ethnic/national stereotypes of yesterday and today, we should look back to earlier sources as well. Barclay's book does not contain illustrations. It could be

---

[10] Summarizing work of the psychological approach to ethnic character: Grieger 1961.

[11] Huxley, Haddon, Carr-Saunders 1935: 57–8 (I used the 1939 edition in Pelican Books series).

[12] It is superfluous to mention that during his lifetime Barclay was accepted by the "highest" circles in philology, philosophy, and other social sciences—in spite of the fact that he was never a university professor or diplomat.

very difficult to adjust drawings to his theoretical statements.[13] Instead of pictures of everyday scenes he gives meditative references. Some features of his characterization may have served as models for some pictures, but his system of thinking was the main ingredient that has influenced the European mind. To my best knowledge in this direct and indirect way Barclay's book is an unparalleled rich expression of predecessors of the topic "the Image of the European Mind," in other words an early expression of "*compréhension des peuples.*" With his remarks on climate and geography, political system and commerce, education, and everyday life, Barclay is one of the important forerunners of "comparative European studies."[14] His other works have influenced European thinking for centuries.[15] His *Icon Animorum* gathered less attention; nevertheless it marks the place of the author in European characterology.

References

Becker Ph. A. 1903, Johann Barclay, 1582–1621, *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte,* Neue Folge, Band XV, Berlin, pp. 33–118.

Brand A. (around 1700), *Characterisierung der europäischen Völker,* Wien.

Colignon A. 1906, *Le Portrait des Esprits (Icon Animorum) de Jean Barclay,* Nancy.

Dukas J. 1880, *Étude bibliographique et littéraire sur le Satyricon de Jean Barclay,* Paris.

Griéger P. 1961, *La caractérologie ethnique. Approche et compréhension des peuples,* Paris.

Lord Hailes (David Dalrymple) s. d., *Sketch of the Life of John Barcklay,* s. l.

Huxley J. S., Haddon A. C., Carr-Saunders A. M. 1939, *We Europeans. A Survey of "Racial" Problems,* Harmondsworth.

Irving D. 1839, *John Barclay* [in:] *Lives of Scottish Writers* vol. I, Edinburgh, pp. 371–384.

Schulze W. 1994, *Die Entstehung des nationalen Vorurteils. Zur Kultur der Wahrnehmung fremder Nationen in der europäischen Frühen Neuzeit* [in:] Schulze W. (ed.) *Sozialgeschichte. Alltagsgeschichte, Mikro-Historie. Eine Diskussion,* Göttingen, pp. 23–49.

---

[13] The re-editions or translations do not give pictures either—except for a common frontispiece.

[14] See one of the rare direct references to Barclay's *Icon Animorium,* with very rich (and up to date) references to the topic: Schulze 1994: 24.

[15] See—among other publications—the bibliography by Dukas 1880.





Frontispiece and title page of the 1675 Frankfurt edition of Barclay's *Icon Animorum*.
Two persons, an ugly humpback and a handsome young man, gaze into a mirror.
The Latin inscription (*Suum quique* 'to each his own') was a popular saying from the Antiquity. The engraving is signed at the bottom corner: J. P. Thelott (?) f/ecit/.
On the tree there is the publisher's device with the saying
HIS STANTIBVS OMNIA RIDENT.
In the central part of the title page one finds the possessor's mark:
"Inscriptus Catalogo Collegii Tyrnaviensis Societatis Jesu 1726."
The book is to be found today in the Library of Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest), the successor of the Jesuit University of Nagyszombat/Trnava. In the same library we find more copies of Barclay's book. ELTE EK KRNYO (Bar 09161). Courtesy of the Library. (Identification by Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, Melinda Simon and Vilmos Voigt).

ill. 1–2

Ildikó Sz. Kristóf

Domesticating Nature, Appropriating Hierarchy: The Representation of European and Non-European Peoples in an Early-Nineteenth-Century Schoolbook of Natural History

Certain periods in the history of concepts and representations bore more relevance than others to the discourse of the sciences *par excellence* of "The Other," that is, ethnography, ethnology, and anthropology. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a considerable reception of western European ideas took place in the Kingdom of Hungary and, more broadly, in the east-central European region. These ideas seem to have been connected closely to the emergence of the above-mentioned sciences. The present study results from ongoing research of a broader, but closely related, subject. My interests have long been in the development of knowledge about non-European indigenous peoples—especially those of the western hemisphere, and the channels of communication (human as well as instrumental media) by means of which this knowledge was transferred to Hungary during the early modern–modern period.

This knowledge has never existed independently of time and the sociocultural microcontext in which it was born and/or was received, and which also shaped its form and meaning. The Kingdom of Hungary and the Habsburg monarchy (Holy Roman Empire until 1806) to which it was related in various political formations from the late seventeenth century up until 1919 did not have any overseas colonies, so notions about the indigenous inhabitants of faraway continents have arrived here mostly by travelers' accounts, peregrinating students' knowledge gathered at foreign (mostly western European) universities, and, no less importantly, translations and adaptations of foreign (mostly western European) books. Among the latter, schoolbooks on natural history constituted an important channel of ideas and images conveying what may be called a *(pre-)ethnographical knowledge,* especially during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. As I have emphasized in an earlier article, scholars from different western European countries have pursued exciting research relating to the overlapping fields of natural history and the history of ethnography/anthropology, and they have also made important efforts to review critically their own colonial past as well as the political-epistemological history of their sciences. In the east-central European region, such initiatives have, however,

been rare.[1] It was within such considerations that I started investigating the central archives and libraries of Hungary a couple of years ago and looking especially for books of natural history and geography in them that were published in the old Kingdom of Hungary during the early modern–modern period. One of the most important results of that research was to find that, not only specific knowledge about non-European indigenous peoples, but more generally concepts about human society and social evolution had arrived in east-central Europe to a great extent by adaptations of works originating in foreign cultural centers, like those of France, Great Britain, and/or the German principalities (Sz. Kristóf 2011, 2012a, 2012b and 2012c).

In the following, I am going to discuss a book that conveyed a similar knowledge to the eastern/east-central European region, and whose visual and textual contents relating to sociocultural stereotypes formed of Us, that is, eastern Europe itself, had contributed possibly to the representation of Otherness in our region around the turn of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth century. I started examining this work earlier, aiming those studies mostly at a western European and a specifically Hungarian audience (Sz. Kristóf 2011 and 2012b). Publishing a greater number of images and providing a broader and, in some respects, more detailed analysis of the book as a whole, I would like to introduce it this time to an *east-central European* scholarly readership with the admitted intention of looking for partners for a future, multilateral cooperation in which to continue its research.

A series of concepts have emerged from my previous studies that appear useful for the elaboration of a more advanced methodology of research for the analysis of illustrated books, as the book in question was. These concepts relate closely to the topic currently in focus, namely "visual encounters with alterity," and some of the possible ways of its complex—textual/visual/social and, at the same time, historical, and anthropological—investigation. I have gathered those concepts together, and it is according to them that I am going to structure what follows. These concepts may provide some clues for a more general methodology of studying the phenomenon of visual Othering in a textual context, what is manifest in the case of illustrated texts, such as scientific books, schoolbooks, newspapers with drawings, and caricatures.

The medium of the encounter

The first concept I propose relates to the place/very spot of "visual encounter with alterity." One always should see very clearly where/in what kind of sources/media one identifies that encounter and how the particular source/medium itself affects its representation.

In my case, it is a schoolbook, a late-eighteenth-century illustrated German

---

[1] For example, Thomas 1994; Jardine-Secord-Spary 1996; Spary 2000; Schiebinger-Swan 2005; Cañizares-Esguerra 2006; Ogilvie 2006 and Mason 2009. For important beginnings in Hungary, see Fejős-Pusztai (eds.) 2008, and *Korall Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat* 2006, vol. 26 (Utazók és utazások). See also Sz. Kristóf 2011.

schoolbook, which was translated three times into Hungarian and was published throughout the early nineteenth century in three different cities in the Kingdom of Hungary. Originally it was entitled *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* (Natural History for Children) and was published in 1778 by Georg Christian Raff, a professor of history and geography in the grammar school in Göttingen (Lower Saxony).[2] This was not Raff's only work of importance: he also published a huge, two-volume *Geographie für Kinder* (Geography for Children) in 1776 in the same town.[3] From the point of view of visuality, however, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* was, and still is, outstanding. The ordinarily one-volume book aimed at elementary- and secondary-level education, contains fourteen to fifteen copperplates of page size, and the plates show a great number of plants, animals, and human beings from the different parts of the world. The visual as well as textual order and structure according to which the images have been sorted out deserves special attention, since they reveal much about the interpretive—scientific and representational—tradition of late Classicism/Enlightenment, as well as Romanticism in western Europe, that has found its way to eastern Europe as well.

Distribution and popularity

The second concept that I propose concerns the extent and importance of *distribution*. How widely has the studied manifestation of "visual encounter" been spread by its medium; *how popular* could it have become?

In the case of Raff's schoolbook, we find an exceptionally large and widespread distribution. As I have discussed elsewhere, the schoolbook had several reeditions, translations, and adaptations inside as well as outside the German-speaking world. Apart from its German and Hungarian versions, it had English, French, and Danish, and also Austrian, Slaveno-Serbian, and Russian adaptations; and it has reached the North American continent (to my current knowledge, the state of Ohio), too (Sz. Kristóf 2011: 311 and Cazden 1998: 57–77). It may have had, however, many other editions, translations, and adaptations in eastern/east-central Europe that I am not aware of yet (for example, Slovak, Czech, Polish, and Croatian editions). The adaptations that I did come across—such as the Austrian (Vienna 1785 and 1791), Slavonic-Serbian (Buda 1809), and Russian (St Petersburg 1785 and 1796)—have not been studied in the light of the others yet, though highly exciting textual/cultural comparisons could be made even among the already found different versions (Sz. Kristóf 2011: 328–329, note 39). I would suggest that a large-scale international archival-philological work should

---

[2] For the different editions of the schoolbook see Sz. Kristóf 2011.

[3] Raff (1748–1788) worked as a private lecturer and deputy headmaster (*Konrektor*) at the gymnasium (*Lyceum*) in Göttingen. For details of his life and work, see Kunze 1976: 131–135; Doderer 1979: 119–120; and Te Heesen 2002: 47, 75, and 78–79.

be done to explore the true dimensions of the geographical distribution of Raff's texts and images.[4]

(Morphological/structural) invariability

The third concept that I would like to emphasize is (morphological) *invariability.* Visual stereotypes, as products of the printing press, seem to have a very long life and, accordingly, a long-lasting impact on their readers'/viewers' minds. One can think of certain *feedback* effects, too, functioning in the background. In order to be recognizable for the readers/viewers, visual stereotypes need to stay constant, fixed, for a certain period of time.

The editions of Raff's schoolbook contained—preserved—indeed the *same* images from Göttingen to Glasgow and Paris, or to Vienna and Kassa (Košice, today in Slovakia), and so on. The engravings show a basic similarity in *structure and matter* for more than half of a century, that is, until the last editions of the schoolbook around the middle of the nineteenth century, and that independently of the place of edition.[5] Smaller changes, modifications, did occur during the process of the reproduction of the images (re-drawings, re-cuts after pre-existing models), but I dare to claim that the different editions of Raff's schoolbook have conveyed the *same elementary ideas of the order of nature and human society* from the western corners of Europe (London and Edinburgh 1796; Amsterdam 1793; Paris and Strasbourg 1786; and so on) to its central and easternmost parts (Sz. Kristóf 2011: 325–327). It seems to have been one of the most important schoolbooks of natural history in that enormous region of Europe until about the middle of the nineteenth century, so the system of the classification of the world that it communicated in a fixed and constant order for decades had indeed the opportunity to impose itself upon the minds of masses of students (and teachers/professors) all over that area.

The importance of Raff's *Naturgeschichte,* specifically for us east-central European researchers lies in the fact that the representations that it provided of Us, that is, east-central European peoples, are inscribed, as I will discuss later, in a much broader context. It is a characteristic *symbolic geography* as well as *historical-political philosophy* of the late eighteenth century that shaped the representation of all the peoples—and plants and animals, and so on—occurring in it. And this geography

---

[4] The schoolbook has become so popular in western Europe that the surname of its author started representing the genre itself in the German territories, and so it entered the international catalogues of natural history, too. Philipp Jacob Beumer's *Der Kleine Raff, oder, Vater Gotthold's Unterhaltungen mit Seinen Kindern über die Reiche der Natur* (Wesel 1841) is included, for example, in the *Bibliographia* of Louis Agassiz (Agassiz 1848: 278). See also Kunze 1976: 131–135 and Doderer 1979: 120.

[5] As to my knowledge, Raff's schoolbook was published in the German territories until 1861. As for the Kingdom of Hungary, it was popular during almost fifty years, the period between 1799 and 1846 (Sz. Kristóf 2011: 312, note 9, and 323). Images published here are Courtesy of National Széchenyi Library, Budapest.

and philosophy penetrated well into the nineteenth century with the long-lasting translations and adaptations of the schoolbook.

Intended messages, implied readings

In order to approach the textual-visual world of Raff, let me propose another concept, and that from the research methodology of the French "cultural history of reading" (*histoire culturelle de la lecture*). What are the *intended messages* or *implied readings* of texts and images included in a printed book? As it has been proposed by Roger Chartier, a leading figure of the French approach to reading as a specific sociocultural practice of sense-making, those messages or readings would represent the authors' and/or the editors' intentions concerning a certain kind of reception of their products. The intended messages or readings may be hidden both in the text and the physical form of the book, its paratexts (e.g., footnotes), and the content, iconographical execution, and layout (arrangement, order, etc.) of its images, and also in the particular conditions and circumstances of the publication of the work as a whole (Chartier 1987; 1989a; 1989b and 1992).

What kind of a "visual encounter with alterity" was provided in/made possible by Raff's schoolbook? At whom exactly was it aimed? How old or, for that matter, how modern were the classification of the world and the relating visual imagery belonging to it?

Let us start with the intended readership. Aiming at children of "every kind," as the preface of the schoolbook says, "rich and poor, capable and incapable of learning, diligent or idle, younger or older, five, or ten years of age or even older," the schoolbook was intended to be used both at elementary and higher levels of education, and in the German territories it has become indeed one of the most well known works on natural history for young students in the second half of the eighteenth century (Te Heesen 2002: 75, 78). As it is testified by the different translations, this kind of intended readership did not seem to have changed considerably through the various editions and adaptations.[6]

The classification of the world that Raff's schoolbook contained and the imagery depicting it was, in many of its aspects, quite modern. As I had the opportunity to discuss it elsewhere, it was founded on the classifications of two great scholars of the age: that of the Swedish surgeon and botanist Carl Linnaeus, on the one hand, whose *Systema naturae* had several editions and translations all over Europe from

[6] The subsequent German reeditions as well as the first Hungarian translation preserved this recommendation almost word for word (Raff 1799). The Dutch edition mentioned school children between 6 and 11 years of age (Raff 1789); the French edition spoke of *des enfans ... depuis l'âge où ils peuvent savoir lire couramment et même commencent à raisonner* (Raff 1786: 12); and the English edition, omitting the whole original German preface (just like the Dutch and the French editors had) although not specifying the age of its most preferred readers, aimed at "the young" and "those who need instructions from books" (Raff 1796, vol. 1: v.). For the details of those western European editions see Sz. Kristóf 2011: 325–329.

1735 on (Koerner 1999) and that of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach, a German surgeon and professor in the University of Göttingen, on the other, whose *De generis humani varietate nativa* (1775) and *Allgemeine Naturgeschichte* (1779) became highly influential at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Blumenbach 2005).

Raff's own classification—just like that of Linnaeus or Blumenbach—has been founded, however, on a much older, tripartite division of the world according to which every being could be ordered into one of the three "kingdoms" or "countries" of nature: animals, plants, minerals (Feuerstein-Herz 2007) The place of Man seemed, however, either completely distinct or rather elusive in this division. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors did not necessarily include a discussion of human beings—a topic held to belong rather to theology and/or the competency of theologians for a long time—in their *historia naturalis* (Feuerstein-Herz 2007). Raff, and especially the two (secular) authors that he relied on, did, and this was an important moment in late-eighteenth-century scientific thinking. Though not making a distinct "kingdom" or "country" in themselves, human beings came to belong with Linnaeus, Blumenbach, and Raff—to *nature*, and more or less to the "kingdom" of animals. Humans were said to dominate the latter as well as the other "kingdoms" of nature. They have formed, as Raff says—with Blumenbach—as distinct an "order" (*Ordnung, rend, classe, class,* etc.) as all the other natural beings.

Raff's description of the various peoples belonging to the human order, and their further division was not, however, systematic. It was based rather randomly on such categories as skin color, height, and climatic and territorial distribution that have been in use in European scientific thinking for centuries. Altogether, Raff's description of Man seems to have been based upon Linnaeus to a greater extent than upon the more meticulous classification of the peoples of the world provided in the works of Blumenbach.[7] In about the middle of the chapter on "the history of Man," for example, Raff devoted long paragraphs to the "wild men" and "wild women," that is, human children having been apparently lost or kidnapped and later raised, as it was thought, by animals. According to the schoolbook, plenty of such "feral

[7] Raff does not seem to have taken over Blumenbach's division of humankind in its details, although the latter's *De generis humani varietate nativa* came out in 1775 in Göttingen, that is, three years before the first publication of Raff's schoolbook in 1778. It is worth emphasizing, however, that the basic categories of peoples discussed in the chapter on Man and shown in the pictures do seem to correlate with those of Blumenbach. The latter distinguished altogether *five races* (Caucasian, Asian, Malay, African, and American), while Raff spoke of, as well as represented in the images, altogether *five "peoples."* These "men," (or "Menschen," "Leute," "Völker," "hommes," "peuples," "emberek," "népek" [in Hungarian]) are described as being attached to certain geographical regions with populations showing different *external characteristics* (hair as well as skin color). Raff distinguished European, north or continental Asian, east or island Asian, African, and American peoples, and in this sense his schoolbook conveyed and popularized a division of humankind that was similar to, although not entirely identical with, that of Blumenbach.

children" have been found in the forests in different parts of Europe—cases from Hessen, Lithuania, and from Ireland, Holland, Spain, and France are mentioned from the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The inclusion of such miraculous beings, human "wonders" in the schoolbook also would suggest that in his account of the "history of Man," Raff drew much more on the works of the Swedish scholar whose concepts regarding "feral children" and "feral men" (*Homo sapiens ferus*) were well known in the age—and heavily criticized by, among others, Blumenbach himself.[8]

Raff's *Naturgeschichte* could contribute enormously to the diffusion of new—as well as some old-fashioned—ideas of nature (and of humans included in it), by its numerous editions both in western as well as eastern Europe. This, however, is only a part of the story. Let us see even closer what was represented in the schoolbook and how.

a. Project(s) of reading, projects of interpretation

Raff and his engravers also have invented certain subgroupings or clusters of items inside of the "kingdoms" or "countries" of nature. They have created certain micro-scenes and represented them as genre pictures in the plates attached to the schoolbook, which they most probably thought more attractive and understandable for children than Linnaeus's sophisticated division and dry Latin taxonomy. These microscenes, as I have shown elsewhere (Sz. Kristóf 2011: 313-319), have been arranged in a particular way, and Raff has given instructions in the preface, as well as scattered throughout the main text, for how to imagine this order, how to learn and teach from the book, that is, how to read it. The different scenes were to be imagined along a straight line, a *linear itinerary* leaving out of a center and crossing different "worlds" (subgroups or scenes) that have been arranged in concentric circles. In the very center of these circles there was The House (of the reader/viewer), represented—so far as can be judged from the picture of silkworm breeding (Plate III, middle section [ills. 3 and 3a])—in a basic, stereotyped "European" way. Moving linearly away from it, the "Little Traveler," as the child or student reader was often called in the text, penetrated first the world of *vicinity,* that is, the well known, domestic world, such as the Garden (Plate III, upper and lower sections [ill. 4]); the (Court)yard (Plate IX, middle section [ill. 5]); the Cultivated land and the Meadow (Plate VI, middle and upper sections [ill. 6]); the Pasture (Plate V, middle section [ill. 8]); and the Lake (Plate V, lower section). Then he arrived to the *world of faraway*, that is, the wild, lesser known regions: the Forest (Plate VII, middle section); the East and the North of Europe; the sea/ocean (Plate XI, middle section [ill. 7]); and finally other continents.

[8] For Blumenbach's refutation of "feral men" as a distinct species of *Homo sapiens* that would relate humans closely to animals as well as his criticism of Linnaeus, see his *Of the Difference of Man From Other Animals* in Blumenbach 2005: 163–166.

What is revealed by the images of the plates and the relating texts is an *imaginary landscape,* an *imaginary geography.* Its order and structure may not have been so rigid and fixed as I have outlined here, but it was undoubtedly intended to organize the direction of reading and the process of learning for the students as well as their professors.

While the overall order of the plates seems to follow Linnaeus's system of classification of nature, the particular visual subdivisions or microscenes show up immediately, so from the beginning to the end (from Table I to Table XIV) the structures of another order also unfold. The reader/viewer finds himself/herself contemplating representations of a world geography, the plates conveying stereotyped representations of the inhabited world. The reader encounters images that evoke China, the east-Indian (Spice) islands (Plate I), Middle and North America (Plate II), and then, rather randomly, western Europe (Plate III), the European "East" (Plate VIII), "North" (Plate IX), and Africa (plates X and XVI). The instructions of the preface as well as the introductory passages to certain subsections of Linnaeus's classification of plants and animals contain explicit instructions of, or indicate implicitly, how to move from the immediate, more familiar surroundings and regions to the faraway and unknown ones.

What the whole procedure reveals is an implied—well-structured and apparently prefigured—*topographical/geographical* project of reading.[9] The principal message toward which the reader has been lead is that the process of gaining knowledge about nature and society is nothing else but a *journey.* Reading the schoolbook—that is, reading, to use another age-old metaphor of *historia naturalis*, the "book of nature"—was represented iconographically as well as textually for the young students of late Enlightenment Europe as an *imaginary travel of discovery* in Raff's schoolbook, during the course of which a proper knowledge of things could be achieved and a (scientific) *re-grouping, re-naming*, and a new, scholarly *re-categorization* of the entities of nature encountered could be accomplished. This was probably one of the most important "intended/implied messages" of the schoolbook, embedded in the rise of the culture of travel and exploration during the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth centuries.[10]

---

[9] For details of the author's conscious geographical method in the teaching of natural history, see especially the introduction to "Pflanzenreich." The preface to the French translation itself emphasizes a very close connection between the instruction of natural history and geography; the latter following the former in time but also *emerging* from it: "En passant des productions indigènes aux productions exotiques, on sent assez combien il est aisé de faire naître aux enfans le desir de savoir la *géographie*, première disposition toujours nécessaire" (emphasis added; Raff 1786: 38.) On the idea of gradual progress and stadiality implied in late-eighteenth-century concepts of pedagogy and learning, see Te Heesen 2002: 47.

[10] Regarding the eighteenth-century travel boom and the emerging travel literature and culture in western Europe, see Marshall and Williams 1982; Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 2004; and Bohls and Duncan 2005. An excellent collection of studies on early modern-modern travel as a cultural practice is Elsner and Rubiés 1999.

b. Visual strategies of Othering

By what kind of images did this message—this particular reading—convey to students and professors alike? The geographical representations of the schoolbook seem to have been designed to provide the readers/viewers with particular *visual patterns* of the peoples of the world as well as the surrounding flora and fauna. A number of significant, what may be called, visual strategies of Othering functioned in the construction of those patterns. Let us see those that concerned human beings, that is, the different peoples.

Raff's geographical pictures reveal a certain Eurocentric approach in its rather western European manifestation. This kind of bias is perceptible both in the selection of the people represented as well as in the ways in which they are depicted. As for non-European peoples, there are two scenes that can be called "Asian." One shows a sitting Chinese character picking leaves from a tea bush and another scene depicts an east-Indian island native of dark skin climbing upon a fruit tree (Plate I, lower section [ills. 14 and 8a]). There are two "African" scenes. One shows a so-called Hottentot family of dark skin in the foreground of a landscape;[11] they wear only breechcloths, headbands, and some jewelry, and the viewer can also see their village made of simple huts (Plate XIV [ill. 11]). In the other scene one sees a rather simplified figure of an unidentifiable African native of black skin sitting on the back of a camel (Plate X, middle section [ill. 12]). There are two American scenes, too. One depicts a Central American slave of dark skin carrying a bunch of sugar canes, with a simple hut in the background, while the other picture (at least from the early-nineteenth-century editions on) shows a North American Indian woman wearing nothing but a short skirt and a necklace and carrying a piece of basketry. She has another, bigger basket of fish at her feet (Plate II, upper section [ill. 7a]).

The logic that is recognizable in this representation of "less developed" and "more developed" societies shown from the different continents—that is, that *certain societies are shown as less developed while others are shown as more developed*—is valid also for the representation of *Europe*. The image of silkworm breeding—two women and a young boy wearing standard European-style clothes of the late eighteenth century and working in a pavilion (Plate III, middle section; in the early-nineteenth-century editions they are to be found inside of an ordinary house [ills. 3 and 3a])—depicts the world of "home" for the readers/viewers, the most familiar scene with which the latter were expected to identify. Apart from that we find depictions of two non-western European peoples: the Lapp (Sami) people representing the "North" (Plate IX, lower section [ill. 9]), and the Poles representing the "East" (Plate VIII, middle section [ill. 10]). From the direction of the imagined home of

[11] The term "Hottentot" was applied loosely to South African indigenous peoples during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It referred more precisely to the Khoikhoi people. Raff's schoolbook used this term in a general sense, it did not give any indication of *which* of those peoples it aimed to represent.

the reader, both the Lapps and the Polish look like close aliens or inner Others in the same continent. In the Lapp scene (Plate IX, lower section [ill. 9]), two men are shown in the foreground of a "Nordic" landscape; one is standing, wearing elaborate fur clothes and holding a stick in his hand, while the other is sitting, a whip in his hand, in a triangle-shaped sleigh (the *pulka* of the Sami people) pulled by a reindeer. The Poles (Plate VIII, middle section [ill. 10]) are shown as two men in the forest: a younger and an older musician wearing peculiar clothes, long coats tied with a belt on their waists, playing trumpet-like musical instruments and having a big bear dance to the music. While the Lapp scene (together with its detailed textual description of the life of those reindeer keepers) was presented as an "accurate" ethnographical demonstration of those people living close to nature,[12] and the funny, joyful Polish scene—likewise putting its main characters out in nature—might contain an anecdote or tale belonging to it,[13] both people were presented as *strangers* in a Europe imagined, as it seems to have been, somewhere from its more industrialized, western corner. This corner has not, however, been defined any more closely.

The general Western gaze of Raff's schoolbook seems to have been founded on, and supported by, the use of a number of different, identifiable iconographical strategies of Othering present in the images. These visual strategies of representation were drawn upon in order to construct a visual Them as different from a—similarly constructed—visual Us. Although these strategies are well distinguishable from one another, they are present in the pictures rather simultaneously. Two, three, or more of them interpenetrate each another in the individual images. The first of such visual strategies is *simplification* and *uniformization,* that is, reducing the representation of the people (mostly of non-European indigenous people) to some basic features like dark skin and (almost) nakedness, wearing simple clothes like loin-cloths, short skirts, and so forth. The second strategy is *stereotypization* and *commonplacing*, that is, assigning certain activities to or features thought/proposed to be dominant

---

[12] The text relating to the reindeer—just like other passages in Raff's schoolbook—provides kind of a *micro-ethnographical* profile. It describes in detail how the geographical region looks like where the Lapps live, what sort of animals they raise, what a reindeer is like, and how those people make use of every part of the animal. The figure of the Lapp appears as commonplace in eighteenth century books of natural history. One finds striking similarities between Raff's profile of those Nordic people and, for example, that of Buffon in their attempt at describing meticulously the specificities of it as an *alien* culture. The different editions of Buffon focused not only on the various uses of the reindeer but also the peculiar shape and know-how of the *pulka* well into the nineteenth century (e.g., Buffon 1835: 73–78). Lapland had a special importance for Linnaeus himself. He took a journey there in 1732, published on its flora (*Flora Lapponica* 1737) and, in general, considered the Lapps an exotic, happy people, not less than "our teacher" (Koerner 1999: 56–81).

[13] Bear-dancing was a common visual stereotype attached to the eastern Slavic peoples in general in the age; one would associate it also with the Russians. The presence of this image in Raff's schoolbook testifies again to its cultural bias and generalizing-uniformizing efforts. It also singles out one of the printed media—*illustrated schoolbooks*—in which such visual stereotypes of ethnicity circulated all over Europe throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

among the people depicted. In the case of those European inner Others (among them, eastern Europeans), one such feature is an unusually close connection to the woods and some of its animals (bears, in the case of the Poles, and reindeer, in the case of the Lapps); while keeping camel (as well as smoking pipes) would characterize the Africans;[14] eating raw food (in the form of fruits to be gathered from trees), the "East-Indians"; producing tea and building pagodas, the Chinese; producing sugarcane and building very humble huts, the Central Americans (at least the black slaves); and—what may be surprising to find—fishing and basketry, the North American Indians.[15] Not unrelated to the second, the third strategy of representation used in the images of Raff is an explicit "nature-isation" of the human beings depicted. I borrow the expression—and appreciate the approach—of an excellent French historian of science, Claude Blanckaert, who defines what emerged as a new interpretation, a new epistemological field in the European sciences (especially in French geography and anthropology during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries) as an intellectual process of the "naturalisation de l'homme" (Blanckaert 2004, 667). Parallel to this new *épistémé*, "nature-isation" as a visual strategy appears as inserting those Others in characteristic scenes of nature, that is, showing them in the woods, next to trees, bushes, plants, and/or various animals.

The fourth strategy of representation is kind of an *ethnologization*, that is, showing the people of the world surrounded with pieces of their material culture, tools, instruments, clothes, livestock, buildings, carvings, and so on. This is what we see in the case of the Lapps, the American Indians, the "Hottentots," the Chinese, and so on, announcing the scope and the fields of interest of the emerging new sciences of ethnography and ethnology/anthropology all over Europe, which tend to seek more and more *empirical* knowledge and data and, also, more and more what is thought to be connected to it, *authenticity* and *archaism/primitiveness*.[16] The fifth visual strategy used in Raff's schoolbook is *gendering* which in this case means rep-

---

[14] Scenes showing smoking natives constitute a widely used stereotype in books of geography during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to represent *Oriental*—Arab, Turkish, and in general *African*—peoples, such as the "Hottentots" in Raff's schoolbook.

[15] A considerable historical distance separates Raff's rather *ethnographic* representation of American Indians from either the diabolized image of the Central American Indians known from Christian missionary discourse of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Sz. Kristóf 2012a and 2012b) or the exoticized, artificial cultural mixture of Karl May's Winneotu at the end of the nineteenth century. Raff's images resemble the naturalistic descriptions of American Indian life (especially that of northeastern North America) provided by late eighteenth century European travelers and, for that matter, the novels of James Fenimore Cooper. For stereotyping American Indians, see Sz. Kristóf 2011: 320, note 17.

[16] From the vast body of literature consisting of critical historiographies of Western anthropology, let me mention only a more recent as well as a classical work focusing on the emergence and the institutionalization of that science during the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries: Fulford, Lee, and Kitson 2004, and Stocking 1987. About the impact of the Enlightenment and especially Rousseau's ideas (primitivism and the idealization of indigenous peoples) on early anthropology, see During 1994.

resenting the majority of human beings—Us as well as Others—mostly as males rather than females. This kind of representation may have corresponded to one of the purposes of the schoolbook, namely, to address young *boys* rather than girls. As I have already pinpointed elsewhere, in every translation of the schoolbook that I could consult so far, the "Little Traveller" is represented as a boy, being referred to with forms of masculinity—"Mein Sohn," "Kleiner Mann," "édes Fiam," and "Fiatskáim" (in Hungarian; Sz. Kristóf 2011: 319). It seems that natural history as a science and travels of discovery as a social practice were expected and taught to be overwhelmingly male activities in the age.[17] This is another feature that does not seem to have changed throughout the time period and the different editions of Raff's schoolbook that I have studied. The North American Indian represented as a woman (Plate XIII; in nineteenth-century editions Plate II) is a peculiar exception, but it may go back to age-old iconographical conventions of representing the continents.[18] *Male-ing* the images may have been one of the means by which Raff and the designers of the book expected, and incited, the young readers to identify with the world presented in it. The schoolbook's stress on men in the depicted arts, activities of subsistence, industries, and sciences could, beyond being familiar for its readers, also confirm the existing gender hierarchy for them. In this respect, as well as in others, Raff's schoolbook contributed only to support the existing sociocultural order of late feudalism.

One would come to a similar conclusion if one considers the sixth and apparently all-embracing visual strategy of representation that implies another important layer of the intended messages of the schoolbook. I would call it *hierarchization* and/or *barbarization*, that is, ordering and representing the groups of Others according to the historical ideas that had been elaborated by the western European thinkers of the Enlightenment. If one takes a look at the *ensemble* of the geographical images of Raff, one soon realizes that it is more than—or something other than—geography that is represented in them.[19] I would argue that the pictures refer to "stages,"

---

[17] Despite the contribution of so many important women to science during the eighteenth century (Fara 2004; O'Brien 2009), elementary education was long penetrated by such a gendered image and ideology of a scientist in western as well as eastern Europe.

[18] The American continent seems to have been represented historically rather by female allegorical figures (see, e.g., McIntyre and Phillips 2007, 249, and Day 2010; for male figures see Stagl 1995: 162–170).

[19] The representation of South America and the whole area of Oceania is entirely missing from the images and so are important details even of the depicted parts of the world. The first German edition of the schoolbook (Göttingen 1778) came out toward the end of James Cook's three consecutive voyages in the area (1768–1779) and one year before his death in Hawaii during the third journey. Was it too early for the existing contemporary accounts of these voyages to Tahiti, New Zealand, New South Wales (then Tonga), South America (Tierra del Fuego), and Hawaii to make their impact on the schoolbook's concept of geography? Cook's *Voyage Towards the South Pole* was published in 1777 just like George Forster's account, while Johann Reinhold Forster's *Observations* came out in 1778 (Williams 2004). And why did not some of the earlier travelogues on the Cook expedition (like those of Hawkesworth

"stades," or "grades" of the kind of hierarchical and linear history that, for so many philosophers of the Enlightenment, implied the hypothesis of a universal—and *stadial*—way of development of the human societies of the world. This theory held that human societies would advance through gradual steps of evolution that had been thought to be the same for each of them. They start as "savages," that is, gathering, fishing, hunting communities; then, as agriculture develops, they enter a "barbarian" stade; then they start forming big political organizations like states with elaborate pagan religions, multiple gods, and huge, ceremonial buildings and sophisticated arts. So in this stade—if it is about a four-stage development—the society becomes "half-civilized," and finally they reach the top of the hierarchy, or the final stage of "civilization." This latter has been understood in the European sense, namely, that people move to permanent houses, writing appears, different industries develop, and the number of gods is reduced to one (Harris 1968: 27–35).

The geographical images of Raff's schoolbook seem to convey exactly such a linear and universal history. The individual images could be ordered (some of them *are* already) in a hierarchical, stadial order of social progress; it is as if they were designed *initially* to be ordered so. The image of the half-naked, tree-climbing "East-Indian" and the camel-riding African black-skin characters could represent the very beginning (gathering and animal-keeping societies), then would come the North American Indian woman with the fish in her basket and the Lapps with their reindeer (animal-keeper/hunter societies). The Chinese man—in his richly decorated coat and with pagodas in the background—could stand for the "half-civilized stage," [ill. 14] and the various industries and elements of a "developed" material culture—silkworm breeding, whale hunting (Plate XI, middle section [ills. 14 and 8a]), and sugar production, as well as (western European-style) houses, pavilions, huge ships and firearms—would represent the "end" or "top" of history. A striking contrast between such a beginning and end is represented in the picture of the "Hottentot" family (Plate XIV [ill. 11]) in which one sees, as I mentioned before, an indigenous family standing in front of their simple hut; the people are half-naked and have only a spear, a bow, and an ox (?) at their disposal. In the background of the picture a

and Parkinson, published already in 1773), as well as other accounts of the earlier voyages to the Pacific (like that of Byron, Dalrymple, and Bougainville, published between 1768 and 1772, Williams 2004) leave their impact on Raff? It is even more remarkable that the new discoveries have not got a place in the *later*, nineteenth century editions of the schoolbook either, in a period when an increasing number of the travelogues of the "South Sea" was accessible almost all over Europe (Ballantyne 2004). The children who had only Raff's schoolbook at their disposal to learn about what the world looked like, got to know it as a *four*-continent entity even until the middle of the nineteenth century. But, considering that Raff's plates provided more of a historical-philosophical than a strictly geographic-empirical representation of the world, the existing image of "East-India"—with its tree-climbing natives of black skin gathering raw fruits—could well have been used, if it were needed, to illustrate the *fifth* part of the world. And similarly, one of the two existing images of "America" could have been used to represent the South American continent as well.

hunting scene is shown: a group of armed horsemen—seemingly Europeans (probably settlers)—are chasing animals, shooting at them with guns. The principal division of Europe itself into a materially developed, industrious "West" characterized by an indoor-dwelling life-style, as it is shown in the picture of silkworm breeding (Plate III), and of an outdoor-living, nature/forest-cultivating "North" and "East," living close to its animals is another example of the opposing poles or "stades" of such an imaginary hierarchical history (ills. 3, 9, and 10).

All in all, Raff's schoolbook provided—especially by means of its images—a vulgarized, popular version of the general idea of stadial history and contributed a lot to the distribution of this powerful concept all over Europe, the eastern part included, and North America. Illustrating the imagined hierarchical order of societies for the students, and designating a place in it for virtually every society, it supported, again, the prevailing social-political establishment and was aimed toward confirming its dominant ideas and ideology for all possible readers. The most important, historical-philosophical layer of the intended messages of the schoolbook consisted, I would argue, of a double thought. It taught on the one hand that human societies are unequal in quality (since unequal in their grade of progress), but, on the other hand, the theory implied and expressed a certain "assurance" or "guarantee" as well, namely, that there is a chance for progress for each society. Like non-European indigenous people may be—as Raff says in the chapter on "Man"—"altogether or nearly savage," or they may look "ugly" and "repulsive," especially under the coldest and the hottest climates in Asia and Africa[20]—they unconditionally belong to the great family of humankind. They show different signs of social and cultural life; they are basically content with their situation, he argues; and they as well as all the other less developed societies of the world necessarily will progress towards "civilization," that is, western European high civilization. The same would be the case of eastern European societies.

So far I have been talking about various aspects of the invariability and consistency of the work, but a truly profound analysis cannot stop at this point. It would be especially important to know how Raff's schoolbook was received in and applied to the different countries or cultures whose languages into which it was translated. How much could its readers, coming from various local political-cultural, scholarly-intellectual circles identify—or not—with the particular place assigned to them in the stadial scheme of history and social progress by Raff's images? How did their

---

[20] The relevant passage in the schoolbook expresses much of the White (Western) man's disgust, esthetic as well as social-political biases through which the late-eighteenth-century precursors of those "imperial eyes" (Pratt 1992) looked at non-European peoples, emphasizing primarily external characteristics: "*in den heissesten Gegenden von Asia und Afrika sind die Leute eben nicht sonderlich gros, und sehen auch gar nicht gut aus. Was haben die Neger und Hottentoten nicht für häßliche Gesichter, für stumpffe Nasen, für aufgeworfne Lippen, und für dikwollichte Haare?... Die Amerikaner sehen etwas besser aus*" (Raff 1787: 668). The Hungarian translation is identical to the German text (Raff 1799: 624).

particular, local readings affect the ways in which the schoolbook was interpreted, "domesticated" in their respective cultures?

Variety in the uses

The last concept of research that I would like to propose is *variety in the uses*. It seems that the local adaptation, the local interpretation or—to borrow again one of the central terms of the French history of reading—the local *appropriation* of Raff's schoolbook have changed from translation to translation, that is, from culture to culture. In my previous study I wrote more on this aspect, analyzing the characteristics of the Hungarian, the English, and the French adaptations and mentioning some features of the original German version as well as the Slaveno-Serbian and the Russian translations (Sz. Kristóf 2011: 323–333). Due to space limitations here, let me direct the reader to that study of mine and point only to the most important features of the Hungarian adaptation.

Beyond the fact that Göttingen was appreciated as a center of contemporary sciences by the Hungarian (mostly noble and Protestant) students who regularly attended its university during the second half of the eighteenth century and the nineteenth, each of the three Hungarian editions of the schoolbook (Veszprém 1799, Kassa [Košice, in today's Slovakia] 1835, and Pest 1846) was deeply embedded in the movement of political resistance and national awakening that emerged in the Kingdom of Hungary against the Austrian Habsburg (and primarily, Catholic) domination during the late eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. Each of the three Hungarian translators (József Fábián, a learned pastor of the Reformed Church who identified with many ideas of the French and German Enlightenment; Péter Vajda, a journalist/novelist-turned-peasant of Lutheran religion who proposed reforms of the Lutheran education system; and Mihály Táncsics, a radical political writer who sympathized with the ideas of early utopian socialism) belonged to certain periods as well as branches of this movement (Sz. Kristóf 2011: 323–325).

The order and the representations that Raff provided of nature and human history are to be interpreted in this particular context in Hungary. The most important message of the schoolbook, according to which, as I mentioned above, there was a chance for progress for each of the societies in the world, could conform very well with the actual desires and expectations of the Hungarian reformists, whose group the translators and the editors of Raff belonged to. The schoolbook could provide a *philosophical confirmation* of their belief that there was a hope—or rather, a "historical necessity"—for the political-cultural improvement in Hungary, too. As is evident from the prefaces, footnotes, and other textual and paratextual features of the Hungarian editions, the actual sociocultural context of the publication has vested the translations with a peculiar political meaning. For some groups of its readers at least, this Göttingen schoolbook was conceived, and used, as a cultural

weapon against the hated Habsburg monarchy and the cultural inequalities of the prevailing feudal society.[21]

Such a local, domestic, and political appropriation of Raff can be confirmed by a rather unusual fact, too, namely that the third Hungarian translator, the radical political thinker Mihály Táncsics, has inserted a new passage into the text of the 1846 edition. Táncsics criticized Raff and his work in the preface,[22] and he argued against the hierarchical concept of history in the chapter on "Man" with the following words of his own: "The peoples of the earth might differ from one another according to external features, such as skin color, size, education, etc., but considering their inner characteristics, their natural configuration, they *all are equal*. And this means that it is equally in the one's as well as the other's liberty to share in the blessings of this earthly nature, since God has not made a distinction between one man and another in this respect" (Raff, Pest 1846, 407; translation from Hungarian and added emphasis by Sz. Kristóf). In this passage Táncsics could speak, however, not only about Hungary but about all the suppressed peoples of the world, and, by doing so, he fundamentally challenged the good old stadial, hierarchical concept of the Enlightenment. He attempted to explain human history in this place as well as elsewhere in his oeuvre from a new political, one might say, early democratic point of view. His approach, together with the other, earlier editions of Raff in Hungary, exemplify that fresh adaptations and new readings could have been applied to the schoolbook in east-central Europe to *contest* the order of the world conveyed in it.

Conclusion

Raff's schoolbook provides an excellent opportunity for the historian to study the specific visual and textual strategies by which late Enlightenment and early Romantic concepts of the social order and the sociocultural Other were imposed upon students—young readers from eastern and western Europe, altogether. This happened in parallel with the emergence (and not so many decades before the institutionalization) of the sciences of ethnography and anthropology on the continent

---

[21] As Péter Vajda, the second Hungarian translator remarked in the preface of the 1835 edition: "We can surely say that we cannot expect to have a more useful *natural history* than this one (i.e., Raff). The Germans have made it perfect … and the Germans, in their country of sciences, tend to have a feel for it. Let us follow them, let us enlighten our descendants' minds by useful books … If only each village school could get a copy of it; then even our peasant children could get polished and strip off their current rudeness" (Raff 1835: vi; My translation: I. Sz. K.). For the period of Hungarian history concerned here see Kontler 1999: 191–259.

[22] The publisher has agreed to include the following sentence in the preface to the third edition written by Táncsics himself: "With some words finally I make the following confession that I am not satisfied with the system of Raff, but the publisher's intention was not to have a new work done but to have that of Raff corrected" (Raff 1846). It sounds like an apology for the publication of an already obsolete work—and the schoolbook did not see any further edition indeed in Hungary during the second half of the nineteenth century.

of Europe; so it is worth noticing how many of their well-known classical universal concepts about humankind and the development of human societies, especially the ideas of progress and evolution, they shared or, one might also argue, contained and preceded. Natural history and ethnology/anthropology, western and eastern Europe, and the first and the second half of the nineteenth century were connected more closely to one another than was ordinarily thought.

I have attempted to show in this paper how "visual encounters with alterity" are inscribed in a multitude of sociocultural-geographical (regional and local), historical, philosophical, power and gender-related, cultural-political, and so on, contexts that, on one hand, penetrate those encounters and the medium through which they are represented and, on the other hand, generate particular readings of them that may not be implied in the relevant texts and images. Exploring the ways of the local appropriations of Raff's schoolbook is (would be) the most revealing part of the story. In east-central Europe it would necessitate a broader international cooperation that could attempt to shed light on the cultural variations of those appropriations. Raff has provided the children of Europe, and North America, with a biased, *westernized* encounter with the Other. We should know more about how it has been "domesticated"— i.e. naturalized and *easternized*—in the different east-central European countries and contexts.[23]

References

Agassiz, L. 1848, *Bibliographia Zoologiae et Geologiae. A General Catalogue of All Books, Tracts and Memoirs on Zoology and Geology*, vol. 1, London.

Ballantyne, T. (ed.) 2004, *Science, Empire and the European Exploration of the Pacific*, Aldershot–Burlington.

Barker, F., P. Hulme, M. Iversen (eds.) 1994, *Colonial Discourse/Postcolonial Theory*, Manchester–New York.

Blanckaert, C. 2004, Géographie et anthropologie: une rencontre nécessaire (XVIIIe–XIXe siècle), *Ethnologie française*, vol. 34, pp. 661–669.

Blumenbach, J. F., 2005, *The Anthropological Treatises of Johann Friedrich Blumenbach*, Elibron Classics Replica Edition.

Bohls, E. A., I. Duncan (eds.) 2005, *Travel Writing 1700–1830. An Anthology*, Oxford.

Buffon, G. L. 1835, *Le nouveau Buffon de la jeunesse. Histoire naturelle des animaux, des végétaux et des minéraux*, Tome I, Paris.

Cañizares-Esguerra, J. 2006, *Nature, Empire and Nation. Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World*, Stanford.

[23] An exciting aspect of such a domestication is how one of William Blake's etchings (published originally in John Gabriel Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years' Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, London 1796) has found its way to the printing house of Kassa (Košice, today's Slovakia) during the 1830s. See Sz. Kristóf 2011: 329–332.

Cazden, R. E. 1998, The German Booktrade in Ohio Before 1848, *Ohio History. The Scholarly Journal of the Ohio Historical Society*, vol. 84, pp. 57–77.

Chartier, R. (ed.) 1987, *Les usages de l'imprimé*, Paris.

—1989a, Le monde comme représentation, *Annales E.S.C.*, 6, pp. 1505–1520.

—1989b, *Texts, Printing, Readings*, [in:] L. Hunt (ed.), *The New Cultural History*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London, pp. 154–175.

—1992, Laborers and Voyagers: From the Text to the Reader, *Diacritics*, vol. 22, 2, pp. 49–61.

Day, S. 2001, *"With Peace and Freedom Blest!" Woman as Symbol in America*, 1590–1800, [in:] *American Women. A Library of Congress Guide for the Study of Women's History and Culture in the United States*, Washington DC.

Doderer, K. (ed.) 1979, *Lexikon der Kinder- und Jugendliteratur. Dritter Band: P-Z.* Weinheim-Basel.

During, S. 1994, *Rousseau's Patrimony: Primitivism, Romance and Becoming Other*, [in:] F. Barker, P. Hulme. M. Iversen (eds.), *Colonial Discourse / Postcolonial Theory*, Manchester–New York, pp. 47–71.

Elsner, J., J.-P. Rubiés 1999, *Voyages and Visions. Towards a Cultural History of Travel*, London.

Fara, P. 2004, *Pandora's Breeches. Women, Science & Power in the Enlightenment*, London.

Fejős, Z., and B. Pusztai (eds.) 2008, *Az egzotikum. Tanulmányok (The Exotic. Studies)*, Budapest–Szeged.

Feuerstein-Herz, P. 2007, *"Die Große Kette der Wesen." Ordnungen in der Naturgeschichte der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wiesbaden.

Fulford, T., D. Lee, P. J. Kitson 2004, *Literature, Science and Exploration in the Romantic Era. Bodies of Knowledge*, Cambridge.

Gruzinski, S. 1988, *La colonisation de l'imaginaire. Sociétés indigènes et occidentalisation dans le Mexique espagnol. XVIe–XVIIIe siècle*, Paris.

Harris, M. 1968, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory*, New York.

Jardine, N., J. A. Secord, E. C. Spary (eds.) 1996, *Cultures of Natural History*, Cambridge.

Koerner, L. 1999, *Linnaeus: Nature and Nation*, Cambridge–London.

Kontler, L. 1999, *Millennium in Central Europe. A History of Hungary*, Budapest.

Korall Társadalomtörténeti folyóirat (Korall A journal for social history) 2006, vol. 26: Utazók és utazások (Travellers and travels, a thematic issue).

Kunze, H. 1976, *Schatzbehalter. Vom Besten aus der älteren Deutschen Kinderliteratur*, Berlin.

Marshall, P. J., and G. Williams 1982, *The Great Map of Mankind. British Perceptions of the World in the Age of Enlightenment*, London–Melbourne–Toronto.

Mason, P. 2009, *Before Disenchantment. Images of Exotic Animals and Plants in the Early Modern World*, London.

McIntyre, K. K., and R. E. Phillips (eds.) 2007, *Woman and Art in Early Modern Latin America*, Leiden.

O'Brien, K. 2009, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, Cambridge.

Ogilvie, B. W. 2006, *The Science of Describing. Natural History in Renaissance Europe*, Chicago–London.

Pratt, M. L. 1992, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London–New York.

Raff, G. C. 1781, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder*, Göttingen.

—1785, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder*, Wien.

—1786, *Abrégé d'histoire naturelle pour l'instruction de la jeunesse, imité de l'allemand de M. Raff par M. Perrault*, Strasbourg.

—1787, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder*, Tübingen.

—1776, *Geographie für Kinder. Zum Gebrauch auf Schulen I-II*, Göttingen.

—1791, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder*, Wien.

—1792, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder. Besorgt von F. A. A. Meyer*, Göttingen.

—1796, *A System of Natural History: Adapted for the instrucion of youth, in the form of a dialogue*, vol. 1-2, Edinburgh–London.

—1798, *De Natuurlijke Historie*, Amsterdam–Leiden–Rotterdam–Dordrecht, etc.

—1799, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef*, Weszprém.

—1809, *Êstestvoslovie v polzu naipače iunosti spisanno na nêmeckiĭ êzyk...prevedenno Îoakimom Vuičem*, Buda.

—1814, *Naturgeschichte für Kinder. Besorgt von F. A. A. Meyer*, Reutlingen.

—1835, *Természet História Gyermekek' számára*, Második magyarítás, Kassa.

—1837, *Természet História Gyermekek' számára*, Második magyarítás, Kassa.

—1846, *Természet Historiája Gyermekek' számára*, Harmadik, javitott kiadás, Kijavitotta Stancsics Mihál, Pest.

Schiebinger, L., and C. Swan (eds.) 2005, *Colonial Botany. Science, Commerce, and Politics in the Early Modern World*, Philadelphia.

Spary, E. C. 2000, *Utopia's Garden. French Natural History From Old Regime to Revolution*, Chicago–London.

Stagl, J. 1995, *A History of Curiosity. The Theory of Travel 1550–1800*, Chur.

Stocking, G. W. Jr. 1987, *Victorian Anthropology*, New York.

Sz. Kristóf, I. 2011, The Uses of Natural History. Georg C. Raff's *Naturgeschichte für Kinder* (1778) in its Multiple Translations and Multiple Receptions, [in:] A. Adams, P. Ford (ed.) 2011, *Le livre demeure. Studies in Book History in Honour of Alison Saunders*, Genève, pp. 309–333.

—2012a, *The Uses of Demonology. European Missionaries and Native Americans in the American Southwest (17th–18th century)*, [in:] *Centers and Peripheries in European Renaissance Culture. Essays by East Central European Mellon Fellows*, Gy. E. Szőnyi, Cs. Maczelka (eds.), Szeged, pp. 161–182.

—2012b, *"Szep, majom, fekete ember, matska kepeket mutat neki:" a természethistória színtereinek textuális és figurális konstrukciója G. C. Raff tankönyvében, 1778/1799–1846* (*"Showing him fair pictures of an ape, a black man, and a cat:" the textual and figural construction of the scenes of natural history in the schoolbook of G. C. Raff, 1778/1799–1846*), [in:] *Tudósok a megismerés színterein*, D. Gurka (ed.), Budapest, pp. 160–176.

—2012c, *Missionaries, Monsters, and the Demon Show. Diabolized Representations of American Indians in Jesuit Libraries of 17th and 18th Century Upper Hungary*, [in:] A. Kérchy, A. Zittlau (eds.), *Exploring the Cultural History of Continental European Freak Shows and Enfreakment*, Newcastle upon Tyne, pp. 38–73.

Te Heesen, A. 2002, *The World in a Box. The Story of an Eighteenth-Century Picture Encyclopedia*, Chicago–London.

Thomas, N. 1994, *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government*, Cambridge.

Williams, G. 2004, *Seamen and Philosophers in the South Seas in the Age of Captain Cook*, [in:] T. Ballantyne (ed.), *Science, Empire and the European Exploration of the Pacific*, Aldershot–Burlington, pp. 277–296.

3 **WESTERN EUROPE (SILKWORMBREEDING)**
G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.*
M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate III, (detail).



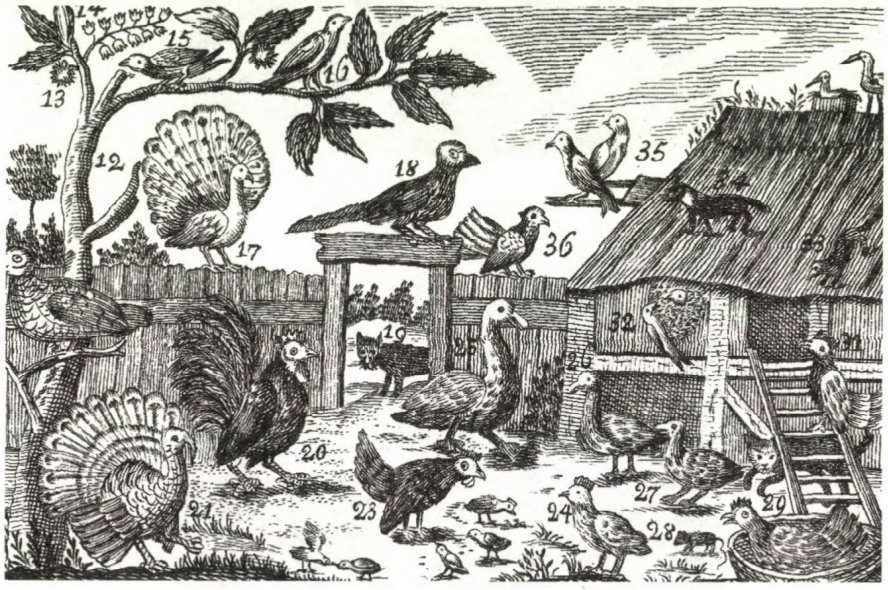


WESTERN EUROPE (SILKWORMBREEDING)
G. C. Raff, *Természet História Gyermekek Számára. Második Magyarítás. Kassán.*
3a *Nyomtatta és kiadta Werfer Károly,* 1837, Plate III (original colored), (detail).

THE GARDEN 4

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.* M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799.

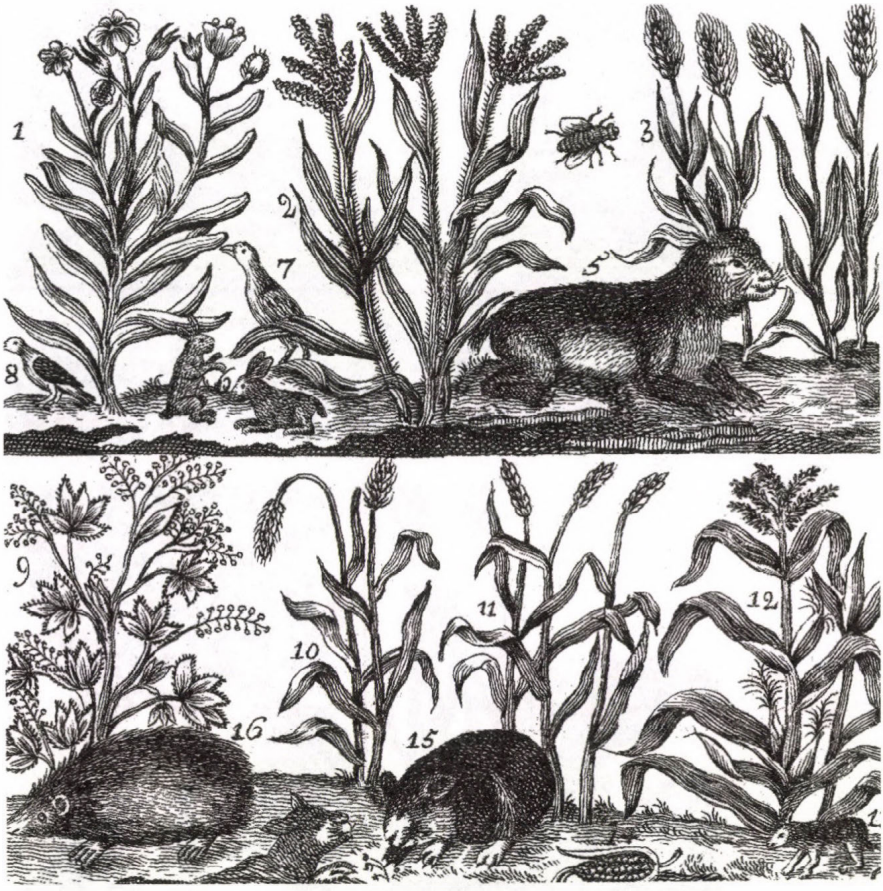




60

THE (COURT)YARD

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.* M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate IX, (detail). 5



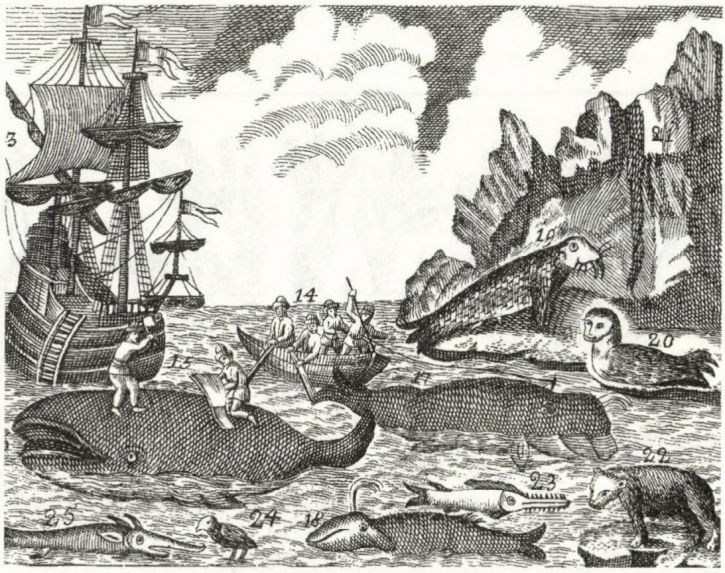
THE MEADOW / CULTIVATED LAND

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.*

6 M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate IX, (detail).

THE OCEAN / WHALEHUNTING 7

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek.*
Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.
M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate IX, (detail).



62



AMERICA (NORTH AND CENTRAL:
AN AFRICAN SLAVE AND AN AMERICAN INDIAN WOMAN)

G. C. Raff, *Természet História Gyermekek Számára.*
Második Magyarítás. Kassán. Nyomtatta és kiadta Werfer Károly.
1837 (original colored), Plate II, (detail). 7a

8 **THE PASTURE**

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek.*
Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.
M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate V, (detail).





ASIA (CHINA)

G. C. Raff, *Természet História Gyermekek Számára.*
Második Magyarítás. Kassán. Nyomtatta és kiadta Werfer Károly.
8a 1837, Plate I (original colored), (detail).

NORTHERN EUROPE (THE LAPPS) 9

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.* M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate IX, (detail).



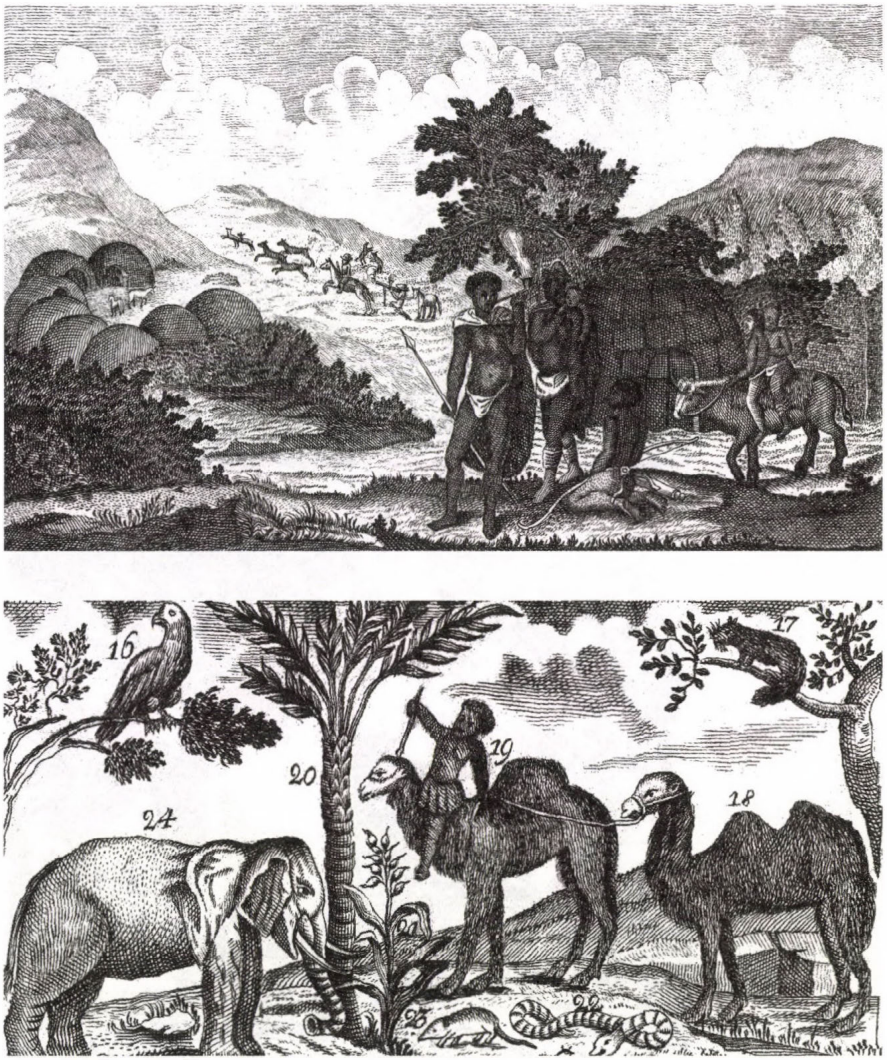


EASTERN EUROPE (THE POLES)

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.* M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate VIII, (detail). 10

11 **AFRICA (HOTTENTOTS)**

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek.*
Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.
M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate XIV, (detail).



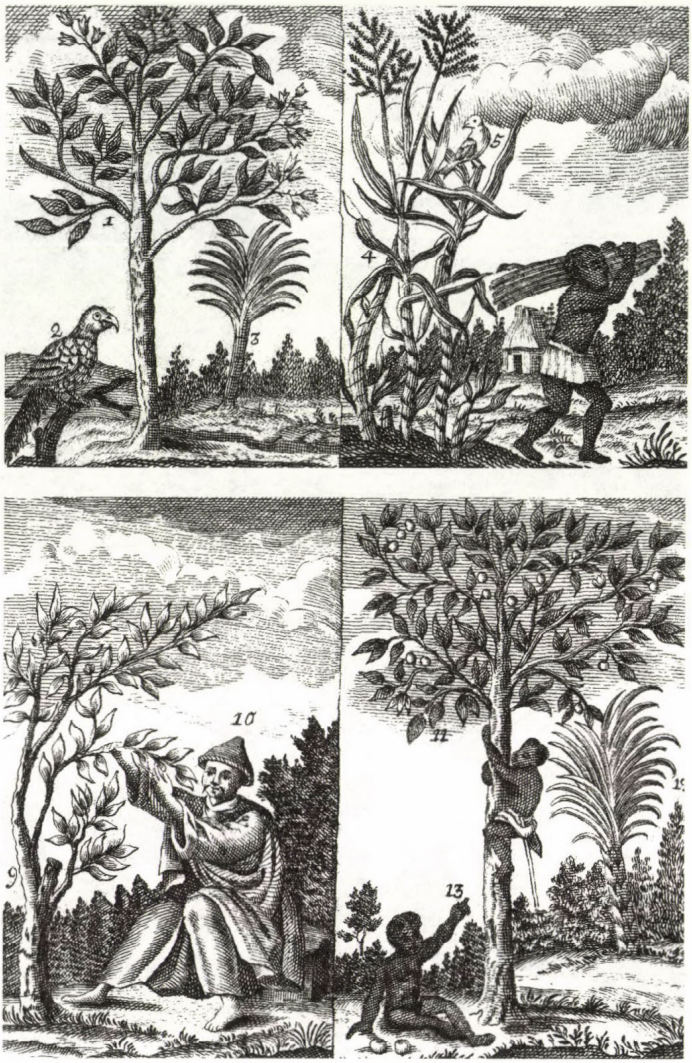
AFRICA

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek.*
Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.

12 M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate X, (detail).

AMERICA (NORTH AND CENTRAL: AN AFRICAN SLAVE) 13

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.* M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate II, (detail).



ASIA (CHINA AND SOUTHEAST ASIA)

G. C. Raff, *Természeti Historia a' Gyermekeknek. Mellyet...magyarúl kiadott, és kinyomtattatott Fábián Jósef.* M. Számmer, Veszprém, 1799, Plate I, (detail). 14

Dagnosław Demski

Playing With Otherness: Within and Beyond Stereotypes in Visual Representations

In this paper I will focus on an aspect of objectified imagery of Otherness seen through visual material published in the nineteenth-century press in Poland. Alterity was presented in a slightly different way due to the characteristic cultural tools (refinement, satire, humor) used during that time. As we can see further, two types of representations of Others prevailed—Poland's own internal classes and internal/external ethnic groups.

Every community, defined by its place and time, has certain needs and aspirations but also faces problems and adversities when attempting to accomplish its aspirations. The reality is viewed from a local perspective, and the locals are preoccupied with matters that are related to their lives and to the possibility of fulfilling their expectations. Significant matters find their reflection in debates, disputes, and cultural articulations, which comprise both the collective and the individual experiences; there are myriad possibilities, and life provides a rich diversity of their manifestations and their representations.

All standard representations of the ethnic Otherness presented here may be considered as a treasure trove of Polish or—in a broader sense—eastern European bigotries. We might also pay attention to how the representations of Otherness/alterity in all its forms, whether offensive or positive, relate to social divisions and structures of power within society. However, in order to avoid any possible charges of superficiality, we could investigate this issue further and attempt to state what type of humorous images prevailed in a particular period of time and the reason for such prevalence.

To do this we can roughly characterize two types of representations, the serious and the nonserious, and it is possible to state that what is labeled humorous does not always denote funny—often quite otherwise. We can also recognize the playful aspects of representations of alterity including ethnic Otherness.

Thus within the same reality or event, there could exist a serious representation of the reality or event (depending on the state of our knowledge), a humorous one (funny or unfunny), an amusing or unamusing version (depending on the intention), and a playful version. All of the representations seem to reflect several concepts, such as seriousness, discipline, surveillance, humor, and stereotypes, and these cultural concepts seem worthy of further examination.

The present study is intended to examine one type of subject of representation—the Other and Otherness—in the chosen titles of the Polish press at the turn of the nineteenth century. I have mostly focused on visual representations; the literary and journalistic ones represent a separate subject.

This sketch is based on caricatures and drawings—sources drawn from a broader category of illustrative material. Illustrativeness, understood as the transition from the separateness of illustration to its treatment as one of the elements that contributes to a harmonious whole of a work of art, appeared in the twentieth century.[1] The illustration was not a faithful depiction of content, but rather it was treated as a "staging," a visual expression of the work that it accompanied, sometimes straying from the subject of the whole. Initially, the illustration was subordinate to the text's narrative, however, as the twentieth century advanced, the interpretative illustration developed as a creative commentary, highlighting a relevant aspect of the work.

The materials presented here were taken from the satirical magazine *Mucha* (*The Fly*) and *Biesiada Literacka* (*Literary Feast*), published in Warsaw, and also from other sources, such as *Liberum Veto* from Cracow.

Such sources provide a sense of the viewpoints that were then appearing or were prevailing. They demonstrated a certain form of public opinion, as understood by Charles Taylor,[2] and defined as the ground for discussion, where people who shared the same opinions, but who were scattered over a large territory, became united in a unique dispute domain within which they could exchange ideas and reach a common ground (Taylor 2010: 119).

The readers are seen as connected to one another via the media—in the nineteenth century, these were print media. Apart from newspapers, books were also circulating among the educated readership, presenting theses, arguments, and counterarguments, mutually supporting or invalidating one another. As we can see in images and in caricatures, those texts were available in drawing rooms and cafés, and so could be read[3] and discussed during face-to-face encounters.

This kind of common space was also filled with certain images. The most frequent objects of interest for the Polish satirical press[4] of the time were issues related to the process of modernization and the polarization of society, which was its result—the old and the new world; the longing for the old, quiet life; the triumph of technology; steam machines; railways; steamers; the towns; public transport; the mentions of traffic accidents; the Polish countryside; vagrancy; and much more.

---

[1] This art began its development with the invention of print and the development of journalistic and literary publications.

[2] Citing Habermas he points out the birth of a new notion of public opinion in western Europe in the eighteenth century. According to him, dispersed texts and discussions among the members of small or local groups begin to be regarded as one big debate, out of which public opinion of the whole society emerges (Taylor 2010: 118).

[3] Taylor states that for the development of the public sphere "print capitalism" is indispensable (Ibidem: 120).

[4] *Mucha* (*The Fly*) (1868–1952), *Liberum Veto* (1903–1905), *Śmieszek* (*Joker*) (1912–1914), *Szczutek* (*The Flick*) (1869–1919), *Diabeł* (*The Devil*) (1869–1919), *Satyr. Tygodnik Humorystyczno-satyryczny* (*The Satyr. Humorous and Satirical Weekly*) (1918–1919), *Wróble na Dachu* (*Sparrows on the Roof*) (1929–1939).

And because people were reacting differently than they do today to the various phenomena that were characteristic of their times, this is also what makes reading the old press so fascinating and worthy of study. And it must be stressed here that the presence of other nationalities and ethnic groups as targets in the satirical press, forming only a fraction of the authors' sphere of interests, remains a separate issue.

The Category of Otherness

The notion of Otherness is the traditional concern of anthropology, and as such, individuals who do not belong to our culture were depicted in various ways in, what was noted later, an objectified manner, creating imagined pictures of Others digestible for our comprehending (Rapport, Overing 2003: 10).

It was not only necessary to understand the notions of the Other and Otherness, but also significant who was using these terms. To regard a person or a phenomenon as Other signifies a process of renouncing the other side directly or ascribing it with some mainly pejorative characteristics, comprising the qualities that are not approved as "ours." Such qualities can be described as *not ours*, *strange*, *alien*, *hostile*, or even *hateful* or *disgusting*. By one term or another, the position of the Other is established, and in this way the Other acquires an ambivalent status, or becomes excluded from the known in the sense of creating schemata by attributing one set of features to the whole community.

Symbolically, this places the Other in a marginal space or, even, outside their own space. It also means that the values represented by the Other do not accord with "our" values, "our" expectations, "our" aspirations, and so on. The specific form of this phenomenon depends on the culture, that is, on the place and the time. As Brian Porter-Szuecs suggests, at the end of the nineteenth century (after the period of Romanticism), the reality in Poland became redefined once again, and, as a result, the category of Other came to embrace the minorities (Porter-Szuecs 2011: 14).[5] Following Porter-Szuecs's thought, we could adopt the point of view that states that although the use of the notion of "nation" was able to stretch the boundaries of patriotic language in many directions, it was still impossible to pretend that such boundaries did not exist (Ibidem: 14). The presence and the application of the notion of "the Other" indicated the existence of boundaries and started a process of inclusion/exclusion in particular.

Porter-Szuecs claims that in order to speak the language of nationalism, it was indispensable to adopt certain definitions and conventions that were *de rigueur* at that time and to choose from among a limited repertoire of worldviews. The

[5] As the same author puts it, nationalism begins to hate only with the passing of time (2011: 14). He poses a tremendously interesting question of how it happened that millions of people came to accept a specific national identity and he notes that in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries it was one of the most important factors of political life. He also calls for the examination of the range of views of people who started using the notion of nation (Ibidem: 14).

moment a worker or a peasant underwent the process of "nationalization," his or her ideas and sense of what was an appropriate subject for conversation were enclosed within certain boundaries, which excluded that which he or she deemed necessary to leave unsaid (Ibidem: 14). This example of shifting views of reality (e.g. moving from Romanticism to nationalism) highlights the issue of changing cultural conventions and their meanings, which could be recognized in visual data too.

Such conventions include the manner in which ethnical and nonethnical Others are presented, both in the sphere of defining and perceiving them and in their verbal and visual expression. The boundaries and the conventions evolved, broadening the scope of worldviews or causing their regress.

Following Porter-Szuecs, I differentiate between practiced ethnicity, denoting a set of certain cultural manifestations and the idea of a nation, which found its significance in the sphere of sanctioned policy of the elites (Ibidem: 16–17). This is worth noting because cultural practice determines social relations on the local and the individual levels. The vision of the ethnic nation competed with the concepts of social relations. Porter-Szuecs claims that this clash of two worlds did not denote a confrontation of ideas and reality, or ideology and practice, and the locally expressed and sanctioned ethnicity did not have to be related to the politicized notion of the nation (Ibidem: 17).

The materials published in the press of that period reflected the debate, or at least its part in the debate, which was closer to the politicized idea of nation and ethnicity. The print media, created by the town-based elites, was aimed at an intelligentsia audience. Thus, the analysis of this material will provide us with information on the elements of the debate and the conventions that were employed by the elites of the time. I pass over the ways of defining a nation,[6] but I do turn to the ways of defining, or rather to the convention of perceiving, the Other.

In general, the Other and alterity may be seen and represented in numerous ways. I am convinced that the concept of Othering depicts the ways in which we deal with the unknown or the unpredicted, and it consists of several distinct actions, such as "keeping distance," excluding, including, avoiding, and labeling—all reflect the nature of confrontation with Others. How were these perceptions of the Other expressed?

- as a distinct experience (not accessed by us)
- as what is unknown (beyond the limits of our cognitive horizon)
- as achievements gained in a distinct time and space (historical and distant)
- as a threat or an enemy (unaccepted/unacceptable)
- as an unfulfilled dream (unthinkable to realize)
- as an inspiration (a new way to follow)
- as curiosities and as rarities (monstrous and sacred)

[6] For those interested in this, I recommend reading the book by Porter-Szuecs (2011).

In this manner, we deconstruct the perception field of the Other.[7] Would similar expressions be confirmed by the visual materials I discuss? I will return to that issue later in the article and illustrate it with examples.

The presented objectified particular Others ascribed with alien features are singled out of them in numerous contexts, in a manner that serves to reflect the relations between the observer and the object. On the one hand, these features are concerned with scale and distance; on the other hand, with their evaluation—negative or positive.[8] But also they are concerned with the role a given object plays within a specific outlook and the convention that was accepted for its sake. Dariusz Śnieżko pointed out the element of excitement[9] with Otherness, which, in his opinion, is significant in the accounts of the faraway lands. In the visual materials, such excitement is induced by appropriate representation of the figures—strange, exotic, unnerving, and so on. Their persuasive power is determined by the clash of particular images with the currently operational collective perception. Otherness as a category indirectly defines our identity, knowledge, and perceptions, and it constitutes a representation of the limit of our identity, knowledge, and perceptions. What is more, how Otherness is defined is not a constant and is subject to shifts with the passing of time.

Similar to the narrative techniques of depicting the Other, depictions of the Other can be found in the visual representations, the observation of which was widely commented on by Kenneth Rivers (1991). He described the distortions[10] as disfigurements of the norm. As he noted, caricature is an artistic use of deformation for satirical purposes, and he enumerates the fundamental techniques of satirical deformation, such as distortion, substitution, juxtaposition, metamorphosis, and their various combinations (Rivers 1991: 5). Following his words, the distortion of the image was used as a certain weapon. It would only poke fun, provided that it was mild, but more often it would attack the target, whoever or whatever it was.

To sum up the above, it needs to be stressed that virtually any trait can be distorted: size, shape, color, age, or weight. Moreover, as Rivers put it, a wide variety

---

[7] See Dariusz Śnieżko (2010).

[8] Śnieżko notes that the objects that are marked with Otherness are emphasized for some reason: for amusement or to manifest power, as in the quotation. But these are only two of the numerous roles they can perform. The ancient culture distinguished two central categories of Otherness: rarities and curiosities. Rarities (temples, relics, pictures, etc.) belonged to the sphere of the sacred, while curiosities comprised all the rest—the more strange and monstrous, the better (Śnieżko 2010: 312).

[9] Excitement regarding Otherness, even if it is only recreated from the already distant, narrative perspective, is a state that, similarly to other types of excitement, requires a constant supply of new impulses, and their rhythmical supply was secured by the composition layout typical for the travel journals and other genre types: the character/hero (and his eyesight) moving from one object to another (Śnieżko 2010: 314).

[10] Transmutation is any artistic act through which two different things (that would not normally change into each other in nature) are perceived as explicitly becoming one another or as explicitly exchanging identities or traits (Rivers 1991: 6).

of objects—image, space, time, condition, action, proportion, thought, and language—can undergo distortion (Ibidem: 9).

There is also one more remark that seems to be relevant in Rivers' suggestion that "the key principle is not deviation from accurate realism, but deviation from accepted representation" (Ibidem: 22). This point makes us aware that the proper reading of a situation, the recognition of the point, can be accessed only by those who belong to the cultural collective. They are able to recognize, then, a form of a distortion. Rivers claimed that "we know because we perceive a deviation from some highly recognizable norm" (Ibidem: 22). With such use of distortion, it is possible to represent various types of Otherness.

The types of Otherness appearing on the scene of the satirical periodicals can be classified from the point of view of territory,[11] cognition, or identification,[12] all of which possess their own typical references. Both sides establish contact and, as a result, the scope of the discussion covers several aspects: the seer, his or her way of seeing, the eye of the seer, what and how he or she sees, how the seer visualizes what he or she sees, how the seer represents it, and to whom he or she directs these representations.

Seriousness Versus Lack of It

The new type of common territory, marked out by the common views and shaped by the availability of printed material together with various ways and conventions of employing the category of the Other, does not exhaust the description of the context in which the discussed visual representations appeared. In Poland, in the second half of the nineteenth century, something that Taylor called "the culture of refinement,"[13] present in western Europe already in the eighteenth century, gained significance. The author mentions the elements of the ideal of refinement, for example, having a well-ordered government, a certain level of development of arts and sciences (which today we would call "technology"), and rational and moral self-control, together with the essential issues of taste, quality, and sophistication—in short, a sound basis of education and polite manners (Taylor 2010: 58).

What seems the most important is that these benefits of civilization were seen as the result of discipline and education. Refinement was understood primarily as an

[11] "... which is cultural in the sense that it is usually metonimically associated with a non-native territory and its inhabitants" (1991: 310).

[12] Refers to the narrative techniques of stating the order of figures, exaggeration (hyperbole), creation of an antonym (a world turned upside down), fantastical deformations, enumeration techniques as illustrating strategies and symbolization strategies (allegories, parables, meaningful anachronisms) in the translation of the unknown into the known.

[13] In this sense, courtesy begins to be associated with another expression—*civilitas* (refinement). This expression also has a long history, from Renaissance-period *civilitas* as an ancestor of our "civilization," fulfilling a similar function (Taylor 2010: 54).

effect of upbringing and taming of the originally wild, crude nature.[14] In this sense, refinement required character building, self-improvement, and an attitude of readiness for reality change and for curbing the wild nature, not for leaving[15] it unaltered.

The new ideal slowly began to exclude the new elites from the old folk practices, eliminating such practices from the public domain or pushing them to the outskirts of large towns. What seemed normal in the earlier times, what everyone was prepared to participate in, now seemed entirely deplorable. This is an ongoing process even in present day—however, it keeps being filled with new contents.

Humor and satire also served as the measures of discipline and, thus, were a part of a "culture of refinement." As I mostly discuss here the caricature illustrations of that period, some introductory remarks are necessary. It is especially relevant for the following discussion to differentiate between satire and humor. Each possess a distinct nature, perform different functions, and serve a different goal. Satire serves to shatter the peace, to disturb normalcy, to rouse from lethargy and apathy. Progressive satire is often used, but there is also satire with radical tendencies. Neither evoke laughter nor joy. They are constructed via disparate means: by derision, irony, sarcasm, parody, and so forth.

Satire often fights against stereotypes, striving to protect their victims or exploiting the power of obsolete stereotypes. In the first instance, the goal is to liberate from the stereotype and to create room for new situations and new possibilities. In the second instance, the targets of the attack are the traditional ones, and the old, generally known and still vital, patterns, which limit the possibility for a change in the social field, are reproduced. Neither of them evokes a smile, but rather they offer a momentary sense of a deeper understanding, and sometimes of wisdom, with respect to the insight/becoming aware of life's complexity and of the inequality within the tight confines of obsolete stereotypes. Progressive satire is commonly known, and those on a civilizing mission use it with enthusiasm.

Humor plays out the stereotypes by departing from the intention to "shake" people, to awaken them by way of bringing to their attention the repetitiveness of the dramas or tragedies in which we all participate. Humor juxtaposes the images and representations of reality in such a way as to make various elements of the current discourse on a given subject visible. The difference between them involves function.

Both may be used in a unique presentation of the Other, in a way that corresponds to the author's intentions. The problem of Otherness is the central theme of this examination, but due to the satirical sources discussed here, other notions also

---

[14] The author provides the example of the statue of Charles V's victory over the savages (Ibidem: 58).

[15] Taylor wrote about it in the context of taming the aristocracy, internal calming, and domesticating the elites in the face of the birth of a modern state. Such transformations were significant also in relation to a more widespread and ambitious attempt to transform all the social classes with the help of new disciplinary measures—economic, military, religious, and moral—which, as the author claims, has constituted a distinctive feature of European society at least since the seventeenth century (Ibidem: 59–60).

gain importance. I would call them seriousness and humor. When James E. Combs writes about the present, he uses the opposition of seriousness and lightness[16] (2011), but for the period from the end of the nineteenth century until almost the second half of the twentieth century, the term lightness did not find application (what is more, nineteenth century's seriousness might not be the same as the seriousness of here and now). Satire could be counted as radical (serious) representation, but not humorous.

In the period when modernizing keynotes dominated the visual representations, it was an ingrained principle that what had been freely used in the past was not tolerated currently. In other words, there was a strong focus on what everything should be like, and what was still present was being ridiculed. The humorous and mocking songs, caricatures, films, and so forth come into existence mainly as a replay of everyday situations. It is a game of and with the stereotypes. Humor is also frequently shared during periods of social change and of crises, emerging as part of discourse.

What makes an issue or a point funny and mocking? Is it the content, the performer/author, the audience, or even the place? It seems that it is all of these together, which is why jokes are often incomprehensible to those who belong to different cultural spaces.

Employing serious representations, we can study the process of making referential representations of reality, constructed and reflected in the ways of conceptualizing the world, selecting the data from the actual standards and conventions. There are culturally shaped representations of the topics of landscape, portraits, costume, and folk culture. Using these representations, we concentrate more on the study of the ways of reading and perceiving the reality than on the world itself.

It has to be understood as a congruence of ascribed features with an existing knowledge about them rather than with reality. The illustration becomes a part of something that can be narrated as a story. A picture goes beyond what is visible and it needs to be seen as a "situation" and treated with intention. Representations serve to refer to a bigger entity. Thus, they include culturally shaped meanings and become the ways of comprehending the world. They turn into public expressions and—as Thomas Mitchell claimed—they are the constituents of the forms of life, the practices and traditions within which we must make epistemological, ethical, and political choices (1994: 64). The photographs or the illustrations that are tangled up in the conventions have more significance for us as the model images of a passing reality than as the reality itself.[17]

The difference between serious[18] and humorous representations seems to lie in

---

[16] In general, he provides the opposition of seriousness versus lightness and fun.

[17] On the subject of the mechanism of creation of model images of reality and possible readings of photographs, see Magdalena Sztandara (2006: 11).

[18] Refers to realistic description, dominated by the mimetic function, referred to the conventions of presenting the visual world, the knowledge of which conditioned their reception and possible inter-

the fact that the former pretended not to be images and the latter drew on humorous conventions[19] that formed an interpretation or a commentary rather than a reality. To understand this distinction let us examine the illustrations, the first as a type of serious (non-humorous) depiction and, then, humorous images of various character and tone.

A typical picture presents the battle of Babina Glava[20]—and a landscape.[21] The representation seems realistic and is presumably based on the artist's knowledge. We do not object to what we see in it, unless we possess some knowledge of our own regarding the event. Who is the "Other" in this picture? We cannot know that, because there is no observable, intentional distortion of the image of either the opposing sides, including the losing side. According to Peter Burke, the Crimean War (1853–56) formed a subject of "artistic" correspondence of people, who were sent to the battlefields by the newspapers, art dealers, and publishers (Burke 2012: 173). Battle scenes and landscapes are among the motifs that were popular and common at the end of the nineteenth century. Both themes were mediated by culture, although this mediation was not clear to the audience in these times and constructed the Other in its own way. However, it remains beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate on the former theme any further.

In contrast to the serious representations, striving to reach objectivity in the case of the ethnic Others (such objectivity denotes the way of depicting alterity based on knowledge, politics, and so on), humor is, as we see, an intentional tool of a narrated story. The common basis is formed by what receives attention. In serious representations it is a question of how they are perceived, but in the case of humor, the construction of which is intentional and made aware to all, the focus is on the types of Otherness that receive attention. What is significant is how and why they were distorted, what particular features were ascribed to them, and how they were used.

In the ethnic humoristic representation, particular features associated with an ethnic group, which can lead to the creation of stereotypes are at stake. The historical and social contexts lie at the heart of the direction a stereotype takes—roughly speaking, in order to solve the dilemma of whether to protect the in-group or open up to the altered group.

This process of regulating the "distance" between two ethnic entities is based on

---

pretation. Description of the specific objects of reality had the task of triggering in the reader sensory representations (i.e., their images): the appearance of figures, objects, interiors, and landscapes (Sztandara 2006: 16)

[19] These threads are analyzed via other means. In Mitchell's words, the image is the sign that pretends not to be a sign, masquerading as (or, for the believer, actually achieving) natural immediacy and presence (1994: 65).

[20] The storming of the entrenchments of Babina Glava, *Biesiada literacka*, 1876.

[21] The eminent art historian Thomas Mitchell linked the concept of landscape in painting with the narratives of rising and falling empires, represented as a threefold process of emancipation, naturalization, and unification (1994: 12).

a specific content that emerges from a particular confrontation with the whole past (and present) set from among the store of images of cultural and historical experiences. These cultural elements, of past and temporary origins, create the image of the person standing vis-à-vis us.

Thus, the image is constructed and takes part in the process of formatting stereotypes or making a "generalized Other." As a result, the German is presented as militaristic or arrogant (ills. 16, 17, 26, 27), the Russian as thievish, and the Jew as industrious (ill. 24).[22]

Listeners react to jokes differently than to stories that are not intended as jokes; they are not expected to express sympathy for the butt-figures, as in the case of the Babina Glava representation. As Michael Billig puts it, the point is not to elicit concern for the pain suffered (2005: 54).

Both satire and humor can employ stereotypes. The difference in their use lies in the intention and the goal they are supposed to achieve. In the case of satire, the goal is most often to jeer and to make people aware of a drama, while humor aims at producing contentment and merriment of all the participants.[23] The above distinction between satire and humor acquires significance when one observes the fact that while satirical are common in the press discussed here everyday cheerfulness is much more difficult to encounter.[24] According to Alexander Kozintsev, satire forms a part of a serious play, while play/humor should be understood as a temporary suspension of social rules and roles, corresponding to Bakhtin's notion of carnival, the object of which is joy and the result of which is laughter (Kozintsev 2010: 129). Kozintsev develops this idea further, claiming that the serious satire may turn into social exclusion and stir up hatred (Ibidem: 133), which makes for a significant distinction. In both cases they deal with the unknown, first, fighting openly against the Other, objectified as unwanted, evil, or ridiculous and, second, exposing the Other objectified as unnoticed, not sufficiently visible. Satirical, in the sense of serious play, seems to be frequent and characteristic of a modernizing period.

Education and Discipline as Part of a Social Civilizing Model

The period of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, from which came the illustrations interpreted in this article, was a period of modernizing spirit in Poland and, through the images depicting human interactions, a time of proliferation of strict social and cultural rules—and of humor. Those were times of refinement; of modernization entering the life of the cities; and of attaching increased impor-

---

[22] In Poland during this period.

[23] For this article I limit my focus on humor to that having a disciplinary and playful function, skipping cases of humor that have a healing effect.

[24] On the other hand, the censorship that was common during that period strived to avoid sensitive ethnic subjects, as a result of which instead of a serious social and political satire, the public was presented with lighter topics and forms.

tance to education, character formation, and sophistication, which were perceived as constituting a difference between culture and nature.[25] Humorous representations, for example, in the form of the satirical journals, provided a small part of social life, and of the press that was then available. Moreover, they belonged rather to the genteel than to the low sense of humor. Ridicule and mocking were treated as disciplining tools, and as such, they were deeply rooted in the social processes serving to reproduce and negotiate social hierarchies.

In this sense, humor was different, performing a different function and serving purposes distinct from those it serves today. It embraced various notions, such as humor, laughter, ridicule, satire, wit, mocking and making fun, rebellious humor, and laughter at the expense of someone else's dignity or reputation. Each of them provided separate connotations.

Following Billig, we can enumerate the characteristic acts of mutual interactions between humans—which served to drag dignity down rather than to elevate meanness, to mock rather than to praise. Such a juxtaposition establishes a superior person, or a person who pretends to be superior, through which someone gets their comeuppance (Billig 2005), which is found to be funny.

The culture of refinement comprised—apart from the ability to control new technologies —the issues of morality, rational self-control, proper behavior, and good manners on the one hand, and it developed its shadow side associated with control and surveillance, a sort of panopticon, on the Other. As a model of education, which worked using the standards of modernity, the ridicule functioned to enforce group norms on the individuals in order to support culture over wildness.

This ideal found its expression in several visual representations that were characteristic of that period. Humor in its broader sense served a didactic function, as one of the tools for controlling the process of education. Michael Billig clearly highlighted this issue in his book. In its more detailed forms, people used a practice of embarrassment, mocking, and teasing in order to keep social control on the level of mutual interactions; downgrading or putting down the Others was a method of placing them in their proper social group. In this sense, some ethnic jokes referred to the social background, to a place within the social hierarchy that the object of the joke tried to get away from. The collapse of the former social order, which used to be based on social and class divisions, triggered social energies, initiated migrations of people—most often from the countryside to the cities—and caused a blurring of the old social divisions. Moreover, social advancement was perceived as a result of hard work, good education, and the shaping of one's character and morality.

In the worldviews, a separation was visible between paying attention to the negative and positive sides. It appears that the humor and caricature of the time focused on the negatives. As Billig puts it, they accentuate the positive, telling people to

---

[25] Charles Taylor presents this problem thoroughly in his book, although his comments mostly relate to the social changes taking place earlier (18th century) in western Europe (Taylor 2010).

make the most of things, to cope with dissatisfactions that might not be of their own making. It commends the individual for adapting to social conditions (ills. 15, 17, 18) rather than urging the individual to seek to change conditions that were unacceptable (Billig 2005: 11). Yet, the same author, referring to Hageseth, writes that there was pessimism present in humor, expressed by irony, satire, sarcasm, or put-down humor (Hageseth cited in Billig 1988: 60). Demeaning ethnic stereotypes were reinforced by jokes at the expense of the vulnerable groups, which reflects a whole way of experiencing the world and its vicissitudes.

In this insecure world, the positive humor, although less often present, fulfilled the function of increasing group solidarity. The same purpose was also served by the negative representations of the Other, as the disparagement of the Other cements the solidarity of "us." From this point of view, someone might be considered funny by "us" but not by everybody. However, the positive jokes, those jokes that evoke a smile and laughter of all sides, do not use a negative image. They serve to create a good climate and atmosphere by increasing group solidarity. Billig claims that the positive mindset is not directed at social change but at inner change, and in that way an individual learns to bear the unbearable in life. The negatives have to be rescued from amnesia. In his view, the ridicule is deeply rooted in social processes rather than being a character trait that can be reversed by learned optimism (Billig 2005: 32). In this sense the images in the daily press and the satirical press, as examples of public discourse, reflect the changes that were then taking place in Poland and resulted from social practice. Thus, the images do not provide a record of an individual's management of (or coping with) the surrounding social reality.

The research on humor stresses the differences between joke and wit. According to the definition of wit, it denotes the sudden discovery of a resemblance between distant ideas; true wit focuses on the resemblance of ideas, and false wit on the resemblance of words. True wit can be translated into foreign languages. In the past, wit was a highly regarded form of humor, however, more often present in anecdotes than in jokes or caricatures. It appears to have been highly appreciated as amusing cleverness in its purest form. It highlights the issue of the distance between ideas and the suddenness with which they are conjoined.

Certainly, wit determines the horizons of the sense of humor. However, does the sense of humor[26] comprise, in the same manner, jokes, ridiculing, teasing, and mocking? If it reflects an individual civilized perspective, then the world, seen at

[26] According to Daniel Wickberg, the concept of "sense of humor" has a short history, at least in its contemporary sense. It started to be used during the 1840s, and only by the 1970s was being used in its modern sense to denote the altogether familiar notion of the sense of humor as a personality characteristic. The emergence of this notion was linked to a broader change in thinking about the person. People were no longer being considered principally in terms of social position or physiological make-up. Instead, they were conceived of as autonomous individuals, possessing the enduring characteristics of individuality (Wickberg cited in Billig 2005: 12).

that angle, was perceived as full of potential moves and new variables and not as the old secure world of group affiliation. In place of permanent social divisions, ways for advancement emerged. What is more, some new models of advancement developed—in the modernity, when individual self-improvement, character shaping, and skills required, admittedly, a certain price to be paid but also appeared promising.[27] We have to differentiate between a model and practice.

Playing or Making Fun

The sense of humor comes down to its author making a certain choice from among the elements that appear in his or her field of vision. It also combines various elements freely. The resemblances of ideas and words can be played with (true and false wit), where the true elements involve ideas and the result resembles a poetic metaphor. In the case of ethnic or nonethnic Others, it would constitute a way of noticing the resemblances among disparate elements. As I mentioned earlier, true wit can be translated into foreign languages, because it is based on broader ideas that are universally comprehended apart from their immediate cultural context. True wit can be another vehicle for objectifying Others when things are seen as types and categories with which to synthetize a picture.

The purpose of humorous play is to show or pinpoint issues, which would otherwise be invisible or forgotten, that do not harmonize with the image of social, economical, or political reality or the status quo. Humor points them out via unique combinations of more or less disparate elements. Such a combination provides an unexpected element, added into such a place (out of place) that it evokes peals of laughter. The researchers of humor call such a "clash" of incompatible worlds or images that leads to laughter the *incongruence effect*. In satire, it can be laughter at an inferior one (arrogance or the wisdom of the lowly). In all cases, stereotypes may be helpful in combining disparate elements, yet within and beyond stereotypes, humor mostly requires slips into and out of seriousness.

During the period when city elites were bound by the model of modernity, in a field in which the image had become unified (in Mitchell's understanding), selecting and matching disparate elements, the figures of ridicule underwent a change. Then the target of the attack shifted, to include, among others, those who did not belong to the modernizing people and who, for various reasons, rejected the modernity approach and those who were implementing modernization outside of proper accordance with its rules. It concerns also ethnic Others.

In such a playful juxtaposition of characters and motifs, the audience realizes the oftentimes hidden contradictions, and as a result begins to treat them as an actual misunderstanding, absurdity, or offense. The common Polish representations of

[27] Many chose that path, although we can learn how difficult that path was at the time when we analyze the materials discussing the activities of the Polish provincial intelligentsia at the end of the nineteenth century (Szwarc 1983).

ethnic Others should be brought under the category of satire, although a degree of comic relief was sometimes visible in the mode of expression. In this sense, playing was used to achieve various aims:

- to indicate surprise (ill. 15);
- to convey argumentative meaning (ills. 18 and 20);
- to provide a signal that someone is aware that it might give offense (ill. 15);
- to mitigate an utterance such as a complaint or direct request (ill. 17);
- for actions and expressions conveying something that is not expected (ill. 18).

The ethnic motifs in caricatures appeared in various manners. The subject of increased tourism entered both the serious and that satirical press (ills. 19, 20, 21). In most cases, a tourist was treated with disdain, despite the popularity of images from exotic places, ethnographic exhibitions, exotic shows, theaters, and circuses in central Europe[28] and from accounts of travels. The local point of view represented in caricatures was a priority, which indicates a certain type of cognitive horizon of that period.

Overpopulation of the countryside and gradually progressing urbanization led to increased social mobility, not only domestically, but also among expatriates (ill. 25), while the class society was still firmly stuck in its foundations. The new phenomena on the territory of Poland of the time, such as industrialization and urbanization, created the new Others, which can be exemplified by the subject of vagrancy in the press, for example, *la fioraia* (the flower woman; ill. 28).

A separate topic of modernizing people is what was perceived as backward or primitive. Primitiveness,[29] from the visual representation's point of view, was related to bodily deformation, stooped posture, hairiness, and sexuality. The figures from illustrations 22 and 28 are typical, as presenting two disparate worlds, the region of Indochina and the streets of Warsaw; the former was serious while the latter seems playful in character. The similar figure of a filthy, unpredictable woman unable to make ends meet serves to personify the threat of the plague (*pestis*) in the representations of the distant Others. In the second example, primitiveness relates to familiar figures from the streets of Warsaw, evoking fear, disgust, aversion, lack of respect, and embarrassment.

In a model in which the most harmonious situation is one in which the woman remains in the care of the men or her family, the figures of women who stay outside of such protection on the one hand represented a threat to the social structure and

---

[28] As example is of note: Ashanti Show in Vienna, also other shows the tour of the Buffalo Bill theater with Indians and a stable of horses around central Europe in 1906, which stopped in the city of Marseille and in Italy, Slovenia, Austria, Hungary, Romania, the region of Stanisławowo and Lviv, Rzeszów, Tarnów, Cracow to Cieszyn, Bohemia, Germany, and France. There were visiting Warsaw, mentioned in the satirical press (e.g., Singhalese, Japanese).

[29] Hannu Salmi mentions the literary motif of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde (2010: 132) in the short story by Robert Louis Stevenson, published in 1886, as mirroring the polarization that characterized the period.

on the other hand stimulated the imagination and fears of the proponents of such a social model. This combination of images shows that the scary Other could be encountered not only "outside" but within. In both serious and playful rhetoric we can see how through both types of humor the distant and close Other were objectified.

An example of a funny representation of a German can be recognized in an illustration commemorating the anniversary of Schiller's birth (ill. 23) at which, in contrast to the regular representations (ill. 26), the threat of militarism was forgotten and the cultural standards contributed by Germany were emphasized. This illustration forms a rare case in the Polish satirical periodicals.

Conclusions: Revealing the Ideological Context

Pictures, accounts from travels, and caricatures become a tale of the culture of the time and provide to a modern reader a source of information on the past conventions and ideas that have molded the reality into culturally marked images.

The world, whether described in serious or in humorous terms, ends up forming basically the same picture—one of the same world of advancing transformations, internal trouble, economic problems, and limitations springing from the political reality. Faced with a lack of possibility to criticize Russia's political domination and its policy of increasing Russification, the Polish press produced standardized representations—serious and playful—of the Germans and the Jews, emphasizing the fact that they were also causing a threat for Poles at that time.

When analyzing, in the representations in the Polish press, the specific features of humor, images, and the manner of argumentation, it is possible to notice the beginning of an ongoing process of shifting emphasis from didacticism, aiming at reaching an ideal approaching empiricism in the sense of leaving the model behind. This phenomenon found its expression in a certain toning down of the images that diverged from the desired model.

What was the sense of exclusion related with? Exclusion was represented as related to a distortion of the norm, a form of decomposition. The predominant world of internal hierarchy was coming to an end,[30] and the social changes, resulting from the economy and urbanization, opened up new possibilities of advancement for individuals whose mobility had been limited. This new mobility involved an increased emphasis on individual identities and abilities. The position in which one would have to choose between family ties or one's own path represented a dilemma, one that was significant for the turn-of-the-century period (nineteenth to twentieth centuries).

All of these spheres produced altered Others—persons outside of both the old hierarchy and the new. Industrialization and urbanization disturbed the previous state of affairs and created new divisions: on the one hand producing the Others as

[30] Porter-Szuecs (2011: 111) states that the end of the 1870s and the 1880s were characterized by a feeling that soon something significant would happen in Warsaw.

figures who represented new economic elites, and on the other, the new Others, enumerated above, who could find no place in either the old world of affiliations or the new world of increased individual initiative, which also kept spreading its influence in Poland.

The rift between the culture of the city and the culture of the countryside was also notable in visual sources (ill. 25). Despite the decline of the landed gentry and the end of its aspirations for leadership (Szwarc 1983: 193), the provincial intelligentsia remained more dependent on, and smaller in number than, the landed gentry.[31] The intelligentsia of the time was manifesting its intellectual activity via newspaper subscription and membership in the local social clubs. To some extent they formed public opinion through exchanging ideas and reaching a common ground, though the group was not homogenous. Due to censorship, national topics did not appear and remained hidden.

What was funny and who enjoyed the humor in visual representations? The way of perceiving the reality, present in the press, was a product of the period, circulated among the city dwellers and part of the provincial intelligentsia. In this sense the Polish eye of an educated individual of that period operated within a limited sphere of contact (the annexed territories, towns/countryside) and remained hesitant, suspended between the models of modernity and tradition, between the benefits of civilization and the inertia of living within provincial communities. These two different outlooks and types of argumentation are detectable in the representations and images and also in their products in the form of the disparate Others. With reference to the internal world, on the one hand, there is the dominating picture of the backward countryside, the village, a certain group of people; while on the other hand, we have the threats presented by the ethnic groups that were better at adapting to the model of modernity. In the expressions related to the external world—pictures of more or less advanced demonization of the neighbors, the Others—the strangers are present, dictated by the instinct of self-defense.

In serious and playful use of stereotypes, the general goal was similar—to mark order in a broad, shifting world. The serious representations were unable to detach from what they represented, endangered by creating prejudice unintentionally. The humorist representations, due to their specific attitude and the tools employed, both playful and satirically targeting stereotypes, did not provide space for idealization of one's own culture and tradition. This distinction notwithstanding, it still remains a fact that both attitudes—playful and serious—were unable to render the contemporary reality in a sufficiently exhaustive manner.[32]

---

[31] According to Andrzej Szwarc, the main criterion for the appraisal of intelligentsia was the way of spending time—in the country, playing cards or billiards and exchanging local news in conversation were infrequently interwoven with idle discussions about grand politics. Such a model was also associated with the landed gentry and clergy (Szwarc 1983: 197).

[32] Text partially translated by Edyta Jaczewska.

References

Bergmann O. 2012, *"Prawdziwa cnota krytyk się nie boi...": karykatura w czasopismach satyrycznych Drugiej Rzeczypospolitej* (*The True Virtue Is Not Afraid of Criticism: Caricature in Satirical Journals of the Second Republic*), Warszawa.

Billig M. 2005, *Laughter and Ridicule. Towards a Social Critique of Humour*, London.

Burke P. 2012 [2008], *Naoczność. Materiały wizualne jako świadectwa historyczne* (*Eyewitnessing: The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*), Kraków.

Combs J. E. 2011 [2000], *Świat zabaw. Narodziny nowego wieku ludycznego* (*Play World. The Emergence of the New Ludenic Age*), Warszawa.

Górska H., Lipiński E. 1977, *Z dziejów karykatury polskiej* (*From the History of Polish Caricature*), Warszawa.

Kozintsev A. 2010, *Mirror of Laughter*, New Brunswick NJ.

Mitchell W. J. T. 1984, *What Is an Image?* New Literary History, vol. 15, no. 3, pp. 503–537.

Porter-Szuecs B. 2011, *Gdy nacjonalizm zaczął nienawidzić. Wyobrażenia nowoczesnej polityki w dziewiętnastowiecznej Polsce* (*When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth-Century Poland*), Sejny.

Pratt M. L. 2011 [2008], *Imperialne spojrzenie. Pisarstwo podróżnicze a transkulturacja* (*Imperial Eyes. Studies in Travel Writing and Transculturation*), Kraków.

Rapport N., Overing J. 2003, *Social and Cultural Anthropology. The Key Concepts*, London–New York.

Rivers K. 1991, *Transmutations. Understanding Literary and Pictorial Caricature*, Lanham–New York–London.

Salmi H. 2010 [2008], *Europa XIX wieku. Historia kulturowa* (*Europe of the 19th Century a Cultural History*), Kraków.

Sztandara M. 2006, *Fotografia etnograficzna i etnograficzność fotografii. Studium z historii myśli etnograficznej i fotografii II poł. XIX i I poł. XX wieku* (*The Ethnographic Photography and Ethnographicality of Photography. A Study in the History of the Ethnographical Thought and Photography of the Second Half of the 19th and the First Half of the 20th Century*), Opole.

Szwarc A. 1983, *Inteligencja polska. Studia* (*Polish Intelligentsia. Studies*), vol. 3 (ed.) R. Czepulis-Rastenis, Warszawa, pp. 187–214.

Śnieżko D. 2010, *Wizualizacje obcości w literaturze dawnej* (*Images of Otherness in the Old Literature*) [in:] W. Bolecki, A. Dziadek (ed.) *Kulturowe wizualizacje doświadczenia*, Warszawa.

Taylor Ch. 2010 [2004], *Nowoczesne imaginaria społeczne* (*Modern Social Imaginaries*), Kraków.



GALICIAN PEDAGOGY

The way of creating proper and loyal citizens and state officials.

15 *Liberum Veto* 1903.



ARMY IN PEACETIME
The bayonet training.
Liberum Veto, 1903. 16



CARNIVAL IN POZNAŃ

Inhabitants of Prussian partition.

17 *Liberum Veto*, 1904, Carnival Edition.



A TATTOOED MAN

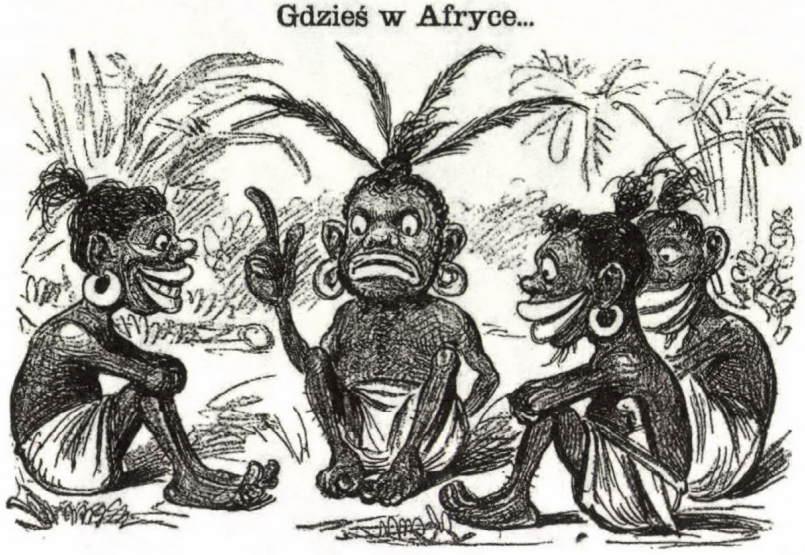
Now a man from Albania is staying in Warsaw … To keep our readers informed about all the unusual personalities, we present his image. The tattoo was done in India, not by enemies, but by close friends, and the process of tattooing was finally completed by his wife.

Mucha, 1875, May 3. 18



Remembrance of the summer holiday-makers. How many donkeys do you have? It depends on how many travelers will come.

19 *Mucha*, 1880, October 17.



SOMEWHERE IN AFRICA ...

Listen boys, we were supposed to go to Warsaw to show our art, but I got a message that "Wild-America," this silly joke, returned from Warsaw without a cent. Now we have to find a more stupid city in Europe ...

Mucha, 1890, May 4.



FROM THE NOTES/REPORT OF A TRAVELER, MR. INQUISITIVE

How Mr. Inquisitive imagined the eastern beauty of Constantinople.

And how he really found it.

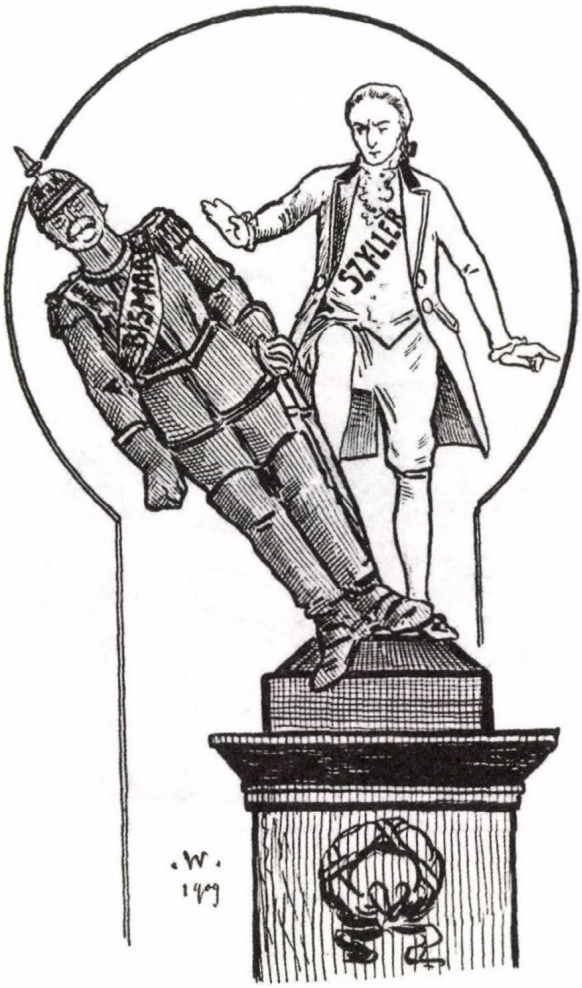
21 *Mucha*, 1896, September 27.

92



ON THE INDO-CHINESE BORDER. THE PLAGUE

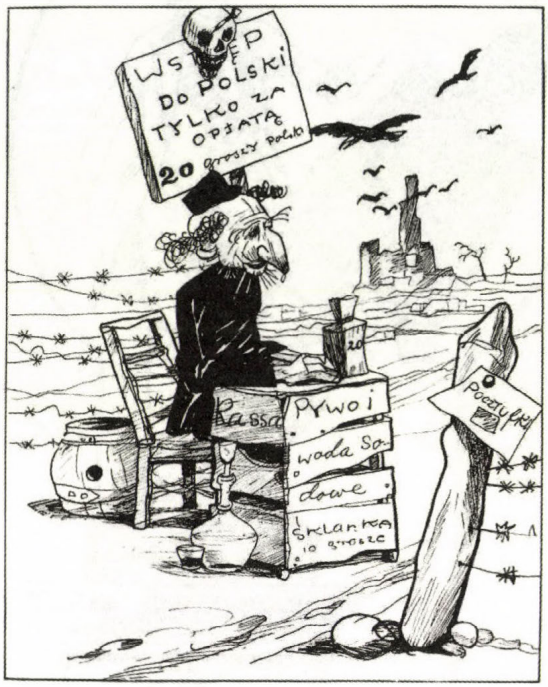
Mucha, 1911, February 17.



150TH ANNIVERSARY OF FRIEDRICH SCHILLER'S BIRTH

Schiller knocking down Bismarck from the statue: Get out!

Mucha, 1909, November 19.



ON THE BORDER OF POLAND

I don't mind who rules in this country
because its gates are always in our charge.

Mucha, 1916, January 24. 24



WE WSI POLSKIEJ.

IN A POLISH VILLAGE

What is culture? All villagers involved in learning. Who caused it?

The landlord? Immigrants from America said that no illiterate was allowed to enter the USA.

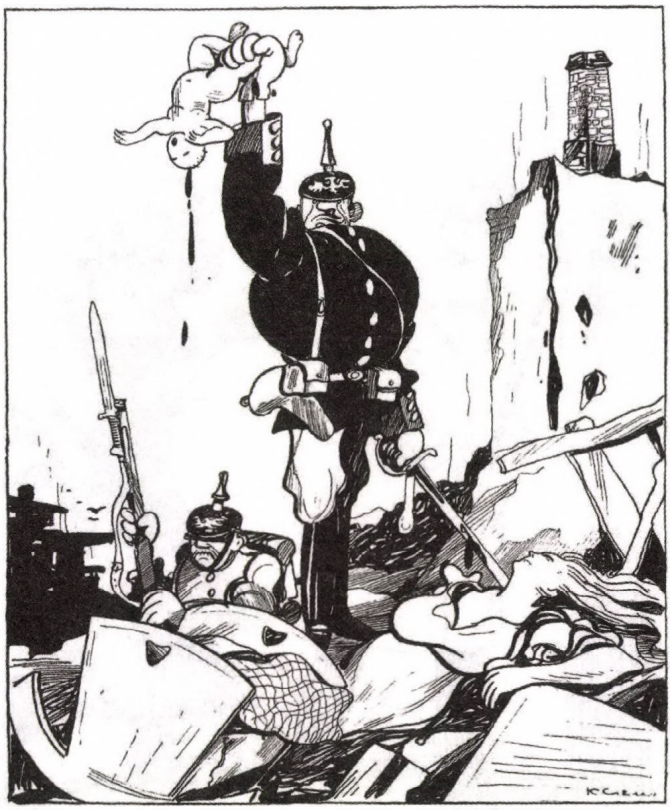
25 *Mucha*, 1913, January 31.



96

A GERMAN SOLDIER OR THE BEST WEAPONRY

Mucha, 1894, April 1. 26



***MUCHA* (*THE FLY*) IN KALISZ**

27 K. Gruss, *Mucha*, 1914, no. 36.



WARSZAWSKA FIORAJA.

THE WARSAW STREET FLORIST

Mucha, 1898, April 3. 28

2. Forming Nations and Constructing the Visual "National Body"

Anssi Halmesvirta

Encountering the Hungarian Alterity: An Analysis of a Narrative by a Finnish Traveller

The approach in this article is historical-analytical: it is well-known that entities called Identities do not exist without something that is usually called the Others and that their relationship is historically preconditioned. But the contested nature of common-sensical Identity becomes even more apparent when its more philosophical pair, Alterity, comes onto the scene, for example, in colonial settings (Gikandi 1996: introd.). The Alterity denotes a state of challenging, contesting, or opposing Identity, which is something positive, coherent, and integrated. Encountering Alterity can lead to transformation or even disintegration of Identity. The dichotomy of Identity and Alterity, in any case, implies tension and conflict; as we hark back into history it can be seen most glaringly in the clash between Jewish and Aryan identities as formulated in Nazi racist ideology. In it they were juxtaposed as irreconcilable Alterities, and irrespective of how pseudo-scientific and mythical they nowadays seem, they were for a long time widely accepted stereotypes in Europe, the irreconcilability of which led to unprecedented horrors in its modern history.

Ideas of national awakening and the building of a national state were for a long time imbued with a "racial" dichotomy of Identity and Alterity also in Finland: for example, the Finns were often identified in European ethnology and anthropology as primordially "Mongolian" rather than the more civilized, "Germanic" Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland, or they were assigned to represent a middle grade between barbarism and civilization—a position defining Finnish Identity, which permeated Finnish travel writing and, consequently, directly affected the notions of Hungarians that were held by the Finnish-minded (*fennoman*) intelligentsia from at least the 1860s on. It was as if the Finns had been suffering from an inferiority complex in their relations with the Swedish speakers, which made them desperately seek mental and cultural support from such kinship peoples as Hungarians and Estonians (Halmesvirta 2001: 107–114; 2004: 21–27).

The concept of Alterity also carries with it some concomitant key concepts that make Identity and Alterity, so to say, work together in reality. For example, there is *boundary*, namely, the separating line, the stepping over of which means entering the realm of the unknown or foreign territory of the Other. Motives for crossing the boundary may be multifarious, ranging from curiosity to hatred (i.e. war). The Russians were for the Finns rather "devilish" or, at least, "distasteful" Others from the end of the nineteenth century and during the interwar years, in particular. But when Finns and Russians came to meet face to face in postwar peacetime, the

encounter helped them to jettison old prejudices and stereotypes and realize that, in everyday matters such as foreign trade and tourism, they had been engaged in only useless and mutually harmful skirmishes and animosities. What came to Hungarians, geographically far away but mentally close in the sense of kinship relations, was that the Finns could quite easily get across the boundary, since their expectations for meeting friendly and receptive relatives were exceptionally high.

In this article, the dichotomy of Identity and Alterity is applied in examining one instance of imaginary/real travel into the space and mind of the Other. The texts to be analyzed here are Antti Jalava's (1846–1909) compendious travel book, *Unkarin maa ja kansa* (*Hungary, The Country and Its People*, 1876), and his shorter but lavishly illustrated *Maantieteellisiä kuvaelmia X-XI* (*Geographical Descriptions, Hungary*, 2 vols. 1882–1883), which are narratives in the dualistic meaning of the genre of travel literature. The textual analysis is complemented by explanations of the three pictures that show the so called national characteristics of people living in Hungary.[1]

Antti Jalava was a Finnish-minded, *fennoman* intellectual dedicating his scholarly work to Hungarian affairs since the early 1870s.[2] He wanted so eagerly to associate himself with "Hungarianness" that he even used the Hungarian first name Antal when in Hungary in order to ease the encounter, thus crossing the Identity boundary in order to immerse himself in Alterity. As he put it, ever since the Finns had acquired enough knowledge and experience of the Germans (Swedes) and Slavs (Russians), it was high time to get familiar with kinship (in Finnish: *heimolainen*) peoples, the Finno-Ugrians. Jalava's texts can be read both as weapons in the *fennomen*'s struggle for rule in Finland and as media to ease anxiety for survival between imperialist Germans and Slavic cultures and to awaken the combative spirit in the name of "originality" of the Finno-Ugric culture in Finland and in Hungary. Difficulties and obstacles as well as successes faced by the Finns and the Hungarians in their history were being projected onto each other and analogies and parallels were being used to, politically speaking, teach them both.

Jalava's own mission was to get closely acquainted with the Hungarians whom he thought to be the most civilized of Finno-Ugrians (Jalava 1882: 3). His Hungarian project was closely connected to the building of the national Identity[3] of the Finns vis-à-vis the Swedish identity in Finland, and he belonged to the culturally and, since the 1860s, also politically influential *fennoman* movement, the leaders of which sent him to investigate higher education institutions in Germany and Austro-Hungary. In Hungary, he attended lessons, seminars, and examinations and col-

[1] They have been identified as copies of Mihály Munkácsy's (1844–1900) works. Most likely, they were sent to Jalava by his Hungarian colleague, József Szinnyei in the early 1880s.

[2] The list of Jalava's works can be found in *Suomalais-unkarilaisten kulttuurisuhteitten bibliografia vuoteen 1981* (*Bibliography of Finnish-Hungarian Relations*), 1982, 40–42.

[3] Namely, giving answers to the questions of who the Finns were and where they originated.

lected data and discussed with teachers in Budapest, Debrecen, and Eger. The first friction in Jalava's adaptation to Hungarianness showed itself when he realized how the Hungarians, in their fervor for their own language teaching, were prejudiced against minority, in particular, Croatian and Slovak language education (Jalava 1876a: 186–188).

Jalava's stay in Hungary (from January to August 1875) was nevertheless his quite personal, intimate (ad)venture; at the outset he optimistically surmised that he could find a kinship people (*heimokansa*)—imagining a common "cradle" of Finns and Hungarians in the Altai Mountains (Jalava 1883: 6) and a linguistic (Finno-Ugric) family resemblance thus erasing all Alterity between them.[4] However, when getting better acquainted with Hungarian realities, this prefigured common Identity was shaken and transformed by a reevaluation of Finnishness versus Hungarianness. Hungary's at times surprising dissimilarity from the Finns, created much narrative tension and contrasts that could be seen also in the pictures containing disjunctive and wild gestures of difference, foreign to Jalava's Finnish readers in general. Consequently, Finnish Identity became critically reassessed but finally reaffirmed by experiences of peculiar difference in Alterity. In the end, Jalava had been reinventing himself in Hungary and in doing so also reinforcing the Finnish progressive, *fennoman* bourgeois national Identity and its civil values of tolerance and moderation up against a Hungarian conservative, reactionary, semi-feudalist Identity.

Jalava Among the Hungarians

Let us now follow the process of Jalava's transformation in Hungary. On his arrival (January 1875) in Budapest he sensed an immediate familiarity with "everything," in particular, with Hungarian language, which sounded to him very much like his own "sweet" Finnish, although he could not say whether it was based on "imagination" or on "reality." Now, his childhood tongue, Swedish, sounded "gargling," but soon he also realized how difficult it was to really learn to speak Hungarian (Jalava 1876b: iii). Rosy impressions of Budapest soon evaporated as he saw how different from Finland Hungary really was. Hungarians lived in a "Southern" country that was richer and had more fertile in soil than Finland, but the harvest was very often ruined by drought. There were magnificent baths and hot fountains but a serious lack of clean drinking water. What was even worse was that "poisonous" fogs caused feverish diseases—the infant mortality rate was terribly high (33%, in Finland approx. 15%)—so that Hungary was actually an unhealthier country than Finland. This could not but affect the national character of Hungarians, which

[4] Jalava knew that Finnish and Hungarian were not mutually intelligible, but he recognized that there were similarities in the grammar, e.g., in the "word-roots," showing common ancestry. The theory of Finno-Ugric origin of the Hungarians was challenged by the theory of Hunnic origin, the former winning ground in Hungarian scholarly circles in the 1880s (Jalava 1876b: 176, 184; 1883d).

was more temperamental than the one of the Finns, Jalava surmised (Jalava 1876b: 4–5, 9). Historically viewed, the main difference between Hungary and Finland for Jalava was that the peasantry of Hungary was still enslaved; whereas, Finnish peasants had enjoyed considerable "freedom" already under an otherwise "oppressive" Swedish rule (pre-1809). In Hungary, the nobles had fought against each other at the expense of the serfs, which had led to "uprisings, persecution, murder and destruction" (Jalava 1883:7). However, in the nineteenth century, each nation had risen to realize its own national consciousness: the Hungarians during the reform movement and the Finns, the *fennoman* one. Jalava picked out Széchenyi and later Deák (the architect of the 1867 compromise) as the main (moderate) heroes, and castigated Kossuth as a French-type revolutionary ("political jester") given to excesses of "national pride," too typical of Hungarians and repulsive to commonsensical and moderate *fennomen* (who believed that the position of the Finns could also be improved by compromises with the Russian government, and thus diminish the dominance of the Swedes in Finland) (Jalava 1876b: 40–55, 59). However much Jalava admired "noble" Hungarians, he often balanced this evaluation by pointing to other peculiarities of their character (ill. 30).

Although favorable natural conditions had made them "honest, open- and noble-minded, enthusiastically patriotic, careless of sorrows and misfortunes, valiant in war (two imperial armies were needed to beat them in 1849), chivalrous in manners, sharp and splendid speakers," they were too often "over-ambitious, proud, boastful and ostentatious" (Jalava 1882: 12). They liked pomp and luxury, they were not prone to painstaking efforts and their enthusiasm was soon exhausted. They were usually deep in debt as German and Jewish bankers and usurers became enriched at their expense. When thinking big, they imagined that Hungary could become one of the great powers of Europe, and ready to fulfill its mission to lead the peoples of the Carpathian Basin (Jalava 1876b: 60, 65), but at the same time they lived beyond their means, were easily corrupted amusing themselves as they could, and enjoying ease and comfort. Most striking to Jalava was their national egotism: "Outside Hungary there is no life, but if there is, it is just a little" (Jalava 1876b: 324). On the positive side, it egged them on to sacrifice their fortunes and lives for their country. This Jalava regarded as exemplary to his "sullen" compatriots who should learn to use it against the *svecomen* (Swedish-minded, dominant minority in Finland). On the negative side, such an egotism made Hungarians scorn the Others, most notably the Slav minorities ("Slovak is not a man": Jalava 1876b: 326), the Romanians, and the Jews. In politics, it offended the principles of tolerance and moderation, and Jalava was shocked that even Görgei, the general who laid down arms in face of an inevitable defeat in the war of liberation in 1848–1849, whom Jalava met and respected, considered Slavs too uncivilized for home rule. In Jalava's vision, Austria-Hungary could have been reformed toward federation, but the Hungarians (not to say anything of the Habsburgs), "hot-blooded" as they were, exaggerated everything bad in Others and good in themselves, and their politics was spoiled by too much talk-

ing and quarrelling (Jalava 1876b: 217–224). Against this "weakness" in character, Jalava's romantic, unrealistic toleration advised: to love oneself did not mean that one should hate the Others. His main dilemma with the Hungarian brothers boiled down to this contradiction: the Hungarians, with whom he had initially identified himself so closely, turned out to be as "oppressive" toward the Other as the enemy of the *fennomen*—the Swedish speakers in Finland. How to love a brother who had been blinded by his self-love to the point that he could not see the value of Others in contributing to the civilization of mankind? And had not they just (in 1868) enacted a law that should have given them rights of representation? Perhaps they would learn that they could not afford to remain living in such a dream of superiority?! Jalava did not express this lament in his travel book but in his private correspondence (Jalava 1948: 164). He did not dare to criticize Hungarians openly and even hesitated to have his travel book translated, as he knew that Hungarian nationality policy was a point of *noli me tangere* for them (Tervonen 1995: 28).[5] Nevertheless, Jalava had his own axe to grind: Hungarian patriotic fervor could arouse the slumbering *fennoman* spirit to action against the *svecomen* in Finland. The warning message was that it should not be carried to the extremes encountered in Hungary.

When encountering the Hungarians on the spot, less charming features came to the fore. Jalava paid special attention to countryside and peasant representatives of Hungarianness, a theme surely interesting to Finnish readers. In spite of the fact that the status of the peasant had after the Revolution of 1848–1849 and the 1867 compromise improved, he still was not the hard-working and persevering, backwoods-ideal-type Finnish peasant Paavo from Saarijärvi, the hero of the Swedish-Finnish national poet, J. L. Runeberg (Jalava 1876b: 144). His Hungarian brother was "lazy and careless," working only for subsistence because the soil was so fertile that it gave good yield almost by itself. No work was done on the fields during the winter; no manure was used. After a day's work, country-folk gathered in the *kocsma* (pub), where they could chat about daily politics and drink spirits and wine. Jalava's illustration of a country-type was rather a stereotyped representation of a local guardsman than a picture of a real peasant (see ill. 29).

Both such a state of Hungarian country-folk and the former image of the nobility confirmed Jalava's conclusion to the effect that the Hungarian countryside was in stagnation, the remnants of the feudal past obstructing the modern processes of development, that is, the agricultural reform and popular enlightenment so dear to *fennomen*, who were eager to civilize the Finnish peasant. In contrast to Hungarian inactivity, Jalava ascribed "patience and diligence"—mental forces of progress—not only to "hard-working" Germans but also to the "detested, selfish and cunning Jews," who were effectively assimilating to the Hungarians (Jalava 1883:10). To

[5] In Hungary, Jalava's book was found to be "the best and irritatingly truthful" about Hungary, and in Finland it was regarded as very timely because information on Hungary, "the other civilized nation among Ugric peoples," was so scarce (Hunfalvy 1877a; Godenhjelm 1877).

Jalava, it was the Jews who manifested the ultimate Alterity, sucking the life-force of Hungarians. He had learned that they, now dehumanized by him as "greedy leeches" (in Finnish: *ahnas verimato*), owned the largest businesses and controlled the flow of capital—economic facts that had made many a Hungarian regret that they had given them citizen's rights in 1868. It was alarming that the Hungarians allowed Jewish influence to grow; if the Hungarians would not themselves take on hard work in industry, professions, banking, and trade, they would remain poor and could not join the "progressive" forces in Europe in the future (Jalava 1883:10; 1876b: 335). In Finland, the "Jewish problem" had been solved by expelling street mongers and small shopkeepers from the bourgeois capital, Helsinki, sending them to St. Petersburg in 1875, so that the *fennomen* had no longer anything to be afraid of from that quarter (Jalava 1876b: 327) (ill. 31).

In presenting his main figures of Hungary, the double effect of inclusion and exclusion was utilized by Jalava's politics of difference. Jalava got personally and intimately acquainted with many a Hungarian but, nevertheless, used stereotypes in order to show a variety of types of the Hungarian man. What happened was an act of valorization of the Finnish self, which implied the remolding, even transformation, of Identity in at least two ways: (1) the experiences of the Hungarian and Others (Gypsy, not shown here) triggered sentiments that invited Jalava, the post-Romantic traveler, to a game of give and take and (2) in the end, they led to the erection of specific boundaries between the Alterity of Hungarians and a reaffirmation of his new Identity—politically best exemplified in his rejection of Hungarian nationality policy, which, opposite to *fennomania*, had a more tolerant attitude toward the Swedish-speaking minority. Seeing the Hungarian, comparing his national characteristics to the Finnish ones, and observing his political culture through his own eyes made Jalava critical of what Hungarians really could achieve in his civilizing mission in the Carpathian Basin.

Nationality and Alterity

In Jalava's conception, the question of nationality and evaluation of Others/Identities were intimately coupled, in keeping with the contemporary ideas of comparative politics. It was a much-tried tool of political analysis by European intellectuals in the fin-de-siècle, and it was applied also in attempts at grasping Finland's position in the Russian Empire, as well as Hungary's position in the Austro-Hungarian one (Halmesvirta 1990: ch. 5). Younger *fennomen*, like Jalava, were keenly interested in the status of small nationalities of Europe since the uprisings of 1848–1849 and evaluated their freedom movements that demanded more autonomy. In this context, Hungary provided a point of comparison and of cultural affinity for Jalava.

Compared with the Finns, the Hungarians already enjoyed what the Finns yearned for, that is, that their language was the only official one again since 1867. Jalava approved of this Hungarian solution because a "Babylonic" amalgam of numerous languages in a state could not suit the needs of unity of a national state. For

Jalava, it seemed quite natural in Hungary that the Hungarian authorities had to "discipline" (Jalava's phrase) fifteen different nationalities in order to keep the state together. However, Hungarians had already gone too far in trying to abolish the use of other languages either by closing minority schools or by denying the support of state finances to them. Relative to this, the situation of Finnish in Finland was a paradox; there the language of the Finnish-speaking majority (92%) was treated in the way minorities and their languages were treated in Hungary. The "lust for power and thirst for suppression" of Swedish speakers was most glaringly seen in their efforts at obstructing the establishment of Finnish schools for Finnish speakers; this violated the "natural rights" of languages (Jalava 1876b: 349; Tervonen 1987: 321–322).

As we have seen, Jalava approached the Hungarian nationality problem from the point of view of Finnish language strife, the *fennoman* onslaught against the predominance of the Swedish in order to provide ammunition in the *fennomen*'s own nationality policy doctrine: that "one state could be ruled only by one nation." According to this integrative doctrine, minorities should not, however, be oppressed by any unnatural coercion but they had gradually to assimilate or die out—a Hungarian lesson of up-to-date "social Darwinism" for multinational states. "Freedom" (i.e., natural competition) and the rational statesmanship should have been the forces to regulate the process by which a nation became the "strongest"; in the end, in Hungary the "masters" should be Hungarians, in Finland, Finns but without despotic measures (Jalava 1876b: 337). The "magyarization" of minorities of Hungary violated the principle that every nation was entitled freely to cultivate its language and culture, and in keeping with this principle, Jalava relied rather on "natural growth" and competition in economy and culture controlled by smooth "guiding" by the Hungarian State that would in the long run assimilate "national caricatures" into Hungarianness. This process would result in "happiness" for the minorities, and—what was paramount to Hungarianness in Jalava's opinion—it would preserve the vital force of the Hungarian nation, for example, in the face of threatening Germanization (Jalava 1876b: 319–321, 348–350).

To put it in the language of political systems, Jalava envisaged a "democratic," federal state ruled by Hungarians as the best solution for the future. It would have been acceptable also for the Western powers, for it would keep pan-Slavist movements at bay in central and eastern Europe (Jalava 1876b: 352–362). It would secure the balance of power between West and East, and it was favorable to the peaceful progress for small nations like Hungary and Finland between West and East.

From his visit to Hungary, Jalava concluded: Finns and Hungarians were "brothers of the same flesh and blood" (Jalava 1876b: 365), confirming the possibility of understanding of and identification with Hungarian Alterity, which was geographically far away but close enough in terms of kinship relations and national characteristics. However, the reunion could not become complete: when

reinventing himself, Jalava painstakingly wrestled with the refusal of change, which implied a political message for the Finns, too: Hungarianness was not the kind of Alterity from which one could learn the politics of moderation and tolerance. This he concretely experienced when joining the electoral campaign of Jókai Mór—his favorite Hungarian writer, the works of whom he translated for the Finnish theatre—in 1875. To Jalava, Hungarian canvassing was a corrupt political circus. What was valuable in the Hungarian Alterity was what was lacking in the *fennomen*'s fighting-spirit—the "fierce patriotism and national feeling" (Jalava 1883a: 12) with which the Hungarians defended their country against Others. And the Finnish-Hungarian identification worked still on a higher, metahistorical level: both Hungarians and Finns performed their missions in the service of civilization: the Hungarians protecting the West against "barbarians" in the South and the Finns in the North against the Russian, Slavic menace (Jalava 1876b: 366–367).

Epilogue

The preconditions for cooperation between Finnish and Hungarian scholars in the field of Finno-Ugric studies improved considerably at the beginning of the 1880s. Jalava was nominated a supernumerary lecturer at the University of Helsinki in 1880, and he published the first *Unkarin kielen oppikirja* (*Hungarian Grammar*, 1880) with his friend József Szinnyei (1857–1943), who visited Finland 1879–1881 and published his own travel book, *Az ezer tó országa* (*A Land of a Thousand Lakes*, 1885). An opportunity to boost scholarly relations and Finno-Ugric cultural revival ensued in 1881, when the Finnish Literary Society and Hungarian Academy of Sciences celebrated their fiftieth anniversary. Jalava hurried to remind them that "the kinship of Finns and Hungarians had been for a long time a well-established fact," and for his part, Szinnyei bluntly stated that when they had lived together in their cradle in the East, they had spoken a common, "original language" (Jalava 1882: 6–7; Szinnyei 1881: 192–193). It was a great moment of mutual Identity-building at the expense of Alterity, and it is no wonder why some Finnish liberals in Finland suspected that "magyaromaniac" (i.e., overflown enthusiasm toward things Hungarian) *fennomen* neglected the cultivation of English and German literature and forgot that they had more receptive relatives, the Estonians, living quite nearby (Tervonen 1987: 340).

In the 1890s, the fears of the policy of imperial (St. Petersburg, Vienna) integration started to surface, and the so-called Eastern Question of how to deal with the Ottoman Empire remained acute. Jalava urged the Hungarians, still "inflamed by pernicious passion for discord," to concentrate on internal conciliation, alleviating social grievances and securing rights for the national minorities. In 1909, he ominously remarked on the possible fate of small nations in eastern Europe to Szinnyei, "Cold spell in Spring, in nature and in state" (Jalava in Szinnyei 1881: 147–148; Tervonen 1996: 397). It was only after World War I, long after Jalava's death and when both Finland and Hungary had become independent, that Finnish-Hungar-

ian relations were again lifted onto the stage where they appeared to overstep the boundaries of Identity and Alterity (Halmesvirta 2010: 35–41).

References

Primary sources

Godenhjelm B. F. 1877, Unkarin maa ja kansa (Hungary, The Country and Its People), *Kirjallinen kuukauslehti*, no. 9, pp. 204–207.

Hunfalvy P. 1877, Történeti irodalom (Historical Literature), *Századok*, vol. 11, pp. 334–346.

Jalava A. 1876a, Matkakertomus A. Almbergilta (*A Travelogue by A. Almberg*), *Tidskrift utgifven af Pedagogiska Föreningen i Finland*, no. 3, pp. 151–188.

—1876b, *Unkarin maa ja kansa. Neljäkymmentä matkakirjettä* (*Hungary, The Country and Its People. Forty Letters by a Traveller*), Helsinki.

—1882, *Maantieteellisiä kuvaelmia X. Unkari 1* (*Geographical Descriptions X. Hungary 1*), Kansanvalistusseura: Helsinki.

—1883a, *Maantieteellisiä kuvaelmia XI. Unkari 2 (Geographical Descriptions XI. Hungary 2*), Kansanvalistusseura: Helsinki.

—1883b, Kysymys Suomen ja Unkarin kielten sukulaisuudesta (On the Question of the Relation of Finnish and Hungarian Languages), *Uusi Suometar*, no. 81.

Suomalais-unkarilaisten kulttuurisuhteitten bibliografia vuoteen 1981 (*Bibliography of Finnish-Hungarian Relations*) 1982, Helsinki.

Szinnyei J. 1881, Niitä näitä kielitieteen alalla (Considerations on Linguistic Problems), [in:] A. Jalava (ed.), *Unkarin albumi 1* (*Hungarian Album*), Jyväskylä, pp. 88–101.

References

Gikandi S. 1996, *Maps of Englishness. Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism*, New York.

Halmesvirta, A. 1990, *The British Conception of the Finnish 'Race', Nation and Culture, 1760–1918*, Studia Historica 34, Suomen Historiallinen Seura, Helsinki.

—2001, Identity in Difference: Antti Jalava's Hungary of 1875 Revisited, *Studi finno-ugrici 1999–2001*, Napoli, pp. 107–134.

—2004, Identity Versus Alterity: Some Analytical Considerations, [in:] H. Fischer (ed.), *The National Awakening of Endangered Uralic Peoples*, Hamburg, pp. 29–33.

—2010, Transformation of the Hungarian Image of the Finn: The Results of Count Teleki's Expedition to Finland, [in:] T. Bata, Zs. Szarvas (eds.), *Past and Present Stereotypes—Ethnological, Anthropological Perspectives*, Budapest, pp. 35–44.

Jalava I. 1948, *Antti Jalava. Tavallisen miehen tarina* (*Antti Jalava. A Story of an Ordinary Man*), Helsinki.

Tervonen V. (ed.) 1987, *Pál Hunfalvy ja suomalaiset* (*Pál Hunfalvy and the Finns*), Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran toimituksia 197, Helsinki.

—(ed.) 1995, *József Budenzin ja Antti Jalavan kirjeitä vuosilta 1875–1892* (*The Correspondence of József Budenz and Antti Jalava, 1875–1892*), Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran toimituksia 220, Helsinki.

—(ed.) 1996, *József Szinnyein ja Antti Jalavan kirjeitä vuosilta 1880–1909* (*The Correspondence of József Szinnyei and Antti Jalava, 1880–1909*), Suomalais-ugrilaisen Seuran toimituksia 224, Helsinki.



Poor boy in a *csárda* (countryside pub). Here a drunken countryside guardsman makes gestures of "wildness," repugnant to a Protestant *fennoman* like Jalava. He felt sorry for this kinship-brother: his "jocular and light-minded" character tempts him to spend his pastime in a *csárda*. The notice on the wall reads "STATARIUM," which tells of the extraordinary law by which those who offended Jews were prosecuted during the 1870s.

29 A. Jalava 1883, p. 8.



Unkarilainen juhlapuvussa.

The Hungarian "nobleman" in his festive attire. He was the most tolerable type for Jalava but still carrying features of Alterity, both positive and negative.

A. Jalava 1883, p. 10.



Juutalainen kaupustelija.

Jewish street monger. He was the wholly repulsive Alterity. He was coined the usurer and usurper, who sold alcohol and other products at high prices and interest to "weak" Hungarians. Hungarians, as many others in Europe, despised Jewry as an "inferior but devious race" —the signs of antisemitism growing in late-nineteenth-century Europe.

31 A. Jalava 1883, p. 11.

Anelia Kassabova

Inclusion and Exclusion: The Role of Photography in the Nation-Building Process in Bulgaria From Approximately 1860 to World War I

In this article I will highlight the impact of photographic practices on the process of the historical and social construction of the "national body" in Bulgaria between 1860 and World War I.[1] Concepts of presentation and reception must be viewed as historically specific. Ways of visual presentation are not only embedded in particular ocular epistemologies, which are organized by optical and discursive figures, but also linked to specific discourses and forms of social power and are, consequently, a particular matrix for organizing relations between the observer and the observed—the visible and the invisible (Tagg 1988; Jaeger 2000; Sontag 2008; Pinney 2003).

I will elaborate on the work of three generations of photographers Karastoyanov, who worked in almost every field of photography: commercial studio photography, photojournalism, war photography, and art photography. The first photo studio of Anastas Karastoyanov (1822–1880) was registered in Belgrade in 1862/1863 under the name "Anastas N. Stojanović." Soon, Karastoyanov acquired the status of "court photographer" and became a Serbian resident (*podanik*). During the Russo-Ottoman War of 1877–1878 he moved to Svishtov (contemporary Bulgaria) and founded one of the first studios in the new capital of Sofia after the establishment of the Bulgarian national state.

In 1880, Anastas Karastoyanov died, passing on his studio to his sons Ivan (1853–1922) and Dimitar (1856–1919), who continued the business under the name "Brothers Karastoyanov" and with separate studios after 1886. In 1888, Ivan Karastoyanov became Bulgarian court photographer. Dimitar Karastoyanov worked together with his wife, Rayna Baldzhieva Karastoyanova (1878–1958). Rayna began

[1] Project "Visualizing Family, Gender Relations, and the Body. The Balkans approximately 1860–1950," Austrian Science Fund (FWF): P 22104-G18 at the Centre for Southeast European History and Anthropology, University of Graz. I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Karl Kaser, who introduced the visual methods in the Southeast European history research, to my colleagues Barbara Derler and Ana Djordjević, and to all of the partner institutions that supported this project, providing digital copies of valuable photographs and postcards for the online Visual Archive of Southeast Europe (VASE). We owe the online archive VASE to the Center for Information Modelling in the Humanities at the University of Graz. The online archive VASE is in progress and will contain approximately 2,500 images by the middle of 2013: http://gams.uni-graz.at/context:vase.

as retoucher and became a photographer, but there are almost no photographs personally signed by her. Ivan and Dimitar studied in different eastern and western European cities and had many work stays in Vienna, Paris, Berlin, and Venice (Pecev 1971; Boev 1983; Parvanova 2010). Photographs of Ivan and Dimitar were published in different magazines such as *Illustration*, *Daily News*, and *Illustrated London News* (Boev 1983: 112). The brothers trained in their own studios new photographers—Bulgarians as well as foreigners, such as Ksenofont Smrikarov, Ferdinand Grabner, and Moritz Kurtz/Curtius (Popsavova 1984: 24).

The mobility roads of the third generation of the Karastoyanov family—sons of Dimitar and Rayna: Bogdan and Bozhidar Karastoyanov, who also became photographers—were multidirectional too. After finishing his studies at Robert College in Istanbul, Bogdan ("Boncho"; 1899–1962) studied photochemistry in Berlin and art photography in Paris, where he worked as a senior cameraman in the "Valery" studio. Returning to Bulgaria in 1927, he became a member of the Bulgarian Photoclub and in 1938, court photographer. Bozhidar (1903–1956) studied photography in Paris and Vienna and worked in the studio of G. L. Frères Manuel in Paris (Parvanova 2010: 216–217).

The lives of the Karastoyanov family were integrated into different networks and interwoven systems; their interaction and communication connections were with different parts of the world. The photographic work of all three generations was embedded in a broader European context.

The Nation-State Movement: Revolutionists and Fighters for Liberty

In the course of the political development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Europe, the nation-state succeeded and the nation was emphasized as the central sign of a "civilized" political organization. In the civilization process, which was understood as a one-way linear development, the state came to play a decisive role. An example of this understanding was expressed by Hegel (1821), who defined the "transition (of a nation) from a family, a horde, a clan, a multitude, etc., to political conditions ... with objective law and an explicitly established rational constitution" as the only way to secure recognition "in its own eyes and in the eyes of others" (§ 349). "The same consideration justifies civilised nations in regarding and treating as barbarians those who lag behind them in institutions which are the essential moments of the state" (§ 351). The development of the national movements in southeastern Europe was integrated into the west European and central European intellectual, social, economic, and political development (Todorova 1997; Kassabova 2002).

The stay of Anastas Karastoyanov under the name Anastas Stojanović in Belgrade (1862–1877) coincided with one of the most dynamic periods of the Bulgarian national-revolutionary movement. The independence movement developed under the leadership of the well educated urban middle-class, whose power and influence were increasing.

Photographs subsumed under the categories "Revolutionists and Fighters for Liberty" belong to the earliest photographs, made by Anastas Stojanović (Karastoyanov) in Belgrade in the 1860s and 1870s. In the 1860s, the programs of the leading ideologists of the Bulgarian national-revolutionary movement included the establishment of a Bulgarian national state as a key idea. However, as an alternative, they also saw a democratic Balkan federation as an independent alliance of Christian Balkan peoples against the Ottoman Empire. The formation of two Bulgarian Legions (*Българска легия*)—military bands formed by volunteers and revolutionary workers—with the support of the Serbian government (1862 and 1867) in Belgrade was a result of such ideas in concrete political circumstances. Their ultimate goal was the "liberation from the Ottoman rule" through coordinated military actions with the neighboring Balkan countries. Anastas Stojanović (Karastoyanov) became part of such revolutionary circles in Belgrade and made photographs of members of the legions and of the leading revolutionists in Belgrade (see ill. 41).

In the nineteenth century (and for Anastas Karastoyanov), the camera was understood as a fundamental source of truth. The photograph was thought to be an unmediated reflection of the world, a true record of the subjects who stood in front of the lenses. These photographs have served (even at the moment of their production) as historical documents (Popsavova 1984). Since the common characteristics of the photographs of revolutionists from this period have been discussed already (Kassabova 2012), the emphasis shall now be on the fact that by using a symbolic vocabulary with a focus on the theme "fighters for liberty," Anastas Karastoyanov reveals the idealism behind the compositional modes of his pictures.

The focus, not only on the struggle against the Ottoman Empire, but also on the ethnic Bulgarian became strengthened after the establishment of the Bulgarian nation-state in 1878—the period from which the greatest number of photographs picturing revolutionists dates. The state became the main producer of an integrated national memory. Because of the coupling of state and nation, the nation's memory was held to be powerfully unified, with continuity from the Greco-Roman past. In the teleological perspective of the nation, politics (the two medieval Bulgarian states), military, orthodoxy, and tradition were all considered to be pillars of continuity (Kassabova 2002). The period of the Bulgarian Revival/Renaissance became an important time during which a national identity was formed and an independent state was established.[2] The emphasis with respect to history changed over time, before and after the establishment of the independent Bulgarian state,

[2] The Bulgarian National Revival is traditionally divided into three periods, an early one spanning the eighteenth century to the early nineteenth century; a middle one spanning the Ottoman reforms of the 1820s to the 1850s; and a late one beginning with the Crimean War and ending with the establishment of the Principality of Bulgaria and the autonomous unity of Eastern Rumelia in 1878. For contemporary discussions on the Bulgarian Revival/Renaissance, see Aretov 1995; Natev 1998; Todorova 1999; Daskalov 2002; Zapryanova, Nyagulov, Marcheva 2006; Todev 2011; Todorova 2009.

but the underlining of the Bulgarian sufferings during "the Ottoman Yoke" and the heroism of uprisings/revolts during the period of the Bulgarian Revival/Renaissance was imminent. The Bulgarian fight for freedom was interpreted as a sacred act of heroes, which showed that liberty was hard-fought and deserved.[3]

Modern memory relies on the visibility of the image (Nora 2010). In the creation of *sites of memory*—the so called *lieux de mémoire*—photography played an important role. With the establishment of the Bulgarian state in 1878, such places of memory were designated to mark Bulgarian nationhood.[4] Provisionally we could distinguish two main categories of *sites of memory.*

1. Places of martyrdom, of great suffering and sacrifice, such as the places of Bulgarian anti-Ottoman uprisings/revolts, especially the uprising in April 1876. The April uprising was a failure as a revolt, because of the lack of demographic, military, and other possibilities of success against the Ottoman Empire, which was still militarily resilient. But the rebellion showed that Bulgarians toiled under dire circumstances against it. The publicity that was given to the reprisals that followed the April uprising led to European demands for reform of the Ottoman Empire, and to the end of the Russo-Ottoman War (1877–1878). So the military failure turned into moral success and granted the Bulgarians the right to be free (see ill. 38).
2. Places of heroic victories in the struggle against the Ottoman Empire, such as the Shipka Pass, which achieved prominence during the Russo-Ottoman War (see ills. 33, 34).

Lieux de mémoire were created by a complex interplay of individual and collective memory and institutionalized historiography (Nora 1999; Todorova 2009). To begin with, there must be a will to remember—both individual and collective. The process of establishing national *sites of memory* included the recollections and life experiences of living generations, and at the same time it concerned collective references to the past that are culturally determined and handed down through various media such as writing, pictorial images, and rites. The process of materialization of memory became centralized and institutionalized, whereby, state institutions took upon the lead. The centralized materialization of memory proceeded through the strategic highlighting of selected samples and multiplying examples. A repertoire of what might have had to be recalled was established. *Lieux de mémoire* and cultural memory have an abstract, often sacral, and solemn quality. As they are bound up with the identity of a group, their cultivation and transmission are not left up

[3] This process started in the early 1880s. Under the most important authors, who became leading figures of Bulgarian political and public life, are Ivan Vazov, Zahary Stoyanov, and Stefan Stambolov, among others.

[4] Maria Todorova offers a detailed analysis of the question of public, social, or collective memory; the nature of national memory in comparison to other types of memory; and the variability of memory over time and social space (Todorova 2009).

to the individual (Nora 1999; 2006; 2009; 2010; Assmann J. 1992; Assmann A. 2007). The complex and cumulative interplay between different media such as architecture, painting, and literature can be pursued in this process of sacralization. The Shipka Pass battle in 1877, as well as the sacred places of the April Uprising of 1876, became sites of cumulative commemorative rites and developed through this as the most important Bulgarian sites of collective memory[5] (Kassabova 2012). A political aesthetic developed in this process of constructing the nation as a suffering and resistant community.

At the same time, photography itself developed as a commercial venture, with substantial competition within it. At the end of the nineteenth century, the halftone plate was introduced, which made possible the reproduction of photographs in magazines, books, newspapers, and so on. A photographer could enjoy increased circulation and exchange of his or her photos. The serial production of photographs of revolutionists and recreated action scenes developed as an important market. Those photographs, often made for big editions, were sold separately or in book editions and later distributed in institutions such as schools, the army, or libraries. The technical development in photography made possible a bigger audience and the ability of the photographer to construct reality was an important factor in the process of formation of historical memory. Focusing on the Bulgarian life-or-death struggle, the aim was to solidarize and mobilize the society for the desired unification of the "carved-up [through the Treaty of the Congress in Berlin 1878—A. K.] Bulgarian people's body." The photographs were required to play a positive role for men by emphasizing, and thereby strengthening, their willingness to sacrifice their lives for their fatherland. The photographer functioned less as a recorder and more as a guide, and the consequence was that such an archive, in exerting the most salutary influence, kindling the patriotism of subjects, strengthened people's commitments to the nation-state.

Men and Women in Folk Costumes—The Idealized Peasant Life

The normative representation of national heroes developed with an emphasis on the ethnic Bulgarian. Ethnicity became a key concept because of inward solidarity and outward demarcation. This explains the importance of the idea of "origins": the deeper the ethnic origins, the more they magnify the greatness of a nation. The search for ancestry and roots was developed as a concept by the intelligentsia, who were concerned with the consolidation of the Bulgarian nation and its mobilization for the modernization process and the national ideals. This can be seen only in a broader context—the orientation toward genealogical investigations corresponded to the European tradition of "Aristocratism" and Historism; the emphasis on and the popularization of deep roots aimed at achieving international

[5] The Shipka battle of 1877 were picked up and praised by many generations of artists in both Bulgarian and Russian art such as in (monumental) paintings, poetry, and architecture.

legitimacy. Stimulated by the ideas of Historism, which were gaining adherents throughout Europe from the second half of the eighteenth century onward, a historical self-confidence of the nation developed in the Balkans under the heading of "self-consciousness."

The orientation to the past/history and the search for roots depended on the requirements of social practice. This concept proved to be exceptionally fruitful because it combined the idea of horizontal unity with the idea of vertical continuity. They were believed to contain the essential traits of the "national character."

Some basic characteristics of the consolidation process of the Bulgarian nation are to be noted. The central meaning of free peasant in the economic and social structure of Bulgarian society in the late nineteenth century is indisputable—until World War II about 80 percent of the population still lived in rural areas. Hence, the socioeconomic structure formed a widely realistic basis for designating the rural culture as the national culture. At the same time, however, this was a period during which rural society was developing through the introduction of a market economy—including increased goods production, trade, and investment capital—intensified relations (economic and cultural) within Europe; and increasing mobility. This went along with the resolution of traditional relationships.

Politically speaking, high symbolic value as a connecting element for the nation was ascribed to rural culture in general. Village and rural folk were considered to be the keepers of Bulgarian language and culture, and as such primarily valued from outside. This reflected the dominant attitudes toward folk culture in contemporary German and Slavic scholarship with romantic ideas of the Enlightenment's leading scholar, Herder, who insisted on respecting, preserving, and advancing nations, understood to be linguistic and cultural groupings (Herder 1985). The process of self-identification is inseparable from processes of identification outside the country. The decisive conceptual-theoretical basis of this time was that of evolutionism. Without underestimating the differences in definitions and methods between the various authors, it is important to underline that evolutionism conditioned a search for archaic relics in their own society (particularly in German-speaking areas). At the same time, it reinforced an interest in the outside world, in non-European and Slavic peoples. The structure of society was believed to display remnants of archaic institutions (Kassabova 2002). Researchers from outside saw in the Slavic region "an ethnographic museum," which could deliver material for investigating allegedly overcome evolutionary stages in the "Western" societies (Tylor 1878; Maine 1870; Gabr 1886; Laveleye 1885; Turner 1874; Müller 1897). A definition of what was considered significant had an essential influence on the perception of foreign societies and at the same time strongly influenced local societies and sciences.[6] Local researchers and photographers could attract interest and international recognition

[6] About photography in the context of the discourses of Balkanism and Orientalism—see Kaser 2012; Kaser 2013.

by corresponding to foreign researchers' expectations. By putting those topics into the center of their own investigations, which were internationally recognized, they adopted to a high degree foreign points of view. Subsequently, in Bulgaria, one's own emancipation was believed to be achieved through one's own search for relics, for the "authentically" Slavic, respectively, Bulgarian. An example of the complex interplay between an "insider" and an "outsider" perspective is the collaboration of Felix Kanitz and Anastas Karastoyanov. Felix Philipp Kanitz (1829–1904) enrolled in art studies at the University of Vienna in 1846. He traveled extensively after 1850, visiting Germany, France, Belgium, and Italy, and settled in Vienna in 1856. In 1858, he undertook a journey to Dalmatia, which marked the beginning of his thorough research on the south Slavs as art editor of the journal *Illustrierte Zeitung*. Apart from Dalmatia, he also visited Herzegovina, Bosnia, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Macedonia. Kanitz had several influential positions in science and society. Between 1870 and 1874, he was the first *custos* of the *Anthropologisch-Urgeschichtliches Museum* in Vienna. He was a corresponding member of the geographical societies in Dresden, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and Vienna and was counselor of Emperor Franz Joseph I beginning in 1878. Motivated by curiosity to explore the historical and contemporary circumstances in eastern Europe, Kanitz wrote deeply sympathetic reports, rich in illustrations and drawings. His work was very influential in the academic world as well as in the wider public. He met A. N. Stojanović (Karastoyanov) in Belgrade and became a personal friend of his. Parts of the photographs of the Bulgarian revolutionists (*voivodi*) and men and women in folk costumes made by Anastas N. Stojanović (Karastoyanov) have been preserved in the personal archive of Felix Kanitz at the Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Further research is needed in order to determine whether the photographs were commissioned by Kanitz or whether he received them as a gift. The common characteristics between the stylized drawings of Kanitz[7] and the arranged outdoor and studio photographs of Anastas, Ivan, and Dimitar Karastoyanov, however, are obvious, especially with regard to the choice of subjects and settings (see ill. 45).

Driven by the belief that photography and "photographically" accurate drawings implied a strong degree of "authenticity," photography and painting analogically embraced pictorial codes to explore folk culture.

Seen in the context of sociopolitical history, a historical form of nation-constituting politics expressed itself in the investigation and popularization of customs and national costumes. At the beginning it was articulated in a more symbolic manner by creating feelings of solidarity with and affiliation to the "Bulgarian." After the establishment of the Bulgarian nation-state and of state institutions like the National Museum, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the University of Sofia, and

---

[7] http://www.europressbg.net/calendars/kanitz/kanitz.htm (accessed 10. 10. 2012).

the Bulgarian Ethnographic Society, a process of cataloguing of the "Nation" started—an attempt to define national specifics and national characters. Theoretical and methodological bases and directives for ethnographic, philological, and juristic research show that this was a process of construction. The investigation of the national culture was oriented toward the search for relics. The, often overlapping, scholars, teachers, journalists, photographers, lawyers, and politicians perceived themselves as "keepers and rescuers" of traditional faith and customs (Kassabova 2002).

Photographs of different regional types of folk costumes and customs were taken in order to prepare a national atlas. This involved the construction of an archive of images, presuming to disclose a "Bulgarian archetype" (see ills. 35, 36, 37).

Furthermore, the interplay of inside and outside views remained a structuring element (Todorova 1997). A true boom in ethnographic photography began in the 1880s. It was spurred on by an interest of foreign artists, academics, and politicians who actively contributed to the political and artistic life of the newly established state and also by internal socioeconomic developments. Ivan and Dimitar Karastoyanov were closely integrated into the circle of Konstantin Jireček. At that time, Jireček was seen as one of the leading experts on the Balkans. He was invited by the Bulgarian government in 1879 to serve as Secretary General of the Ministry of National Education. In 1881, he became Minister of education and held this post until July 1882. Afterwards he worked as a chairperson of the "Teaching advisory board," which was founded by him and, then, as a manager of the National Library and the National Museum. Besides carrying out these official duties, he found time for several trips through the country (Brunnbauer 2011). On these trips he was accompanied by the photographer Ivan Karastoyanov (Boev 1982: 31–33), who took photographs of towns, villages, and places, as well as a lot of studio portraits of men and women in folk costumes (e.g., see ills. 39, 40, 42). Many of Jireček's ethnographical publications on Bulgaria resulted from these expeditions. The richness of Bulgarian national costumes was illustrated on the basis of and with photographs.

"Traditional rural" dress became a separate and important topic. The Karastoyanovs remained among the first and most influential in the field of the photographic documentation of stylized national costumes and customs, as other prominent turn-of-the-century photographers too. Similarly to the Karastoyanovs, photographers such as Kavra, Markolesko, Krum Savov, and Hristo Dashkov concentrated on ethnographic topics, preserving an idyllic view of peasantry in their pictures. Customs and costumes have been ideologically charged as signs of distinction and of group membership. Even if carried out consciously, the descriptions and visualizations were detached from social reality and, to a great extent, even detached from the natural environment (Boev 1983: 24, 28) in order to provide aesthetic pleasure. Consciousness and themes of preservation, nostalgia, and pastoralism are present in almost every photograph of this type.

The photographic (glass) plate was specifically intended to disseminate the image. Photographs of ethnographical subjects especially were well suited for use in

mass media. Such photographs were successfully displayed at exhibitions and popularized through books, magazines, and albums, as well as reproduced in large quantities and sold as picture postcards (ill. 32 and 47).

Bulgarian sovereigns Ferdinand I and Boris III (from the Western aristocracy) wanted to be photographed in Bulgarian folk costumes as a sign of recognition and affiliation to the Bulgarian but also as something exotic. At the turn of the nineteenth century, it also became fashionable for the upper classes to be photographed in folk dresses (see ills. 43, 44, 46).

There was pressure in conforming to dominant ideology and representational adherence and also pressure imposed by the photographer's studio, with its props and the resulting photo-text with its typologies. Not only the studios of Ivan and Dimitar Karastoyanov, but all renowned studios had to have a selection of traditional Bulgarian clothes.

As a nonverbal means of communication, photography can surmount the barriers of language and communicate through visual symbols. With a strong emotional impact, photographs have been used in attempts to sway public opinion, to bring about desirable changes. In contrast to a town in which one saw the "foreign influences" and changes, it was underlined that "only the peasants have remained real Bulgarians" (Zahariev 1867). This went with an idealization of the moral qualities of "the peasant" in general. The absence of an aristocracy was reassessed as a virtue; in the rural family with its customs and traditions, "a people was seen who had lost by the historical development its kings and aristocrats, but who [had] preserved its natural folklore in original cleanliness. One discovers a people that is not divided into 'society' and 'people', but forms a whole organism, which has the same clothing on top and below" (Karavelov 1905: 5–6).

The stressing of the social unity coincided with a time in which social differentiation deepened. The political and ideological goal of homogenizing the nation in order to support nation building and modernization was conducting. This necessarily led to a simplification of a few highly emotionally loaded symbols, which encompassed increasingly ethnically loaded customs, traditions, and national costumes. Rural life was pressed in a canon of codes, which could preserve the nation in an ethnically static and pure state. Through progressive educational activity and wide popularization, the aim was to create and strengthen a national community, by way of internalizing the propagated values, which should lead to the self-confidence of individuals and groups. Photography was utilized to be a guardian of Bulgarianhood. The visual representation of Bulgarianhood included symbols of both urban lifestyle and folk life. It could be interpreted as an expression of an "identity-in-between" but also as a visual concept of a deep-rooted modern identity.

Photography is always about public display. The Karastoyanovs' portfolio is of great importance for the idealization of a traditional peasant way of life at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. Because the main function of the photographs was harmonization, representation, and com-

pensation of society, it turned out to be a suitable medium to propagate desirable images as an aesthetic reality. The strength and idyll of an ideal and intact ethnic Bulgarian world was visually transported by ways of idealization and standardization, heroization, simplification, and repetition. Ethnographic photography helped construct an aesthetic illusory world. Because "authenticity" was ascribed to it by time, it formed the basis of many later interpretations. Photographs of this category have been and still are used as scientific documents. Photographs themselves became *sites of memory* inasmuch as they became the ground objects of rituals such as exhibitions and celebrations. The authority of photographs is vested not merely in the image but in a whole series of actions that involve the image.

The Aliens Within

Identification with a group requires the drawing of a border between the in-group and the out-group. In the building of the Bulgarian nation, considered as a solidarity community, inclusion and exclusion were constitutive. The variety of the Bulgarian "national body" therefore had to be visualized, which again required demarcation to the neighbors and also to the "Others/Aliens within." Even if some pictures, taken by members of the rising bourgeoisie such as the Karastoyanovs, suggested that all classes merged, blended, and intermingled, the attitudes toward the rural folk among the bourgeoisie were ambivalent. The project to visually define a national type/character was characterized by ambiguity. The differences between the photographs of men and women in folk costumes and the portraits of the bourgeoisie-class men and their families show that photographic portraiture, especially as it was practiced in the photographic studios, was devoted to the production of a (distinctive) bourgeoisie class identity.

Meanwhile, on the other end of the spectrum, photographs of street markets and especially of other ethnic groups, for example, of Roma/Gypsies or Turks, also demonstrate and illustrate these contradictory attitudes (ill. 48). Picturesqueness, exotism, and at the same time distance result from the panoramic views taken with a "high over" or "from below" perspective. Sontag argues, "To photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed. It means putting one's self into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge, and therefore like power" (Sontag 2008: 18).

In the indefinite multiplicity of sides and images, a hierarchy was established—a set of limits. We can distinguish between dominant and dominated places and images. With a polarizing photographic style and deliberately covered/obscured social problems, a conventionalized self was developed in opposition to the putative stranger. This went on through the interplay of image and text in illustrated publications. Invisible in the official discourse at the turn of the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth century remain the ethnic "Others" and the "abnormal," the deviant. The grid of portraiture offers systematic normative representations of the "national body," classifying in a hierarchical and exclusionary manner in order to consolidate the "healthy nation" and the "healthy classes."

Portraiture of fighters for the nation and stylized peasantry, by displaying a pantheon of moral examples, provides both an inspirational source and a moral standard to which everyone had to aspire. Thus, portraiture was put to use for the cultural enlightenment of the masses. The commemoration of the Bulgarian nation and its sacrificed heroic figures gave narrow possibilities to viewers to develop a view that was different from the official one. Nevertheless, images can be presented and used in multiple ways; they can be applied to a full range of possible significations. Photographs have the capacity to "metamorphose," in order to produce an endless recycling of their meaning. What meaning and functions we will read and see in them derives from our present historical situation, from our new definitions of "We" and "Ours" and from our own sensibilities regarding the "Others."

References

Aretov N. [Аретов Н.] 1995, *Българското Възраждане и Европа* (*The Bulgarian Revival and Europe*), София: Кралица МАБ.

Assmann A. 2007, *Geschichte im Gedächtnis. Von der individuellen Erfahrung zur öffentlichen Inszenierung*, München.

Assmann J. 1992, *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, München.

Benjamin W. 1936, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction,* http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm, (accessed 5.11.2011).

Boev P. [Боев П.] 1977, *Фотографи в Освободителната война* 1877–1878 (Photographers and the Liberation War), *Българско фото*, 6, pp. 1–3.

—1982, *Пътуващи фотографи* (Wandering Photographers), *Българско фото*, 9, pp. 31–33.

—1983, *Фотографско изкуство в България* (*1856–1944*) (*The Photographic Art in Bulgaria 1856–1944*), София.

Brunnbauer U. 2011, Der Balkan als translokaler Raum—Verflechtung, Bewegung und Geschichte, *Südosteuropa Mitteilungen* 51, 3, pp. 78–94 [http://www.suedosteuropa-gesellschaft.com/mitteilungen/2011/heft_03_ 2011.pdf] (accessed 10.10.2012).

Daskalov R. [Даскалов Р.] 2002, *Как се мисли българското Възраждане* (*How the Bulgarian Revival Is Thought About*), София: ЛИК.

Demographic History of Bulgaria. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographic_history_of_Bulgaria (accessed 10. 10. 2012).

Dinekov P. [Динеков П.] 1978, *Един от първите—Никола Карастоянов* (*Under the First—Nikola Karastoyanov*), Central State Archive—Sofia, Ф. 1987К, оп.1, а.е. 708.

Gabr A. 1886, La zadruga, la famille patriarchale et le régime de communauté dans le Balkans depuis l'indépendance, *Revue sociale,* vol. 3, pp. 141–162.

Hegel G. W. F. 1821, *Elements of the Philosophy of Right.* Berlin. http://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/hegel/works/pr/prstate.htm#PR260 (accessed 10.10.2012).

Herder J. G. 1985, *Werke in zehn Bänden*, Bollacher, J. Brummack, U. Gaier (eds.), Frankfurt am Main.

Jaeger J. 2000, *Photographie: Bilder der Neuzeit. Einführung in die historische Bildforschung,* Tübingen.

Karavelov L. [Каравелов Л.] 1905, *Памятьники народного быта болгар* (*Records of the Folk Life of the Bulgarians*), vol. 3, Moskva, pp. 5–6.

Kaser K. 2012, *Travelling, Balkanism, Orientalism and the Photograph in 19th and Early 20th Century* [in:] P. Hristov (ed.): *Migration and Identity. Historical, Cultural and Linguistic Dimensions of Mobility in the Balkans*, Sofia, pp. 60–72.

Kaser K. 2013, *Andere Blicke. Religion und visuelle Kultur auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten*, Wien–Köln–Weimar.

Kassabova A. 2002, *Migration und Familie. Familienforschung und Politik* (*am Beispiel Bulgariens*), Sofia.

Laveleye E. 1886, *La Péninsule Balcans*, 2 vol., Bruxelles.

Maine H. 1871, *Village Communities in the East and West*, London.

Müller A. 1897, *Die Hauscommunion der Südslaven*, Berlin.

Natev A. [Натев А.] (ed.) 1998, *Историческа злина ли е националната държава? Дискусионни тезиси* (*Is the National State a Historical Evil? Discussions Theses*), София.

Nora P. 1999, 2006, 2009, 2010, *Rethinking France: Les Lieux de mémoire,* Chicago, 4 Volumes: V. 1 *The State* (1999), V. 2 *Space* (2006), V. 3 *Legacies* (2009), V. 4 *Histories and Memories* (2010).

Parvanova M. [Първанова М.] 2010, *Неизвестно за известни български родове* (*Unknown about well-known Bulgarian families*), vol. 3, София.

Pecev I. [Печев И.] 1971, *Семейният албум на Бончо Карастоянов* (The family album of Boncho Karastoyanov), *Българско фото* 3, pp. 18–20.

Pinney C. 2003, *Photography's Other Histories*, Durham.

Popov S. [Попов С.] 1994, *Българската идея* (*The Bulgarian Idea*), София.

Popsavova D. [Попсавова Д.] 1984, *Фотографските снимки като исторически извори* (*Photographs as Historical Sources*), София.

Simeonova R. [Симeнова Р.] 2010, Из CV-то на българската фотография (From the ‚CV' of the Bulgarian photography), *Зона Здраве,* http://zonazdrave.com/content/view/964/44/ (accessed 05.11.2011).

Sontag S. 2008, *Über Fotografie*, 18. Aufl, Frankfurt am Main.

Sundhausen H. 1997, *Vom Vor- zum Frühkapitalismus. Die Transformation des Dorfes und der Landwirtschaft im Balkanraum vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zum zweiten Weltkrieg* [in:] F. Grimm and K. Roth (eds.), *Das Dorf in Südosteuropa zwischen Tradition und Umbruch*, München, pp. 29–48.

Tagg J. 1988, *The Burden of Representation. Essays on photographies and histories*, Basingstoke.

Todev I. [Тодев И.] 2011, *В търсене на нови измерения: Посттоталитарни проблеми в иконографията на българските национал-революционери* (*On the search of new dimensions: Posttotalitarian problems in the Bulgarian national-revolutionary iconography*). http://www.ihist.bas.bg/sekcii/CV/_private/Ilija%20Todev/IT_Ikonografija.htm (accessed 05.11.2011).

Todorova M. [Тодорова М.] 1999, *Балкани. Балканизъм* (*Balkans. Balkanism*), София.

Todorova M. 1997, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York.

—2009, *Bones of Contention: The Living Archive of Vasil Levski and the Making of Bulgaria's National Hero*, Budapest.

Turner P. 1874, *Slavisches Familienrecht*, Straßburg.

Tylor E. 1878, *Primitive Culture*, London.

Zahariev S. [Захариев С.] 1867, *Отговор на исканите сведения от д-р В. Богишич, царски библиотекар във Виена, за живота, нравите и обичаите в Западна Тракия* (*Response to the requested information by Dr. V. Bogisic, king's librarian in Vienna, about the life, the dispositions and the customs in West Thracia*), [in:] Христов Хр., Генчев Н. (eds.) *Българско Възраждане*. vol. 2, no. 69, p. 126.

Zapryanova A., Nyagulov B., Marcheva I. [Запрянова А., Нягулов Б., Марчева, И.] 2006, *Историческата наука в България—състояние и перспективи* (*The Historical Science in Bulgaria—State and Perspectives*), София.



TARGOVSKA STREET SOFIA, 1890

Photography I. Karastoyanov.

Central State Archive, Plovdiv ЧП 754, л 1

126



HISTORICAL REENACTMENT OF THE BATTLE OF SHIPKA PASS 1902

Photography I. & D. Karastoyanov.

National Museum of Military History, 52.



SANCTIFICATION OF THE RUSSIAN-ORTHODOX CATHEDRAL "CHRISTUS BIRTH" AND CELEBRATION OF THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSO-OTTOMAN WAR

34 Photography D. Karastoyanov, National Museum of Military History, 45 (45_I), 1902.

128



WEDDING TABLE

Photography D. Karastoyanov, Village Adamovo 1909

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum, AEIM VII 174.



WEDDING RITE

Photography D. Karastoyanov, Village Toplesh after 1909.

Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum after 1909, AEIM VII 154.

130



***ZADRUGA* (EXTENDED FAMILY)**

Photography D. Karastoyanov, Village Adamovo, not after 1909.
Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum
not after 1909, AEIM VIII 155.



MEMORIAL PLACE OF TODOR KABLESHKOV, ONE OF THE LEADERS OF THE BULGARIAN ANTI-OTTOMAN APRIL UPRISING OF 1876

38 Photography D. Karastoyanov, St. Cyril and St. Methodius National Library 1902, CIII900.



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF A GROUP IN FOLK COSTUMES

Photography I. & D. Karastoyanov, Sofia 1880–1885.

Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, F.3k, op.1, a.e. 1296-1.



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF A MAN AND THREE WOMEN IN FOLK COSTUMES

Photography I. & D. Karastoyanov, Sofia 1880–1886.

Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, F.3k, op.1, 1288-2.

STUDIO PORTRAIT OF NIKOLA DESHEV 41

Photography A. N. Stojanović (A. N. Karastoyanov), Belgrade 1862–1877.
St. Cyril and St. Methodius National Library, 1862–1877, C567.





STUDIO PORTRAIT OF TWO WOMEN IN FOLK COSTUMES

Photography D. Karastoyanov, Sofia 1879–1886.
Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, F.3k, op. 1, 1289-6. 42



PORTRAIT OF STEFAN (ASEN) STAMBOLOV (1894–1972), SON OF STEFAN STAMBOLOV (1854–1895), WHO WAS A BULGARIAN POLITICIAN, PRIME MINISTER OF BULGARIA 1887–1894

Photography D. Karastoyanov, Sofia, not before 1900.

43 Scientific Archive of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences F. 19k, op. 2, a.e. 28–16.



"LIVING PICTURE" OF THE INITIATIVE OF CLÉMENTINE OF ORLÉANS (1817–1907), MOTHER OF FERDINAND (1861–1948), WHO WAS THE RULER OF BULGARIA FROM 1887 TO 1918, FIRST AS KNYAZ (PRINCE REGNANT, 1887–1908) AND LATER AS TSAR (1908–1918). PRINCESS CLÉMENTINE IN THE CENTER, ALL AROUND HER ARE PERSONS FROM THE UPPER CLASS

Photography I. Karastoyanov, Sofia 1890.

St. Cyril and St. Methodius National Library C IV 516. 44



GROUP PORTRAIT OF GIRLS IN FOLK COSTUMES

Photography D. Karastoyanov, Sofia 1882.

45 St. Cyril and St. Methodius National Library C II 251.

PRINCESS MARIA LOUISE (1933–), DAUGHTER OF KING BORIS III, TSAR OF BULGARIA 1918–1943 46

Photography B. Karastoyanov 1938–1943.
Yurukov limited liability company, *Minalo* K-8_4.





THE FIRST BULGARIAN INTERNATIONAL AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL FAIR IN PLOVDIV 47

Photography I. A. Karastoyanov, *Svetlina* 1892, 10–11, p. 222.



STREET MARKET

Photography I. Karastoyanov, Sofia, not after 1922.

48 St. Cyril and St. Methodius National Library, not after 1922, CI9956_1.

Ana Djordjević

Social Differentiation and Construction of Elites in Belgrade Studio Photography at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Introduction

As Pierre Bourdieu has shown in his thoroughly discussed *Photography: A Middle-brow Art*, photography, or rather the photographic practice of families, aided in defining membership and marking important occasions (1996). Studio photography as well as other means of visual (re)presentation came to play a crucial role in the formation and consolidation of Serbian elites at the end of the nineteenth century. Photographic portraits took upon several meanings for their owners. The photographs were collected, kept, and exchanged as objects of pleasure and expressions of friendship, mutual affection, and collective memories. Traces thereof can be found in dedications and inscriptions on their backsides. At the same time, they contributed to a large extent to personal identity building and documented and reinforced feelings of belonging by visually emphasizing role, relevance, power, and status of the sitters.

In the present paper I will discuss the ways in which the developing heterogeneous Serbian bourgeoisie used photographs in the formation of a common group identity at the turn of the twentieth century. Taking into consideration that photographs are a form of communication, carrying and at the same time challenging dominant ideologies and narratives of identity and belonging, Self-Other relations involved in this process will be made visible. Identity in this context is seen as a dynamic process embedded in the social relations of identifying oneself as being recognized by others (Hall 1994). Embracing Edward W. Said's critique of *Orientalism*, Stuart Hall pointed to something that I think is also essential in the analysis of identities in the Balkans. That is the experience of the self as the Other, which is transported through powerful Western narratives (1994: 394–395), and the perpetuation of those narratives through what Milica Bakić-Hayden called "nesting Orientalisms" (1995). The sample considered here is a selection of photographs taken by one of the most prominent Belgradian studio photographers of his time, Milan Jovanović (1863–1944). Today they are preserved in different memory institutions in Belgrade. These studio portraits, which had been produced for private consumption, reveal a romanticized view of rural life and an idealized picture of a unique Serbian urban identity, which was considered other than western European, and other than Ottoman or Oriental. What they share is an internalized knowledge of proper posing in front of the camera–a new "body language" as the U.S.-based art

historian Ljubomir Milanović calls it (2007: 182), which points to the encounter with social norms and mechanisms of both photographed and photographer (see also Owens 1992; Silverman 1996). Thus my interest is in studio photographs (*carte de visite* or cabinet cards), which are understood as representations and manifestations of "ideal images"[1] of their sitters—as a summary presence of them (Siegel 2010: 222). In this paper I will propose an interpretation of "ideal images" as a form of Other and a kind of *self-othering*, as well as their function in setting boundaries of self rather than displaying homogenous groups (Barth 1969).

What "Ordinary Pictures" Tell About the Other

I am waiting for them to stop talking about the "Other," to stop even describing how important it is to be able to speak about difference. It is not just important what we speak about, but how and why we speak. Often this speech about the "Other" is also a mask, an oppressive talk hiding gaps, absences, that space where our words would be if we were speaking, if there were silence, if we were there. This "we" is that "us" in the margins, that "we" who inhabit marginal space that is not a site of domination but a place of resistance. Enter that space ...

(hooks 2000: 208; also cited in Fine 1998: 130)

As the American feminist and social activist bell hooks, born as Gloria Jean Watkins, and many other Black feminists have noted, it is important to question concepts of binary thinking and to avoid reinforcing them by choosing different perspectives. Looking at the vast body of literature dealing with photography and visual culture as a whole, I started asking myself what "ordinary" studio photographs could reveal about society, culture, community, and group or, for that matter, individuals. To begin with, "ordinary" images or portraits of "ordinary people" generally produced for their own or private consumption/use have to a far lesser extent been the focus of research—at least with regard to questions of Self-Other relations compared to "extraordinary," strange, or "exotic" pictures (e.g., ethnographic pictures; documentary photography; artistic photography; photographs reflecting power relations such as prison photography; photographs of disabled persons, of supposedly socially inferior persons; and others, which can also be defined as photographs of non-White middle-class). I was wondering whether the reason for the lack of attention, therefore, is a belief that "ordinary" images have less or maybe nothing to tell at all or if the preference in focus, rather, tells something about anthropology's ongoing interest in problems, difference, and extraordinary practices. Asking these questions, we also must think about who defines—at what times and under which circum-

[1] There have been numerous debates about what photography is (e.g., its representational character, materiality, alleged objectivity, power). Due to its rarity, early studio photography much more than the later amateur, or Kodak photography, conveyed ideal images of the sitters, offering an all-encompassing presentation of their status, role, and standing in society.

stance—what an ordinary or extraordinary event or picture is? What categories do we apply and what discourses shape our perceptions and notions? Also, following James Elkins's thoughts on photography, it is important to ask what we as researchers are reading into the pictures and what we want them to be. Are we so obsessed with our hunt for Barthes's *punctum*[2] that we are ignoring "photographs themselves" and instead looking beyond "for romance and memory" (Elkins 2011: 41)?

When it comes to discussing practices involved in "Othering" and visual encounters of alterity, it seems that images that supposedly unequivocally construct the Other or the "different" are elevated. Does this focus strengthen and continue Othering because we as researchers use loaded categories and reproduce Self-Other relations found in our sources? Is there a way out? I believe there is if we try to focus on the "Self," bringing forward powerful narratives involved in identity building and strategies of the Self in negotiating its position in society (Hall 1994: 394–395).

"Just as the family picture can be read as a self-portrait, so the self-portrait always includes the other, not only because the self, never coincident, is necessarily other to itself, but also because it is constituted by multiple and heteronomous relations ... Difference or otherness, in this conception, is not an external difference, but an otherness within—within a circumscribed cultural group, such as a family, and, also, within the self, reflecting the subject's own plurality over a lifetime, the intersubjectivity that is subjectivity" (Hirsch 1997: 83).

In her seminal work *Family Frames*, memory scholar Marianne Hirsch has not only introduced the concept of "postmemory" for describing imaginative projections and re-creations of post-Holocaust generations, but also has laid down an inspiring way of accessing and analyzing family photographs. By thinking about Self-Other relations as embedded in multiple and heteronomous relations, as she suggests, a fruitful path for overcoming binary opposition thinking can be pursued. The collections I discuss do not include family photographs only. They rather witness a broadening of social relationships, which do not comprise relatives only but give insight into how concepts of friendship and work relations alter Serbian society as well as concepts of individualism and national belonging.

Before I start analyzing the selected images, I would like to emphasize the role of the photographer in the process of creating an image of the Self. As scholars such as Stuart Hall and many others have shown, photographs always need to be embedded in the contexts of discourses that shape the final outcome. In the case of studio

---

[2] As reactions to photographs, Barthes differentiates between the *studium* and the *punctum*. The *studium* denotes a cultural interpretation, an overlying meaning visible to most spectators and an encounter with the photographer's intentions, whereas the *punctum* describes an affective, emotional concept, a personal meaning evoked by some photographs. The *punctum* is something seen by the spectator although not intentionally shown by the photographer. Barthes also calls it a personally touching detail, an accident that pricks the spectator (see Barthes 1989: 35–36, 52; see also Burgin 1986: 78; Fried 2005: 546).

portraits, ideas of beauty and representation of both photographer and clients meet and they do not necessarily coincide. Particularly until the turn of the twentieth century and the stabilization of the local photographic market in Belgrade and Serbia, the photographer's gaze was rather trained to aesthetics developed in western European art. That is because most of the cultural and art workers of that period received their formal education at art schools and universities in Vienna, Munich, Paris, or St. Petersburg (see Trgovčević 2003: 60).

Analyzing Milan Jovanović's photographic opus, we should ask what discourses have shaped his view of the photographed subjects. He was born into a family of artists and photographers. His father ran a photographic studio in Vršac, which at that time was still part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where Jovanović and his brothers learned how to run the business. Milan Jovanović's older brother Paja Jovanović became one of Serbia's most famous realist painters. Particularly his historical compositions were believed to capture a collective memory of Serbian society and the nation. Milan Jovanović's educational history is not elaborated well. However, it has been recorded that he had followed his older brothers, who had both studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna and later worked in Vienna, Munich, and Paris.[3] After a series of sojourns to those cities, Milan Jovanović moved to Belgrade in 1887 and opened up a photographic studio with the help of his family (see Malić 1997). He was professionally active until the outbreak of World War I. In 1893 he was appointed court photographer of the king of Serbia and three years later also court photographer of the prince of Montenegro. Milan Jovanović's clientele was the rising Serbian bourgeoisie. It was they who formed the political and economical center of power and who were bringing forward new ideas of a modern nation-state and society (Stanković 2003: 69ff; see also Malić 1997; Milojković-Djurić 2007).

Historical Background

At the turn of the twentieth century, Serbia was a relatively young state striving for international recognition and establishment as a sovereign and independent nation. Being less developed than many other parts of Europe in many respects (weak economy, an inefficient bureaucracy and absence of other functioning institutions, an increasing urban-rural divide), it attracted some foreign capital[4] and know-how that, for example, materialized in the construction of a rail network connecting Belgrade and southern Serbia (Niš) in 1884 and in the beginnings of industrializa-

[3] At the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna, Paja Jovanović was a student of Christian Griepenkerl, whose specialties were allegorical representations of classical mythology and portraits and also of Leopold Carl Müller, who was regarded as Austria's most influential painter of the "Orient." Jovanović spent a large amount of his working career in Austria and in Munich (see Subotić 2006). Svetislav Jovanović joined the Academy Julian in Paris, a private studio school for art students, after graduating from the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna (see Brankovo Kolo 1900: 94–95).

[4] According to Calic, half of the total investments into Serbian fabrics were by foreign capital by the outbreak of World War I (1994: 175).

tion[5] and banking.[6] All of these measures were undertaken in towns, primarily in Belgrade, or along the main travel and trade routes such as the one between Belgrade and Niš, along the Danube, and also between Serbia and Austro-Hungary. In most cases they did not influence living conditions in the countryside, where the majority of the population lived.

Compared to the overall rural population, which made up more than 80% of Serbia's society, Belgrade's developing bourgeois class was rather inhomogeneous and small. Existing towns such as Šabac, Užice, Novi Sad, Niš, Kragujevac, Smederevo, and Požarevac had been under foreign domination of either Austria-Hungary or the Ottoman Empire for a long time, which was visible both in statistics, architecture, and lifestyle. Only in the 1840s did the Serbs start to move to towns in greater numbers (see Lampe & Jackson 1982: 117f, Vasić 2006: 193). With Serbia's substantial autonomy from the Ottoman Empire in 1830 (as an autonomous hereditary principality)[7] towns started to gradually expand both in size and importance. In 1850, Belgrade counted roughly 15,500 inhabitants. The population grew to just under 70,000 around 1900 and ran up to 100,000 until the outbreak of World War I (Miljković-Katić 2002: 108; Stanković 2003: 71). The rise in population was caused by immigration both from the countryside as well as from outside of Serbian borders, such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia, Croatia, Hungary, Macedonia, and Kosovo, and resulted in a diverse structure of society[8] (Lampe & Jackson 1982: 116; Heppner 1994: 19; Sundahussen 2007: 162–164). Analyzing statistics, Serbian geographer Milovan Radovanović found that only one third of Belgrade's inhabitants had been born there between 1890 and 1900 and one third had immigrated from abroad, especially from Hungary (Radovanović 1974; see also Mišković 2008; Sundhaussen 1989). Those immigrants from Hungary were primarily of Serbian origin. Lampe claims that Serbs from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy accounted for about a third of the overall population of Belgrade by 1900 (1975: 68f). This foreign element in Belgrade's population did not escape the attention of contemporaries visiting Serbia. The

[5] Among the most famous is the German Weifert family who, for example, established one of the first breweries of the Kingdom of Serbia in Belgrade, thereby moving it from the Austro-Hungarian Pančevo, where it was founded in 1840. Later the family also invested in mining in Eastern Serbia. Other foreign industrialists were, to name a few, the Czech Ignjat Bajloni and sons, who also established a brewing company and various mills.

[6] In 1882 the Austrian *Oesterreichische Länderbank* established a daughter bank in Belgrade named *Srpska kreditna banka* (*Serbian Credit Bank*); in mid-1910, the Banque Franco-Serbe was opened (see Lampe, Jackson 1982: 229f).

[7] Serbia gained full independence only at the Berlin Congress in 1878. In 1882, it was declared a kingdom.

[8] During Ottoman rule, the Christian population in the Balkans settled in the countryside. Towns were populated by Muslims and Jews and also Greeks and Tsintsars, who had special trade privileges. While the Muslim population left voluntarily and involuntarily towns of the autonomous province, Jews, Greeks, and Tsintsars stayed and were joined by the Christian immigrants (see Lampe, Jackson 1982: 118).

Jewish-Austro-Hungarian geographer and ethnographer Felix Philipp Kanitz, for example, who was travelling through Serbia between 1859 and 1868, noted that at the end of the nineteenth century it had become common practice in Belgrade to employ English-, German-, or French-speaking governesses in the rearing of children (1904: 87).

The social stratification also increased in towns. At the turn of the century, Serbian town dwellers comprised mostly workers (25%–40%), craftsman (20%–30%), traders (10%–30%), and state officials (less than 10%), the latter representing the elite class (Miljković-Katić 2002). Trgovčević showed that the elites did not entirely develop on their own merit, but to a great extent were what she called a "planned intelligentsia" (2003), men granted scholarships by the government in order to pursue higher education at western European universities such as in Vienna, Munich, or Paris. Davidova even found that roughly 70 percent of the Serbian intelligentsia were educated abroad (2012: 82). Upon their return to Serbia they became important politicians, professors, or administrators.

It was in these urban and heterogeneous circles that ideas of the nation and the modern nation-state were brought forward and ideologies of a "proper Serbianness" and of "Serbian tradition" were articulated. Visual markers of belonging such as clothes or architecture played a crucial role here. Social roles and behavior were adapted and negotiated to meet the needs of urban environments. European drinking and eating habits were introduced, as well as free-time activities (see Höpken 2007: 42). New national symbols had to be defined, which would neither imitate the West, nor continue an "oriental-style tradition." Serbia and foremost her representatives (elites) had to prove to the West, which was still not convinced about how to proceed with regard to the "Eastern Question,"[9] that they were able to function not just as an independent state but maybe also as the heirs to those parts of southeastern Europe that were still under Ottoman rule. Recourse to history was gaining increasing importance among politicians, artists, and cultural workers who were developing the national narrative. The "terrible Turk" was already a cliché in the West, which was readily adapted to the local narratives (see Adanır & Faroqui 2002: 42f). At the same time the medieval Serbian Kingdom was elevated to heights and the new Serbian state seen as its successor with a primary aim of gaining former glory. The idea of having all Serbs in one state was set as a major goal and finally written down as a political program by Ilija Garašanin, who was serving as minister of interior and prime minister under the second rule of Prince Mihailo Obrenović[10] (Milošević 2011).

[9] *Encyclopedia Britannica* defines the "Eastern Question" as a diplomatic problem posed in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire, centering on the contest for control of former Ottoman territories (see http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/177320/Eastern-Question).

[10] Prince Mihailo Obrenović was prince of Serbia from 1839 to 1842 and again from 1860 to 1868. Between his two terms and after his assassination in 1968 the house of Karadjordjević was in power.

These creations, such as buildings in an allegedly Serbian style, defined as a mixture of folk and Byzantine elements, were reflected not only in architecture and housing[11] but also in leisure activities, which aided the bringing forth of a sense of belonging. The photograph was a practical tool to document this newly established self-consciousness not only to contemporaries but also to future generations.

Shortly after its introduction to the public in 1839, the first commercially successful photographic process (daguerreotype) was announced in Belgrade and taken up by wandering daguerrotypists who offered their services to the Belgradians. Due to the fact that they did not meet a numerous clientele, the first photographic studios to open up appeared some 20 years later following the development of a middle class, a rising demand, and falling prices.[12] Most visibly, the new national symbols were to be found in costumes and fashion that were also recorded in those early "ideal images." As the author of *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie,* Philippe Perrot found, "There is nothing more social than clothing" (1994: 6). The idea of a "Serbian town costume" or "traditional urban dress" came up and had a long-lasting effect especially on women's fashion. At the same time, men's clothes more often reflected their occupational and official status, which is why their traditional urban dress or elements of it did not survive as the women's fashions have (see Milanović 2007: 185).

Ordinary Photographs of "Extraordinary Clothes" and the "Traditional Urban Dress"

The women's "traditional urban dress" had nothing really genuinely Serbian about it, as authors such as Prošić-Dvornić (2006), Menković (2010), and others have pointed out. It was rather a combination of certain "Oriental," "Levantine," or "Ottoman" pieces of clothing, which were tailored in a more "Western European" style or mixed with details borrowed from "European" fashion (see Prošić-Dvornić 2006: 186). Such adaptations of certain pieces of clothing could also be found in other societies and cultures that formerly belonged to the Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless in the nineteenth century, this "traditional urban dress" was considered to be typically Serbian and the commonalities with Oriental clothing were simply blended out. The "traditional urban dress" was being developed between the 1830s and the 1870s in Serbian towns. It consisted of several parts of clothing. Most central was the so-called *fistan*,[13] a long dress mostly made of silk with a heart-shaped *décolleté* underlining the torso and emphasizing the waistline. However, it was

[11] On housing, see, e.g., the article on *Konaks* (*Serbian traditional mansions;* the word is of Turkish origin however) in Serbia by Jelena Bogdanović (2007).

[12] Among the first to open a studio in Belgrade were Florian Gantenbein in 1861, Richard Musil and Mirić, Panta Hristić and Knirsch, Anastas Jovanović, and Anastas Stojanović (see Todić 1993: 42ff).

[13] The specific terms for the pieces of clothing are mostly still known in today's Serbia (not only to ethnographers). They are part of folk poetry and have also been solidified in cultural memory through recent movies and series dealing with the nineteenth century Serbia (such as *Ivkova Slava* [Ivko's fame], 2005, and *Zona Zamfirova*, 2002)

gradually replaced by skirts and blouses. Under the *fistan* a blouse or tunic called a *košulja,* made from silk or home-woven cotton, was worn together with a corset and a silk scarf crossed over it and tied with a broche. Over the scarf a *libade*, a short embroidered velvet jacket with long and wide sleeves, was worn. Around the waist another shawl or sash, mostly made of silk and called a *bajader* was loosely tied in a spreading knot. If married or at a marriageable age, the woman had her hair made into a crown braid, sometimes decorated with a headdress, such as a *tepeluk* or a *fes*, both small caps. The *tepeluk* was made of broadcloth and was embroidered with pearls (see ill. 52). Braids and a *bareš*, a decorative chaplet made of velvet or silk, were wrapped around the cap, forming a crown braid (Prošić-Dvornić 2006: 245ff; Milanović 2007: 186).

Wearing the Serbian town costume for the Serbian townswomen was a sign of holding on to tradition as well as to the roles assigned to them as women. At the same time though, it was a sign of wealth and prosperity. These pieces of clothing were made of valuable materials that were imported both from Ottoman lands and from western European capitals such as Vienna, Paris, and Budapest. Not everyone could afford them, and they were usually worn for special occasions only. By wearing the Serbian dress, women articulated their belonging to the urban bourgeois class in which their roles were defined as daughter, mother, or wife, similar to women's roles in the western European middle classes. These areas of responsibility, however, very much differed from the tasks that had to be undertaken by peasant women and also of working-class women, who together with men and other women provided for the survival of the family and constituted an indispensable part of the labor force supporting their households.

The Serbian town costume was gradually replaced beginning with the 1970s by "Western-European-style" fashion, which especially appealed to the younger generations (see Prošić-Dvornić 1980/81). In the group portrait (ill. 50) of Darinka Sirotanović and her daughters Bosiljka and Branka, taken in 1911, such an encounter of "traditional" meeting "modern" is enacted. Darinka is seated on a bench, dressed in traditional Serbian town attire, with a long skirt, a blouse with a silk scarf crossed over it and tied together with a broche, and a *libade.* Her hair is fixed in a crown braid and decorated with a *bareš.* The two young women are dressed alike. They wear ornamented blouses and wrap-around skirts of the same fabric. One of them is seated on another bench, which is a little below her mother's bench, on which one young woman is resting her elbow. The youngest woman stands behind them. A similar composition, but of men dressed in clothes of different influences and styles, is the group portrait (ill. 60) taken by Anastas Stojanović after 1865,[14] another influential court photographer who was professionally active some twenty years before Milan Jovanović. In this picture of two men and a boy,

[14] The photograph is not dated, which is why 1865, the year when Anastas Stojanović started working as a photographer in Belgrade can be taken as the earliest date of its making.

one of the men is wearing a rather "modern-style" male town costume with a bow tie, jacket, and waistcoat, while the other one is dressed in traditional male clothing. The boy is dressed in a school/cadet uniform and holds a cap. The traditionally dressed man is wearing wide pants called *turače* or *poturlije* (Turkish pants), tied with a belt around the waist, and holding a *fes* (hat) in his hand. On his upper body he is wearing a long-sleeved, short vest, similar to the *libade* worn by women.

What this small sample of the "traditional town attire" shows is an attempt at inventing something genuinely Serbian, even though there was nothing genuine about those clothes. The nation-building processes and the visual defining of belonging was—at least in the case of women—well underway until the outbreak of World War I. It would be rewarding to further elaborate whether this showing off of belongingness in times when other attire was worn by the mainstream occurred more often in times of threat or in times of peace. Another important question, which cannot be touched upon in this essay, is why it is so that women continued to wear this "nationally loaded," "invented tradition" sort of attire (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2003). Is it an analogy of woman and nation? Or is it rather a form of appropriating town women for big ideas about the nation and for an invented tradition that was mostly threatened, exactly by them since they were the persons for whom the roles changed most? Was the self-othering, the drawing of boundaries against the Oriental heritage and against the modern West, only present during a short period of nation-building and stratification of society, and was it overcome by the reinforcing of those boundaries and the consolidation of the elites?

Romantic View of Rural Life

Urbanization and modernization processes deeply altered Serbian society. As it was not very much differentiated and allowed for social mobility, the newly established upper classes[15] mostly had a vivid memory of life in the countryside at the turn of the twentieth century. Many state officials, industrialists, workers, traders, and intellectuals themselves had moved from the countryside into towns not long ago, or their parents or grandparents had done so. Yet in the vein of romanticism, this memory became transfigured into something imagined to be the opposite of urban life. At the same time, townsmen and townswomen and their lifestyles, in many respects, came under criticism from both the rural population, who were reluctant to move to towns, which were regarded as provoking a morally loose lifestyle, and among their own ranks from the self-proclaimed national reformers and critics, such as author, philosopher, and first minister of education, Dositej Obradović; playwright Branislav Nušić; and lesser known caricaturists such as Brana Cvetković, Milivoje Mauković, and Jovan Pešič (see Garić 2010). Established generational and gender hierarchies were challenged,

[15] There was no local aristocracy. Under Ottoman rule only the clergy had a special status; the ordinary Orthodox Christians were simply tax-paying lower classes with little differentiation among them.

leading to a romanticized view of tradition. Rural life became representative of this nostalgia. But it was not only the longing for times past: the Serbian countryside was transfigured as the symbol of Serbian nationhood. Intellectuals such as the geographer Jovan Cvijić or the ethnographers Jovan Erdeljanović and Tihomir Djordjević came to believe and spread the thought that the Serbs had endured foreign domination without losing their identity, their language, or religion in the countryside.

As a sign of belonging and also of patriotism, Serbian upper classes started taking pictures of themselves dressed in idealized traditional rural clothes. As far as I can identify, the self-portraiture of the bourgeoisie in rural clothes started later than the wearing of the "invented urban dress." Similar to the "traditional rural dress," the "invented urban dress" was not worn on a daily basis but rather on special occasions in order to demonstrate cultural and national sentiments and a belonging to an imagined "Serbian nation"—rather than to only a segment of it, for example, the educated or the bourgeois group (see Mišković 2008: 262).

Illustration 57 is a studio portrait of Pantelija Ž. Jurišić taken before his enrollment in the military academy in the year 1896–1897. He is dressed in a traditional Vojvodina folk costume, consisting of a white shirt and wide pants, both made of linen, and a dark vest over it. Over the pants, Pantelija is wearing a pleated, white skirt made of linen. Those items of clothing were worn on special occasions and during summer until the outbreak of World War I. On his head Pantelija is wearing a felt hat, also typical of the Vojvodina costume. Pantelija Ž. Jurišić was a descendent of the Jurišić family, originally from the Mačva district, bordering Vojvodina in northwest Serbia. Among his relatives were many state officials, merchants, representatives of the intelligentsia, and military personnel. After completing his studies at the military academy, Pantelija himself became general of the Royal Army, while his brother became a physician. In 1908, Pantelija married Ana Jovanović, who belonged to Serbia's political elite. Her father was the attorney Mihailo P. Jovanović, who served as minister of justice from 1903 to 1905 and as judge and head of the Court of Cassation from 1908 on. He also served as Yugoslav assistant judge at the Permanent Court of International Justice in The Hague between 1922 and 1930.

Illustration 56 is a studio portrait of Sofija Nenadović taken in 1906. She is dressed in traditional female Serbian folk attire, wearing an embroidered *jelek* (west) over an embroidered shirt and a *pregača*, a traditional embroidered apron with geometric ornamentation. This sort of folk attire was typically worn in the Danube and Save river basin areas of Serbia around Belgrade. The shirt is tightened with a belt decorated with *pafte*, richly ornamented metal plates attached to the belt with hooks for fastening. She has flowers woven into her hair. She is wearing leather boots instead of the traditional peasant leather sandals called *opanci*. The backdrop is painted giving the illusion of a lake scene. Sofija Nenadović was probably the great-granddaughter of Jakov Nenadović (1765–1836), who was the first Serbian minister of the interior. Jakov Nenadović, along with his nephew Mateja Nenadović, played

an important role as military commander in the first Serbian uprising against the Ottomans. After Karadjordje and Janko Katić, Nenadović was perhaps the most influential figure in Serbia at the time. This photograph is Sofija's gift to her good friend Ana P. Jovanović, who would become Pantelija Ž. Jurišić's wife.

In illlustration 54, made in 1895, Ljubica Avakumović is dressed as Sofija Nenadović in traditional Serbian folk attire that was typically worn in the Danube and Save river basin areas of Serbia around Belgrade. In her left hand she is holding a flower basket. The background is painted and decorated with rocks, giving the impression of rocky outdoor scenery. Similarly to Sofija Nenadović, Ljubica Avakumović belonged to the so-called Serbian politician élite (Ibidem: 319ff). She was the daughter of Jovan Avakumović (1841–1928), who was a University of Zürich-trained[16] attorney, politician, and twice prime minister of Serbia (1892–1893 and in 1903). They were members of the Baba-Dudić family who were very influential in Serbia. The Baba-Dudićs held many important political positions such as minister of home affairs, minister of buildings, military minister, president of the court, and president of the National Assembly in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century.[17]

Illustration 58 is a full-length portrait of Sojka Garašanin as a young—probably 1- or 2-year-old—girl dressed in folk costume. The photograph was prob-
150 ably taken in the 1890s. The studio is arranged similarly to the example discussed above, and Sojka is also wearing all the items of clothing typically worn in the Danube and Save river basin areas of Serbia around Belgrade. Sofija-Sojka Garašanin was probably a granddaughter of the politician Milutin Garašanin and great-granddaughter of politician and statesman Ilija Garašanin (1812–1874), who today is known for the first written elaboration of the foreign-policy program of expansion of Serbia under the title *Načertanije* (meaning *Draft*, 1844). Dressing children in folk attire was rather unusual in the 1890s. In most other photographs, children of Sojka's age are dressed in gender-neutral white tunics and dark boots as can be seen in the portrait of Milan Jovanović' son Dušan in illustration 59.

Wearing traditional rural attire meant wearing individual attires taken from different local sources, whereas the traditional urban attire had a rather unifying function and differed less. What the elites neglected to wear was the clothing of the lower urban classes and the rural attire denoting minorities.

Apart from the urban middle classes dressing in traditional rural clothes and, thereby, demonstrating their belonging to a wider Serbian nation, there were also staged photographs of idealized rural clothes and peoples photographed for purposes other than private and rather for the production of postcards and the like. For instance, on the backside of illustration 51 someone has noted in 1910 "Old Servia (Turkey)." The image shows a young woman wearing a formal sleeveless long

---

16 See http://www.matrikel.uzh.ch/active/static/1237. htm (accessed 10. 10. 2012).

17 The Baba-Dudićs in question were Živko Karabiberović, Pavle Denić, Jovan Avakumović, and others.

vest with embroidery (*zubun*), an apron, and a long skirt. Her hair is down, which suggests an unmarried status: women covered their hair once they were married. Other examples are two portraits by Milan Jovanović, which today are part of a bigger collection of ethnographic photographs in the Ethnographic Museum of Belgrade. On the backs, these photos are labeled according to the costumes shown, which are presented by the "models." Illustration 53 shows a young man or a boy in "Vlach folk costume."[18] He is wearing a shirt made of hemp linen and white braid-decorated trousers made of cloth. A woolen woven belt is worn around the waist and he is wearing the traditional peasant leather sandals, *opanci,* on his feet. His head is covered with a fur cap made of sheeps' wool. The boy is photographed against a background decorated with branches and leaves and is resting his arm on a wooden fence. The whole composition depicts an outdoor setting. Similarly the focus of the portrait of the young woman in illustration 52 is the costume worn in a specific part of Serbia rather than the girl herself. The background and props too give the impression of the outdoors. The ground is covered with hay. Behind the girl, parts of a brick wall covered with roof shingles and of a stone bench are depicted. The brick wall continues into a metal garden door opening the view to a lake in the background. Her hair is covered with a *fes* and a kerchief called *šamija.* Her costume consists of a white shirt covered by an embroidered *jelek*, a long skirt, and a *pregača.*

The above discussed photographs of the Serbian upper classes dressed in idealized traditional rural clothes are examples of "exotic" or rather "unusual" portraiture that I have found in Milan Jovanović's collections or in the preserved family albums comprising his photographs. That is not to say that Milan Jovanović has not done other or maybe even more "exotic" portraits. And he certainly has—as one of the photographers of the Royal Serbian Theatre. He has portrayed many actors and actresses in their roles, which often were based on exotic conceptions such as the "cruel Turk" versus the "heroic Serb liberation fighter," as in the historic plays *Duke Ivo from Semberija*,[19] *Hajduk Veljko*,[20] *Stefan Nemanja*,[21] or *Miloš Obilić* (*Battle of*

[18] The Vlachs are an ethnic minority living in the northeastern parts of Serbia (Timok valley, Morava valley, Mlava valley, Pek valley, and Negotinska Krajina) who speak Romanian dialects with many Serbian loanwords. Initially the term "Vlach" or "Wallache" was used as an exonym for Latin-speaking communities. It has undergone changes and today is used in different parts of the Balkans either as an exonym or an endonym (see Djordjević 2007).

[19] Duke Ivo from Semberia is the main character of a tragedy written by Serbian playwright Branislav Nušić (1864–1938). Nušić's play is based on the historic figure Ivan Knežević, who was a Serbian revolutionary and village elder in the Bijeljina nāḥiyah (Bijelina subdistrict, today part of Republika Srpska in Bosnia-Herzegovina) around 1806.

[20] Hajduk Veljko is a play written by Jovan Dragašević (1836–1915) and entitled "Бој на Неготину, или Смрт Ајдук-Вељкова : драма у три дејства" (The Battle at Negotin or the Death of Hajduk Veljko: a drama in three acts) which was based on the historical figure of Hajduk Veljko, who was one of the military commanders of the Serbian revolutionary forces in the first Serbian uprising against the Ottoman Empire (1804–1813).

[21] Stefan Nemanja (~1113–1199) was the grand prince of the Grand Principality of Serbia (Rascia)

Kosovo).[22] From my perspective, however, these latter theater photographs represent something different, because in them the Self-Other constructions are completely blurred. They are examples of how the Other was perceived rather than how the self was perceived as the Other. What I want to focus on in the last part of this article are the "ordinary" pictures I mentioned in the beginning.

The Multinational Business Elites[23]

During my research, I found many fewer photographs of business elites presenting themselves in "traditional clothes." Their photographs mostly portray luxury and wealth. Women are wearing expensive-looking dresses and lots of jewelry, while men are usually portrayed in tailor-made suits or uniforms. Studio portraits of the family Horstig-Pavlović illustrate very well this belonging to the upper classes. Also they illustrate the entanglement of the families in different spheres of power. Mihailo Pavlović (1840–1915), who was better known as "Ćir Mijajlo" (Master, or patron, Mijajlo), was one of the several millionaires of Belgrade in his time. He made a fortune trading in textiles and was also actively involved in politics. He was governor of the National Bank of Serbia and also representative for foreign capital at Austro-Hungary's Länderbank subsidiary "Srpska kreditna banka" (see Mišković 2008: 313). His daughter Zora became the wife of Kosta Horstig, who was a descendant of an Old Prussian family. The Horstig family was allegedly involved in the founding of the freemasonry in Serbia. Through intermarriage they expanded their political and economic influence and became associated with the descendants of Miša Anastasijević ("Captain Miša"), who was the second richest man in Serbia (after Prince Miloš I) in the nineteenth century. It seems that these business elites did not portray themselves employing national narratives and ideologies, being visible in photographs of the "intelligentsia" and the politically powerful. Was this because their place in society was already secured and they did not have to show off their belonging to the nation, since they had other means of showing their allegiance?

Last but not least, I want to touch upon the issue of female representation in photographs. By her contemporaries, Zora Horstig was called "Pretty Ms. Horstig," and looking at her lavishly staged portraits it is understandable why. With her splendid wedding dress in illustration 55, her visual presentation seems in no way inferior

---

from 1166 to 1196 and heir to the Vukanović dynasty. He was the founding father of the Nemanjić dynasty under which medieval Serbia prospered most.

[22] *Miloš Obilić* (the Battle of Kosovo) is a tragedy written by Jovan Subotić (1817–1886). It is based on the historical figure of the medieval Serbian knight Miloš Obilić, who was in the service of Prince Lazar Nemanjić. Obilić prominently features as the legendary assassin of the Ottoman sultan Murad I.

[23] I have adopted the classifications "business elites" and "political elites" from Nataša Mišković's *Basare and Boulevards* (2008). It is very difficult to maintain this classification, because members of the political elites and of the business elites often intermingled and each group also had a powerful influence on the other. Also I would add another category, equally fluid: the "knowledge elites."

to that of Queen Draga,[24] whose wedding portrait was produced at roughly the same time. One photograph of Zora Horstig (ill. 49) shows her in a semi-traditional outfit, combining elements of traditional rural or "national" clothing with modern western European–style clothes. She is wearing an *anterija* (vest) with a richly embroidered shawl over a floor-length lace dress. Zora Horstig's portraits also carry in them another *différence*—the gendered gaze or the "pretty female" as seen through the eyes of the male photographer. This is important to highlight, because the "pretty female" was something new to the traditional or rural Serbian society in which the males were at the center, stressing their heroic looks. The females' looks did not matter as much or at all relative to their industriousness, family background, and inner values. Consider this in the context of arranged marriages and extended families that provided security and viability in a subsistence-based economy and society, which the Serbian society largely continued to be until after World World I.

Conclusions

Regarding the Serbian elites at the turn of the twentieth century, it is important to point to its rather fluid and ambiguous character. There has not been one homogeneous Serbian bourgeois class, which is why I have chosen to discuss them, not as a uniform entity opposed to some imagined "Otherism" but as people with the power to construct those differences and as individuals embodying different experiences of the Self as mediated through powerful discourses of nation and Orientalism. With the help of visual media, different identities were contested and different loyalties articulated. The ideal images they produced about themselves often showed their desires and aspirations, the ways they imagined and wanted their world to be through the lenses of photographers trained in Western aesthetics. At the same time, those ideal images were rather different and detached from their everyday hardships in a society in which social differentiation had only started, along with the nation-building process. Those individuals who were involved in public affairs and were politically active often used visual media for articulating their patriotic sentiments and their belonging to a greater community, as can be seen in photographs of their wives and daughters and, less frequently, in their own dressing in folk attire. This sort of clothing was rather unusual and only worn on special occasions, thereby revealing a romanticized view of rural life and one's own roots. At the same time, portraits of business elites usually showed them in modern western-European-style clothes and gave testament to their status as wealthy merchants, craftsman, or industrialists. They visually embraced a "European" identity and at the same time showed no sympathy for or identification with

[24] In 1900, Queen Draga married King Aleksandar Obrenović, who reigned from 1889 to 1903. Their marriage provoked a public outcry because Draga was a widow and twelve years older than her husband. Also she was distantly related to the Karadjordjević dynasty, which was in a constant fight for the throne with the Obrenović family. In 1903, the royal couple was assassinated by army officers.

the Other—the poor and rural Serbians or the Ottoman, or "Oriental," Others that for centuries had formed these classes. Yet there were some members of the developing Serbian elites who managed to balance the Ottoman past and the European future by introducing the concept of a unique Serbian urban identity. However this seemingly in-between stage of defining national symbols, which would neither imitate the West nor continue an "Oriental-style tradition" does not tell a story of embracing the Ottoman past and endorsing the European future or, for that matter, the European view of the Balkans and its people. It tells, rather, the story of a nation-building process, boundary drawing, and Othering.

Acknowledgements

This paper draws on material from the visual research project financed by the Austrian Science Fund (FWF); Project number: P 22104-G18; Project name: Visualizing Family, Gender Relations and the Body. The Balkans approx. 1860–1950. I would like to thank my doctoral thesis supervisor Prof. Dr. Karl Kaser and the editors of this volume, Dagnosław Demski, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, and Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska, for their support, helpful suggestions, and critical comments.

References

Adanır F. and S. Faroqui (eds.) 2002, *Introduction*, [in:] *The Ottomans and the Balkans: A Discussion of Historiography*, Leiden, pp. 1–56.

Bakić-Hayden M. 1995, Nesting Orientalisms: The Case of Former Yugoslavia, *Slavic Review*, vol. 54, no. 4, pp. 917–931.

Banks M. 2001, *Visual Methods in Social Research*, London.

Barth F. 1969, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference,* Oslo.

Barthes R. 1989, *Die helle Kammer. Bemerkung zur Photographie, eine Lesart*, Frankfurt am Main.

Beleške o umetnosti: Svetislav Jovanović, srpski slikar (Notes on art: Svetislav Jovanović, a Serbian painter) 1900, [in:] *Brankovo kolo: za zabavu, pouku i književnost* (*Branko's Circle, journal for entertainment, education and literature*), vol. 6, no. 3. pp. 94–95.

Bogdanović J. 2007, On the Architecture of the *Konaks* in Serbia (1804–1830), *Serbian Studies. Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 161–180.

Bourdieu P. 1996 [1965], *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, Cambridge.

Burgin V. 1986, *The End of Art Theory: Criticism and Postmodernity.* Basingstoke.

Calic M. J. 1994, *Sozialgeschichte Serbiens, 1815–1941: der aufhaltsame Fortschritt während der Industrialisierung*, München.

Davidova E. 2012, *Balkan Transitions to Modernity and Nation-States: Through the Eyes of Three Generations of Merchants* (*1780s–1890s*), Leiden.

Djordjević A. 2007, *Vlasi–Rumâni–Srbi: Eine durch Migration geprägte ethnische Gemeinschaft im Nordosten Serbiens. Kulturanthropologische Untersuchungen im transnationalen Dorf*, Unpublished MA Thesis, University of Vienna.

Elkins J. 2011, *What Photography Is*, New York–London.

Fine M. 1998, *Working the Hyphens: Reinventing Self and Other in Qualitative Research*, [in:] N. Denzin, Y. Lincoln (eds.), *The Landscape of Qualitative Research: Theories and Issues*, Thousand Oaks (Calif), pp. 130–155.

Fried M. 2005, Barthes's Punctum, *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 31, no. 3, pp. 539–574.

Garić D. 2010, Od metle do dame. Kritike ženske mode kroz karikaturu u srpskoj štampi krajem XIX i početkom XX veka (From Broom to Lady. Criticism of Women's Fashion through Caricature in Serbian Press from the End of the 19th until the Beginning of the 20th Century), *Istorija Umetnosti. Rad Muzeja Vojvodine*, vol. 53, pp. 233–244.

Hall S. 1994, *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, [in:] P. Williams and L. Chrisman (eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory: A Reader*, New York, pp. 392–401.

Heppner H. 1994, *Hauptstädte in Südosteuropa*, Wien.

Hirsch M. 1997, *Family Frames: Photography, Narrative, and Postmemory*, Cambridge.

Hobsbawm E. J. and T. O. Ranger (eds.) 2003 [1983], *The Invention of Tradition*, Cambridge.

hooks bell (Gloria Jean Watkins) 2000, *Choosing the Margin as a Space of Radical Openness*, [in:] J. Rendell, B. Penner, and I. Borden (eds.), *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, London–New York, pp. 203–209.

Höpken W. 2007, *Die fehlende Klasse. Bürgertum in Südosteuropa im 19. Jahrhundert und frühen 20. Jahrhundert*, [in:] U. Brunnbauer (ed.) *Transformationsprobleme Bulgariens im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Historische und ethnologische Perspektiven*, München.

Kanitz F. P. 1904, *Das Königreich Serbien und das Serbenvolk von der Römerzeit bis zur Gegenwart*, Band 1, Leipzig.

Lampe J. R. 1975, Varieties of Unsuccessful Industrialization: The Balkan States before 1914, *The Journal of Economic History*, vol., 35. no. 1, pp. 56–85.

Lampe J. R. and M. R. Jackson 1982, *Balkan Economic History, 1550–1950: From Imperial Borderlands to Developing Nations*, Bloomington.

Malić G. 1997, *Milan Jovanović, fotograf* (*Milan Jovanović, the Photographer*), Beograd.

Menković M. 2010, *Serbia: Urban Dress, 1830 to 1941*, [in:] D. Bartlett (ed.), vol. 9: *East Europe, Russia, and the Caucasus. Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion*, Oxford.

Milanović Lj. 2007, Picturing the New Middle Class: Two 19th century portraits of Serbian women, *Serbian Studies. Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 181–189.

Miljković-Katić B. 2002, *Struktura gradskog stanovništva Srbije sredinom XIX veka* (*Structure of the Urban Population of Serbia at mid-19th Century*), Beograd.

Milojković-Djurić J. 2007, Mutual Illuminations, *Serbian Studies. Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, vol. 21, no. 2, pp. 191–200.

Milošević S. 2011, *Arrested Development: Mythical Characteristics in the "Five Hundred Years of Turkish Yoke"*, [in:] Sindbaek, T. and Hartmuth, M. (eds.), *Images of Imperial Legacy: Modern Discourses on the Social and Cultural Impact of Ottoman and Habsburg Rule in Southeastern Europe*, Berlin, pp. 69–78.

Mišković N. 2008, *Basare und Boulevards. Belgrad im 19. Jahrhundert*, Wien.

Owens C. 1992 [1985], *Posing*, [in:] S. Bryson, B. Kruger, L. Tillman, and J. Wienstock (eds.), *Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power, and Culture*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–Oxford, pp. 201–217.

Perrot P. 1994, *Fashioning the Bourgeoisie: A History of Clothing in the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton, N.J.

Prošić-Dvornić M. 1980/81, Ženski gradjanski kostim u Srbiji 19. Veka (Female town costume in nineteenth century Serbia), *Zbornik Muzeja primenjene umetnosti,* vol. 24–25, pp. 9–28.

—2006, *Odevanje u Beogradu u XIX i pocetkom XX veka* (*Dressing in Belgrade in the XIX and at the Beginning of the XX Centuries*), Beograd.

Prpa-Jovanović B., Ristović M. et al. 2008, *Živeti u Beogradu: dokumenta uprave grada Beograda. Kn. 6, 1890–1940* (*Living in Belgrade: Historical Archive on Belgrade Documents*), Beograd.

Radovanović M. 1974, Kretanje broja stanovnika, domova, domaćinstava i porodica (Population, dwelling, household and family growth), *Istorija Beograda*, vol. 2, pp. 270–288.

Siegel E. 2010, *An Age of Albums*, [in:] W. Guadagnini (ed.), *Photography: The Origins 1839–1890*, Milano, pp. 200–225.

Silverman K. 1996, *The Threshold of the Visible World,* New York–London.

Stanković Dj. 2003, Serbian Bourgeois Elite and the Yugoslavia (1918–1941), *Godišnjak za društvenu* istoriju, vol. 1–3, pp. 69–86.

Stojanović D. 2008, *Kaldrma i asfalt. Urbanizacija i evropeizacija Beograda 1890–1914* (*Cobblestone and Asphalt. Urbanization and Europeanization of Belgrade 1890–1914*), Beograd.

Subotić I. 2006, The Art Scene in Serbia Yesterday and Today, [in:] Lukan, W.; Trgovčević, Lj. and Vukčević, D. *Ländersonderband Serbien und Montenegro* (*Österreichische Osthefte*), vol. 47, no. 1–4, Wien, pp. 535–543.

Sundhaussen H. 1989, *Historische Statistik Serbiens 1834–1914. Mit europäischen Vergleichsdaten*, München.

—2007, *Geschichte Serbiens 19. bis 21. Jahrhundert*, Wien.

Todić M. 1989, *Photography in Serbia in 19th Century*, Belgrade.

—1993, *Istorija srpske fotografije 1839–1940* (*History of Serbian Photography 1839–1940*), Belgrade.

Trgovčević Lj. 2003, *Planirana Elita. O studentima iz Srbije na evropskim univerzitetima u 19. veku* (*The Planned Elite. Students from Serbia in European Universities in the 19th Century*), Beograd.

Vasić Č. 2006, *From Prince's Servant to Civil Servant. Civilian Uniforms in Serbia in the 19th Century*, [in:] E. Hackspiel-Mikosch and S. Haas (eds.), *Die zivile Uniform als symbolische Kommunikation: Kleidung zwischen Repräsentation, Imagination und Konsumption in Europa vom 18. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, pp. 193–207.



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF ZORA HORSTIG

Photography M. Jovanović

49 Museum of Applied Art Belgrade, 1900–1902, Inv. Nr. 15941.



GROUP PORTRAIT OF DARINKA SIROTANOVIĆ AND HER DAUGTHERS BOSILJKA AND BRANKA

Photography M. Jovanović

Museum of Applied Art, Belgrade 1911, Inv. Nr. 20152. 50



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG WOMAN WEARING A ZUBUN

Photography M. Jovanović

51 Museum of Applied Art Belgrade, 1900–1902, Inv. Nr. 20171.



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN IN FOLK DRESS FROM POŽAREVAC

Photography M. Jovanović

Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, 1887–1890, Inv. Nr. 12023/36. 52



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF A MAN IN VLACH FOLK DRESS

Photography M. Jovanović

53 Ethnographic Museum in Belgrade, 1887–1890, Inv. Nr. 12023/35.



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF LJUBICA AVAKUMOVIĆ
Photography M. Jovanović
Museum of Applied Art Belgrade, 1893, Inv. Nr. 20178. 54



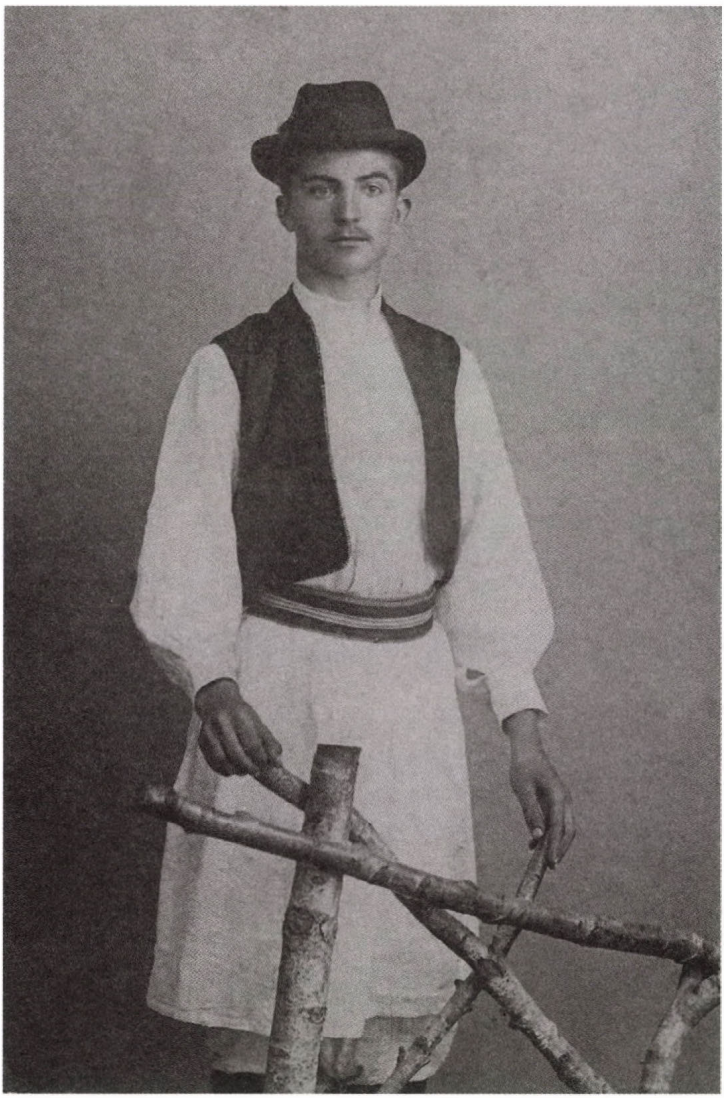
WEDDING PORTRAIT OF ZORA AND KOSTA HORSTIG

Photography M. Jovanović

55 Museum of Applied Art Belgrade, 1900–1902, Inv. Nr. 22274.



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF SOFIJA NENADOVIĆ
Photography M. Jovanović
Private Archive of Miloš Jurišić, February 1906. 56



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF PANTELIJA Ž. JURIŠIĆ

Photography M. Jovanović

57 Private Archive of Miloš Jurišić, 1896–1897.



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF SOJKA GARAŠANIN

Photography M. Jovanović

Museum of Applied Art Belgrade, 1887–1890, Inv. Nr. 20189. 58



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF DUŠAN JOVANOVIĆ

Photography M. Jovanović

59 Museum of Applied Art Belgrade, not after 1893, Inv. Nr. 20179.



GROUP PORTRAIT OF TWO MEN AND A BOY

Photography A. Stojanović

Museum of Applied Art Belgrade, after 1865, Inv. Nr. 19121. 60

Gundega Gailīte

Role of "Mother Latvia" in Constructing Self and Other: A Case of Latvian Caricature From the Nineteenth Century to 1920

Māte Latvija, "Mother Latvia," plays a remarkable role in the Latvian identity. The image of the native country as a woman, mother serves as an important motif of the national culture. Even today this symbol is a prominent part of the political rhetoric as well as the mass culture (Kruks 2007). For instance, the Russian Language Referendum (18 February 2012), which aimed to make Russian the second state language was represented metaphorically as an attempt of rape of "Mother Latvia" by a caricaturist from *Dienas Bizness*.[1] As Agita Misane and Aija Priedite point out, "Mother Latvia" is a sacred object of public and private devotion; it has been evoked in countless speeches, especially in the Reawakening period of 1988 to 1991 (1997: 160). Earlier, this image was used in the discourse of Latvian emigration (Bilmanis 1944) in the Soviet Latvia's ideology (Zandere 2000). Every Latvian is familiar with the visual image of "Mother Latvia," first of all, in the Monument of Freedom (ill. 61) and the memorial in the Cemetery of the Brethren in Riga (Kārlis Zāle, 1920s–1930s).

The purpose of this article is to highlight the origins of the image of "Mother Latvia" in Latvian caricature of the period during which the movement for independence was taking place (late nineteenth to early twentieth century). My research especially focuses on the question of how this symbol acted as a means of unification of Latvians during this period. Every symbol that serves as a unifying symbol of a people, at the same time, serves as a means to exclude some other group. Thus, another aim of my research is to analyze the exploitation of "Mother Latvia" in producing Otherness. Firstly, I clarify my approach to the Latvian caricature as a factor of national identity. Then I examine how the image of "Mother Latvia" created in satirical graphics contributed to constructing Latvianness during this period. Finally, I focus on the ways the symbol was utilized by caricaturists in producing Otherness. The works used for the analysis consist of caricatures created by R. Zariņš[2] (1869–1939), J. R. Tillbergs (1880–1972), I. Zeberiņš (1882–1969), and other prominent Latvian artists. These drawings were mostly published in Latvian satirical journals including *Svari* (*Scales*), *Gailis* (*Rooster*), *Zibens* (*Lightning*), *Vērotājs* (*Observer*), *Lietuvēns* (*Incubus*), *Vārdotājs*

[1] Untitled, Zaharāns Z. *Dienas Bizness*, 20 February 2012.

[2] *Richard Sarrinsch* in German speaking countries.

(*Charmer*), *Rīkstes* (*Whips*), and so forth—nearly twenty satirical journals—until 1920.[3]

Latvian Caricature as a Factor of National Identity

The history of Latvian caricature started in the second part of the nineteenth century, that is, at the time when the Latvian nation came into being (Gailite 2010: 184).[4] Together with other branches of visual arts, satirical graphics played an important role in the processes of forming a national self-consciousness (Gailite 2012). I would like to draw attention to three specific traits of caricature as a genre that allowed it to be utilized in constructing a national identity.

Firstly, caricature possesses the special opportunities to produce an unreal picture of the world. The ability of caricatures to hyperbolize, to deform, is especially important in the process of defining a national identity. Identity is formed based on relations between the Self and Other, thus, representations of the Other serve as a necessary element of representations of the Self (Jenkins 1996: 102–131). Since limitedness, according to Benedict Anderson, is one of the essential characteristics of nation as an "imagined political community" (Anderson 1983: 19), the symbolic boundary between Self and Other is a necessary element of nation. In other words, interpretation of nation as an "imagined community" implies analyzing the ways in which the symbolic border between the Self and Other are imagined and supported; caricature functions as a tool that allows one to draw this border very sharply. Particularly, the collection *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe* demonstrates how caricature serves as an effective means of producing and sustaining the auto- and heterostereotypes, which are significant components of the collective identity (Demski, Baraniecka-Olszewska 2010).

Secondly, caricature is didactic by its very nature. Blaming a vice and cultivating a virtue and, thereby, defining clearly norm and deviation, caricature participates in establishing the social order of a nation.

Thirdly, the genre of caricature is democratic because, unlike other forms of visualization (for instance, painting), the caricaturists' works are distributed widely and immediately and their "consumption" does not presuppose a special training and even literacy.

These characteristics allow researchers to turn their attention to caricature as a factor of nationalism, and some remarkable studies in the role of satirical graphics

---

[3] Near one hundred satirical journals until 1934.

[4] The national awakening at the end of the nineteenth century was started by intellectuals—the so-called New Latvians (*jaunlatvieši*) who brought to the surface the problems in economics, culture, and education. The mass media played the main role in the emancipation process of the nation. The New Latvians started to create a modern society in the local context already in the newspaper *Pēterburgas Avīzes* (*St. Petersburg Newspapers*) (1863–1865), trying to raise self-awareness, critical judgement, and aspiration to change one's life. The first Latvian caricatures were published exactly in that newspaper.

in the creation of American, British, and Cuban identities have appeared in recent years (Hunt 2003; Stoner 2009; Hess, Northrop 2010). It is noteworthy to emphasize that caricatures were especially important to the formation of the Latvian identity. The independence movement in Latvia was marked by very active participation by all strata of the society, because a significant number of clergy members and the upper bourgeoisie were under a strong German influence (Kirchanov 2006: 85). In its own turn, this participation of caricatures in forming the nation increased the Latvians' interests in them.

"Mother Latvia" in Constructing Latvianness

One of the main tasks of the leaders of the independence movement was to build a nation by "inventing" the images and symbols that would allow Latvians to perceive themselves as a separate, united, and unique nation. The mythology of nationalism treats the nation as an individual, as a live organism, which possesses its own name, body, and soul. Craig Calhoun turns attention to the connection between nationalism and the ideology of individualism. In general, each nation is understood to be indivisible and the bearer of a distinctive identity (Calhoun 1998: 45). The American scholar emphasizes that "nations are commonly understood as themselves being individuals—both in the literal sense of being indivisible and metaphorically as singular beings that move through history as ordinary people move through their biographical life courses" (Ibidem: 44). This perception of a nation as an individual creates the favorable conditions for spreading the national allegories (Riabov 2007: 48). The female allegories, which represent a nation in the guise of a mother or a wife, have a special significance. It is not by accident that they are widespread all over the world: "Britannia" in the United Kingdom, "Mother Svea" in Sweden, "Helvetia" in Switzerland, "Hibernia" in Ireland, "Marianne" in France, "Columbia" in the United States, and others. They were invented to symbolize traditions, the antiquity of the nation, and its historical roots (Edmondson 2003: 58–59).

The ideologists of the Latvian nationalism could barely avoid the influence of the female allegories of two neighboring cultures, Russian and German. The visualization of Russia's female personification started in Peter the Great's epoch, and by the mid-nineteenth century "Mother Russia" was a recognizable national symbol (Riabov 2007: 117–118). "Germania" was a well-known image in all parts of the German world, including the Baltic (Edmondson 2003: 59–60).

This popularity of maternal allegories was a consequence of the role of the family metaphor in nationalism. The very idea of national community expresses kinship relations. The analogy with family serves as an effective way of essentializing that kind of community, positioning it as natural (Tickner 2001: 54).

Due to these factors, the emergence of a female allegory of the nation in the Latvian nationalism was quite logical. In creating its ideology, the intellectuals used maternal images of the Latvian culture, first of all, the image of Mara from the

Latvian folk songs, *Dainas*.[5] Figuring on the traces of "Mother Latvia" in the "myth-symbol complex"[6] of the Latvian culture, one should take into account also the cult of the Great Goddess in Baltic mythology, which has been studied by Marija Gimbutas (2006).

The history of visualization of "Mother Latvia" started at the end of the nineteenth century. The earliest case that I found of visualizing this image was a caricature of 1875 published in *Jaunie Dunduri* magazine (ill. 67). The wind of change helped a ship to get up to speed. The ship's name was "Latvia," and its nose was decorated with the image of a woman in Latvian national garments—obviously she symbolized the nation. The visual image of "Mother Latvia" became widespread in the beginning of the twentieth century, first of all, due to the works of Rihards Zariņš, one of the most prominent Latvian graphic artists, who also contributed significantly to the development of caricature. In his drawings, she looked young, beautiful, strong, and proud. She had a crown-like wreath, the rich national garments, and, usually, a sword and a shield.

One can discern several functions of "Mother Latvia" during this period. She marked Latvianness and united members of the national community, embodied the values that were represented as genuinely national, symbolized the deep historical roots of the Latvian culture, and served as a tool of the national mobilization.

"Mother Latvia" was utilized for the very marking of Latvianness, designating and naming it. Besides that, it served to express the idea of the nation's unity. All Latvians were considered to be her children and by that to support each other and juxtapose with the Others. The peculiarities of the Latvian way of obtaining independence defined the ethnic character of the discourse of nationalism that was stressed by the appearance of "Mother Latvia" in Latvian graphics. The painters created an ideal image of the imaginary Latvian womanhood that relates both to the garments and to the anthropological characteristics of "Mother Latvia": tall, slender and strong, fair hair and eyes (let us emphasize that, as a rule, Others, including Germans, were portrayed as dark haired and dark eyed by the caricaturists).

Then, the symbol was intended to embody the particular values that were attributed to Latvianness in the national mythology, such as freedom, dignity, diligence, Europeanness, vitality, health, and closeness to nature (Gailite 2012). In picturing "Mother Latvia," painters aimed to express all these meanings in a single image.

Furthermore, "Mother Latvia" was exploited to symbolize the deep historical roots of Latvian culture. During that period, the intellectuals developed the notion that Latvians were the ancient and autochthonous people with whom the Lord

---

[5] *Dainas* is part of the oral tradition of Latvian folklore. There are over 1 million *dainas* today, they are included in UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Lists.

[6] The term "myth-symbol complex" was introduced by Anthony Smith to designate the symbols, memories, myths, traditions, values, and language that allow an ethnic culture to preserve its identity and continuity (1986: 57).

entrusted that land—their history beginning long before the German colonization (Kronvalds 1937: 73–74). Portraying "Mother Latvia" in the ancient garments armed with archaic weapons accorded with these ideas.

"Mother Latvia" in Constructing Otherness

One more function carried out by "Mother Latvia" was mobilizing the nation. Uniting Latvians and, by that, serving as a means of inclusion, the symbols also functioned as a tool of exclusion, that is, of constructing the Others.

The images of a suffering native-land personified by a woman's figure are traditionally exploited in the discourse of mobilization as a claim to male gender identity (Yuval-Davis 1997: 94). One can see an example in a drawing from 1906 published by the magazine *Zibens* (ill. 62), which pictured how the tsarist administration's officials and militaries, a German landlord, a Catholic priest, and other enemies were torturing "Mother Latvia." Apparently a painter aimed to express allegorically his or her perception of the events of the revolution of 1905–1907 as an attempt at killing Latvia, which was portrayed as a woman, sentenced to death. It is worth noting the difference in size between these figures: the enemies looked as Lilliputians near a gigantic figure of Latvia. That is why, in spite of the tragic character of the situation, the reader should be convinced of the final victory of the Latvians.

A caricature "At the breast of Latvia" (ill. 66) refers to important elements of the mythology of nationalism—images of abundance of the nation, the care and nurturing extended to her "sons" and "daughters." However, the painter showed that the "milk of Latvia" goes not to Latvians but to a German baron. No comments accompany the drawing, so one can only assume that Latvia's breast had been given to the Germans by the Russian autocracy. Obviously the caricature, which was published during the time of the revolution, aimed to mobilize Latvians in the struggle against not only the German barons but also the autocracy that allowed them to exploit "the breast of Latvia."

A juxtaposition of Germans and "Mother Latvia" is also portrayed in a caricature from 1904 (ill. 63). A German orders a woman in national garment to celebrate the song festival (which was extremely significant for shaping the Latvian identity) outside of the central part of Riga. Once again I would like to highlight that the difference in size between the figures aimed to convince the audience that Latvians were the real masters of Latvia. Comic effect was aided by the lack of correspondence between the German's pose and his claims to master Latvians on the one hand given his small stature on the other.

In 1916, Zarins's postcard "Motherland in danger! Sons, help!" showed another variant of the calls for national mobilization (ill. 64). "Mother Latvia" is pictured against a background of a burned farmstead, which she gestures toward with her left hand. In the right hand she holds a sword, prepared to participate in a battle. Indeed during the First World War, the visual propaganda of many countries ex-

ploited female figures as an embodiment of not only danger for their nations but also national strength, as well as moral superiority (Mosse 1985: 90).

Thus, apart from the resemblance among the Latvians, the image of "Mother Latvia" was intended to emphasize their difference from Others. One should mention the Baltic Germans, Russians, Jews, Lithuanians, Estonians, Swedes, and Poles among the "significant Others" of the Latvian identity. Let us look at how this function of differentiation was carried out in the drawings that represented the female allegories of Germanness and Russianness, bearing in mind that the Baltic Germans and Russian autocracy were considered to be the main opponents in the struggle for national independence in Latvian society in the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Anti-German discourse was structured around several oppositions in Latvian nationalism. Opposition between the great past of the Germans and the youth and radiant future of Latvians was one of the most important among them. Already in the earliest Latvian caricatures created by Augusts Daugulis in 1862–1863, the character who symbolized the aliens' dominance in Latvia was *Bizmanis*—an old German whose antiquated nature was stressed by his old-fashioned Prussian hairstyle (Gailite 2010: 184). Apparently, depicting the German barons wearing armor can be explained by the caricaturist's similar intentions. A German's clothes combining medieval and modern elements look incongruous in a drawing from 1905 (ill. 69). It is interesting in the context of the article how this idea of the archaic nature of the Baltic Germans was demonstrated with the help of their female allegory. A caricature from 1906 (ill. 68) portrays the Germans in the guise of a woman, "Germania," whose "best years" are past. However, she does not understand her condition and indignantly refuses a Latvian's marriage proposal. The ridiculous arrogance of "Germania" (as well as her antiquated appearance) indicates to the readers that the future belongs to the Latvians.

Latvians, in many images, are associated with "nature," that is, alive and natural; meanwhile Germans are associated with "civilization," which is dead and artificial. One can note that this opposition was reflected through the use of the female images of two cultures. A caricature of 1915, which a painter called, ironically, "A primitive nature and a refined culture[7]" portrays a Latvian woman and a German woman with their sons (Gailite 2010: 204). As follows from the drawing, "civilization," which the Germans boast of, means degeneration. The Germans' deformed skinny bodies and myopia sings of their lack of vitality when juxtaposed with the health of the Latvians.

The image of the Russians also occupied an important place in the Latvian identity, especially with regard to the conditions of politics of Russification (late nineteenth century) and in the time of the revolution of 1905 (Plakans 1995: 100–103)

---

[7] P. Kundziņš, *Lietuvēns*, 1915, June.

when Latvians began to be perceived as the main supporters of the autocracy who became the object of bitter criticism. The opposition "Europe vs. Asia" was one of the most significant for juxtaposing Russians with Latvians. This opposition was reflected in the dynamics of Latvians' perception of *Lacplesis* (literally *Bear Slayer*). This folk hero became an important element of the Latvian identity after publishing the epos *Lacplesis* (1888), created by Andrejs Pumpurs on the materials of *dainas*. As Andrejs Plakans emphasizes that, due to Pumpurs's masterpiece, Lacplecis, the Black Knight in the epos, became a symbol of the struggle against the Baltic Germans' dominance (1995: 107). But during the time of the revolution, Janis Rainis published a play *Fire and Night* (1905) in which the characters of the story of Lacplecis received new meanings. The Bear Slayer came to symbolize not only the Latvian people but also the proletariat, and the Black Knight, not only the Baltic Germans but also the Russian autocracy (Plakans 1995: 107). Moreover, as S. Kiersons points out, the Black Knight was no longer a German knight, as Pumpurs had originally depicted, but instead was said by Rainis to have "come from Tatars" (2011: 40).

This opposition manifested itself in the female allegory of Russianness, for instance, on a caricature from 1912 (ill. 65), which paints the State Duma as "Mother Russia." The woman is sleeping against a background of the Tauride Palace, the official residence of the Russian parliament. Apparently a painter aimed to stress the indifference of a majority of Russians to parliamentary politics. In comparing this image with "Mother Latvia," one can see more rugged features, a more massive body, and darker hair; by and large, "Russia"' looked "less European" than "Latvia."[8]

Conclusion

Caricatures that were published in numerous journals in Latvia served as a factor in the movement for independence, and "Mother Latvia" was an important character in satirical images. The maternal allegory of the nation represented the national community and symbolized its unity, its values, its historical past, and its glorious future—as well as its difference from other nations. Acting as a symbol of unification, "Mother Latvia" simultaneously served as an influential tool of producing Otherness in the national aspect.

One can see various ways in which this symbol was exploited in this process. Since Latvians were considered as the children of "Mother Latvia," non-Latvians were represented as her enemies, who insulted and tortured her. Another way of constructing Otherness was by juxtaposing "Mother Latvia" with the female allegories of the "significant Others," Germans and Russians. To define Self and Other, the caricaturists used both narration and images, specifically, the size of the characters.

Finally, it is noteworthy that "Mother Latvia" became an influential character in satirical graphics, and visual arts as a whole, during the period of independence

[8] Similarly, "Mother Russia" was painted on a drawing from the magazine *Gailis* "Around the state council," author unknown, 1913, no. 14.

that followed, when it came to symbolize the republic in the independent Latvian state (1918–1940).[9]

References

Anderson B. 1983, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism,* London.

Bilmanis A. 1944, *Latvia. Sūtniecība* (*U.S.*) (*Latvia. Embassy* (*U.S.*)), Washington, DC.

Calhoun C. 1998, *Nationalism*, Minneapolis.

Demski D., Baraniecka-Olszewska K. (eds.) 2010, *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*, Warszawa.

Edmondson L. 2003, *Putting Mother Russia in a European Context*, [in:] T. Cusack, S. Bhreathnach-Lynch (eds.), *Art, Nation and Gender: Ethnic Landscapes, Myths and Mother-Figures*, Aldershot–Burlington, pp. 53–64.

Gailite G. 2010, *Germans, Russians, and Jews in the Works of Latvian Caricaturists: The Beginning of the Twentieth Century—An Insight*, [in:] D. Demski, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*, Warsaw, pp. 184–212.

—2012, Latviešu karikatūra XIX gs. beigās XX gs. sākumā kā nacionālās identitātes veidošanās un attīstības faktors (Latvian caricature at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century as a factor of the formation and development of national identity), *Letonica,* Rīga, (forthcoming).

Gimbutas M. [Гимбутас М.] 2006, *Цивилизация Великой Богини: мир Древней Европы 2006*, *Civilizacija Velikoj Bogini: mir Drevnej Evropy* (*The Civilization of the Great Goddess: The World of Ancient Europe*), Москва.

Hess S., Northrop S. 2010, *American Political Cartoons: The Evolution of a National Identity, 1754–2010*, New Brunswick.

Jenkins R. 1996, *Social Identity*, London–New York.

Kiersons S. 2011, *Bear-Slayers—Latvian Myth, Memory, and the World Wars,* United States–Canada.

Kirchanov M. V. [Кирчанов М. В.] 2006, *История развития латышского национального движения в XIX–начале XX века* (*The History of the Latvian National Movement in the* 19th*–Early 20th Century*), Воронеж.

Kris E., Gombrich E. H. 1938, The principles of caricature, *British Journal of Medical Psychology,* 17, pp. 319–342.

Kronvalds A. 1937, *Kopoti raksti* (*Collected works*), Valters un Rapa, Rīga, vol. 1.

Kruks S. 3 July 2007, Falliskā māte (The phallic mother), *Politika,* http://www.politika.lv/temas/politikas_kvalitate/14307/ (accessed 22.07.2012).

Kurmis A. 1997, *Latviskais mūžos* (*Latvian forever*), *Nacionālā apziņa,* Rīga.

Misane, A., Priedite, A. 1997, *National Mythology in the History of Ideas in Latvia: A View From Religious Studies*, [in:] G. Hosking, G. Schopflin (eds.), *Myths and Nationhood*, London–New York, pp. 158–169.

[9] Gailite G. "Nationalism and Gender in Latvian Caricature XIX century–1940. The Case of Mother Latvia." Paper at the AABS 2012 Conference *The Global Baltics: The Next Twenty Years*. Chicago, 26–28 April 2012.

Mosse G. L. 1985, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe,* New York.

Plakans A. 1995, *The Latvians: A Short History,* Stanford.

Riabov O. [Рябов О.] 2008, «Россия-Матушка»: История визуализации ("Mother Russia": The History of Visualization), *Границы* (*Borders*), Issue 2, pp. 7–36.

—2007, *«Россия-Матушка»: национализм, гендер и война в России XX века* (*'Mother Russia': Nationalism, Gender, and War in 20th Century Russia*), Stuttgart–Hannover.

Smith A. 1986, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations,* Oxford.

Stoner K. L. 2009, The Cuban Caricature and National Identity, *The Latin Americanist,* vol. 53, September, Issue 3, pp. 55–78.

Tickner J. A. 2001, *Gendering World Politics: Issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era,* New York.

Yuval-Davis N. 1997, *Gender and Nation,* London.

Zandere I. 2000, Par mīlestību, teātri un vīnu (About love, theater and wine), *Rīgas laiks*, no. 7 (97), pp. 54–61.



MOTHER LATVIA

61 K. Zāle, Monument of Freedom, 1935.



MOTLEY LINE OR IN LATVIAN MOUNTAINS, LATVIAN VALLEYS...
Author unknown, *Zibens*, 1906, no. 1. 62

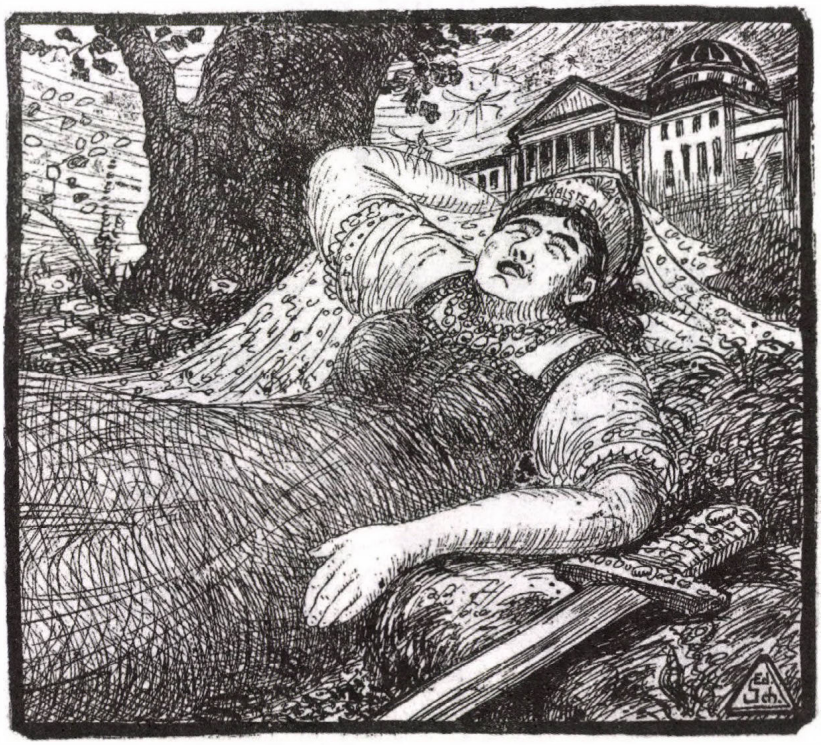


MEMORIAL WREATH FROM THE FLOWERS OF THE LAST SUMMER

63 R. Zariņš, *Austrums*. 1904, no. 10.



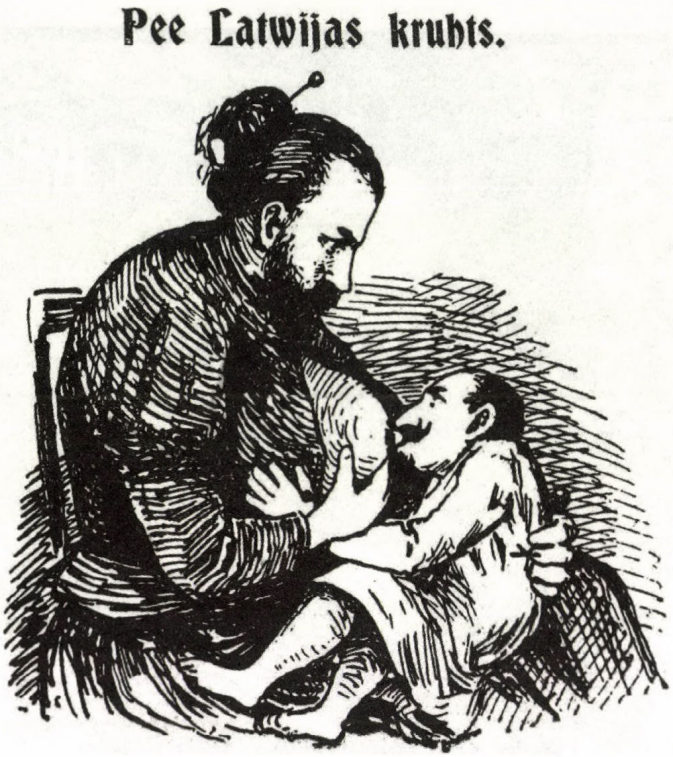
MOTHERLAND IN DANGER! SONS, HELP!
R. Zariņš, postcard, 1916. 64



Guli guli tautu meita, wiſi darbi padariti.

65 **SLEEP, SLEEP, GIRL, ALL THE WORK IS DONE**

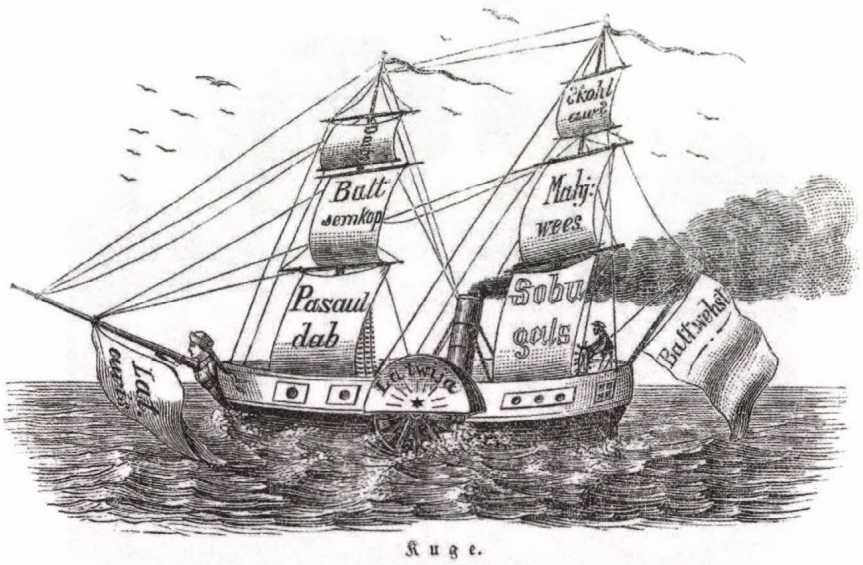
Ed. Šmits, *Dadzis*, 1912, no. 8.



184

AT THE BREAST OF LATVIA

Author unknown, *Vārdotājs*, 1906, July 15. 66



Kuge.

185

SHIP

67 Author unknown, *Jaunie Dunduri*, 1875.



186

ENGAGEMENT I

That is not true love.

R. Zariņš, *Svari*, 1906, no. 9.



WAITING FOR THE REFORMS

69 R. Zariņš, *Austrums*, 1905, no. 4.

3. Reinterpreting Eastern Pasts for Show

Miklós Székely

From Figure to Pattern: The Changing Role of Folk Tradition in Hungarian Representations at Universal Exhibitions (1867–1911)

The universal exhibition, as a new phenomenon of the secularized and industrialized society in the nineteenth century, displayed the actual state of progress in industry, economy, and culture and, as such, it needed a new, peculiar architecture (Wesemael 2001: 136–142). This had to be proper for the universal exhibitions' temporary character: it catered to the demands regarding holding capacity and mirrored the continuous development of the show itself. However, this continuously renewing architecture did not manifest itself solely in the new revolutionary materials of the nineteenth century: apart from iron-glass-faience halls, wooden-plaster "light structured pavilions" came to life and became widespread within a short time. With the new economic conditions, the organizers and the participants of the universal exhibitions' national sections had to face a new, unfamiliar task: how to acquire economic, commercial, and cultural advantages for their country by creating an original and distinctive image of the country. The economic force of the country-branding was often mixed up with historical traditions, especially through peasants' room interiors, considered as primary national symbols of the exhibiting countries (Stoklund 1999: 5–18).

Interest in peasant cultures and ethnography was manifested primarily in the form of curiosity at the first universal exhibitions (1851–1860s). The 1867 Paris universal exhibition made clear how much influence folk art had on applied arts (Deneke 1964: 168–201). This growing interest is the root of the flourishing turn-of-the-century arts and crafts in Hungary, as in other parts of the Dual Monarchy and beyond, to the East. In non-colonizing countries artists and architects often turned to people's material culture for inspiration. This led to the renewal of the applied art object's form, function, and use the same way as Orientalism or Japonism influences art in colonizing empires. This period is characterized by the mass creation of artifacts of "Hungarian style"—a combination of vernacular elements and turn-of-the-century international tendencies.

The fourth universal exhibition, in Paris in 1867, was a turning point, not only in artistic terms, but also—in the case of Hungary—in the field of political representation: the partial political sovereignty of the country was the main achievement of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867. In addition to the common affairs with Austria (finances, military, and foreign affairs), the new Hungarian government took over the administration of the country. One of the first acts of the new

cultural administration was to organize the Hungarian sections at the 1867 universal exhibition in Paris. The Hungarian exhibition brought into focus the visions of the country's own aristocracy and its diverse ethnic groups through the historical conception of the ruling class. The survival of the Hungarian political nation's concept of its "civilizational mission" was rooted in medieval time's legal and social structure; it referred to the integrity of the aristocracy as the beholders of political rights. This liberal concept of nation flourished in the 1860s, a period of dramatic changes for those central and eastern lands of the continent that were often considered to be Germanized especially in terms of political orientation but partly also of culture. The effects of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867) and the negotiations leading to the creation of a unified Germany (1871) fundamentally changed the political character of the central part of the European continent.

The Hungarian aristocracy was reinstated into its historical rights in 1867, thanks to the international political situation of Austria: the creation of united Italy in 1861 and the loss of the Austrian army at Königgrätz in 1866 pushed Austria to negotiate the political compromise with Hungary. After this moment the centuries-long effect of civilizational mission—assumed by the Hungarian aristocracy—influenced the formation of the country's image abroad. This concept has largely influenced the objectives and methods of Hungarian politics whose clear aim was the modernization of the country. The first encounter of the international public and foreign critics with Hungary as an exhibiting country happened at the 1867 Paris universal exhibition. What visitors could perceive by that time was a country at the beginnings of industrial and cultural modernization and nation-building.

The aim of the first generation of the recreated Hungarian administration was clear: enhancing foreign appreciation of Hungary as a legally equal partner of Austria within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. A double communication helped to transmit this message; continuous reference was made to the country's medieval grandeur and to its latest achievements of economic and cultural modernization. The "virtual restoration" of medieval Hungary's greatness and legacy referred to the political, economic, and cultural achievements of the noble nation, a political concept inherited from medieval times. In political terms the real purpose of the virtual restoration was to repeatedly regain the medieval grandeur and magnificence of the country within its contemporary modernity. During this process the different ethnic groups of the country had to fit into the category of modern political nation—a key issue being the integration or nonintegration of the non-Hungarian ethnic groups of the country.

Throughout the existence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the concepts *sovereign* and *Hungarian* have remained fundamental leading ideas of the country-image construction, epitomizing in their content and meaning the principles of common origin and traditions of the political nation. They were not key words of independence from Austria in political terms. However, since the implementation of this

concept had not been backed up by the necessary amount of experience, national nongovernmental organizations came to assume an outstanding position in the modernization of the country and the shaping of its official cultural policy. This process went hand in hand with the changes in the structure of the social public sphere—as a post-1867 occurrence in Hungary—and, thus, with the distinction made between the civil society and the State (Sinkó 1995: 34). In the process of self-representation, the most important means of national representation were pavilions stating the national political concept; industrial-art exhibitions underlined the state of industrial development, while fine-art exhibitions propagated cultural achievements.

The methodology and targets of the Hungarian exhibitions organized during the 1860s and 1870s are indicative of the political elite's continuous strivings. During the peaceful period following the 1867 Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the main objective was to create a coherent self-definition based on the economic and cultural characteristics of the Hungarian people as (1) the main ethnic group of the country and (2) the keeper of the traditions and thus holder of the modern nation's political legacy. Following the liberal concept of the 1860s and 1870s, peasant culture of all ethnic people living in the territory of the country and the Hungarian noble nation's political tradition were both conceived as powerful tools for influencing the foreign appreciation of Hungary. The primary goal of this concept was to implement the concept of sovereign Hungary as an equal member of the monarchy instead of being a province of Austria as it was still conceived of by many even around the turn of the century.

The Figure

The 1850s was an important period, on the one hand, because of its history of universal exhibitions and, on the other hand, because as a consequence of the failed independence war of 1848–1849, it was the most dictatorial period in the history of Hungary in the nineteenth century. This period includes the universal exhibitions of London in 1851 and of Paris in 1855, when Hungarian exhibitors participated in a sparse and fractional way: we can mainly talk about objects of Hungarian origin, listed among Austrian exhibitors' goods and pieces. The beginning of artistic presence is marked by the name of the only Hungarian sculptor, József Engel (1815–1901), who was based in Rome and exhibited in the Crystal Palace a remarkable work belonging to the collection of Prince Albert. At the Parisian universal exhibition of 1855, the Hungarian economy was presented in the section of the Austrian hereditary provinces, primarily as a source of raw material. The Austrian and Hungarian organizers of the London universal exhibition's Hungarian section in 1862 tried to give a more accurate picture of the country's economic and cultural conditions, as a sign of political relaxation. Related to this display, we still cannot consider this show a well-organized exhibition drawing foreign attention to Hungary through its products. The country was still primarily

represented by its raw materials, but besides these objects of applied art, a fine-art collection was also exhibited, including a few representative works of contemporary Hungarian painting.

The Hungarian sections of the 1867 Paris universal exhibition were—for the first time in the history of such international events—organized by a Hungarian national committee. Despite the careful preparation, the critical reflections revealed a conception-less and doubtful show. Hungarian sections were important from a different point of view: in the year of the compromise, Hungary made an independent debut on the international stage with its first catalog, in French, as the most important result of the first fully Hungarian organization committee. Another important aspect was the appearance of the idea of historical reference as political tool; the revival of historical styles commonly known as historicism has a strong political connotation when it appears outside of national borders. In terms of national representation abroad one of the first signs of such an approach is indicated in the memoirs of the Transylvania-born countess Emma De Gerandó Teleki who, in her description of the Hungarian section at the Paris universal exhibition of 1867, shifted from the multiethnic to a purely Hungarian conception of the modernized country. Countess De Gerandó Teleki imagined exhibition rooms entirely carved from Marosakna (today: Ocna Mureş, Romania) salt to represent the material richness of Transylvania as purely Hungarian land. She proposed the reconstruction of the famous Hunyadi family's castle in Vajdahunyad (today: Hunedoara, Romania) as an architectural reference to the famous aristocratic family of János Hunyadi (c. 1407–1456), fighter of the Turks and governor of the country in the fifteenth century and his son, King Mátyás Hunyadi (1443–1490), who encouraged the implementation of the latest achievements of quattrocento Italian Renaissance art and architecture in Hungary. Apart from references to the political nation's past, Countess De Gerandó promoted the idea of exhibitions of traditional Hungarian folk costumes presented not in photographs but in their physical reality (De Gerandó 1868: 518–519). Her report recalls an almost total lack of information regarding Hungary as a thousand-year-old country in all cultural, political, and historical terms. The same statement can be detected from sources and contemporary description. In her concept, Transylvania appeared as historically pure and noble Hungarian land with its pure Hungarian peasant culture; while salt mining referred to its richness in terms of local industry.

The writings of the official French critic Victor Cosse reveal the reception of the Hungarian folk exhibition at the 1867 Paris universal exhibition. The author had a considerable influence on his French-speaking contemporaries for having written many articles in the official journal of the exhibition entitled *Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*. Cosse's interest in folk costumes might have had its origin in the exhibition of photographs representing peasants of different nationality from Hungary in traditional costumes exhibited at the London universal exhibition in 1862 (Kresz 1968: 1–36). Thanks to the success of this photographic exhibition, peasant

costumes, objects, and housing exhibits composed an important part of the Hungarian sections at universal exhibitions in the 1860s and 1870s, emphasizing not only rich folk traditions but also the ethnic/ethnographic diversity of the country. This issue was in the focus of interest of the 1867 Paris universal exhibition's official critic Victor Cosse. In his article he described the costumes of peasant people of Austria-Hungary belonging to different ethnic groups. After a long description of the clothing, the author summarized his concept regarding the possible assimilation of the minorities of the monarchy. This process, following Cosse, might have happened in a similar way as in France: the total "unification" of minorities of France under the new—republican—constitution, creating the politically unified French nation. In his writings, he argued for the assimilation of the nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, supporting the idea of a politically and culturally homogenized Austrian culture. "The same will happen in Austria. In fifty years from the Tyrolean Mountains to Moldova, people living under the constitution of Austria will recognize their common interests, rights and freedom, by leaving their scant and enclosed national traditions. The existing nationalities will soon be dissolved in the corps of the Austrian nation. ... Hungary will be ... a wonderful bastion for Austria the same as Alsace is for France" (Cosse 1867: 328–330). The author referred to traditional folk costumes when he said, "It is unnecessary to introduce Europe [to] all that soon will have only purely archaeological value" (Cosse 1867: 328–330). This conception is mainly based on the consideration of Austria-Hungary and Germany as both being empires of German language and culture and both considered as being on the way to political unification.

A new medium had appeared at the 1867 Paris universal exhibition too. Small-scale pavilions were seen for the first time in a considerable number. They would become an important element of national self-representation at the turn of the century, such as the *Rue des Nations* at the 1900 Paris universal exhibition. Different national pavilions reflected public buildings—cheap and easy-to-assemble workers' homes, gastronomy, and entertainment buildings. A German and a French entrepreneur commissioned cheap labor homes; Sweden erected a copy of Gustav Adolf's home; the Russian pavilion imitated a furnished peasant house; Austria presented itself through a beer hall; Turkey, through a mosque, a kiosk, and a bath house; the Chinese pavilion was shaped like a theater; and the American one offered reproductions of the first settlers' house and their first school building (Rósa 1868: 4–8).

The Hungarian inn, or *csárda*, from the Great Hungarian Plain (*puszta* in Hungarian) was the only national building that was to represent the country's culture. The *csárda* building and especially the topos of the always entertaining, dancing, wine-producing people remained in the core of the Hungarian sections until the millennium exhibition in 1896. The Hungarian wayside inn of the 1867 Paris universal exhibition served economic interests and strengthened the topos of lowland romance, which originated in the early nineteenth century. Long before

the appearance of the authentic peasant interiors at exhibitions as national symbols, this free-standing building witnessed a possible method of architectural self-representation for (re)founded states at the eastern borders of the continent. Even though pioneering in its conception, the Hungarian *csárda* did not fulfill its political and economic purposes—national self-representation and the support of wine export bearing high significance in national economy. Due to poor planning and organization, the *csárda* building—the first architectural representation of Hungary abroad ever—could not be visited by many of the visitors to the universal exhibition. It was a twist of fate that the undersized building served as a warehouse a short time after the exhibition's opening.

Politics and economy aside, the *csárda* building was also strongly related to the promotion of Hungarian culture, especially through its most well-known aspect, the music. The audience of the universal exhibition could perceive another topos of the Hungarian culture of the mid-nineteenth century: the Gypsy bands headed by the famous violinists Ferkó Sárközi and Ferkó Patikárus were considered to be the typically Hungarian. According to different sources, Hungarian Gypsy musicians played in the Champs de Mars—the main attraction venue —the performance was welcomed with as much enthusiasm as other technical attractions: Henri Giffard's first hot-air balloon and Felix Leon Edoux's first hydraulic elevators (Ducuing 1867: 255). Not only the official paper (*L' Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée*), but also countess De Gerandó shared this opinion: "Who was the winner for the music? Hungary. Hungary won the laurel branch for music, while Italy won for sculpture and Bavaria, for painting. [Wilhelm von] Kaulbach, [Vincenzo] Vela, and [Ferkó] Patikárus were the heroes of 1867, although very different from each other" (De Gerandó 1868: 535). The enumerated "heroes" were the receivers of some awards too.

The peasantry-based Hungarian cultural self-definition dominated the 1873 universal exhibition in Vienna too. This show was not arranged by the double monarchy of Austria-Hungary but solely by the Austrian government, and Hungary was invited as a foreign state (Ménard 1873: 187–196; Lützow 1875: 331–381). In spite of this, the country made an introduction with the most important, most conception-centered material: a forestry pavilion served the interest of the state-owned forestry, providing significant state profit, and as such, it counted as the first pavilion that really fulfilled its economic, marketing aim. With a variety of ethnographic village houses, it wished to show possible answers to modern architecture. An important element of this was the Hungarian inn, the *csárda*, serving as wine bar both in the service of the *puszta romantics* as Hungarian peculiarity and the promotion of the country's important wine production and exportation industry. The image of Hungarians was mainly based on the well-known international topos of the great plain and its half-wild inhabitants in the 1860s and 1870s (Lackner 2004: 101–110). Ethnic groups were included in the presentation of the Hungarian national history, its cultural and political traditions in the universal exhibitions of the 1870s. The

display of the peasants' houses served to draw attention to the liberal politics of the multiethnic country.

The Pattern

Pavilion architecture underwent important development during the late nineteenth century. The place of the traditional, ephemeral architectural types—triumphal arches, ornamental fountains, *castrum doloris*—was taken over by new types, which could equally serve the representational needs of an increasingly secularizing bourgeois society, the preservation of national memory, and mass entertainment. The most important innovation was the exhibition pavilions that first appeared in greater numbers in the 1867 Paris universal exhibition; however, the series of pavilions clearly serving national representation appeared during the subsequent decades. These originally not-very-large buildings constructed for commercial purposes developed two new types beginning in the 1890s: the open air museums mirrored authentic peasant architecture and, meeting an ethnographic interest, were completed by entertainment districts as new elements in the form of pavilion-complexes. In parallel with these, other kinds of buildings also appeared as attractions or ethnographic exhibition spaces for artisans or cottage industry but lacking gastronomical functions.

The stylistic diversity of the turn-of-the-century international art and architecture tendencies had, not only a different aesthetic, but also the cultural and political background of each country: France, considering itself the pioneer of modernism, used the novelty of the Art Nouveau to maintain its position; while Italy, dealing with questions of identity since the creation of political unity, was tossing between pan-national and regional solutions of historicizing (Etlin 1991: 20–21). At the universal exhibition of the turn of the century, Hungary reckoned to have found its own voice in the mixture of folk traditions and premodern tendencies.

Art and politics went hand in hand: following the millennium exhibition in 1896, and throughout the subsequent approximately fifteen years, the construction and concept of the Hungarian pavilions reflected the image of a culturally sovereign country. But this still did not strengthen the idea of political independence. The political concept of being Hungarian and sovereign did not negate the acceptance of the results of the political compromise of 1867. Cultural self-branding differed from the political will and reality in their rhetoric at least. The official correspondence and documents-related universal exhibitions in the period between 1896 and 1918, where reference was made repeatedly to the importance of Hungary's individual presence separate from Austria, stand as evidence of this idea.

Countess De Gerandó's ideas can be considered as early germs of this form of historicizing national self-representation, which reached its peak at the millennium exhibition of 1896 in Budapest (Vadas 1996: 3–55). The millennium festivities aimed to celebrate the conquest of the lands (end of the ninth century) and the foundation of the Christian kingdom of Hungary (1000). As a festivity of a very

Hungarian national aspect, it offended many of the different ethnic groups living in the territory of the country. By the turn of the century the notion of culture had changed: it reflected a bounded nature of the Hungarian nation. All objects inherited from ancestors were conceived to reflect the new political nation's past, and the notion of "people" was restricted to Hungarians (Fejős 2010: 110–111) both in terms of ethnic people and the noble nation. But this was definitively not a new phenomenon; the aristocratic political concept of the nation, so flourishing at the turn of the century, has its germs in the time of the Compromise of 1867, as Countess De Gerandó's concept is a proof of that.

At the turn of the century, Hungarian folk traditions were officially propagated in the use of the features of modern national art and architecture (Csáki 2006: 200–230). This was present as an important factor in pavilion architecture and decorative art objects, having not only a political but also an important economic side: the tastefully formed products reflecting the modern national style enlarged greatly a country's recognition and also its products' success in the market. That is the explanation of the fact that organizers of some participating countries, Hungary included, wished to affect the modernization of their country's architecture and art through the interpretation of folk traditions. Hungarian pavilions erected between 1900 and 1911, proposed different solutions to national architecture: the installations of the 1900 Paris universal exhibition reflected the concept of Ödön Lechner (1845–1914)—whose "national" architecture followed the famous German architect and architectural theoretician Gottfried Semper's (1803–1879) *Bekleidungstheorie*—the use of folk patterns and motifs on façades (Sisa 2002: 128–135). The 1900 Hungarian-exhibition installations were planned by Lechner-follower architects (Zoltán Bálint and Lajos Jámbor), who meant to highlight the economic and cultural sovereignty of Hungary, while the historical pavilion in the *Rue des Nations* had put in focus its own historical narrative.

In contrast to the *csárda*-like Hungarian pavilions reflecting the *puszta*-image of the country in the 1860s and 1870s, the Hungarian self-definition had radically changed after the millennium festivities in 1896. The new image considered peasant art and architecture as a source for the new culture of modernized Hungary. Instead of exhibiting peasants in their costumes in ethnographic villages, their patterns and motifs decorated architectural elements. Architectural structures and peasant art objects were not considered as autonomous exhibits in themselves any more, they served as the basis for new structures and ornaments. In terms of politics, the new Hungarian art and architecture reflected the image of the new concept of Hungary as a modernized historical great power. To fulfill this new cultural and political ambition, Hungary's cultural policy in the pre-World War I period mixed vernacular tradition with the latest achievements of modernism to reset national particularities in art and architecture. In the process, the interpretation of folk tradition took on more force and complexity, and came to be organized by the criteria of national political representation (Houze 2004–2005: 55–97).

The installations of the 1900 world exhibition had already assumed the Hungarian spirit, based on architectural and artistic formalism and techniques. This lay at the basis of the concept of individual and characteristically Hungarian exhibition pavilions constructed during the period ending with the World War I. Due to the representational force of the architecture, the ongoing debate about the application of Hungarian patterns and motifs in architecture gained outstanding importance. As for the Hungarian constructions of world exhibitions, the Hungarian installations translating the intention of combining national character and modern art met the requirements of a national style (Melani 1911: 286–293). In the 1910s, Hungarian art and architecture of national character included more than some reinterpreted folk art motifs: another important component was the application of patterns deriving from objects from the conquest period and, thus, more than a century before the foundation of the Hungarian state. In the spirit of the romantic and nineteenth-century idea of peasantry, such findings were proof of a former and long-researched, national-art vocabulary—the findings were tangible and much more concrete than one could have imagined some decades ago during the research that sought to define a national artistic character among the keepers of the tradition.

Considering peasant art as the keeper of the origins and cultural roots, a new interest had come to life. The Hungarian pavilion (designed by Dénes Györgyi, Móric Pogány, and Emil Tőry) of the 1911 Turin universal exhibition displayed works of several well-known Hungarian industrial artists, gaining an outstanding importance both from the perspective of domestic public opinion and foreign markets. The pavilion of interiors and its installation were an exemplary summary of the concept of Elek Koronghi Lippich (1862–1924)—head of the art department of the Ministry of Religion and Education since 1899—on Hungarian decorative art based on folk traditions and preserving its oriental particularities. In terms of the modern Hungarian art and architecture, the interest in oriental particularities differed from such influential tendencies as Japonism or Orientalism in colonialist countries. In the quest for a modern Hungarian national identity, the oriental (Asian) origin of the Hungarians gained importance in the turn-of-the century Hungarian culture. As the real territorial and cultural origin of Hungarians was still being researched and discussed, intellectuals' personal historical conceptions served different viewpoints in the quest for new Hungarian art and architecture. Motifs from Chinese and Indian architecture or travelers' descriptions from the far Russian territories all could serve as a standpoint for this process. The entire range of Koronghi's Hungarian cultural policy was on display at the world exhibitions of the pre-World War I period: interior design and applied art objects reinterpreted all those motifs, which were considered truly Hungarian and reminiscent of the people and the nation's oriental origin.

The perfect example of this thinking was the Hungarian pavilion at Turin in 1911, the last ephemeral manifestation of the idea of a modernized historical great power. New Hungarian architecture was present in Italy since 1902, with ephemeral

pavilion and interior design constructions in Turin (1902) and Milan (1906) and with a permanent national exhibition pavilion at the Venice Biennial (1908–1909). The Turin pavilion was made entirely of wood, combining in a singular way the architectural approach of the Transylvanian-born architect of German origin and of Hungarian identity, Károly Kós (1883–1977), and the so-called Youngs, a group of young architects beginning their career around 1907 after finishing their studies at the Budapest University of Technology. Their conception was based on Transylvanian Hungarian vernacular traditions. Combining late secessionist, pre-modern elements with vernacular architecture, they formed a new generation of artists searching for architectural solutions of the modern Hungarian style. The intention of the designers was to merge traditional Hungarian architecture with the results of modern architecture.

Alfredo Melani (1859–1928), a leading Italian art critique, echoed in his writings the debate around modern Italian architecture, when he presumed to grasp the birth of a modern Hungarian style in this renewal of the Hungarian past preserved in museums. In Turin, the exhibited works appeared not to decorate the exhibition building, they appeared as a perfectly organic part of it; this pavilion was the continuation of the five-years-earlier Hungarian pavilion in Milan, and the interior of the exhibition space was no longer merely a stylistically adequate framework, but it became itself an exhibited object. Wood, as the other important element of pavilion architecture—besides plaster (*stucco*)—was applied this time, not as a hidden structural element, but as a visible, ornamented structural element of vernacular Transylvanian architecture, displaying the connection between materials and structural solutions.

Installations aside, the historicizing architecture of the main pavilion on the bank of the Seine claimed the thousand-year-old constitutional achievements of Hungary as a modernized historical great power. The pavilion erected for the 1911 Turin universal exhibition expressed a different political connotation—the legacy of Hungary as successors of the great Eastern empire of Attila (ruler of the Huns 434–453) (Cornaglia 2001: 79–88). Although different in solutions and details, both concepts emerged from the reevaluation of Hungarian folk traditions: monuments to Hungarian nationalism seemed to rule over the French one, echoing in the ideas of Victor Cosse fifty years after their publication.

Conclusion

Hungarian representation at universal exhibitions was strongly marked by ethnographic interest during the long nineteenth century. In the political elite's thinking, the nation was the subject of modernization from the moment of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise in 1867. The very first international representation of Hungary at the Paris universal exhibition in the same year was marked by romantic ideas: the reference to the last magnificent rulers (the Hunyadi family at the dusk of the medieval Hungarian kingdom) and the display of peasants' costumes.

This double concept was intended to echo the former political importance of the country and included the survival of its greatness in economic and cultural terms. During the pre-World War I period, the official cultural policy shifted toward the Hungarian-ethnic-based national narrative. When a new generation of Hungarian architects turned to grave findings and vernacular traditions in search of a hypothetical reconstruction of Attila's palace, they fulfilled both the requirements of modern architectural trends and the vision of the Hungarian cultural policy-makers.

The change of critical reflections followed the course of the growing reconnaissance of Hungary on an international level, even though the perception of the critics was still rooted in their narrow national conceptions of Hungary. When Victor Cosse formulated his ideas on the possible integration of all ethnic groups of Austria-Hungary in 1867, he echoed this sentiment with respect to the French state nationalism, and referred to the actual trend of political unifications, such as the case of Italy and Germany. His ideas are also proof of the almost complete ignorance of the actual conditions of the monarchy in the non-German-speaking land of Europe. Alfredo Melani published his appreciation of the Hungarian pavilion at the Turin universal exhibition of 1911 in the most established art and design journal, *The Studio*. Melani's conception was based on the decade-long continuous success of Hungarian architecture in Italy, a country whose leading critics considered Attila's palace as remarkable, young, and fresh, after the fossilized and, thus, depressing classical architecture of the peninsula.

References

Cosse V. 1867, Les costumes de l'empire d'Autriche, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867*, vol. 1, pp. 328–330.

Cornaglia P. 2001, *A magyar pavilon az 1911-es torinói világkiállításon* (*The Hungarian Pavilion at the 1911 Turin Universal Exhibition*), [in:] *Pavilon építészet a 19–20. században a Magyar Építészeti Múzeum gyűjteményéből* (*Pavilion Architecture in the 19th–20th Century from the Collection of the Hungarian Museum of Architecture*), pp. 79–88.

Csáki T. 2006, A finn építészet és az „architektúra magyar lelke." Kultúrpolitika, építészet, publicisztika a századelő Magyarországán (The Finnish Architecture and the "Hungarian Spirit of Architecture." Cultural Policy, Architecture and Journalism in Hungary at the Turn of the Century), *Múltunk*, vol. 1, pp. 200–230.

De Gerandóné Teleki E. 1868, *1867 diki világtárlat* (*The Universal Exhibition in 1867*), Paris.

Deneke B. 1964, Die Entdeckung der Volkskunde für das Kunstgewerbe, *Zeitschrift für Volkskunde*, vol. 60, pp. 168–201.

Ducuing F. (ed.) 1867, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1867*, vol. 2, Paris.

Etlin, R. A. 1991, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890–1940*. Cambridge–Massachusetts–London.

Fejős Z. 2010, *Nemzeti diskurzus és néprajz* (National Discourse and Ethnography) [in:] *XIX. Nemzet és Művészet. Kép és Önkép* (*XIX. Art and Nation: Image and Self-Image*), Budapest, pp. 83–111.

Houze R. 2004–2005, National Internationalism. Reactions to Austrian and Hungarian Decorative

Arts at the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle, *Studies in Decorative Arts*, vol. Fall-Winter, pp. 55–97.

Kresz M. 1968, A magyar népművészet felfedezése (The Discovery of the Hungarian Folk Art), *Etnographia*, vol. 1. pp. 1–36.

Lackner M. 2004, *Az első magyar néprajzi gyűjtemény: a magyar népi kultúra prezentációja az 1873-as bécsi világkiállításon* (*The First Hungarian Ethnographic Collection: The Representation of the Hungarian Folk Culture at the Vienna Universal Exhibition in 1873*), [in:] *Az áttörés kora. Bécs és Budapest a historizmus és az avantgárd között* (*1873–1920*) (*Time of Awakening: Budapest and Vienna between Historicism and the Avant-garde*), Budapest, pp. 101–110.

Lützow von C. 1875, *Deutschland, Oesterreich und Ungarn, Kunst und Kunstgewerbe auf der Wiener Weltausstellung 1873*, Leipzig, pp. 331–381.

Melani A. 1911, Some Notes on the Turin International Exhibition, *The Studio*, vol. 173, pp. 286–293.

Ménard R. 1873, L'Exposition de Vienne–Autriche–Allemagne, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, vol. 9, pp. 187–196.

Miklós Ö. 1903, *Magyarország és társországai az 1900-ik évi Párisi Nemzetközi Kiállításon* (*Hungary and its Annexed Countries at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1900*), Budapest.

Rósa L. 1868, *Az 1867. párisi világkiállítás* (*The Universelle Exhibition in Paris in 1867*), vol. II. Pest.

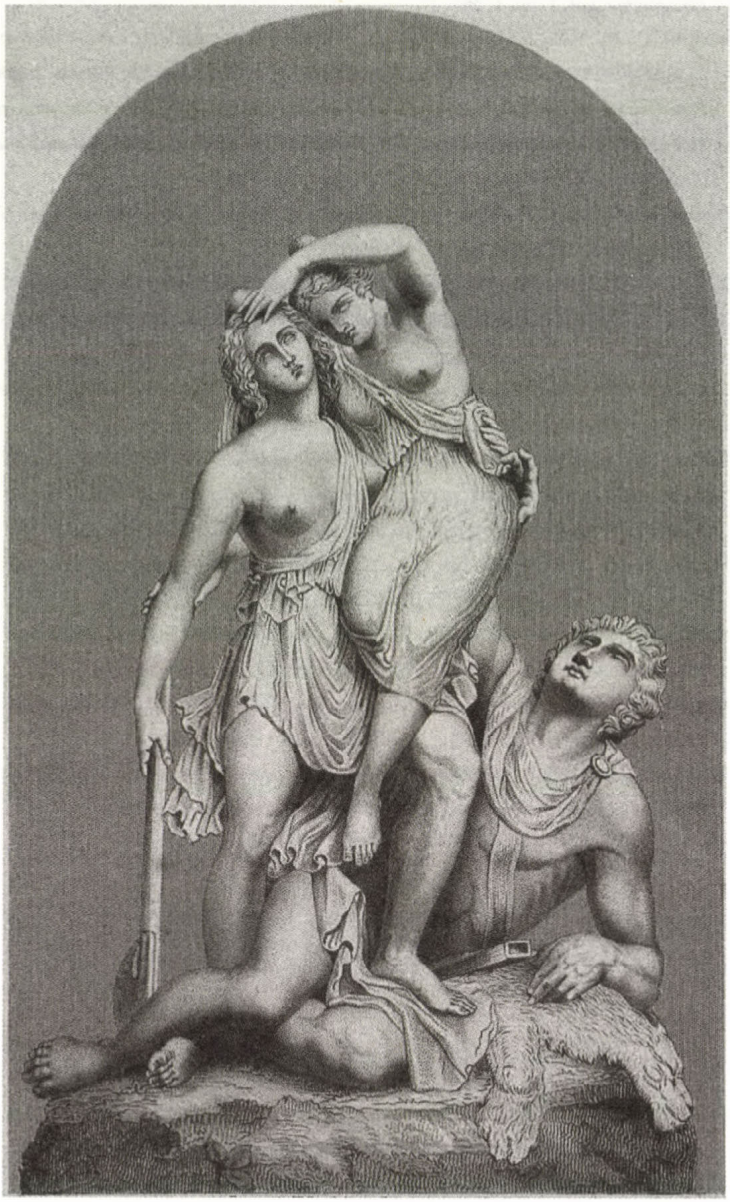
Sinkó K. 1995, *A művészi siker anatómiája 1840-1900* (*Anatomy of the Artist's Success 1840-1900*), [in:] *Aranyérmek, ezüstkoszorúk* (*Gold Medals and Silver Laurels*), Budapest, pp. 21–32.

Sisa J. 2002, The Beginnings of Art History and Museology in Hungary. Some Semper Connections, *Centropa*, vol. 2/2, pp. 128–135.

Stoklund B. 1999, How the Peasant House Became a National Symbol. A Chapter in the History of Museums and Nation-Building, *Ethnologia Europaca*, no. 29, vol. 1, pp. 5–18.

Vadas F. 1999, Programtervezetek a Millennium megünneplésére (1893) (Plans to Commemorate the Hungarian Millennium (1893)), *Ars Hungarica*, vol. 1, pp. 3–55.

Wesemael van P. 2001, *Architecture of Instruction and Delight. A Socio-historical Analysis of World Exhibitions as a Didactic Phenomenon* (*1798–1851–1970*), Rotterdam.

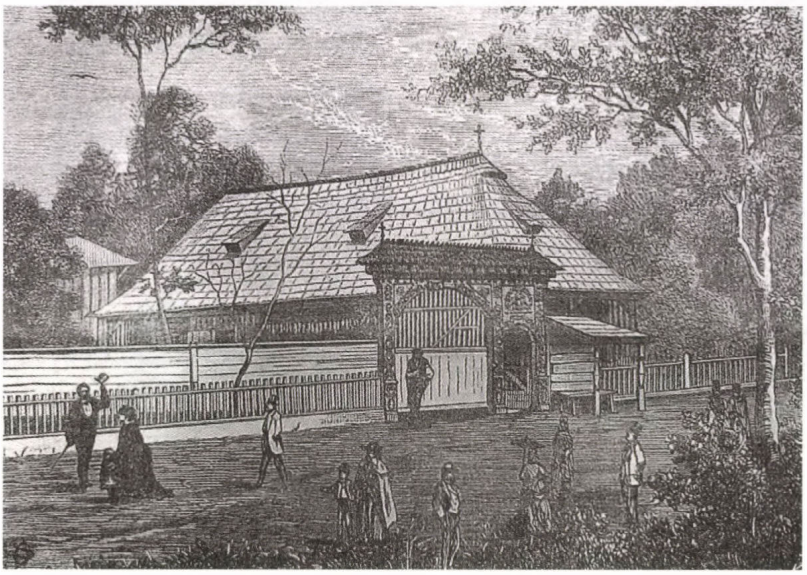


J. ENGEL: *AN EPISODE IN THE HISTORY OF WAR BETWEEN THE AMAZONS AND THE ARGONAUTS*

In: J. Tallis *Tallis's history and description of the Crystal Palace and the exhibition of the world's industry in 1851*, London, 1851, (Band 1), 38b. 70

71 **THE HUNGARIAN *CSÁRDA* AT THE VIENNA UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION IN 1873**
Allgemeine Illustrierte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung, 1873, October 23.





THE SZEKLER HOUSE AT THE VIENNA UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION IN 1873
72 *Allgemeine Illustrierte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung*, 1873, June 19.



CROATE.

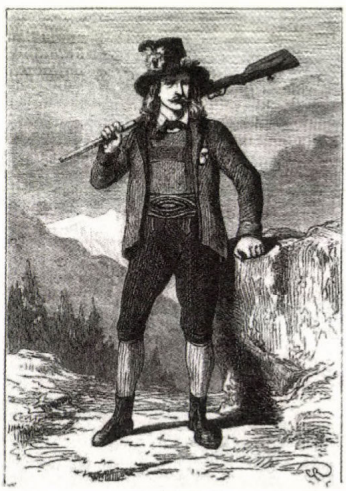


FEMME SERBE.

204



FEMME MORAVE.



TYROLIEN.
COSTUMES DE L'EMPIRE D'AUTRICHE.

CROATIAN, SERBIAN, MORAVIAN, TYROLEAN COSTUMES

F. Ducuing (ed.) *L' Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée* (Band 1).
Paris, 1867, p. 328.



HONGROIS.



HONGROISE.



SLOVAQUE.



FEMME MOLDAVE.

TWO HUNGARIAN, SLOVAK, MOLDAVIAN COSTUMES

F. Ducuing (ed.) *L' Exposition Universelle de 1867 illustrée* (Band 1).

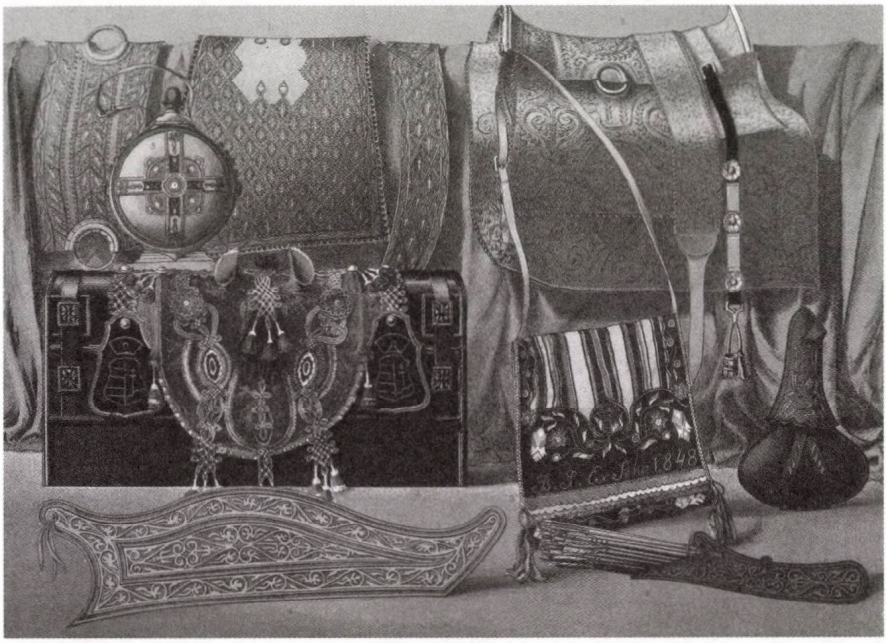
74 Paris, 1867, p. 329.

206



AUSTRIAN PORCELAIN

M. Fischer, *Herend, Hungary and the Imperial Porcelain Manufactory,* Vienna. In: J. B. Waring, W. R. Tymms, *Masterpieces of industrial art & sculpture at the international exhibition*, 1862, In three volumes (Band 3), Plate 240.

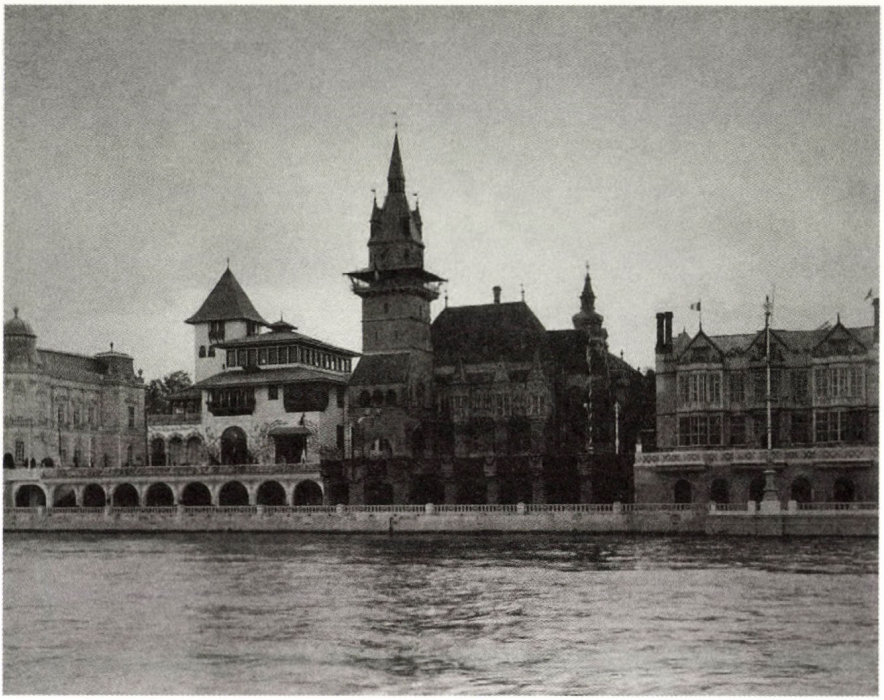


ORNAMENTAL LEATHER WORK

Brazil, Montevideo, Hungary, Caucasus, Egypt.

In: J. B. Waring, W. R. Tymms, *Masterpieces of industrial art & sculpture at the international exhibition*, 1862, In three volumes (Band 3), Plate 259.

208



THE PAVILIONS OF AUSTRIA, BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA, HUNGARY AND GREAT BRITAIN IN THE RUE DES NATIONS, UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION IN PARIS IN 1900

Archives of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, FLT 5046.



DETAIL FROM THE HUNGARIAN DECORATIVE ART EXHIBITION UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION IN PARIS IN 1900

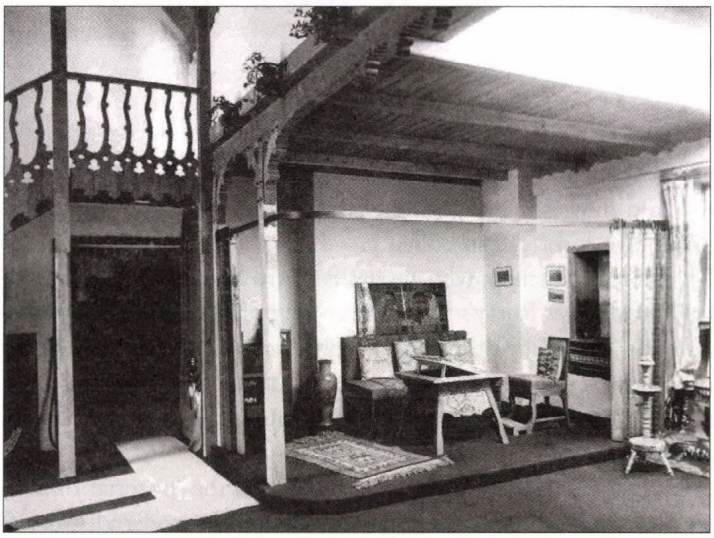
78 Archives of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, FLT 5030.

210



DETAIL OF THE HUNGARIAN HOME INDUSTRY EXHIBITION
UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION IN MILAN IN 1906
Archives of the Museum of Applied Arts, Budapest, FLT 5103.

80 **ISTVÁN MEDGYASZAY-SÁNDOR NAGY: ARTIST'S HOME**
Detail of the Hungarian Pavilion (interior) at the Universal Exhibition in Milan in 1906.
in: *Magyar Iparművészet*, 1906, Vol 4–5, p. 203.





DETAIL OF THE HUNGARIAN PAVILION
AT THE TURIN UNIVERSAL EXHIBITION IN 1911
81 Designed by Dénes Györgyi, Emil Tőry, Móric Pogány in: *Magyar Iparművészet*, 1911.

Miloslav Szabó

Invasion of "Judeo-Magyars"? The Hungarian Millennium of 1896 in the Anti-Semitic Caricature[1]

Recent historiography increasingly stresses the role of visual sources such as paintings, photography, and movies in producing historical knowledge (Burke 2001). The theoretical framework for the so-called *pictorial turn* can be found in the manifesto of W. J. Thomas Mitchell, who applies Richard Rorty's approach to visual issues. Mitchell challenges Rorty's linguistic coding of epistemological transformations, the famous "turns," by proposing an epistemological alternative to the dominant linguistics and semiotics. In his approach, Mitchell considers the interactions of "images" with language, processes of visualization, political institutions, and human bodies (Mitchell 1994: 16).

In this article I attempt to ascertain the extent to which the "pictorial turn" is relevant for research on visual constructions of Otherness in the modern history of east-central Europe via a specific medium: the anti-Semitic caricature. My analysis is focused on the historical context of the Habsburg monarchy, more precisely, on the millennium celebrations of 1896 to commemorate the "landtaking" by the Old Magyars. With these celebrations, the Hungarian establishment hoped to impress other European countries. They were, however, also a good 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, which affected the interests of the Catholic Church (Csáky 1967). Thus the opposition press in Hungary and Vienna launched an anti-Jewish campaign against the millennium celebrations, which was largely image-based and visual. In the first part of this article I examine the theory of the political caricature, in particular, its anti-Semitic variant. I then analyze a number of anti-Semitic caricatures that appeared in the anti-liberal Hungarian, Slovak, and Austrian satirical magazines *Herkó Páter* (*God, the Father*),[2] *Černokňažník* (*Wizard*) and *Kikeriki!* (*Cock-a-doodle-doo!*), respectively, around the time of the millennium celebrations.

As a medium that is both visual and linguistic, the political caricature is particularly suited to projecting collective identities and their alleged "Others." To do so, it draws on specific means, including the distortion of the represented object using

---

[1] I want to thank Anne Elisabeth Boden for partial translation and proofreading of the article.

[2] Probable Hungarian distortion of "Herr Gott der Vater" (the Editors).

certain stereotyping attributes (Rivers 1991: 9). The art historian Michaela Haibl sees the defining characteristic of the anti-Semitic caricature in a tension between "primary" and "secondary" attributes. For Haibl, "primary attributes" are distorted physical features such as the oversized "hooked nose," bulbous lips, dark curly hair, sidelocks, or bandy legs. "Secondary attributes" include objects such as hare-skins, garlic and onions, or even a shochet knife. An anti-Semitic representation results when these stereotypical attributes of orthodox or "Eastern Jews" (in German *Ostjuden*, in Hungarian, among others, *kazárok*)[3] are blended with the features associated with bourgeois assimilated Jews: the paunch, the Western suit, the fashionable hairstyle, or the monocle. Thus in the anti-Semitic caricature of the late nineteenth century, Jews are portrayed as morally degenerate liberals, capitalists, and intellectuals and as ethnically or "racially" ugly and inferior *Ostjuden* in one and the same image (Haibl 1997, 2000).

In the "age of nationalism" in the nineteenth century socioeconomic contexts were imbued with national contexts and stereotyped Jews were often depicted in national costume. The "mumbling" (*Mauscheln*) in the headlines or accompanying texts to these images suggested that the Jews were "ruining" not only the German but also the Hungarian, or the Slovak, languages. Such national anti-Semitic distortions were accompanied by so-called transmutations, which Kenneth T. Rivers defines as the political—and, it should be added, anti-Semitic—caricature's actual means of representation. They include unreal or exaggerated transformations, omissions, or substitutions that establish a metaphorical link between apparently unrelated phenomena (Rivers 1991: 6). Stereotyped Jews are represented as either extraordinarily big or small, and depending on the type of threat associated with them, they turn into heavily symbolic objects or repulsive animals, usually parasites.

The Hungarian millennium celebrations of 1896 were seen by Hungarian liberals as an opportunity to link their cause to the memory of the "landtaking" by the Old Magyars one thousand years before, an idea that had preoccupied the Hungarian elite since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The Hungarian establishment was keen to present Hungary in a good light abroad—especially at the Millennium Exhibition in Budapest in the summer of 1896, where almost 6 million visitors witnessed the achievements of Hungarian industry (Sármány-Parsons 1997)—but also the celebrations were meant to conceal growing tensions in Hungarian politics, society, and the economy. In addition to the "basic" political division, the stance on the 1867 compromise with the Austrian part of the Habsburg monarchy, more recently, the socialist agrarian movement, the conservative opposition, and the efforts to "magyarize" ("Hungarianize") the non-Magyar nationalities should be mentioned here. So, the Hungarian millennium was

[3] On the anti-Jewish stereotype of Khazars (*kazárok*) in *fin-de-siècle* Hungary, see Szabó (2012).

supposed to usher in a truce within Hungarian politics and society. The Hungarian elite also hoped that the exhibition would be an official boost to the nationalist cause, advancing the struggle for a homogenous nation state (Komora 2001).

These events were seized upon by critics of the regime in Hungary and abroad, with Hungarian and Cisleithanian anti-Semites playing a prominent role. In Hungary it was, above all, supporters of the Catholic People's Party (established in 1895), among them Slovak and other non-Magyar nationalists, who went to battle against the state's magyarization and secularization policies, exemplified in the liberal legislation on civil marriage and the equality of Judaism with other denominations. In Austria, the anti-Hungarian campaign was fomented by the Christian-Socialist movement led by Karl Lueger, who at the time was fighting for the post of mayor of Vienna (Haslinger 1994: 63–68). All of these groups identified Hungarian liberalism with "the Jews," who were significantly overrepresented in many segments of Hungarian industry and society, in particular, in banking and the liberal professions. Many of them were also enthusiastic Hungarian patriots. In this context "the Jews" became the socioeconomically and nationalistically charged incarnation of the "enemy" (i.e., the liberal government and its laws on civil marriage and the equality of Judaism with Christian denominations) for the conservative Hungarian opposition.

The visual anti-Semitic campaign against the Hungarian millennium was conducted mostly in the Catholic People's Party–leaning, multilingual satirical magazine *Herkó Páter*. In the 1880s, the political caricature that had developed in Hungary during the nineteenth century became an instrument of the Hungarian anti-Semitic movement headed by the member of Parliament Győző Istóczy. The 1870s and 1880s witnessed the evolution of political anti-Semitism in Hungary. A handful of politicians and journalists started to agitate against the "judaization" of Hungary, drawing responses from students, the impoverished gentry, and artisans. The growth of the Hungarian Antisemitic Party accelerated as a consequence of the Blood Libel of Tiszaeszlár. In the summer of 1882, several Jews were accused of murdering a young girl in a religious ritual. Anti-Semitic agitators spread these rumors, which in many places resulted in an eruption of anti-Jewish violence. The local investigation and the court were manipulated. The final chapter of the Tiszaeszlár affair took place in the summer of 1883 and ended in the acquittal of the accused. This again provoked anti-Jewish riots (Kövér 2011).

The thoroughly anti-Semitic satirical journal *Füstölő* (*The Smoker* [as the instrument used by bee-keepers]) was published between 1881 and 1888 in Budapest. However, in the multiethnic Kingdom of Hungary, anti-Semitism also attracted the non-Magyar population, especially the Germans and Slovaks (Rybářová 2010). Thus a German-language equivalent of this journal, *Rebach* (*Profit*), appeared at the height of the anti-Jewish campaign in Hungary as a follow-up to the Tiszaeszlár affair. By contrast, a demand for an anti-Semitic satirical journal like *Füstölő* in the Slovak

language initially went unheeded[4] and was not met until the spring of 1896, when the Slovak- and German-language versions of the new Hungarian anti-Semitic satirical journal *Herkó Páter* were first published. In view of the forthcoming elections in Hungary, the Catholic People's Party saw this as a means of winning the support of Slovak and German voters.

A good illustration of the anti-Semitic transmutations used by *Herkó Páter*'s editor Gyula Markos and its caricaturist Sándor Hatos is the caricature captioned "Pannonia was once a fragrant garden, you can see the flowers and fruits that grow there today in that picture," which appeared on the occasion of the opening of the Millennium Exhibition (ill. 85).[5] As part of the millennium celebrations, so-called millennium trees were planted throughout the country. The branch that is being attacked by grubs in the picture represents Hungary, which the picture suggests is subject to parasitic exploitation. In this picture the heads, which with their oversized hooked noses, bulbous lips, dark curly hair, and bourgeois monocles are unmistakeably "Jewish," are placed on the bodies of grubs in a transmutation. The force of the caricature derives from the way in which it pits two symbols of the liberal regime—the millennium trees and the Jews—against each other.

Many anti-Semitic transmutations in the context of the millennium celebrations were centered on the famous scene from chapter 32 of the Second Book of Moses, which recounts how the ancient Hebrews danced around a golden calf in an act of idolatry (Exodus 32, 1–6).[6] The caricature entitled *Millennium Sketches*, which was also published in *Herkó Páter*, presents two versions of the millennium celebrations, a "good patriotic Christian" version, and a "bad patriotic Jewish" version (ill. 83). On the left the Christianization of Hungary is presented as the real reason for the celebrations, while on the right the official celebrations are mocked in an anti-Semitic distortion of the golden calf symbol. An ugly, heavily stereotyped *Ostjude* cuts out the cross from the Hungarian coat of arms while other Jews dressed in the Hungarian national costume dance around a golden calf.

The enthusiastic patriotism demonstrated by many Hungarian Jews in the context of the millennium celebrations was also subjected to anti-Semitic distortion in the Slovak nationalist satirical magazine entitled *Černokňažník*. Its editor, Ďuro Čajda, who had been particularly critical of the magyarization policy of the Hungarian establishment since the late 1870s, commissioned caricatures by the Czech painters Karel Krejčík and Mikoláš Aleš in the absence of talented compatriots.[7] In

---

[4] See a letter to the editor of the organ of the Slovak national movement in the spring of 1882. *Národnie noviny* (*National papers*), 11 February 1882.

[5] On *Herkó Páter*, see Dersi (1973: 69–76); on Gyula Markos, see *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* (2003: 730–731); on Sándor Hatos, see Gyöngy (2008: 89).

[6] *Mechon Mamre* (*Hebrew Bible*), http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt0232.htm#1 (accessed 24. 08. 2012).

[7] On the history of the Slovak caricature, see Švec (1988).

line with a recent tendency of Slovak politics to follow the agenda of Hungarian anti-Semites, Čajda increasingly preferred anti-Semitic topics in his journal. These culminated in a campaign against the Hungarian millennium.

The caricature entitled *New Magyars in the desert, dancing at the millennium celebrations around Árpád's statue, which Csongrády has cast in the very Jewish Gold* is a prominent example of the caricatures that appeared in *Černokňažník* at this time. It takes the transmutation of the golden calf a step further, by replacing the golden idol around which the Jews dance with the ancient Magyar leader Árpád (ill. 86). As the editor of the Slovak magazine, Ďuro Čajda, emphasized, in this picture Árpád "looks like a Polish Jew—a caricature of a Jew, with a massive nose, bulbous lips, sidelocks that hang below his jaw, bandy legs like a sable, wearing a Polish-Jewish fur hat on his head, boots with spurs, laced trousers and coat, but sporting a Polish-Jewish kaftan on his shoulders instead of an *atilla* [a traditional Hungarian jacket]" (Ďuro Čajda to Mikoláš Aleš, no date).[8]

The Viennese satirical journal *Kikeriki!*, an organ of Christian-socialist propaganda against the "Judeo-Magyars," also presented an anti-Semitic misreading of the Árpád cult. A caricature published to mark the Hungarian millennium shows an emaciated, negroid-looking "Jewish boy" dressed in an animal hide posing for a statue of Árpád in front of a sculptor who is recognizably Jewish (ill. 87). Throughout the year 1896, *Kikeriki!* devoted great attention to the events in Hungary, poking fun at the millennium celebrations in particular, just like the Hungarian anti-liberal satirical magazines. These celebrations were misrepresented in line with the magazine's basic anti-Semitic orientation. Thus St. Stephen appears in one caricature of the Millennium Exhibition, and on surveying the visitors, comprising stereotyped Jews dressed in the Hungarian national costume, he cries out: "And I thought I converted Hungary to—Christianity!" (ill. 91).

At this time Hungarian and Austrian anti-Semites were united not only in their "Christian" codification of the millennium. The Hungarian *Herkó Páter* cultivated a genuine Lueger cult and the caricaturists at the Viennese *Kikeriki!* also made no bones about who they saw as the shared enemy.[9] In one caricature this enemy is transmuted into a particularly ugly and oversized stereotyped *Ostjude*, who represents an obstacle in the path of Austrians and Magyars seeking to embrace each other (ill. 82). The projection of "the Jews" as the shared enemies of all "Christian" peoples is also apparent in caricatures that broach the theme of Hungarian nationalities policies. Another caricature published in 1896 in *Kikeriki!* reflects the German national perspective. Here a Hungarian man and an *Ostjude* press Germans

---

[8] Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví, Mikoláš Aleš, korespondence (Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature, Mikoláš Aleš, correspondence).

[9] This integrative aspect of anti-Semitic propaganda—where the "Jew" is depicted as the shared enemy of German, Hungarian, Slovak, and Czech nationalists—has been completely overlooked by Coupe (1999).

and Slavs in a lemon squeezer from which coins drop into the "Hungarian state purse" (ill. 88). The Hungarian *Herkó Páter* went even further, publishing a caricature prior to the parliamentary elections in the autumn of 1896 in which the Hungarian People's Party in the guise of a young "wooer" flirts with a woman who epitomizes the non-Magyar nationalities (ill. 89). From his hiding place around the corner, the Hungarian prime minister Dezső Bánffy lets the "press beast," in the guise of a vicious dog with an unmistakeably "Jewish head," loose on the happy couple. The pair are however unperturbed by the beast.

To show that individual editors paid close attention to such semantic overlaps I will now present the infamous caricature entitled *New Landtaking on the Eve of the Second Millennium,* which appeared in the Hungarian *Herkó Páter* early in 1896 (ill. 90). This caricature also satirized the historical event marked by the millennium celebrations, the arrival of the Old Magyars in Europe, by deforming their leader. Here the "new Árpád," an extremely disfigured *Ostjude* on horseback with a hare-skin on his shoulders and a shochet knife in his right hand, is welcomed in pidgin German by liberal Hungarian politicians and bishops: "Árpád Tateleben you not need to worry about your people. You have it: intellect, heart and moral worship you."[10] Árpád's allies are also armed with shochets (i.e. the Jewish ritual slaughterer's) knives. They carry banners with the Star of David while a group of fat Jewish women are gathered in an army tent. The leaders are followed by an endless stream of *Ostjuden*, stretching back as far as the horizon.

Because the caricature also appeared in the Slovak version of *Herkó Páter*,[11] the editor of *Černokňažník,* Čajda, decided to supplement it with the nationalities issue and asked the Czech painter Mikoláš Aleš to come up with a new caricature, *The Siege of Panamagyaria in 1896*, based on the following transmutation (ill. 84):

"On the shoulders of the stooped and sweating Slovak, Rumanian, Serb, and Ukrainian—each in his own national costume—rests the Hungarian globe and Magyars and Jews are dancing the csárdás [a traditional Hungarian folk dance, here a symbol of alleged Hungarian licentiousness] on top of it. The cross is falling from the globe and the Star of David hovers over the dancers... flanked by an inscription: In hoc signo vinces [In this sign you will conquer]. Hordes of Galician and Russian Jews and their children wearing rags and carrying satchels are streaming in from the right, i.e. from the East. A male and a female Jew climb up onto the globe and the others are following suit" (Ďuro Čajda to Mikoláš Aleš, no date).[12]

---

[10] *Tateleben* is the Yiddish expression for "father dear."

[11] *Nové zaujatie vlasti na prahu druhého milleniuma* (New Landtaking on the Eve of the Second Millennium), *Herkó Páter* (Budapest, Slovak version), 5 January 1896; for the Hungarian version, see Gyurgyák (2008: 43). *Új honfoglalás* (*New Landtaking*) was already the title of an anti-Semitic caricature published in the Hungarian journal *Bolond Istók* (*Stephen the Fool*) in summer 1882 as a reaction to the Tiszaeszlár affair (Dranik 2010: 387).

[12] Literární archiv Památníku národního písemnictví, Mikoláš Aleš, korespondence (Literary Archive of the Museum of Czech Literature, Mikoláš Aleš, correspondence).

The caricature was framed by the warning: "But what will happen if they [the Jews] all climb up there and the four pillars tumble down!" It is clear that it was not Čajda's intention to polemicize with the caricature entitled *New Landtaking*; he sought rather to add a new dimension to it, suggesting that Hungarian liberals could only dance the *csárdás* with the Jews at the expense of the non-Magyar nationalities—and that sooner or later they too would be banished from their globe. The caricature urges the Magyars to recognize the threat to all "Christian Hungarians" emanating from their shared enemy.

This anti-Semitic distortion of Hungarian nationality policies contributed to the spread of images of "the Jew" whose alleged amorality and collective selfishness would eventually lead to the demise of all non-Jews. Short-term political point-scoring aside, these depictions were also characterized by a fundamental semantic feature, which the sociologist Klaus Holz has called "the antisemitic construction of the third party" (Holz 2004). Here Holz refers to the role attributed to "the Jew" as the shared enemy of anti-Semites of various national backgrounds—"he" is the only one with no clearly defined nationality. That is why "he" lives everywhere at the expense of his national hosts. In a modification of his phrase, Klaus Holz refers to "the antisemitic figure of the third party" (Ibidem: 52–53). The visual dimension emphasized in this modification complements the semantics of anti-Semitic language. "The Jews" thus appear almost palpable as an ethnically or even "racially" alien group.

In summary, in the context of the Hungarian millennium "the Jew" became the visually stereotyped "Other" of very different political actors including representatives of political Catholicism, non-Magyar nationalists in Hungary, and even German nationalists in Austria. The visual distortion of the millennium celebrations as "Jewish," which we have observed, was the result of the stable semantic structure of modern anti-Semitism on the one hand and specific political constellations in Austria and Hungary on the other. While the anti-Semitic campaign against the Hungarian millennium offered Christian Socialists in Vienna and Lower Austria a welcome opportunity to gain ground in their struggle for power, in Transleithania, the other part of the Habsburg monarchy, it supported the establishment of political Catholicism as a reaction to the liberal government's secularization policies. Similar patterns characterized the anti-Jewish attitudes of the Slovak nationalists in Hungary, who fought for the national emancipation of the Slovak "people." Political constellations were, however, not conducive to the anti-Semitic distortion of the Hungarian millennium throughout the Habsburg monarchy, as the case of the Czech national movement shows. Although there was certainly room for anti-Jewish stereotypes in the main Czech satirical journal of the late nineteenth century, *Humoristické listy* (*Humorous Gazette*), the caricatures concerning the millennium celebrations in Hungary reveal only an anti-Hungarian bias. Nevertheless, the Hungarian millennium provoked—besides the infamous accusations of "Jewish ritual murder" in the Hungarian Tiszaeszlár and the

Bohemian Polná affairs of 1882 and 1899, respectively—one of the most significant anti-Semitic waves in *fin-de-siècle* central Europe. This article has highlighted the importance of visual sources for analyzing this wave.

References

Burke P. 2001, *Eyewitnessing. The Uses of Images as Historical Evidence*, Ithaca.

Csáky M. 1967, *Der Kulturkampf in Ungarn. Die kirchenpolitische Gesetzgebung der Jahre 1894/95*, Graz–Köln.

Coupe W. A. 1999, Kikeriki *und die Minderheiten in der Donaumonarchie*, [in:] G. Ravy, J. Benay (eds.), *Satire—Parodie—Pamphlet—Caricature. En Autriche à l'époque de François-Joseph (1848–1914)*, Rouen, pp. 61–88.

Dersi T. 1973, *Századvégi üzenet. Sajtótörteneti tanulmányok* (*The Legacy of the Late Nineteenth Century. Studies on the History of the Press*), Budapest.

Dranik R. 2010, *Stereotypical Representations of the Orthodox and Assimilated Jew in the Hungarian Satirical Papers of the Dual Monarchy*, [in:] D. Demski, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*, Warsaw, pp. 362–389.

Magyar karikaturisták adat- és szignótára (*Lexicon of Data and Cyphers of the Hungarian Caricaturists*) 2008, K. Gyöngy (ed.), Budapest.

Gyurgyák J. 2008 (ed.), *Magyarország története képekben* (*The History of Hungary in Pictures*), vol. 1, Budapest.

Haibl M. 1997, Vom „Ostjuden" zum „Bankier". Zur visuellen Genese zweier Judenstereotype in populären Witzblättern, *Jahrbuch für Antisemitismusforschung*, vol. 6, pp. 44–91.

Haibl M. 2000, *Zerrbild als Stereotyp. Visuelle Darstellung von Juden zwischen 1850 und 1900*, Berlin.

Haslinger P. 1994, *Hundert Jahre Nachbarschaft. Die Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und Ungarn 1895–1994*, Frankfurt am Main.

Holz K. 2004, *Die antisemitische Konstruktion des „Dritten" und die nationale Ordnung der Welt*, [in:] C. von Braun, E.-M. Ziege (eds.), *„Das bewegliche Vorurteil". Aspekte des internationalen Antisemitismus*, Würzburg.

Komora P. 1999, Milenárne oslavy v Uhorsku roku 1896 a ich vnímanie v slovenskom prostredí (The Millennium Celebrations in Hungary in 1896 and the Slovak Perception of them), [in:] M. Podrimavský, D. Kováč (eds.), *Slovensko na začiatku 20. storočia* (*Slovakia at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*), Bratislava.

Kövér Gy. 2011, *A tiszaeszlári dráma. Társadalomtörténeti látószögek* (*The Drama of Tiszaeszlár. Aspects of Social History*), Budapest.

Magyar Katolikus Lexikon (*The Hungarian Catholic Lexicon*), 2003, I. Diós (ed.), vol. 8, Budapest.

Mitchell W. J. T. 1994, *Picture Theory. Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation*, Chicago.

Rivers K. T. 1991, *Transmutations. Understanding Literary and Pictorial Caricature*, Lanham–London.

Rybářová P. 2010, *Antisemitizmus v Uhorsku v 80. rokoch 19. storočia* (*Antisemitism in Hungary in the 1880s*), Bratislava.

Sármány-Parsons I. 1997, *Ungarns Millenniumsjahr 1896*, [in:] E. Brix, H. Stekl (eds.), *Der Kampf um das Gedächtnis. Öffentliche Gedenktage in Mitteleuropa*, Wien–Köln–Weimar, pp. 273–292.

Szabó M. 2012, "Because words are not deeds." Antisemitic Practice and Nationality Policies in Upper Hungary around 1900, *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History. Journal of Fondazione CDEC*, Nr. 3, www.quest-cdecjournal.it/focus.php?id=299 (accessed 10.10.2012).

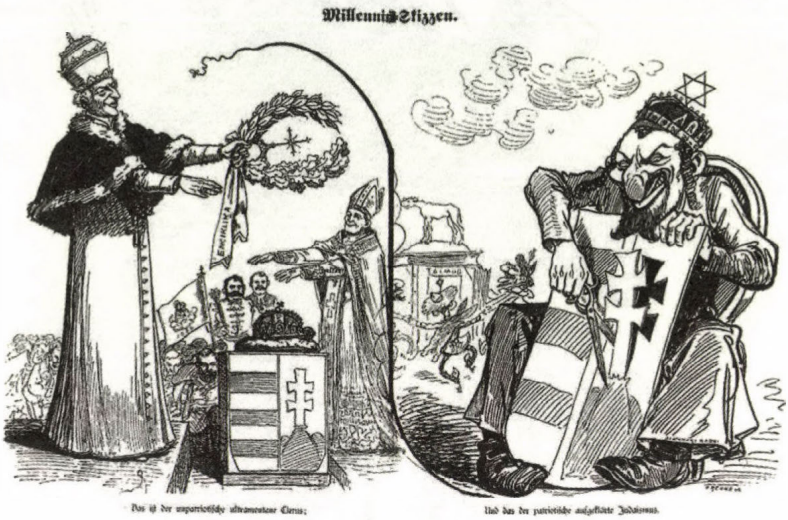
Švec A. 1988, *Bič smiechu. Politická karikatúra na Slovensku (1861–1985)* (*The Whip of Laughter. The Political Caricature in Slovakia (1861–1985)*), Bratislava.



BROTHER HUNGARIAN, AS LONG AS HE STANDS BETWEEN US, WE TWO CANNOT EMBRACE EACH OTHER!

82 *Kikeriki*! (Vienna), 1896, May 28.

222



MILLENNIUM SKETCHES

That is the unpatriotic, ultramontanist clergy; and that is patriotic, enlightened Judaism.

Herkó Páter (Budapest, German version), 1896, May 31.



THE SIEGE OF PANAMAGYARIA IN 1896

But what will happen if they all climb up there and the four pillars tumble down!

84 M. Aleš, *Černokňažník* (Turócszentmárton/Turčiansky Sv. Martin), 1896, February 25.

Ein duft'ger Blumengarten war einſt Pannonia,



Seine heutigen Blumen und Früchte ſiehſt auf dem Bilde da.

224

Pannonia was once a fragrant garden, you can see the flowers and fruits that grow there today in that picture.

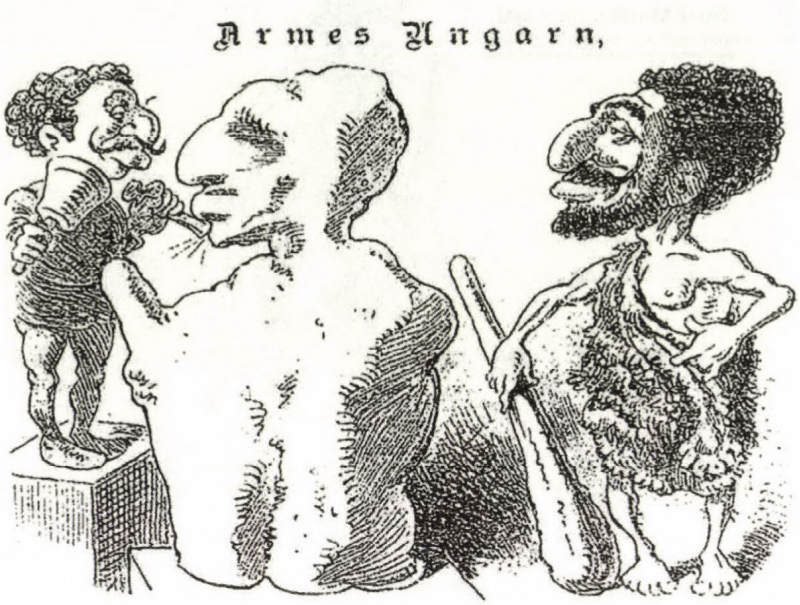
Herkó Páter (Budapest, German version), 1896, June 14.



New Magyars in the desert, dancing at the millennium celebrations around Árpád's statue, which Csongrády has cast in the very Jewish gold.

86 M. Aleš, *Černokňažník* (Turócszentmárton/Turčiansky Sv. Martin), 1893, March 25.

226



Poor Hungaria, she has to put up with a Jewish lad as her ancestor.
Kikeriki! (Vienna), 1896, October 1.



Life is turning sour for the Germans and the Slavs because the Jews and the Magyars treat them like lemons.

88 *Kikeriki!* (Vienna), 1896, September 27.



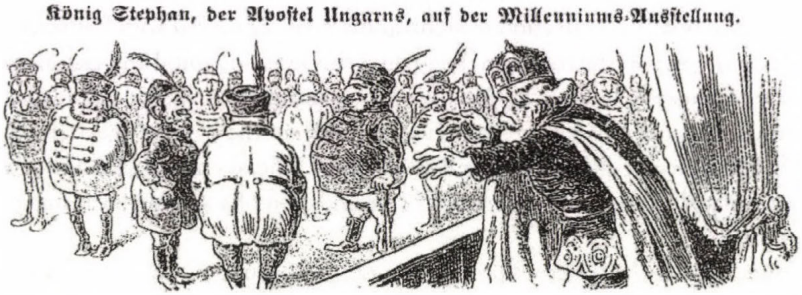
NATIONALITIES AND THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

"The People's Party flirts with the nationalities. Hooray, Banffy unleashes his press beast. And what happens?—They are both ignored."

S. Hatos, *Herkó Páter* (Budapest, Slovak version), 1896, October 11.

90 **New Landtaking on the Eve of the Second Millennium. "Árpád Tateleben you not need to worry about your people. You have it: intellect, heart and moral worship you."**
S. Hatos, *Herkó Páter* (Budapest, German version), 1896, March 8.





King Stephen, the Apostle of Hungary, at the Millennium Exhibition.
"King Stephen: And I thought I converted Hungary to—Christianity!"
91 *Kikeriki!* (Vienna), 1896, April 16.

Joanna Bartuszek

"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 topic of this article is the image of the Hutsuls and Hutsulshchyna that emerged from the archival collection stored in the Scientific Archive of the State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw (SEM). In my research I concentrated on the romantic and exotic image of the Hutsuls as an example of the *de-Othering* of a group. By this term in the case of the Hutsuls, I mean the process by which the images of the Hutsuls created in the nineteenth century, which are the basis of the analysis in this article, changed in the public perception. In nineteenth-century travel and academic literature, as well as in the illustrated press, Hutsulshchyna and, generally, the eastern Carpathian mountains were perceived as certain *terra incognita*. Thus, this territory and its inhabitants were surrounded by a mysterious and indefinable aura (Lesisz 2008: 208–209). The Hutsuls were seen then as mysterious Others, but at the beginning of the twentieth century their image changed to "the familiarity."

First of all, I would like to explain the historic context of and connections between the Hutsuls and Polish culture. Then I will present for examination some distinctive items from the collection of archival material connected with Hutsulshchyna, which is stored in the museum. Following this examination, I will elaborate on the issue of academic interest in Hutsulshchyna, outlining the general historical and cultural context of this fascination. Furthermore, on the basis of the archival collection, I will present the features and elements of Hutsul culture that aroused the most animated interest and determined consolidation of a stereotypical image of this group.

The Hutsuls are a distinctive ethnic group of highlanders from the eastern Carpathian mountains, that is, the ranges of Chornohora and Gorgany. Since the fifteenth century, a part of this territory has been located within the borders of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (Janicka-Krzywda 1991: 2). During the times of the partitioning of Poland (1772–1918), when the country lost its independence and its territory was divided between former neighboring countries, Hutsulshchyna was under the Austro-Hungarian administration as a part of Galicia's territory (*Wielka Encyklopedia* 2009). During the interwar period, Hutsulshchyna was within the borders of the independent Poland. The time before World War I was marked

by the need for national self-identification. Although officially Poland did not exist on the maps as a state, when building its modern national identity, the Polish intellectual elites used to think about the Polish territory as it had been before the partitions (Lesisz 2009: 115). Therefore, Hutsulshchyna became quite an influential concept in those early stages of identifying Polish culture. Fascination with this territory (among writers and painters, as well as scholars) increased at the end of the eighteenth century and further developed at the turn of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century (Blacharska 2002: 25–26).

The phenomenon of the growing fascination with Hutsulshchyna was evidenced by the world exhibitions presenting the Hutsuls as a part of an ethnographic group from the territory of Poland.[1] There were two interesting exhibitions: the World Exhibition in Paris in 1878 and the National Exhibition in Kolomea in 1880 (Blacharska 2002: 14). The Polish ethnographer Oskar Kolberg was responsible for the accuracy regarding ethnographic background of both exhibitions.[2] The Hutsuls' culture was shown there as a kind of exotic attraction among other important Polish groups (ill. 92). The interwar period saw frequent events connected with Hutsulshchyna. One of them was the World Exhibition in Paris in 1937, where the folkloric and tourism assets of Hutsulshchyna were promoted among other Polish regions such as Podhale, Kurpie, and Łowicz (Demska 2011: 7–8). This exhibition also contained a separate pavilion of the International Dances Archive, where kinetostatic models of dances were presented.[3] These exhibitions suggest that from the end of the nineteenth century, the Hutsuls tended to be considered one of the most interesting ethnic groups in Poland. In those days many travelers, researchers, and poets, as well as painters and other artists, visited this region, seeking inspiration for their work (Janikowska-Marzec 2003: 290).

The collection stored in the Scientific Archive of SEM includes archival material connected with the Hutsuls dating back to the turn of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Illustrative material connected with ethnography was gathered together with material artifacts, which were the main focus of interest,

---

[1] In this case, the term "territory of Poland" refers to the territory under the Russian, the Prussian, and the Austrian partition.

[2] Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890) was a musician, composer, and ethnographer. He was the first Polish ethnographer who collected information about the whole Polish folk culture and systematized it according to region in his monumental work entitled *People. Their customs, way of life, speech, tales, proverbs, rites, superstitions, games, songs, music, and dances.* He published several dozen volumes of this work, including one about Hutsulshchyna entitled *Pokucie* (*Pokuttia*) vol. 29–33. Among the many regions of prewar Poland he described, Kolberg was most keenly interested in Hutsulshchyna. In 1861, he went on his first trip to the Red Ruthenia, and here was where his interest in the Hutsuls began. This interest accompanied him to his death (Blacharska 2002: 13–14).

[3] From 30 November 2011 to 8 January 2012 in the State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw, there was a temporary exhibition entitled "Dances and costumes—models of Polish and European folk dances from the Paris Exhibition," showing renovated kinetostatic models of dances from the Paris exhibition in 1937. http://ethnomuseum.website.pl/doc_1440.html (accessed 10.10.2012).

from the beginning of the history of our museum.[4] However, iconography was often treated (by ethnographers themselves) as supplementary material, enabling one only to illustrate gathered objects and describe phenomena in greater detail.[5] Over time the archival material turned into heritage collections worth being discussed separately in an academic paper (Sztandara 2006: 46; Bartuszek 2009: 39).

Comprising 700 inventory items, the Hutsuls archival collection consists of nineteenth-century illustrations, pictures, drawings, engravings, lithographs, watercolor paintings, postcards, atelier photographs, and glass negatives dating back to the turn of the nineteenth century and the twentieth century, as well as other documents from the interwar period.[6] The most valuable items are original watercolor paintings, such as *Hucuł z Żabiego* (*A Hutsul from the Zabie Region*) by Tadeusz Rybkowski (ill. 96).[7] The largest and oldest group of objects includes engravings, which had been printed in the Polish illustrated press, from the nineteenth century (see ills. 97, 98, 99), such as *Tygodnik Ilustrowany* (*Illustrated Weekly*), *Kłosy* (*Ears of Grain*), and *Wieniec* (*Wreath*). Apart from a wide category of so-called peasant types (characters dressed in regional folk costumes) the aforementioned material presents various subjects, such as customs, and rituals connected with family and annual traditions. Photographs constitute a significant group thereof—consisting mostly of atelier photographs from the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century—presenting peasant types in regional costumes (ills. 93, 94). Photographs from the interwar period are also captivating. This later collection contains a much greater variety of topics. Such photographs were often taken by both professionals and amateurs—tourists eagerly visiting this territory since the beginning of the 1920s. Postcards with various thematic and stylistic representations of a wide ethnographic content are a separate category of archival material. They contain repro-

[4] The State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw was established in 1888 (see Bartuszek, Grabowska 2008).

[5] In the field of ethnographic photographic and film, documentation is an essential and acknowledged element of discovery and scientific deduction. The process of acknowledging the value of visual material and its use in academic discourse was changing with time and was connected with the development of ethnology as a scientific discipline as well as with the subjectivization of the ways of describing the world. Thus, at the turn of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, visual material was treated as objective documentation, while nowadays its objectivity is being widely undermined (Sztandara 2006: 215; Vorbrich 2004: 60).

[6] The whole collection consists of more than 190,000 various archival items connected with Polish, European, and non-European culture, dating back to the beginning of the nineteenth century until the present. For more details see the article about archive collection (Bartuszek 2008).

[7] Tadeusz Rybkowski (1848–1926) was a painter. He studied in the School of Fine Arts in Cracow. From 1875 to 1877 he continued his education in the Academy of Fine Arts in Vienna. In 1893 he settled down in Lviv. He became a professor in the State Industrial School. He also established a private painting school for women. Rybkowski was fond of decorative wall painting, as well as of genre scenes, e.g., presenting the Hutsuls' folklore he was especially interested in. His illustrations were published in Polish and foreign magazines (*Malarze polscy* 2004: 54).

ductions of popular paintings by Polish Modernist artists, as well as photographs.

The images of the Hutsuls, briefly described above were created by Polish artists, most of whom came from the district of Galicia (Lviv, Cracow, Stanislawow, and Kolomyia). It is very difficult to name all the authors who raised the subject of Hutsulshchyna in their works. However, such outstanding Polish artists as Seweryn Obst, Juliusz Kossak, Alfred Wierusz-Kowalski, and Tadeusz Rybkowski are worth mentioning. Most of them created paintings or drawings showing genre scenes popular in Romanticism and later in Modernism. Their works, in the form of woodcuts, were presented in the nineteenth-century press (see ills. 92, 98, 100)[8].

As shown above, the aforementioned material is diversified. Not only does it allow one to interpret the scope of appearance of the Hutsuls' images, but also it gives grounds to make claims about the existence of a wide interest in folklore at the turn of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. Due to the amplitude of the analyzed material, I will concentrate only on the watercolor paintings and engravings printed in the illustrated press as well as on the nineteenth-century photographs. In my opinion, this material had the most significant influence on the popularization of the image of Hutsulshchyna in the collective awareness of the Polish intelligentsia and middle class at the turn of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.[9] The interpretations of these images can be gleaned from the iconographic analysis but also by analyzing the context of their creation and functioning. The interpretation of the image depends on the viewer and his or her knowledge but also on the political and sociological context of that time (see Gombrich 1990: 313–319).

The animated interest in Hutsulshchyna was influenced by the romantic tendency connected with anti-urban myths spreading at that time (Libera 1995: 137). Travelers, first ethnographers, and artists used to look for the exotic Other both overseas and at home, for example, among peasants and lower classes (Ibidem: 138; see also Clifford 2000: 20–25). People living far from urban centers or in inaccessible places were perceived as Others. In the perception of the first ethnographers and travelers, Hutsuls were seen in the same way. Polish longing for the remote past in the changing modern world created a need for a myth of romantic peoples living far away in the borderland of their world (Demski 2010: 167). In such cultures, distant both geographically and temporally, intellectuals and artists searched for an exotic, wild, archaic tradition, or customs, but also for picturesque images (Libera 1995: 148). Such an inspiration had a significant patriotic function, especially in occupied Poland (1772–1918) but also during the interwar

---

[8] For a more detailed list of the authors raising the subject of Hutsulshchyna in their works, see the article by Grzegorz Niewiadomy (2002) and Agnieszka Janikowska-Marzec (2003).

[9] Interest in Hutsulshchyna was particularly keen among Lviv artists and scholars of that time, who lived in eastern Galicia (Lesisz 2009: 122; Janikowska-Marzec 2003: 290).

period (Węglarz 1994: 87). The interest in folk culture and search for the image of primitive peoples living close to nature, resistant to progress but also mysterious and exotic, strengthened the mythological discourse (Ibidem: 88). The discovery of Hutsulshchyna in the epoch of Romanticism, when interest in exploring unknown territories and discovering wild tribes and primeval nature reached its peak, resulted in a mythologization and the creation of heavily conditioned stereotypes (Radziszewska 2000: 153). Hutsulshchyna was intriguing because it was different. Publications in the nineteenth-century press or literature stress the motive of the Hutsuls' distinctness. Most reports and accompanying illustrations emphasized the fact that this territory remained barely known and penetrated, even by the closest living inhabitants of Galicia (see Lesisz 2008: 208). This is why discovering Hutsulshchyna offered an opportunity of becoming a pioneer (Radziszewska 200: 154). Exploring relations between the Hutsuls' culture and the Polish or the Slavic one, and also looking for tourist attractions there, stimulated interest in this region. The relation between Hutsulshchyna and the primeval and mythical Slavdom was attractive due to the tendency to search for the roots of the Polish culture at that time (Lesisz 2009: 115). It made this group more mysterious, sparking additional interest and curiosity. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, Hutsulshchyna was appearing in the Polish national identity and culture, enriching it and functioning as a kind of exotic element among other groups (Lesisz 2008: 215).

Admiration for Hutsulshchyna among Romantic and Modernist artists (especially painters) serves as an example of these trends. Images were created by travelers, researchers, and artists who perceived folklore as an inspiration for their work following the pan-European interest in the rustic style. The authors of these images often worked for publishing companies or ethnographers taking part in field expeditions (Sztandara 2006: 32). Their works were published as illustrative material in ethnographic books or in the columns of illustrated magazines. Aforementioned Oskar Kolberg stands as an interesting example of such collaboration. Kolberg, together with Rybkowski, travelled around the country, visiting many places including Hutsulshchyna.[10] Under Kolberg's guidance, Rybkowski painted landscapes, genre scenes, and peasant types. Later, engravings made on the basis of his watercolor paintings and drawings supplemented ethnographic books published by Kolberg (Sztandara 2006: 35).

In most of the nineteenth-century works of art, the Hutsuls were presented as beautiful, free, independent, strong, proud, creative, and happy people. The majority of artists perceived the Hutsuls as children of Nature, free people, Slavs forgotten by history. On the other hand, they were seen as robbers living in the homeland of bandits (Radziszewska 2000: 157). The motive of Carpathian bandits made the Hutsuls a popular topic both in literature and later in the fine arts.[11]

---

[10] Several works by this artist, which present the Hutsuls and other peasant types from different regions of Poland, are preserved in our museum in the collection of the Scientific Archive.

[11] For the first time Hutsulshchyna was referred to in literature at the beginning of the nineteenth

The oldest representation in our collection is a printed lithography entitled *Hucuły—górale z okolic Kołomyi*, (*The Hutsuls—highlanders from the Kolomyia region*). It was made on the basis of a drawing by Jan Nepomucen Lewicki (ill. 97) and published in Paris in 1841 in a work about Polish folk costumes entitled *Les costumes du peuple polonais* together with other portraits of Tatra and Carpathian highlanders.[12] This drawing was also printed in the illustrated magazine *Przyjaciel Ludu* (*A Friend of the People*). This picture is quite schematic. Three presented figures are front facing, with simple emblems and attributes. In the background there are motives of nature. This image does not contain any characteristic features of the presented group. Only the caption provides more information about the figures and their origin (Niewiadomy 2002: 87).

Simplicity is a characteristic feature of the early displays of the Hutsuls. Creating images of these Carpathian highlanders, painters drew on the existing images of inhabitants of remote countries and territories. Dating back to Romanticism or even an earlier time, the images of idyllic landscapes seem to be pictorial prototypes of the images showing the Carpathian mountains and their inhabitants, among whom there are the Hutsuls (Ibidem: 74). Similar paintings were to be found in many regions and were a strong inspiration for Polish artists. Moreover, foreign works of art, such as lithographs and woodcuts showing the Swiss Alps and even the remote American cordillera served as a direct inspiration (Skłodowski 2005: 10). This way of depicting reality was connected with the perception of the mountain landscape. Until the seventeenth century, such a landscape caused fear and aversion, and at the same time was important for pioneers and explorers who attempted to set foot in this inaccessible territory (Niewiadomy 2002: 76). The mysteriousness of the mountains fostered the development of the myth of their inhabitants. In Romanticism, mountains became synonymous with beauty, the incarnation of the Rousseauistic concept of the unity of human and Nature. The Arcadian vision of the mountains, in which happy shepherds lived their lives in ideal harmony with God and Nature, had been influencing the general image of the Carpathian mountains for a long time (Ibidem: 77). In my opinion, these first images of the Hutsuls, surrounded by the mountains or presented as barely visible Carpathian bandits, indicate that this ter-

century in poetry and other works by Franciszek Karpiński, Karol Bołoz Antoniewicz, and in a drama by Józef Korzeniowski, meaningfully entitled *Karpaccy górale* (*Carpathian highlanders*). This drama significantly contributed to the popularization of this region (Choroszy 1991: 111). A volume on Hutsulshchyna by Antoni Ossendowski, published in the 1930s as part of the series *Cuda Polski* (*Wonders of Poland*), was also important in consolidating the image of Hutsulshchyna in the Polish awareness (Ossendowski 1990). In the fine arts, however, the first appearance of Hutsulshchyna was recorded in 1836 in an engraving by Teofil Mielcarzewicz entitled *Opryszki w Karpatach* (*Bandits in the Carpathian Mountains*) (Niewiadomy 2002: 79).

[12] Other illustrations of a similar subject matter show Tatra and eastern Carpathian highlanders grazing cattle in the foothills. Costumes of particular groups depicted in these three engravings are quite similar. However, the Hutsuls are wearing characteristic embroidered shirts (Niewiadomy 2002: 87).

ritory and its inhabitants—the Hutsuls—were treated as Others. Using the strategy of exoticization and schematism, however, such images are examples of an attempt to get closer to this mysterious group, to tame them in a way.

Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, literature has played an critical role in the process of "taming" the mountains and their inhabitants, creating their new image, to a certain extent. A romantic vision of heroic nature, which was also a vision of Hutsulshchyna, implied that a symbiosis of highlanders and surrounding Nature, not only was expressed by the functioning of the economy, but also influenced the way the highlanders' appearance and behavior was portrayed (Radziszewska 2000: 154). However, only thanks to the fine arts, these creations turned into easily assimilable and comprehensible ideas (Niewiadomy 2002: 78). As mentioned earlier, the nineteenth-century illustrated press played a particularly important role in popularization of this image. In the press were published short pieces of literature and illustrated descriptions of journeys rich in drawings, engravings, and other depictions. Made by famous artists, these works showed a romantic and slightly mythologized vision of the Carpathian mountains and their inhabitants (Niewiadomy 2002: 76).

The iconography of the Hutsuls focused on the folklore, not only on the landscapes, as was the case of the iconography of other groups of highlanders, which inhabited the Tatra mountains or far east Carpathian mountains. Most of the painters in the nineteenth century tried to show the beautiful and poetic features of Hutsul culture. The most popular subjects were festivals, rituals, and Hutsuls in their festive clothing, rather than everyday work. This kind of approach reflected the influence of Romantic aesthetics (Libera 1995: 148). The Hutsuls' folk costumes aroused great admiration because of their subtle, rich, and colorful ornamentation (Lesisz 2008: 215). One typical formula depicted a Hutsul with a particular object, something that would catch the eye of an observer. The artists usually showed the Hutsuls dressed in red overcoats and striped skirts, with men wearing folded hats and women in the characteristic headscarf (*peremitka*) and necklace (*zgarda*) (ill. 98). The artists often included other items such as leather straps, snuff boxes, or weapons and, occasionally, richly decorated pipes (ill. 100). Most of the representations show both men and women holding pipes. Recognized by the Polish society (where the artists came from) as atypical and exotic, these artifacts and ornaments created the image of the real Hutsuls. Simplified images of the Hutsuls, the main focus of which were the aforementioned characteristic attributes, dominated nineteenth-century press publications (Lesisz 2008: 209).

There are also numerous images connected with Hutsul activities, for example, scenes of marches through the mountains or hunting excursions (ill. 99). These representations reflected the romantic myth of living a free life in the mountains. In such images, horses played an important role (Janikowska-Marzec 2003: 293). They were perceived as companions of travelers and a staple of existence: that is why so many images show activities performed on horseback, such as the spinning of fiber

or weddings. In this kind of representation, horses are a symbol of nomadic life and freedom (Ibidem: 294). Thus, the Hutsuls can also be seen as the icon of a romantic rider. Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century travelers, in their diaries, compared the Hutsuls on horseback to romanticized Native American Indians who ride their horses freely through the prairies (see a report of traveler Hans Zbinden in the work by Gudowski 2001: 176). Such characteristic appearance as described above was seen as exotic and eye-catching and distinguished the Hutsuls from the neighboring groups and from those connected with Polish culture and upper-class society, from which the authors of these images came.

The image of a beautiful, strong, and vigorous Hutsul exists not only in engravings but also in photographs. The nineteenth-century atelier photographs by Julius Dutkiewicz from Kolomyia are worth mentioning. They present both models of and actual Hutsuls wearing regional costumes and standing in typical romantic poses. The photographs of models differ from those of actual Hutsuls. Models wearing Hutsul costumes are pensive, formal, proud, and smiling (ill. 94); whereas the real Hutsuls (ill. 93) appear to be more carefree in mood and dress. Portraits of the models show clearly that through the arrangement of the scene and the selection of artifacts, photographers create their own peasant types. The culture they tried to portray was filtered through the prism of their own culture, registering only that which they considered to be atypical and exotic (Sztandara 2006: 32). Such images do not say much about Hutsul culture. They only convey a stereotypical representation created on the basis of the images existing in works of art. Taken in the atelier or outdoors, the photographs often became postcards or souvenirs from visited places. Thus, this image of romantic and beautiful Hutsuls spread among Polish society.

Representations showing Hutsul villages and their inhabitants are not reliable enough to construct hypotheses about the Hutsuls' appearance in the past. Most of the artwork did not represent the real Hutsuls. It rather showed how their image was arranged in accordance with culturally determined contemporary imagination and knowledge (Sztandara 2006: 46). The artists created representations corresponding to the nineteenth-century standards of describing and presenting other cultures. These representations reflected not only the appearance (clothes and physical features) but also attributes and values considered important both by members of the portrayed group and those who portrayed it (Demski 2008: 94). They are not a reflection but a representation of reality created by the artists themselves.

Technological advances in interwar photography made it possible to show the Hutsuls in the wider context of their everyday activities. However, such photographic representations were still schematic and showed stereotypical exotic attributes associated with this group. They repeated the subjects and patterns of the nineteenth-century images. Among the most popular motives there are people on horseback, travelling, portrayed in regional costumes, and with bags and pipes. Other motives were "romantic heroes," such as men in close-up with axes or pipes (ill. 95). Most

of the photographs were published as postcards, so they were disseminated quickly, especially during the interwar period. Thus the image of the Hutsuls and Hutsulschyna could spread throughout prewar Poland.

The nineteenth-century images of the Hutsuls and their popularization in newspapers, magazines, and on postcards played a significant role in the process of de-Othering of the group. The analyzed material shows that the image of the Hutsuls underwent a change from the mysterious Other—schematic and bearing the hue of the romantic perception of a folk culture—to a popular image of one of the most compelling and distinctive ethnic groups in Poland. Thanks to publishers, these images were in common use and were an important source of knowledge about Hutsuls culture (Niewiadomy 2002: 78). In those days not many people would ever see the mountain peaks, so the paintings and drawings published in magazines and on postcards shaped the public's perceptions of the region. The Romantic art and literature played an important role in introducing the Hutsuls' land to a broader audience (Choroszy 1991: 190–195). Popularization of idealized and romantic images of the Carpathian inhabitants led to the dissemination and consolidation of the romantic image of this group.

The image of the Hutsuls emerging from nineteenth-century engravings and photographs was shaped by the influence of romantic aesthetics and the way artists, folk experts, and enthusiasts used to perceive Hutsuls and other folk groups as Others (Libera 1995: 137). The Hutsuls inhabited the outskirts of Poland of that time—a borderland that, according to the nineteenth-century folk experts, was often inhabited by more archaic and exotic groups (Węglarz 1994: 93). Moreover, in the eyes of travelers and Polish artists, the Hutsuls stood out against the background of known, neighboring, mainly Polish groups, due to their appearance and costumes. The aforementioned tendency is particularly visible in the analyzed material. The Hutsuls' non-Polish origin and external distinctness constituted their *Otherness*. On the other hand, trying to find common features based on their Slavic origin and creating romantic and idyllic visions contributes to the theory concerning the process of *de-Othering* of this group. This process was carried out by the writers, travelers, and above all, painters of that time. Their works drew the attention of all of Polish society and strengthened the image of this group. Popularization of these images among the Polish society resulted in the familiarization of Hutsul culture and its acceptance as part of Polish heritage. Thus, the exotic Hutsulshchyna existed alongside the modern Polish national identity, formed during the interwar period, and belonged to it—becoming somehow a part of the "national culture."

References

Bartuszek J., A. Grabowska 2008, *Historia Muzeum* (*The History of the Museum*) [in:] A. Czyżewski (ed.), *Zwykłe-Niezwykłe. Fascynujące kolekcje w zbiorach Państwowego Muzeum Etnograficznego w Warszawie* (*Ordinary-Extraordinary. Fascinating Collections of the State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw*), Warszawa, pp. 34–54.

Bartuszek J. 2008, Archiwum Naukowe (*The Research Archive*) [in:] A. Czyżewski (ed.), *Zwykłe-Niezwykłe. Fascynujące kolekcje w zbiorach Państwowego Muzeum Etnograficznego w Warszawie* (*Ordinary-Extraordinary. Fascinating Collections of the State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw*), Warszawa, pp. 56–100.

—2009, Nie-przedmiotowość: dokumentowanie fotograficzne i filmowe w muzealnictwie etnograficznym (na przykładzie kolekcji filmowej Archiwum Naukowego Państwowego Muzeum Etnograficznego w Warszawie (Non-Objectiveness: Photographic and Film Documentation in Ethnographic Museology. Film Collections in the Scientific Archive of the State Ethnographic Museum in Warsaw), *Etnografia Nowa*, no. 1, pp. 39–45.

Blacharska W. 2002, Dorobek polskich etnografów i muzealników w poznawaniu Huculszczyzny (Output of the Polish ethnographers and museum experts in exploring Hutsulshchyna), *Płaj. Almanach karpacki*, no. 25, pp. 25–39.

Clifford J. 2000 [1988], *Kłopoty z Kulturą* (*The Predicament of Culture*), Warszawa.

Choroszy J. 1991, *Huculszczyzna w literaturze polskiej* (*Hutsulshchyna in the Polish Literature*), Wrocław.

Demska A. 2011, *Międzynarodowa Wystawa: Sztuka i Technika w Życiu Współczesnym. Paryż 1937* (*An International Exhibition: Art and Technology in Contemporary Life. Paris 1937*), pp. 1–14, http://ethnomuseum.website.pl/doc_1440.html (accessed 30.06.2012).

Demski D. 2008, Obrazy innych w karykaturach—temat dla etnografa? (Images of the Other in caricatures—a Theme for Ethnographers?), *Etnografia Polska*, vol. 52, no. 1–2, pp. 93–116.

—2010, Old Stereotypes Versus Changing Reality: Images of the Other in the Polish Caricatures, 1862–1939, [in:] K. Baraniecka-Olszewska, D. Demski (eds.) *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*, Warsaw, pp. 150–183.

Gombrich H. E. 1990, *Obraz wizualny* (*Visual image*) [in:] M. Głowiński (ed.), *Symbole i symbolika* (*Symbols and Symbolism*), Warszawa, pp. 313–319.

Gudowski J. 2001, *Dawne Pokucie i Huculszczyzna w opisach cudzoziemskich podróżników. Wybór tekstów z lat 1795–1939* (*Old Pokuttia and Hutsulshchyna in Descriptions by Foreign Travellers. A Selection of Texts from 1795–1939*), Warszawa.

Janicka-Krzywda U. 1991, *Huculi* (*The Hutsuls*), Kraków.

Jankowska-Marzec A. 2003, *Droga w malarstwie Fryderyka Pautscha, Kazimierza Sichulskiego i Władysława Jarockiego* (*A Road in the paintings by Fryderyk Pautsch, Kazimierz Sichulski and Władysław Jarocki*) [in:] *Wędrować, pielgrzymować, być turystą* (*To Travel, to Pilgrimage, to be a Tourist*), Opole, pp. 289–305.

Kolberg O. 1970, *Dzieła Wszystkie* t. 29 (*Complete Works*, vol. 29), *Pokucie*, t. 1 (*Pokuttia*, vol. 1), Wrocław-Poznań.

Lesisz E. 2008, *Tekst huculski w kulturze polskiej końca XIX wieku, między „Innym" a „Obcym"* (*The Hutsuls' Text in the Polish Culture at the End of the 19th Century, between the Other and the Alien Other*) [in:] P. Cieliczko, P. Kuciński (eds.), *Literackie portrety Innego. Inny i Obcy w kulturze* (*Literary Portraits of the Other. The Other and the Alien Other in Culture*), pp. 207–217.

—2009, Huculszczyzna jako mała ojczyzna w polskiej świadomości galicyjskiej na przełomie, XIX i XX wieku (Hutsulshchyna as a Little Homeland in the Polish Galician Awareness at the Turn of the 19th and the 20th Century, *Rocznik Lubuski*, vol. 35, part 1, pp. 115–125.

Libera Z. 1995, *Lud ludoznawców: Kilka rysów do opisania fizjonomii i postaci ludu naszego czyli etnograficzna wycieczka po XIX wieku* (*The Folk of Folk Experts: The Outline of a Description of the*

Physiognomy and Character of our Folk, or an Ethnographic Trip to the 19th Century) [in:] A. Posern-Zieliński (ed.), *Etnologia polska między ludoznawstwem a antropologią* (*Polish Ethnology Between Folk Studies and Anthropology*), Poznań, pp. 137–153.

Malarze polscy XIX i XX wieku, Mała encyklopedia Rynku Sztuki (*Polish Painters of the 19th and the 20th Century. A Little Encyclopedia of the Art Market*) 2004, Kraków.

Niewiadomy G. 2002, Opryszki, lirniki i mołodycie. O huculskich inspiracjach w malarstwie polskim XIX i XX wieku (Bandits, Lyrists, and Molodytse. On Hutsuls' Inspirations in the Polish Paintings from the 19th and the 20th Centuries), *Płaj. Almanach karpacki*, nr. 25, s. 74–117.

Ossendowski A. F. 1990 [date of first edition: Poznan 1936], *Huculszczyzna. Gorgany i Czarnohora* (*Hutsulshchyna, Gorgany and Charnohora*), Wrocław (*reprint of a pre-war issue*).

Radziszewska J. 2000, Huculszczyzna—kraina mityczna (Hutsulshchyna—a Mythical Land), *Zeszyty Etnologii Wrocławskiej*, no. 1, pp. 151–165.

Skłodowski J. 2005, *Huculszczyzna w grafice polskiej do roku 1945* (*Hutsulshchyna in the Polish Graphics Until 1945*), Poronin.

Sztandara M. 2006, *Fotografia etnograficzna i „etnograficzność" fotografii. Studium z historii myśli etnologicznej i fotografii z II poł. XIX i I poł. XX wieku* (*Ethnographic Photography and the "Ethnographicality" of Photography: A Study of the History of the Ethnological Thought and Photography of the Second Half of the 19th and the First Half of the 20th Century*), Opole.

Węglarz S. 1994, *Chłopi jako „obcy". Prolegomena* (*Peasants as "Others." Prolegomena*) [in:] W. J. Burszta, J. Damrosz (eds.) *Pożegnanie paradygmatu? Etnologia wobec współczesności* (*A Farewell to the Paradigm? Ethnology Versus Contemporaneity*), Warszawa, pp. 78–101.

Wielka Encyklopedia PWN (*PWN Great Encyclopedia*), 2009, vol. 9, Warszawa.

Vorbrich R. 2004, *Tekst werbalny i niewerbalny: opis antropologiczny a film etnograficzny* (*Verbal and Non-Verbal Text: Anthropological Description Versus Ethnographic Film*) [in:] G. Pełczyński, R. Vorbrich (eds.), *Antropologia wobec fotografii i filmu* (*Anthropology Versus Photography and Film*), Poznań, pp. 59–69.



241

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION OF POKUTTYA IN KOLOMEA. ACCORDING TO THE SENT SKETCHES

The Hutsuls Wearing Festive Clothes. The Front of the Exhibition Building. Nobility from Berezow Wyższy. The Southern Part of the Marketplace and a New Town Hall in Kolomea.

92 Engraving, *Kłosy*, 1881, July 2, Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw.



A HUTSUL WOMAN WITH A PIPE
J. Dutkiewicz, Kolomea about 1880
Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw. 93



A HUTSUL WITH A PIPE

J. Dutkiewicz, Kolomea about 1880

94 Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw.



HUTSULS' TYPE "LEGIN"
M. Seńkowski postcard about 1925
Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw. 95



A HUTSUL FROM THE ZABIE REGION

Watercolour painting by T. Rybkowski 1881

Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw.

246



THE HUTSULS

drawing based on lithography by J. N. Lewicki, printed in *Przyjaciel Ludu* (*A Friend of People*) 1841
Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw.



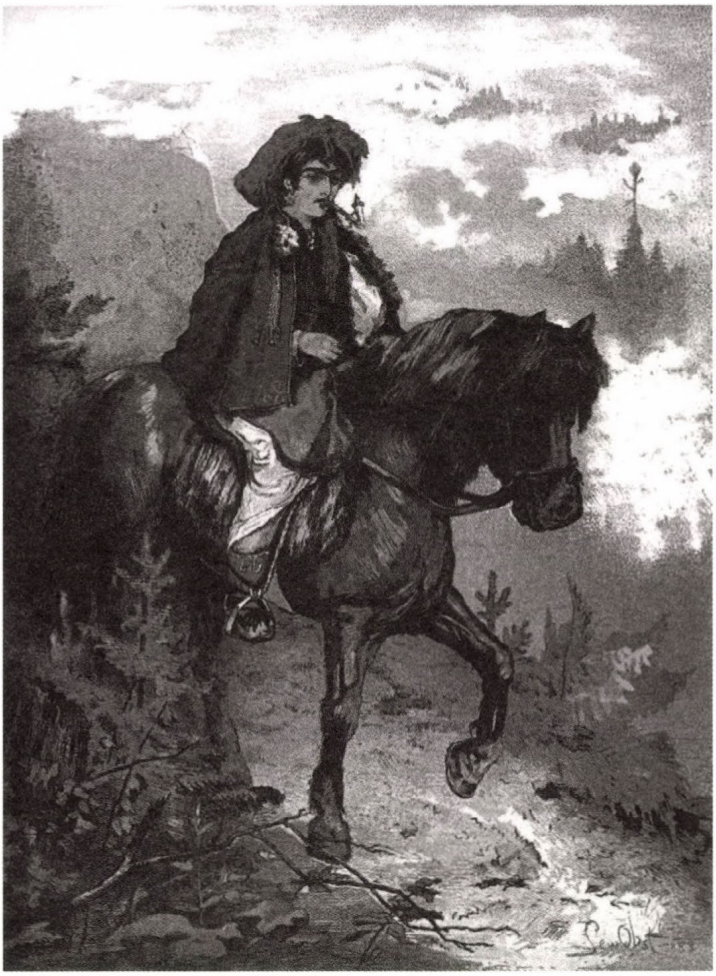
THE HUTSULS
a drawing by J. Kossak, engraving by T. Walter,
printed in *Przyjaciel Dzieci* (*A Friend of Children*) 1863
Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw.

248



HUTSULS FROM CHORNOHORA MARCHING TO KOSSOV TO THE POKUTTYA MARKETPLACE

engraving, woodcut, print, a copy of the painting by Jaroszyński, *Kłosy*, 30 June 1881, Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw.



A HUTSUL WOMAN WITH A PIPE ON HORSEBACK
painting by S. Obst chromolitograph, Kosów 1883
Scientific Archive, State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw.

4. Representations of War and the Other

Alexander Kozintsev

Representing the Other in British, French, and German Cartoons of the Crimean War

The Crimean War, which lasted from 1853 to 1856 and is sometimes described as the first modern war, was unusual in several respects. In terms of identity and ethnic stereotypes, it foreshadowed the modern geopolitical line-up by a century. The "civilized West" opposing "barbaric Russia" was a construct that did not exist in earlier or later military conflicts, including both world wars, when the stereotype of "savage Russia" was propagated only by the Germans and their allies, while there was no notion of "the West." Mid-nineteenth-century clichés were revived only after World War II, specifically during the Cold War.[1] To add to the NATO-like pattern, Turkey, by no means a Western country, joined "the West" in the Crimean War—or rather vice versa.[2]

The resemblance to the Cold War situation, however, was superficial and incidental, and the alignment of forces might have been entirely different. The alliance of Russia with Britain, Austria, and Prussia against Turkey and France was quite possible shortly before the war, and the United States, like Greece and the future Slavic Orthodox nations of the Balkans, was on Russia's side even during the war. Nonetheless, the modern stereotype of the West united against Russia was, in great measure, rooted in the political and military events of the 1850s. The policy of paranoid expansionism, pursued by Nicholas I especially in the final stage of his

[1] The translated *History of Holy Russia* by Gustave Doré (see below) was published in Germany during World War I and then again in 1937 and 1970. Cartoons from Doré's book were reprinted in the United States in 1951, during the McCarthy period, and in 1971 the full version of the book appeared in the United States and Britain. The foreword to the American edition was written by Richard Pipes, who later became Head of CIA Team B and President Reagan's advisor (see Kunzle 1983 for details).

[2] The Western coalition supporting Turkey against Russia included Britain, France, and Sardinia-Piedmont. Austria did not fight but was hostile to Russia, although shortly before the war Nicholas I had helped Franz Joseph to smash the Hungarian revolution. Prussia remained neutral but was gradually slanting toward the coalition. Eventually Russia was defeated, and restrictions were imposed on it. However, none of the far-reaching plans of the Western politicians came true. In fact, Sevastopol, captured by the French after nearly a year-long siege, was returned to Russia in exchange for Kars, a Turkish stronghold captured by the Russians two months later. This contrast between the bloody war, which cost 500,000 to 700,000 lives, and the compromise Paris Peace Treaty was paralleled by the behavior of Russian and French officers, who met, engaged in polite conversations in French, and swapped gifts during the truces in Sevastopol, amidst corpses (see Tolstoi's *Sevastopol in May*). The Russian and the allied commanders-in-chief used a truce to exchange their photographic portraits.

rule and one of the main causes of the Crimean War,[3] resembled Stalin's practices. On the other hand, the plan of dismembering the Russian Empire and ousting it from Europe "back to Asia"—the idea that Napoleon III and especially Lord Palmerston cherished as the ultimate goal of the war—prefigured the designs of certain twentieth-century European and American politicians. This is why the cartoons of the Crimean War appear even more topical today than those related to later wars except the Cold War.

In this article, works of mainly six cartoonists are examined—John Tenniel, John Leech, Honoré Daumier, Gustave Doré, Wilhelm Scholz, and Carl Reinhardt. Their works were published in humor magazines—*Punch*, *Le Charivari*, and *Kladderadatsch*,[4] as well as in books (Doré 1854; Anonymous [Reinhardt] 1855). The works by Tenniel, Leech, and especially Daumier and Doré were analyzed in numerous publications (see, e.g., Kunzle 1983; Stoll et al. 1985; Kartalopoulos 2004; Cross 2006; Krauss 2007; Stenzel 2010, and many others). The works of the German artists, Scholz and Reinhardt, by contrast, have been virtually neglected (see *Der Kladderadatsch* 1898). There were certainly other gifted caricaturists who reacted to the events of the war (see, e.g., Delord et al. 1854), but their works are not discussed because the present sample is rather balanced in ethnopolitical terms.[5] It includes two artists from Britain, two from France (countries that were coalition members), and two from Prussia, which was neutral. Without Russian cartoons, the balance is relative, of course, but they fall outside the scope of this paper.

At the preparatory stage of the propaganda campaign, the Other is dehumanized. The savage Russian is supposed to look even scarier when endowed with the horrent mechanical attributes of a robotic monster (ill. 101).[6] The disguise, however, makes him funny rather than scary; only the Turk is knocked down, but none of his European allies are. Nicholas I was variously portrayed as a mad dog (ill. 102), a

---

[3] As a result of the tsar's reckless and suicidal policy, Russia lost all her major potential allies such as Britain, Austria, and even Prussia. The first expansionist act leading to the war, however, was committed in 1851 by Napoleon III, who interfered in the Ottoman Empire's affairs by proclaiming the "sovereign authority" of the Roman Catholic Church in the Holy Land in violation of the Russo-Turkish Treaty of 1778. One of the most brilliant analyses of mid-nineteenth-century politics is found in Evgeny Tarle's two-volume *Crimean War* (Tarle 1950). Tarle castigates all involved rulers alike and is not in the least more indulgent to Nicholas I than to his Western counterparts. Following Marx and Herzen, he portrays the tsar as one of Europe's most loathsome reactionaries (see Figes 2011 for the last and most detailed Western assessment of the Crimean War).

[4] *Punch* is the violent protagonist of the English puppet show, whereas the words *charivari* and *Kladderadatsch* mean "tumult."

[5] It is, however, not at all balanced in terms of artistic merits. Daumier is represented by four caricatures, and Scholz, by six. The reason is that mediocre, unpretentious, and little-known cartoons may be no less relevant for reconstructing ethnopolitical reality and for humor theory than those of a top genius, known in every detail.

[6] In the caption to Scholz's cartoon, he is referred to as Pietsch—a drunk bully from a Berlin ditty.

spider catching flies in the web of his demagogy (ill. 105),[7] and the devil himself (ill. 104). The epitome of barbarity are the Cossacks, who eat candles (ills. 103, 106).[8]

The propaganda story of the Crimean War, as represented by Western cartoonists, consists of three parts. In the first part, the strong one (Russia) offends the weak one (Turkey). To render this idea, various tropes are employed. Some are metaphors alluding to classic texts such as La Fontaine's fable as in Doré's *Wolf and Lamb* (ill. 107) or the Old Testament as in Daumier's *David and Goliath* (ill. 109). Others are partly metaphoric and partly based on a pun as in Tenniel's cartoon that shows a bear squeezing a turkey (ill. 108).

In the second part of the propaganda story, the noble ones interfere to protect the victim against the offender. The West's initial hesitancy is reflected by Leech's cartoon picturing Lord Palmerston[9] and Napoleon III as doctors consulting each other at the bed of Abdülmecid I, who is threatened with death in the image of Russia (ill. 110). A stronger response is metaphorized in Tenniel's *Good Joke*, which depicts two sailors, British and French, rebuffing a Cossack who "only wanted to frighten the little fellow"—the Turk.[10] Leech's cartoon *As Good as a Pantomime*[11] features Russia's aggression against Turkey as a scene from the Harlequinade: Nicholas I appears as a "Clown" who has stolen a turkey from a Turkish boy and is arrested by two policemen—Lord Aberdeen and Napoleon III. In Reinhardt's heraldic metaphor illustrating the schwank-like account of the war for children or for the lower class, the British Lion and Unicorn, the French Eagle, and the Turkish Crescent square off against the impertinent Bear (ill. 112). Scholz's cartoon conveys the idea that a compromise is out of the question: either the alliance—which includes not only Britain, France, and Turkey (the small man on tiptoes) but also the formally neutral Austria—subdues Russia, or the opposite happens (ill. 111).

The third part—the finale—of the propaganda story tells about the deserved punishment inflicted on the offender. Perhaps the best graphic rendition of this

---

[7] The title of the cartoon, *Les toiles du Nord* (*The North Webs*) is a pun alluding to the homophonic phrase *L'étoile du Nord* (*The North Star*). This was the title of a comic opera by Giacomo Meyerbeer to Eugène Scribe's libretto based on an invented story about Peter I. It was first performed in Paris in February 1854.

[8] This cliché is cited in Flaubert's *Dictionary of Received Ideas*. Its source is unknown to me. It circulated not only in France (Kabakova 1998) and Prussia but also in Britain, as evidenced by Hilaire Belloc's much later poem *Culinary Tourism* (1930).

[9] Actually the most hesitant coalition leader at that time was the British Prime Minister Lord Aberdeen, who tried, at least verbally, to avoid war. He was formally succeeded by the bellicose Lord Palmerston only in February 1855, but Palmerston's influence on Britain's policy was enormous even during Aberdeen's term of office.

[10] *Punch*, vol. 25, 23 July 1853: 35: http://lts.brandeis.edu/research/archives-speccoll/exhibits/crimeanwar/Cossacks.html (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

[11] *Punch*, vol. 26, 1 April 1854: 130.

idea is Daumier's *Frustrated Bear*, which shows Europe thwarting Russia's plans to extend control over the Ottoman Empire (ill. 114).[12]

But was the righteous wish to curb aggression and to protect its victim the only reason why the anti-Russian coalition emerged? Was compassion for the Turks the mainspring of Western policy? This view disagrees with what we know and with what the contemporaries knew as well. *Kladderadatsch* reformulated the Oriental Question in a somewhat less idealistic manner: "Will he (i.e. the Russian) invite us?" Scholz's cartoon shows a Cossack slicing a melon (Turkey)—a sight that makes the mouths of Napoleon III and Lord Palmerston water (ill. 113). The issue, as it turns out, is not one of morality and justice but of hunger and appetite. Is one supposed to feel compassion for a melon?

Such an interpretation may appear cynical; after all, Prussia, where *Kladderadatsch* was published, did not belong to the Coalition. But a cartoon from *Punch*, hyperbolic as it may be, illustrates the same point: Turks were despised and exploited by those who posed as their protectors (ill. 117). At the early stage of the war, when only Turkey and Russia were involved, *Punch* described the situation as follows: "The British Lion has good cause to protest against the threatened disturbance of his peace by the absurd bickerings among some of the inferior animals"; the text is illustrated by Tenniel's cartoon, which shows a bear growling at a turkey.[13] *Punch*'s reaction to Turkey's military success on the Danube was skeptical if not cynical: another cartoon by Tenniel, titled *The Giant and the Dwarf* represents a double giant, whose heads are those of Lord Palmerston and Napoleon III, patting a knee-high midget (the Turkish commander) on the shoulder. The caption reads, "Well done, my little man! You've drubbed the Russians at Silistria—now go and take Sebastopol."[14]

Several cartoons from *Kladderadatsch* illustrate the alignment of forces during and after the war, specifically the fate of Turkey. One by Reinhardt, published during the siege of Sevastopol, shows a sleigh, whose passengers are Napoleon III and Lord Palmerston reclining on a polar bear skin (ill. 116). Franz Joseph, taking a less comfortable position behind them, holds a flag with four dots, which allude to the four points of the future peace treaty dictated by the West and restrictive with regard to both Russia and Turkey. The reins, inconceivably, are held by the

---

[12] Still and all, the Paris Peace Treaty, dictated by Napoleon III, who strove to make friends with Nicholas's son and successor, Alexander II, was a compromise. London considered it unduly mild to Russia. British cartoons, published two weeks after the treaty was signed, feature the Bear with a moiré ribbon and medal, smoking a cigar, and the Lion fuming with rage (*Punch*, vol. 30, 12 April 1856: 142, 148). Britain's slow burn is apparent from later cartoons abusing Napoleon III. In Tenniel's picture published in *Punch* (11 August 1860: 55), he appears as a wolf in sheep's clothing.

[13] *Punch*, vol. 24, 4 June 1853: 222: http://lts.brandeis.edu/research/archives-speccoll/exhibits/crimeanwar/TurkeyBear.html (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

[14] *Punch*, vol. 27, 5 August 1854: 45: http://lts.brandeis.edu/research/archives-speccoll/exhibits/crimeanwar/TurkeyBear.html (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

Russian.[15] The glowering Prussian is standing aloof. "Look out!" the caption warns, "Someone will surely get overrun by the sleigh!" This is what actually happens and, predictably, the "someone" is the Turk. The picture by Scholz, titled *A Domestic Scene That Will Take Place Right After the End of the War*, is strikingly reminiscent of Josef Lada's illustrations in *The Good Soldier Schweik*, published seventy years later, in both form and content (ill. 115). Scholz's picture portrays a Cossack and an Austrian soldier plucking a turkey together so peacefully, as if the Holy Alliance still existed.[16]

In a later cartoon by Scholz (ill. 118), which appeared after Sevastopol had fallen, the Eagle and the Lion are clawing the antelope they have killed, whereas two smaller carnivores, Turkey and Sardinia, are begging for leftovers. "French newspapers report," *Kladderadatsch* comments, "that England and France will share the goods found in Sevastopol, and England has undertaken to give some of its share to Sardinia; the poor Turk is never mentioned."

The allied command expected that Sevastopol would resist for a week or so; the siege, however, lasted eleven months. Eventually the city was captured by the French,[17] but the British attacks had been repelled. The Russians' persistence in defending the city evoked admiration in the United States, whose sympathies were mostly with Russia.[18] An American cartoon, or rather a popular print, crude and artless by the standards of humor magazines, illustrates the point (ill. 119). The speech balloons contain lengthy laments and curses of the besiegers, who are literally torn to pieces by Russian shells. "Come, come, Turk, no dodging," John Bull snarls, "Hulloa there! Is that the way you stick to your friends? Pull me out of this at any price! The devil take one party and his dam the other. I am getting sick of this business." "O! by damn!" the "Frog-Eater" wails, "I not like such treat!" The Russian commander, on the other hand, is trying to be as hospitable as possible: "How do you do, gentlemen? Very happy to see you. You must be tired. Won't you walk in and take something?"

American attitudes infuriated Britain. Certain comments in *Punch* cannot be described other than hate speech: "We know that America produces opossums and raccoons, rattle-snakes also, and other reptiles ... There exists also an American breed of curs—a remarkable species of animal, and principally remarkable for hav-

---

[15] Here as elsewhere in *Kladderadatsch*, Nicholas I is replaced by a stereotyped Russian even if the picture is overtly anti-Russian as in illustrations 101 and 111. The probable reason is that Nicholas I and Frederick William IV were brothers-in-law.

[16] This attests to *Kladderadatsch*'s foresight because the actual sharing of Turkey's territories between Russia and Austria occurred only after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878.

[17] Napoleon III regarded this as a revenge for France's defeat in Russia in 1812 and especially for the capture of Paris by the Russians in 1814. Doré's cartoon depicts the Frenchman sticking the date "1812" in the Russian's mouth (Doré 1854: 203).

[18] Forty-three American doctors served in Russian military hospitals in the Crimea during the war, and ten of them died.

ing two legs."[19] The text is illustrated by a cartoon in which an American is looking in the mirror and seeing—a Russian. The American holds a knout—the symbol of oppression and an attribute of the stereotypic Muscovite. Another cartoon depicts two eagles—the Russian "split crow," as the British press called it, and its one-headed American counterpart, fully indulgent of his fellow. As the proverb goes, a crow will not pick out a crow's eyes. Comment: "It was preached ... that the American eagle was to keep company awhile with the eagle of Muscovy, swooping alike at the same quarry, ravening alike on the same victims."[20]

The first thing that comes to mind is that for the freedom-loving Briton, serfdom was the same as slavery. The actual reason, however, lies deeper: at that time and even later, regardless of the slavery issue, London was hostile to the out-of-control leaders of what it tacitly considered *Britannia irredenta*. A proof thereof is Tenniel's cartoon published six years after the Crimean War and showing John Bull aiming his gun at none other than Abraham Lincoln, portrayed as a vicious raccoon.[21]

Daumier was not only the most brilliant but also the most astute of all the cartoonists of his time. Both his art and his thinking were revolutionary, and among the cartoonists he alone was able to unveil the deeper economic causes of the war. Those mainsprings were hidden not only under the rubbish of the official rhetoric[22] but also behind the more realistic, but still superficial, picture of the political jungle emerging, for instance, from the lowbrow production of *Kladderadatsch*.

In one of Daumier's cartoons (ill. 120), Macaire and Bertrand—the "New Frenchmen," shameless adventurers of the Primitive Accumulation era, fully analogous to the modern "New Russians"—are blessing the Cossacks who go to war to kill the French. "Bertrand," Macaire says, "these are the brave fellows who have all my sympathies ... They are setting out on an adventurous expedition; the moment has come to give them our most orthodox blessings." Official patriotism turns out to be a fig leaf, because the munitions industry will flourish anyway and the chances to speculate on the results of war at the Stock Exchange will be likewise high. In another cartoon by Daumier, the war is metaphorized as a seesaw on which the toy-like figures of the Russian and the Turk ride up and down. The pedestal of this recreational device is the Stock Exchange building. "The Turko-Russian Seesaw," the caption explains, "a new game in which Mr.

---

[19] *Punch*, vol. 28, 19 May 1855: 201.

[20] *Punch*, vol. 29, 29 December 1855: IV.

[21] *Punch*, vol. 42, 11 January 1862: 15: http://historygallery.com/prints/PunchLincoln/1862treed/1862treed.htm (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

[22] This did not prevent Daumier from expressing his abhorrence of the tsar no less vehemently than did the politically infuriated but more shortsighted and artistically moderate mainstream members of the Realistic or Romantic schools (compare ills. 104, 107, and 109).

Gogo pays all expenses."[23] Mr. Gogo is a simpleton whom Macaire and Bertrand gull at the Stock Exchange.[24]

The role of graphic caricature, like that of the joke, is dual, and this duality becomes especially manifest in times of war. On the one hand, caricature is used as a weapon of satire and propaganda, employing ethnic and political stereotypes in a basically serious, if hyperbolic, manner. In this case the cartoonist states precisely what he wants to state and does not dissociate himself from his statement. On the other hand, the cartoon is a form of comic art. As such, it not merely hyperbolizes the stereotypes but tacitly satirizes them. A comic artist always tends to dissociate himself from the message his work seems to convey. According to Fónagy (2001: 276), "A funny remark can be regarded as a verbal act followed immediately by its invalidation: 'I didn't mean it, I was only joking …' Such paradoxical, self-defeating statements represent the basic form of funny remarks."

In fact, humor, both verbal and graphic, is self-defeating, or rather self-parodic, by nature. It is aimed not so much against real persons or institutions as against their preposterous representation in the mind of the implicit Inferior Other (Kozintsev 2010: 9–15), who should not be confused with the explicit Inferior Other—the ostensible butt of the cartoon. This split intentionality, which is unconscious and undermines the author's conscious stance, is the reason why humor is inherently opposed to satire and propaganda, which obviously cannot be self-defeating (Ibidem: 22–24, 64–66, 200–201; Kozintsev 2008, 2009).

Agitated people, geniuses and everymen alike, show little propensity for humor because they are unable to dissociate from reality or from their imagination. Daumier's cartoons are closer to Goya's nightmares than to what might be considered humor proper. Humor creeps in whenever the artist is unsure of his position, ashamed of it, or takes no position at all. For Daumier, eating candles was a grotesque metaphor of imminent barbarism. No matter whether or not he believed in this cliché, *we* almost believe in it when we look at his picture (ill. 103).[25] Scholz, on the other hand, turns the same stereotype into a hilariously bucolic scene in a Romanian tavern (ill. 106). Daumier's cartoon is torrential and surreal and, therefore, affects us even more powerfully than reality itself. That of Scholz is artless and earthbound, and this is precisely why we do not take the message in earnest. In this case it doesn't matter who is amusing us, whether it is the artist, the implicit Inferior Other who propagates the stupid stereotype,[26] or the explicit Inferior

---

[23] *Le Charivari*, 3 February 1854: https://bir.brandeis.edu/handle/10192/2899?show=full (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

[24] *Le Charivari*, 1 February 1854: https://bir.brandeis.edu/handle/10192/2904?show=full (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

[25] Another cartoon by Daumier exploiting the same theme can be found at http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b53022087z (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

[26] Aristotle described comedy as "imitation of characters of a lower type."

Others—the candle-eaters themselves, who are possibly trying to look funny, as if they were comic actors. The latter interpretation underlies Jean Paul's theory of humor, which states that people behaving stupidly will seem funny to us only if we "lend" them our own sensible view of things, that is, in Jean Paul's words, if we "attribute," or "impute" to them the desire to amuse us (Jean Paul 1973/1804: 77–78).

Strange as it may seem, to appear funny, a cartoon should not be a masterpiece, it should not absorb or affect us by either its content or its form (Kris, Gombrich 1938). This is what Bergson meant by saying that laughter presupposes the "anesthesia of the heart." To evoke laughter, pictures must be simple, naïve, and "cheap" or pretend to be such. If the caricaturist's artistic input surpasses a certain limit, the result is grotesque, as in the works of Bosch or Callot; satire, as in the works of Daumier; or both, as in the works of Goya—but not humor. A cartoon painted in oil is as hard to imagine as a joke in the form of a novel.

It is no wonder that "cheap" humorous cartoons expressing the view of a detached and amused onlooker appeared mainly in neutral Prussia. Most British and French caricatures cited above are full of indignation, and none of them can be described as humorous,[27] maybe, except Leech's *How Jack Made the Turk Useful* (ill. 117). Indeed, using human beings, especially your allies, as working animals is wrong … but it's just humor, isn't it? Plucking countries like fowl (ill. 115) is likewise wrong, but tongue-in-cheek messages should not be taken seriously. Or, if they should, then probably the best way humor can serve propaganda is to banish fear of the enemy (ill. 101).

At a higher level, however, humor carries an even more important message that may sound utopian: we all are humans and it is unwise to fear each other or fight. We can and must unite not *against* a common enemy but *because* we are humans. It is a bitter irony that actually this happens only during mass disasters—the only situation where *against* and *because* are synonymous. In a humorous utopia, however, this may happen as soon as we understand that war is a crime. This is what the picture concluding Reinhardt's book *The Bear and the Crescent* tries to show: all the belligerents—the Turk, the Russian, the Frenchman, the Briton, and the Austrian—link hands in a round dance (Anonymous 1855, back cover).[28] This may be viewed as a parody of Schiller's call *Be embraced, you millions!*—but a humorous message, unlike a serious one, can be read both ways.

* * *

My cordial thanks are due to Dagnosław Demski, Fruzsina Cseh, Ildikó Sz. Kristóf, and all the organizers of the Budapest conference *Visual Encounters With Alterity*.

---

[27] The American print (ill. 119) is a typical expression of *Schadenfreude*, which is close to black humor.

[28] Actual mass fraternization took place only at the end of World War I and led to, or was a symptom of, the collapse of armies and eventually empires. The ultimate result was that new empires and armies arose.

References

Anonymous [Reinhardt C.A.] 1855, *Der Bär und der Mond*, London–Paris–Hamburg: http://reader.digitale-sammlungen.de/en/fs1/object/display/bsb10130037_00001.html (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

Cross A. 2006, The Crimean War and the Caricature War, *Slavonic and East European Review*, vol. 84, no. 3, pp. 460–480.

Delord T., Carraguel C., Huart L. 1854, *Messieurs les cosaques. Avec 100 vignettes par Cham*, Paris.

Der Kladderadatsch und seine Leute 1848–1898. Ein Culturbild, 1898, Berlin.

Doré G. 1854, *Histoire pittoresque, dramatique et caricaturale de la Sainte Russie*, Paris.

Figes O. 2011, *The Crimean War: A History*, New York.

Fónagy I. 2001, *Languages Within Language: An Evolutive Approach*, Amsterdam–Philadelphia.

Jean Paul [Richter J.P.] 1973/1804, *Horn of Oberon: Jean Paul Richter's School for Aesthetics*, Detroit.

Kabakova G. [Кабакова Г.] 1998, *Свечкоед: Образ казака во французской культуре XIX в.*, (The candle-eater: Image of the Cossack in 19th-century French culture), *Новое литературное обозрение*, vol. 34, pp. 55–77.

Kartalopoulos B. 2004, Gustave Doré's "Holy Russia", *Indy Magazine*, Summer: http://www.indyworld.com/indy/summer_2004/kartalopoulos_dore/index.html (accessed 8. 09. 2012).

Kozintsev A. 2008, Kukly: Rage and jest, [in:] O. Mesropova, S. Graham (eds.), *Uncensored? Reinventing Humor and Satire in Post-Soviet Russia*, Bloomington.

—2009, Stalin Jokes and Humor Theory, *Russian Journal of Communication*, vol. 2, no. 3/4, pp. 193–214.

—2010, *The Mirror of Laughter*, New Brunswick–London.

Krauss C. 2007, *La Russie et les russes dans la fiction française du XIXe siècle (1812–1917): D'une image de l'autre à un univers imaginaire*, Amsterdam–New York.

Kris E., Gombrich E. H. 1938, The Principles of Caricature, *British Journal of Medical Psychology*, vol. 17, no. 3–4, pp. 319–342 (reprinted [in:] Kris E. 1952, *Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art*, New York).

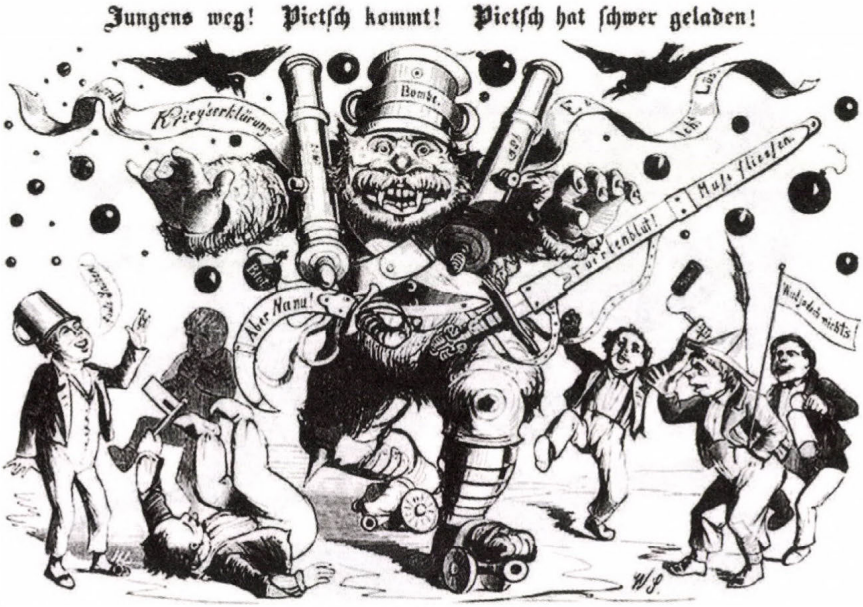
Kunzle D. 1983, Gustave Doré's *History of Holy Russia*: Anti-Russian Propaganda from the Crimean War to the Cold War, *The Russian Review*, vol. 42, no. 3, pp. 271–299.

Maurice A. B., Cooper F. T. 1904, *The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature*, London.

Stenzel O. 2010, "The Mad Czar" und "King Cliquot": Russland und Preussen als Feindbilder in der Karikaturen des "Punch", [in:] Maag G., Pyta W., Windisch M. (eds.), *Der Krimkrieg als erster europäischer Medienkrieg*, Berlin.

Stoll A., Blass C., Kley A., Middelanis C.-H. 1985, *Die Rückkehr der Barbaren: Europäer und "Wilde" in der Karikatur Honoré Daumiers*, Hamburg.

Tarle Y. V. [Тарле Е.В.] 1950, *Крымская война* (*The Crimean War*), 2 vols., Москва– Ленинград.



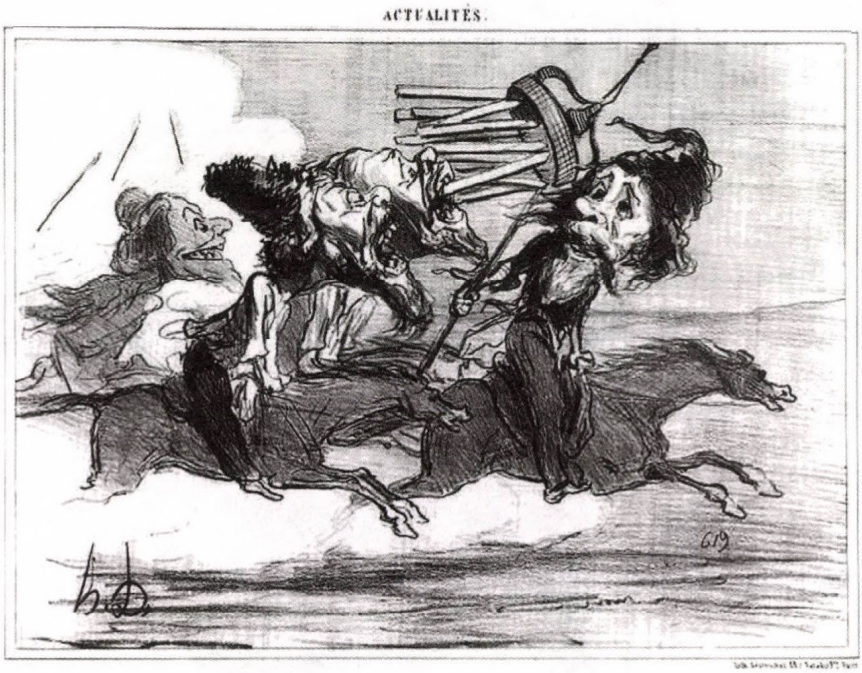
261

BULLYING IS WRONG!

101 W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch*, 1853, November 6.



MAD DOG!
J. Tenniel, *Punch*, 1854, April. 102



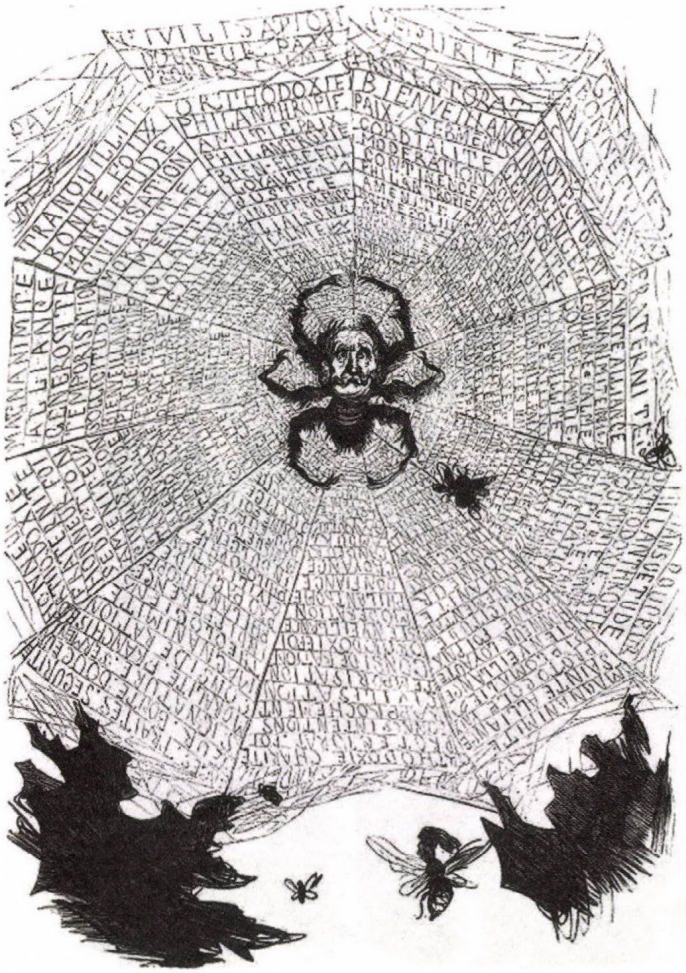
METHOD OF TRAINING THE COSSACKS

103 H. Daumier, *Le Charivari*, 1854, April 4.



TE DEUM!

J. Leech, *Punch*, 1854, January 28. 104



265

THE NORTH WEB

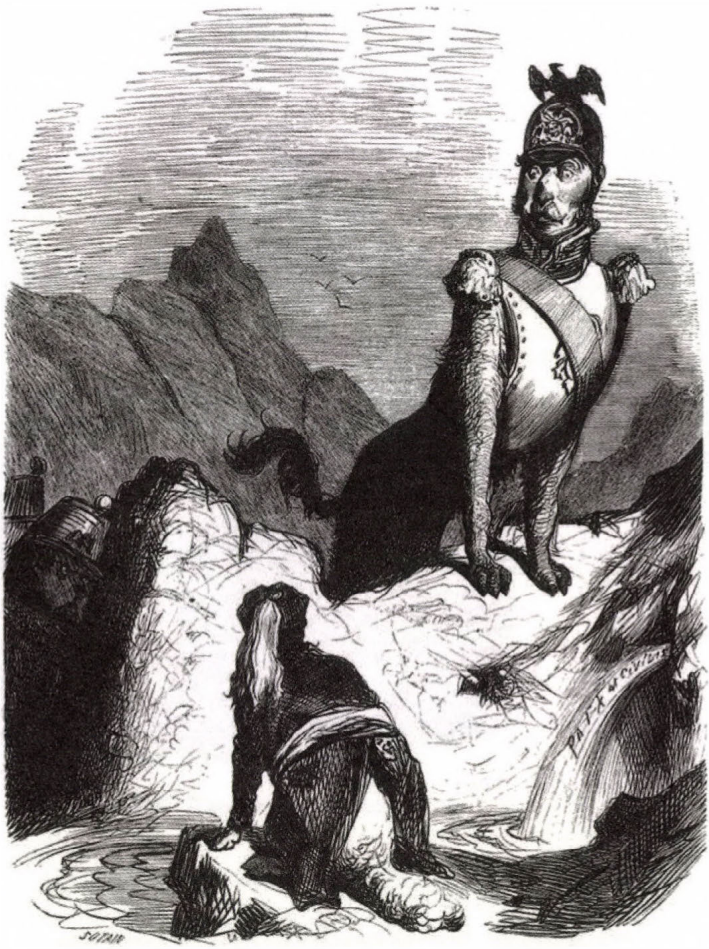
105 G. Doré 1854, p. 183.



Lichtfreunde in den Donaufürstenthümern.

LOVERS OF LIGHT IN THE DANUBE PRINCIPALITIES

W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch*, 1853, November 13. 106



"YOU DO MUDDLE IT, ANSWERED THE CRUEL BEAST"

107 G. Doré 1854, p. 185.

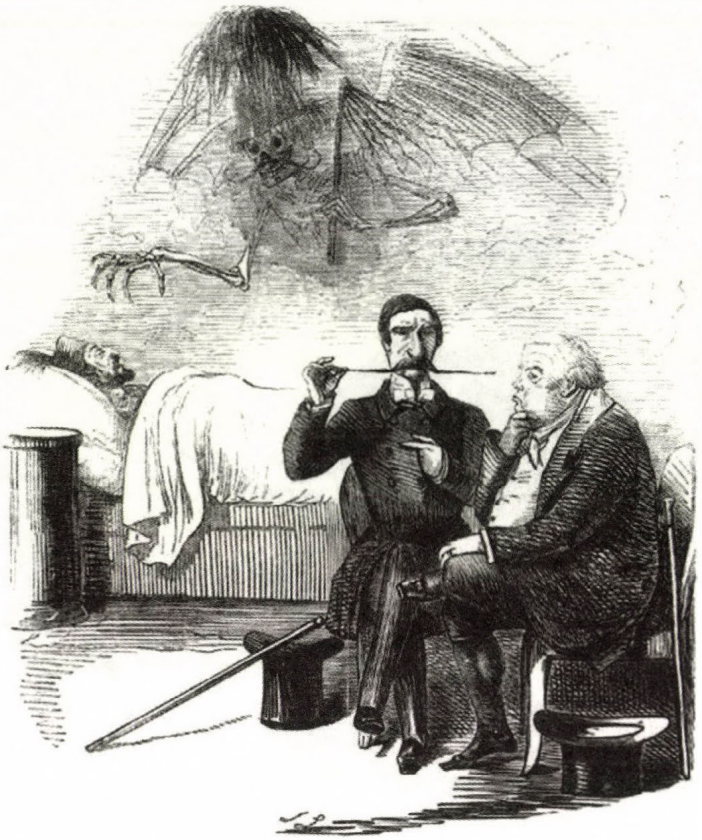


TURKEY IN DANGER
J. Tenniel, *Punch*, 1853, April 9. 108



DAVID AND GOLIATH

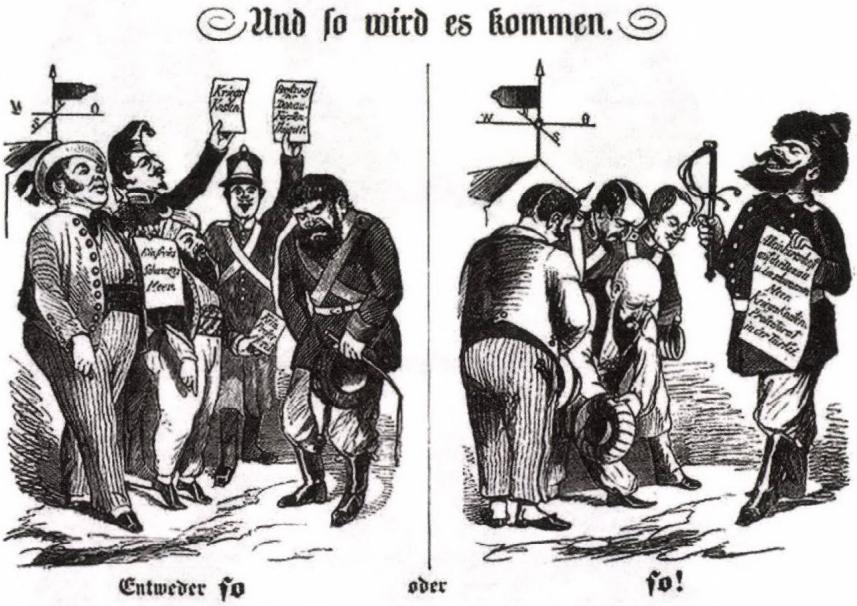
109 H. Daumier, *Le Charivari*, 1854, July 5.



A CONSULTATION ABOUT THE STATE OF TURKEY.

A CONSULTATION ABOUT THE STATE OF TURKEY

J. Leech, *Punch*, 1853, September 17. 110



AND SO WILL IT BE: EITHER SO OR SO

111 W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch*, 1854, August 18.

BEAR, CRESCENT, EAGLE, LION AND UNICORN 112
C. Reinhardt (Anonymous 1854, p. 18).





AN ORIENTAL QUESTION: WILL HE INVITE US?
W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch*, 1854, January 8. 113



A FRUSTRATED BEAR

114 H. Daumier, *Le Charivari*, 1854, August 28.



welche ſofort nach Beendigung des orientaliſchen Krieges ſpielen wird.

A DOMESTIC SCENE

W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch*, 1854, October 8. 115

116 **LOOK OUT!**
C. Reinhardt, *Kladderadatsch*, 1855, February 4.



275



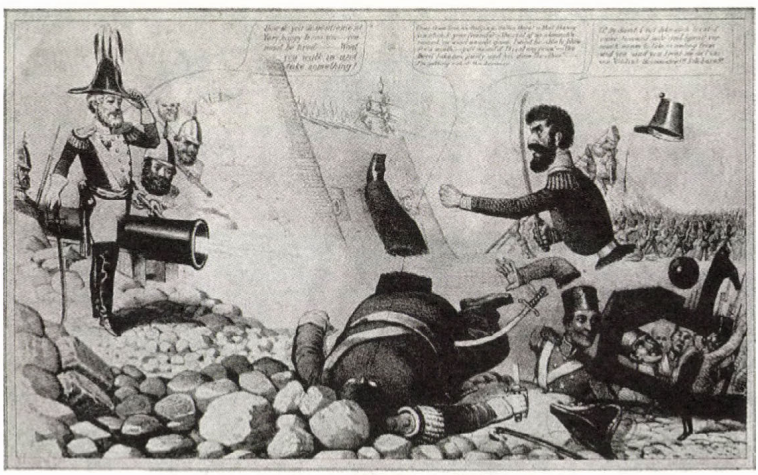
HOW JACK MADE THE TURK USEFUL AT BALACLAVA
117 J. Leech, *Punch*, 1855, January 6.

IMAGE OF THE DAY 118

W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch*, 1855, October 28.



276



TURKEY, JOHN BULL & MONSIEUR FROG-EATER IN A BAD FIX.

TURKEY, JOHN BULL & MONSIEUR FROG-EATER IN A BAD FIX

Unknown American artist (1854-1855). Collection of the New York Historical Society (Maurice, Cooper 1904, p. 136). 119



"BERTRAND, THESE ARE THE BRAVE FELLOWS..."

120 H. Daumier, *Le Charivari*, 1854, May 1.

Ágnes Tamás

From Allies to Enemies: The Two Balkan Wars (1912–1913) in Caricatures[1]

The twentieth-century history of central and eastern, as well as southeastern, Europe, or sometimes that of the whole continent (if one thinks about World War I), was often decisively influenced by crises in the Balkans, therefore, making it important to analyze the various visual representations of the events of the first and second Balkan wars. These two wars influenced greatly the formation of nation states in the Balkans, since it was during these two wars that the borders of the states in the Balkans changed and Albania came into being. The Balkan League (Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, and Greece) fought the First Balkan War (October 8, 1912, to May 30, 1913) for the independence of the Balkan nations from the Ottoman Empire and for increasing or uniting their territories, while the Second Balkan War (June 29, 1913, to August 8, 1913) was waged against Bulgaria, a former ally.[2] The historical situation in which Bulgaria would quickly become an enemy of Serbia makes the analysis of drawings from this period even more interesting. I ask the following questions: Were the symbols of enemy new in the case of Bulgaria during the Second Balkan War or did caricaturists employ the allegories of previous enemies (for example, the Ottoman Empire) for Bulgaria? Could the caricaturists make up individual motives for the new enemy? With which depictions did the Austro-Hungarian satirical magazines react to the new historical situation, since the Austro-Hungarian monarchy encouraged the aspirations of Bulgaria?

Sources and Methods

The objects of my analysis are caricatures from satirical magazines. The magazines serving as the source of the caricatures are the following: *Borsszem Jankó* (*Peppercorn Jack*), *Der Floh* (*The Flea*), *Vrač Pogađač* (*Prophet Magician*), and *Brka* (*Moustached*); the caricatures are taken from the period of the First Balkan War, the month between the two Balkan wars (June 1913), and the Second Balkan War until August 1913. One can generally say of European satirical magazines that they reacted very sensibly to political events; therefore, the analyzed caricatures can be easily connected to contemporary political events. Thus, if we look through caricatures about the Balkan wars in chronological order, all of the most

[1] I would like to thank Péter Heinermann and Stefánia Matykó, for helping me in the Matica Srpska Library in Novi Sad, and Csaba Göncöl for translating Serbian captions.

[2] See Vocelka 1993: 271–273; Pavlowitch 2002: 79–92; Demeter 2007; Sundhaussen 2007: 210–221.

important political and field events unfold before our eyes. Satirical magazines are not only exciting sources, they also constitute an interesting but distorted reflection of the social and political thinking of the period. The satirical magazines were popular contemporary readings; moreover, the readers also authored some of the texts and suggested caricatures. Thus, we are able, even if only partially, to reconstruct contemporary public opinion and the views of the participants in the historical conflicts.

Satirical magazines formed an integral part of civic culture in Hungary and in Austria, a fact amply reflected in the locations from which the satirical texts and caricature suggestions were sent to the editorial offices by the readers and in the coffeehouses where the editors really worked (and where most readers enjoyed the magazines). The editors and the readers were in touch with each other—both were able to read Viennese satirical magazines sitting in coffeehouses in Budapest, which had an effect on the caricatures as well; and the Austrian magazines had correspondents in Hungary and vice versa. The Austrian weeklies also had correspondents from other European countries, while the Hungarian magazines had readers mostly from the territory of the monarchy, but the editors and caricaturists knew and read many European satirical magazines. The models of the Hungarian satirical papers were also the Viennese, German, French, and English satirical weeklies, which also explains the use of similar symbols, editorial methods, and schemata.

The Austrian and Hungarian satirical papers had long traditions, existing since the 1840s and 1850s, and together with other European satirical magazines they were well known by the caricaturists of the national minorities living in the monarchy, too. In order to make understandable the drawings, the caricaturist had to use symbols and myths well known in the given society. Some of these symbols were very common in Europe (for example, symbols of characteristic Jewish appearance and symbols of death or the devil), and almost all of the caricaturists employed them, as we will see below.

For the comparative analysis of the depiction of the Balkan wars, I have chosen drawings from the Hungarian satirical magazine *Borsszem Jankó* published in Budapest between October 1912 and August 1913 and from the Austrian magazine *Der Floh* published in Vienna between October 1912 and August 1913, since they were satirical magazines of the respective liberal Hungarian and Austrian governments. Austria-Hungary was highly interested in the conflicts in the Balkans because, on the one hand, the territory of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy was home to Serbs who might want to join the new Serbian state, and the Viennese and Hungarian governments were afraid of the Serbs' independence movements. On the other hand, the monarchy had economic, as well as foreign political interests in the Balkans, and the monarchy carried out the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina (in 1908), which was against the interests of nations and national minorities living in the Balkans. Therefore, it is interesting to analyze how these two satirical magazines depicted the two Balkan wars, whether the fear of a new and probably strong Serbian state

became visible, and, if so, to what extent. The territories of the Hungarian Kingdom bordered on the Serbian state and a great part of the Serbs of the monarchy lived on the territory of the Hungarian Kingdom, so the messages of Hungarian caricatures are interesting because of this aspect. The editor of *Borsszem Jankó* also republished drawings from European (Polish, English, French, Italian, Dutch, Croatian, and German) satirical magazines that he wanted to show to his readers, with Hungarian translations of the captions. Even though the publication of these caricatures—in great numbers—was the decision of the Hungarian editor, it is worth analyzing the symbolism of these images, too. These caricatures with translated captions usually occupied the front page of the advertisement supplement of the magazine, and the number of countries from which *Borsszem Jankó* reprinted drawings shows that European states were also concerned with the Balkan wars.[3]

My analysis also relies on two Serbian satirical weeklies, *Vrač Pogađač* published October 1912 to August 1913 in Novi Sad, then a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and *Brka* published October 1912 to August 1913 in Belgrade, in order to demonstrate the differences and similarities in the visual representations of the conflicts. Both of the Serbian satirical magazines had a Serbian nationalistic orientation, but the editors of *Brka* were able to write and draw more directly and independently than those of *Vrač Pogađač* who lived within the territory of the monarchy.

I use the concept of caricature in a wider sense, understanding not only portraits but humorous and satirical drawings in general, with ironic or humorous depictions of everyday life, politics, and wars (Langemeyer 1984: 7). In a caricature, the illustrator breaks the natural harmony and balance of the parts and uses exaggeration to create a satirical or humorous effect. The symbols of a caricature are simpler, more understandable, and more effective for the audience than a text of a scientific or literary essay (Fuchs, Kraemer 1901: 2–3). In addition, at the beginning of the twentieth century, not everyone could read. As a contemporary Hungarian ethnographer put it, the illustrations of calendars and satirical magazines "were often looked through also by those who could not read" (Kiss 1956: 39). The caricatures contained stereotypes and were instruments of propaganda as well, providing a good source from which to investigate stereotypes of groups about each other, the symbols of territorial losses, gains, and demands; the animal symbols referring to presumed human behavior; and changes in these symbols. It is also worth analyzing the depiction of the role that the leading European powers played in the conflict beside the representation of the Balkan nations and the Ottoman Empire. The differences can be noteworthy, not only with regard to the depictions of the periods, but also with regard to the two Serbian satirical magazines (even if not all issues of *Brka* are available), since one of them was published in the territory of the monarchy, and the other, in Serbia. In my paper I categorize the symbols of satirical weeklies

[3] In case of these translated caricatures I will give in brackets the following data: name of the original newspaper, date of appearance in *Borsszem Jankó*.

focusing on the above-mentioned topics (the symbols of territorial losses, gains and demands, the stereotypes of groups about each other, and the animal symbols) and through the method of the historical comparison. In the case of national stereotypes or political "enemies" comparison is important, since it could support scholarly, ideology-free results, enabling researchers to distance themselves from their own preconceptions and unconscious ethnocentrism. The method helps the researcher to recognize the elements of his or her own identity but, at the same time, to detach him- or herself from these as well (Kaelble 1999: 70–77).

As we can see in Table 1, *Vrač Pogađač* had the most caricatures during the period of study. The caricaturists of *Borsszem Jankó* were also visibly concerned with the "Eastern question," whereas *Der Floh* did not pay much attention to this issue. One can observe in *Borsszem Jankó* that the editors published more caricatures from European satirical weeklies with Hungarian translations than they did by their own caricaturists.

	Der Floh	*Borsszem Jankó*		*Vrač Pogađač*	*Brka*
Number of caricatures		Total caricatures created for magazine	Caricatures from other European magazines		
	6	31	37	47	11

Table 1. Number of caricatures in the satirical magazines

Symbols of Death and Injury: Territorial Losses and Demands

Most of the participants of the wars are depicted in the satirical magazines in different manners, however, some symbols appear in almost all of the satirical magazines. The symbol of death, connected mostly to war—a skeleton with a scythe—can be found in *Vrač Pogađač* as well as in the Hungarian and Austrian magazines, although in different contexts, but one can observe the similarity in their visual representations. The caricaturist of *Borsszem Jankó* used this symbol to convey the devastating effect of cholera in the military camps, mockingly wondering at the beginning of the armed conflict whether cholera would be the most dangerous enemy of all (ill. 121).

One has to note that the Hungarian satirical weeklies usually underrated and satirized the war power of the Balkan states at the turn of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. During the Second Balkan War a caricature was published in *Borsszem Jankó* with the same personification of cholera: the skeleton was dancing with Mars, the Roman god of war, and they ravaged the Balkans, laughing (*Borsszem Jankó,* 27 July 1913). In 1912, the skeleton with a scythe appeared in *Vrač Pogađač,* standing over a Turk and suggesting his imminent death and the expected outcome of the conflict (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 December 1912). The illustrator of *Der Floh* depicted death in 1913 and the symbol of the skeleton referred to "peace,"

showing the contemporary opinion that the dissatisfaction and the conflicts of the allies would be more powerful than a peace treaty (*Der Floh,* 4 May 1913).[4]

In connection with death, the depiction of the allegory of the dying or dead Turk should also be mentioned. In 1912, the well-known depiction of the Ottoman Empire as the "sick man of Europe" is shown lying in bed surrounded by "doctors" in various caricatures. The Hungarian cartoonist depicted the foreign minister of Austria-Hungary, Leopold von Berchtold, and that of Russia, Sergei Dimitrievich Sasanov, as doctors who wanted to get their honorarium even though they could not cure the patient (ill. 123).

In the caricature of *Vrač Pogađač,* the doctor is Europe, who confirms that the Turk has no pulse, and, thus, that its European territories can be divided up. But the Serbian figure Vrač, the magician appearing on the front page of the magazine, objects and announces that the Turk has never had a heart and neither has Europe (ill. 122).[5]

Finally, in 1913, a depiction in *Borsszem Jankó* shows a Turk before the doctors who have amputated his leg, obviously referring to the loss of territories (*Borsszem Jankó,* 2 February 1913).

One can find two caricatures in which the Turk just barely escapes being stabbed, symbolizing the imminent death of the "sick man of Europe." In the pic-

ture of the Hungarian weekly, a Bulgarian gladiator beats the Turk and seeks the answer from the great powers: Can he leave the Turk alive (*Borsszem Jankó,* 10 November 1912)? *Vrač Pogađač* represented the motive of stabbing not through a scene from the antiquity but through a sword with the name of "the Balkan League" forcing the Turk to the wall (*Vrač Pogađač,* 14 October 1912). In the same year the smothering of the Turk in the sea appears to suggest an alternative form of his death in *Vrač Pogađač* (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 October 1912). By the end of the year, after the beginning of the peace negotiations in London, the prophecy surfaces that the Ottoman Empire will fully lose ground in Europe. In one of the caricatures of *Vrač Pogađač,* one can see the Austrian Michael[6] as the party most adverse to the Turkish losing ground in Europe and staying near the grave of the "European Turkey" (ill. 125).

In a later depiction entitled "*At the End of the Balkan War*" the lone mourning Michael can be observed near the Turk lying in his coffin (*Vrač Pogađač,* 13 May

---

[4] The years 1912–1913 of the magazine *Der Floh* are online, available at http://anno.onb.ac.at/cgi-content/anno?aid=flo (accessed 30. 06. 2012).

[5] The depiction of Europe as a woman has long traditions: in the antiquity Europe was represented as a young woman, which was also adopted by the European Christian fine arts. After modernity and the birth of nations, the young, beautiful woman would be the symbol of nations as well (Ripa 1997: 399–400). In caricatures, if Europe appeared as an old and not beautiful woman, the caricaturists were expressing their negative opinions about European politics.

[6] Michael was the typically regarded German figure of the European satirical papers of the nineteenth century. He wears breaches and a nightcap in all illustrations.

1913). In a Berlin satirical paper, the same metaphor appears: the Turk is lying in a coffin, he is injured but would like to say something to the Bulgarian figure before his death (*Lustige Blätter* [*Funny Pages*], 9 March 1913).

As the picture of the enemy changed, so did the role of the Turk, who is alive again during the Second Balkan War, although gravely injured. He cuts up the treaty of London, mocks Europe, and is waiting for the Bulgarians in Adrianople "in order to pay them the rent": Bulgarians occupied Adrianople in the First Balkan War and in the second war the Turks reconquered it (*Vrač Pogađač,* 14 August 1913).

The loss of territories was not connected only to symbols of death but also to the allegorical motif of cutting off the body parts of animals or humans. In *Vrač Pogađač,* the tail of a cat bearing the caption "Old Serbia" was cut off by Austrian Michael, with the tail being "Albania" (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 November 1912).[7] Similar to this depiction, in another caricature, the Albanian cuts off one leg of the Turk, "Albania," and as the Serb figure puts it, from this action "the whole world loses its appetite"—criticizing Europe's decision according to the Serbian point of view (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 April 1913). The loss of territories was depicted not only with regard to Turkey through the motif of cutting off body parts but also with regard to Bulgaria, in *Vrač Pogađač.* After the Second Balkan War, the tsar of Bulgaria, Ferdinand I, lost his long nose (ill. 124), and in another caricature the scissors, named "conditions," cut off a fingernail of the hand of "Bulgaria" after the peace treaty of Bucharest (ill. 126).

It was not only the losses of Bulgaria that were represented allegorically in the Serbian and Hungarian satirical magazines but also the growth. During the First Balkan War, Ferdinand was depicted climbing up the minaret of Adrianople and gripping it strongly when Bulgaria recaptured the city after a four-month-long siege (*Borsszem Jankó,* 30 March 1913). In the caricature —showing one element of symbolic penetration—Ferdinand places a cross on the tower of the minaret in place of the crescent. Adrianople comes up also in a German nationalist satirical paper during the siege of the city: Ferdinand I stole the key to Adrianople from Berlin but he could not fit it into the keyhole (*Kladderadatsch* [from an onomatopoeic word imitating the sound of crashing (the Editors)], 9 March 1913). The depiction suggests the German-Turkish financial connections and the interests of Germany: Turkey should not weaken too much since it has to pay German credits back (Demeter 2007: 260–261). The Bulgarian territorial growth—believed to be excessive—was symbolized in pictures in which the tsar was pictured blown up and about to burst or a Bulgarian girl was blowing up a balloon with the caption "Great Bulgaria"

---

[7] The Austro-Hungarian monarchy supported the creation of an independent Albania in order to prevent Serbia's gain of an opening to the Adriatic Sea (Vocelka 1993: 271–272). By "Old Serbia," the contemporaries understood the territories in which the Serbs lived before the Ottoman occupation, and some of these territories became part of a new state, Albania, according to the agreement of the great powers (Pavlowitch 2002: 83).

until it burst (*Vrač Pogađač,* 14 June 1913). This caricature was the first picture of anti-Bulgarian bias, although the anti-Bulgarian conspiracy of military circles had already begun in May, 1913 (Lalkov 1993: 430–432). In the other Serbian magazine, Ferdinand appeared as a pouting toad (*Brka,* 4 August 1913). The toad served as a symbol of greediness at this time, and in connection with other countries it also mocked territorial and financial demands (Ripa 1997: 53, 283). After the Second Balkan War, the author of *Vrač Pogađač* satirized Bulgaria with a caricature of a map of Macedonia (ill. 132).

The satirical magazines depicted not only the loss and gaining of territories but also territorial demands, and in the latter case, for example, they used maps as well. In an early 1913 caricature in *Vrač Pogađač* one can recognize "New Serbia" reaching the Adriatic Sea, which had been Serbia's goal for centuries (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 January 1913). The Austrian satirical weekly mocked Peter, king of Serbia, who puts his hand on the territories on the coast, shown on the map, suggesting his goals (*Der Floh,* 29 September 1912). In the last month of the First Balkan War one can also observe Nikita, king of Montenegro, who, stopping in the middle of redrawing his land, calls the Rothschilds because he ran out of his money during the long-lasting siege of Skutari (*Der Floh,* 4 May 1913).[8] At the beginning of the wars the caricaturist of the Hungarian magazine depicted supposed territorial demands with a map. Contemporary Hungarians were afraid of Russia or pan-Slavism gaining ground, and, thus, the shadow of the Russian Ivan can be seen over the Balkans (*Borsszem Jankó,* 20 October 1912). Lastly, a map could illustrate conflicts between the great powers, for instance, regarding the final territories of the new Balkan states (*Vrač Pogađač,* 28 February 1913).

The Great Powers of Europe—in Different Lights

The approaches to and representations of the great European powers are different in the satirical papers despite the similar symbols employed. As I have already mentioned, the great powers were depicted as doctors who could not cure the patient, that is, could not solve problems. Russia took part in the wars according to the Serbian satirical papers only as an observer to emphasize the achievements of the Balkan nations. The Viennese satirical paper did not include a Russian figure, whereas the opinion about the role of Russians changed in *Borsszem Jankó* during the wars. In the above-mentioned caricature with a map (*Borsszem Jankó,* 20 October 1912), Russia appeared only as a shadow. Later, on December 1, 1912, one can see Serbia—as an anthropomorphized monkey—making the Russian bear dance. In Christian iconology, the monkey symbolizes ugliness, greed, and fornication, thus, it can be seen as a caricature of human beings who embrace sin, primarily avarice and lust, bewitching humankind; hence this symbol allows associations

[8] For details of the Skutari crisis, see Vranešević 1993: 383–385.

with the devil (Cooper 1986: 10). In the iconology of Cesare Ripa, the monkey is a symbol of brazenness (1997: 535); therefore, it could be an understandable allegory of the enemy for Hungarians, easily symbolizing the negative feelings toward Serbian political and territorial goals. During the period of the Skutari crisis, in the spring of 1913, Russia was already being depicted as a nanny with the cheeky boy, Montenegro, spitting on Europe, in order to show that he did not want to give back Skutari (*Borsszem Jankó,* 6 April 1913). Although Russia did not interfere in the Second Balkan War, during the war it is depicted as a bear, making the representatives of the countries of the new Balkan League (excluding Bulgaria but including Rumania) dance (ill. 127).

In contrast to the different views and symbols of Russia, all of the analyzed satirical magazines illustrated, through various symbolic scenes, the supposed inability to do anything about the great powers and their fear for a European war. In one of the caricatures of *Vrač Pogađač,* the powers try to keep the balance on a seesaw (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 December 1912), whereas the conference of the ambassadors is depicted as a burned dish (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 January 1913). In other caricatures the powers argue or play hide-and-seek, while they search for the right king-candidate for Albania (*Vrač Pogađač,* 14 February 1913). The picture of *Borsszem Jankó* is similarly ironic in which the powers watch a fight between Bulgaria and Turkey in the "European circus" (*Borsszem Jankó,* 9 February 1913). In another depiction of the Hungarian magazine, the "Chaos of the Balkans" assumed the place of the "Concert of Europe,"[9] suggesting the loss of European influence over the events in the Balkans, after the Second Balkan War broke out after the peace treaty was agreed upon in London. In the picture, one can see the Russian tsar, Nicolas, who was unable to conduct the concert and blamed this on the Serbs (*Borsszem Jankó,* 6 July 1913).

The Targets and Tools of Irony

The main target of irony is different in the various satirical magazines. *Der Floh* mocks the Montenegro ruler, Nikita, introducing him as poor, barbaric, and uncivilized (*Der Floh,* 6 April 1913). In a Polish satirical magazine, the Albanian figure shows up as similarly poor (*Mucha* [Fly], 6 July 1913): an armed man sits by a dilapidated house, which symbolizes the Albanian parliament; the clothes of the Albanian are patched up, and similarly patched clothes hang by the house as well. The depiction mocks the new state and suggests that it is incapable of surviving. The Viennese weekly did not pay much attention to Turkey: neither the question of Albania nor the territorial growth or loss of the Balkan states showed up in the various issues. In the Hungarian magazine's own depictions the formation of the new Albania did not appear. The territorial enrichment of Bulgaria was not inter-

[9] The nineteenth century passed under the aegis of the "Concert of Europe": at the beginning of the century the five great powers (the Habsburg Empire, Prussia, Russia, France, and England) agreed that they would avoid wars and, instead, solve their conflicts in international congresses.

preted as Ferdinand's "greediness" here, but Nikita and his losses were mocked in this magazine as well. During the First Balkan War, the internal conflicts of the Balkan League were satirized, while later on, during the Second Balkan War, both the allies and the Russian influence over them were ironically depicted. The conflicts of the allies were also depicted in the other European satirical magazines. According to the German social democratic satirical magazine, the Balkan states danced together before the war, and after the war they just argued, tussling with each other in the caricature (*Der Wahre Jacob* [*The True Jacob*], 22 June 1913). The caricaturist of *Borsszem Jankó* mocked the conflict of the allies in the same manner (*Borsszem Jankó,* 17 November 1912), and the French anti-Semitic weekly published a picture with the same message: the Balkan nations scuffled and, according to the title of the caricature, this is what "agreement" is like in the Balkans (*Le Rire* [*Laughter*], 3 August 1913).

In both of the Serbian satirical papers, Turkey and the pro-Turkish politics of the monarchy were satirized at the beginning of the wars, and later Bulgaria and the relationship between Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary became targets of irony as well. In contrast to the Austrian and Hungarian magazines, these satirical magazines responded quickly to the independence of Albania, depicting it as a Serbian territorial loss. It is characteristic of the Serbian satirical papers that during the First Balkan War the countries of the Balkan League appeared together in caricatures, but later the magazines focused on their inner conflicts, and the symbolic depictions of the Balkan states did not appear together any more in drawings. The following symbols of *Vrač Pogađač* also represent the conflicts: the allies appear as a cartridge case (*Vrač Pogađač,* 4 July 1913), the Balkans, as a bomb (*Vrač Pogađač,* 14 October 1912), as a cake to be divided (*Vrač Pogađač,* 14 November 1912), and even as a burning house (*Brka,* 17 February 1913). The various weeklies depict the Balkan countries as children. One caricature of the famous London satirical paper represented well the perceived roles of the nations in a "hierarchy": Europe is the teacher, the Balkan nations are children, all arguing except for one child, Turkey, who standing in the corner and is not allowed enter the fight (*Punch*, 29 June 1913).[10] The caricature was drawn at the dawn of the Second Balkan War, and in this war Turkey fought in the Balkan League against Bulgaria in order to make up for lost territories in Europe.

The states of the Balkans not only appear as children but also in the form of animal symbols that were regarded as fitting by the contemporaries.[11] Montenegro was traditionally depicted as a goat (*Der Floh,* 15 September 1912 and 1 June 1913;

---

[10] The child metaphor may suggest the underdevelopment of a nation, the limited intellectual competence, weak behavior and work ethic, and that force could be used against it in its own interest (Dupcsik 2005: 65–68).

[11] One of the beloved methods of the caricaturists was to depict nations or national minorities through animal symbols which were known in Europe.

Borsszem Jankó, 2 March 1913), and Serbia, as a pig, starting with the 1860s (*Der Floh,* 15 September 1912, *Borsszem Jankó*, 29 December 1912).[12] In one caricature the Serbian pig is offered for eating—ironically, by Nikola Pašić, the prime minister of Serbia—to the foreign minister of the Habsburg monarchy in "Restaurant Europe" (*Borsszem Jankó*, 29 December 1912).[13] The pig can be found in other contexts, too; Turkey appears as roast pork (*Brka,* 25 December 1912). A typical symbol of long-standing tradition is the Russian bear, mentioned earlier in this paper, appearing also in *Vrač Pogađač* but only in textual form (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 April 1913).[14] In the other European satirical magazines, the Balkan nations were depicted as rats eating each other up (*Der Wahre Jacob*, 16 March 1913) or dividing up their catch, which is Turkey (*Pasquino* [*Pasquin*], 3 April 1913).[15] The caricaturist of *Brka* used a symbol to create associations similar to rats: he depicted Italy and Austria as mice. The rodents stand before a ham with the caption "Great Albania," but the ham is in a mousetrap (*Brka*, 3 March 1913), referring to the fact that influence over Albania had not been decided yet.

New Interpretations of Myths and Biblical Scenes

In addition to animal symbolism, one can also find depictions of symbols and stories of the Bible or even antic myths in the satirical magazines. To the latter category belongs the caricature about "the rape of the Sabines" published in the left-leaning Amsterdam satirical paper: Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Austria, and Greece are personified by equestrians stealing women, with Bulgaria desiring Thracia and Macedonia; Serbia, the sanjak of Novi Bazar; Montenegro, Skutari; Austria taking Albania; and Greece grabbing Epirus and Crete (*Amsterdammer*, 16 February 1913). The caricature shows the territorial aspirations of the lands of the Balkan League and Austria's interests and goals. The Biblical story of the three wise men inspired the caricaturists of both *Der Floh* and the *Borsszem Jankó*. In the Viennese satirical magazine, the picture appeared just before the outbreak of the war, and in the caricature, Peter, Nikita, and Ferdinand hold guns aimed at the reader (*Der Floh,* 15 September 1912) and are depicted with the above-mentioned animals. According to the caricaturist of *Borsszem Jankó*, the wise men take their jewels to a pawnshop at the end of 1912, suggesting the high costs of the war (*Borsszem Jankó*, 29 December 1912). However, in connection with the depiction of the Bible scenes, one can observe an interesting difference between the two

[12] For details of the depiction of the Serbs as pigs, see Tamás 2010.

[13] The military circles of Serbia had had war plans against Austria-Hungary, since they wanted to unite the Serbs living in the monarchy and in the Kingdom of Serbia. Pašić was against the openly anti-Habsburg aspirations (Pavlowitch 2002: 91).

[14] For details about the Russian bear, see Lazari and Riabov 2010.

[15] According to lexicons, the symbol of the rat refers to death, to the devil, or to infirmity (Cirlot 1983: 272, de Vries 1984: 381).

Serbian satirical papers: the magazine published in Belgrade, *Brka*, had hopeful prospects for the new year, 1913 (ill. 129 *Brka,* 1 January 1913), while the satirical paper of Novi Sad, *Vrač Pogađač,* depicted the war and the expected continuation of the war similarly to *Borsszem Jankó* (ill. 128).[16]

In the Belgrade satirical magazine, the angel Gabriel greeted the new year by bringing the news of victory of the Balkan kingdoms, riding an olive branch to the three great powers, France, Russia, and Great Britain, who are looking up at him in the sky. Nevertheless, one has to note that this positive representation of the countries of the Balkan League is unique. During the period of another religious holiday, Easter of 1913, the First Balkan War was approaching its end. In the depiction of *Borsszem Jankó* entitled "Easter sprinkling,"[17] the ships of the Austro-Hungarian navy pour water over Peter and Nikita, referring to the blockade of the Adriatic Sea and the crisis in Skutari (*Borsszem Jankó*, 23 March 1913). In the picture published in *Brka,* the Russian figure distributes Easter eggs carrying the names of the desired territories of the Balkans (*Brka,* 14 April 1913). Finally, *Vrač Pogađač* celebrates the resurrection of Christ with the following caricature: "The Ottoman Empire failed, but the Balkan nations can come back to life and their armies can leave the area" (*Vrač Pogađač,* 29 April 1913).

Conclusion

Even though after the Balkan Wars the map of Europe changed, it did not yet take its "final" form since all of the participants were dissatisfied with the new borders and the great powers formulated their demands for the Balkans again. Italy wanted to expand its territory in the direction of the Adriatic Sea, while the Habsburg monarchy and Russia were afraid of losing their influence in the region. The contemporaries were afraid of a European war as well as further clashes of the Balkan states—as suggested by the caricatures shown in illustration 130. A dove flies over a bloody sea and we cannot see the olive branch (a symbol of peace by the twentieth century) in its beak. If we think of the Biblical story in which Noah sent the dove out from the ark twice, and the second time the bird came back with an olive branch, indicating that the waters had receded and people and animals could live on the Earth again, then it can be plausibly argued that the caricature means that the "blood flood" was not over yet in the Balkans, and it was not the safest place in the world (*Borsszem Jankó*, 24 November 1912). The message is the same in the caricature of a German satirical paper (ill. 131): the angel of peace sits on a barrel captioned "Pulver" ("Gunpowder").

---

[16] One can observe another difference between the two Serbian satirical papers as well. The language of the captions of *Brka* was ruder than that of *Vrač Pogađač* or that of the other satirical papers. The Serbian figure said, for example, "Go to the devil" to his enemy (*Brka*, 25 December 1912).

[17] In Hungary, traditionally on Easter Monday, men sprinkle women with water (or, nowadays, perfume) as a modern manifestation of a fertility rite.

Summing up the findings of the paper, we can conclude that despite the different political attitudes, some long-standing symbols appeared in a number of satirical magazines: the Balkan nations as children, the angel of peace, the skeleton, animals, "the sick man of Europe," and the great powers. The symbols of territorial losses were depicted most directly in the Serbian satirical magazine; while the losing or gaining of territories was depicted in the Serbian and Hungarian magazines (however, in the pictures of *Borsszem Jankó* reprinted from western European magazines, one cannot find these motifs). The maps and the motif of cutting off body parts are missing from the western European papers, but the European powers and the allegory of Europe appear more often in their caricatures.

To return to the questions asked in the introduction, independently of the changes of enemies, the symbols of territory loss and those of the enemy were similar, although one can find one motif, the image of cutting body parts from the king, which was typically used in reference to Bulgaria in *Vrač Pogađač*. As is visible in his portraits as well as in caricatures, King Ferdinand had a long nose, which offered a natural target for mocking. The change of the enemy did not mean a change in its visual representation, and the political orientation of the satirical papers did not have an effect on the use of emblems either, only the targets of their irony and mockery were different. In order to create an understandable caricature that the reader could decode quickly, caricaturists employed well-known symbols to the topic of the Balkan wars too, but the emphases were, naturally, different.

While the Balkan magazines depicted the struggles for independence and territories, the Hungarian and western European magazines focused on their contempt toward the Balkan states and their goals. The Hungarian fears about Serbian goals also played a part in making fun of the Other, but this was not the only way of Othering. The juxtaposing of animals and humans expressed Otherness in a stinging way, thus, all of the satirical papers used it. One's own group appeared as human, while the others, as the animals with negative associations (pigs, toads, rats, or monkeys, etc.). Similar juxtapositions are the sick, dying enemy with grave injuries versus the very much alive own group, or the killing of the enemy versus the peacefully observing European powers. An expressive way of Othering in the caricatures of western European and Hungarian satirical papers was the depiction of one's group as adults versus the Balkan nations as children. Finally, another means of depicting the enemy differently from one's group was the representation of its supposed negative characteristics: physical appearance (for example, a gaunt Turk or Austrian versus a strong Serb in *Vrač Pogađač*; the mean-faced and barbaric Nikita versus the strong and civilized Ferdinand in *Borsszem Jankó*) or other negative characteristics (the poverty and barbarism of the Montenegrins in *Der Floh* or in *Borsszem Jankó*).

References

Cassavetti D. J. 1914, *Hellas and the Balkan Wars,* London.

Cirlot J. E. 1983, *A Dictionary of Symbols*, New York.

Cooper J. C. 1986, *Illustriertes Lexikon der traditionellen Symbole*, Wiesbaden.

Demeter G. 2007, *Kisállami törekvések és nagyhatalmi érdekek a Balkán-háborúk idején (1912–1913)* (*The Efforts of the Small States and the Interests of the Great Powers During the Balkan Wars (1912–1913)*), Budapest.

Dupcsik Cs. 2005, *A Balkán képe Magyarországon a 19–20. században* (*The image of the Balkans in Hungary in the 19th and 20th Centuries*), Budapest.

Fuchs E., and H. Kraemer 1901, *Die Karikatur der europäischen Völker vom Altertum bis zur Neuzeit,* Berlin.

Kiss L. 1956, *Vásárhelyi híres vásárok* (*Famous Fairs of Vásárhely),* Szeged.

Kaelble H. 1999, *Der historische Vergleich*, Frankfurt–New York.

Lalkov M. 1993, Bulgarien und die Habsburgermonarchie, [in:] A. Wandruszka, and P. Urbanitsch (Hrsg.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie,* Bd. 6/2., Wien, pp. 387–435.

Langemayer G. (Hg.) 1984, *Das Bild als Waffe, Mittel und Motive der Karikatur in fünf Jahrhunderten,* München.

Lazari A., de, and Riabov O. 2010, *The "Russian Bear" in Polish Caricature of the Interwar Period (1919–1939)*, [in:] D. Demski, and K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe,* Warsaw, pp. 318–337.

Pavlowitch K. S. 2002, *Serbia. The History Behind the Name,* London.

Ripa C. 1997 [1645], *Iconologia. Azaz különféle képek leírása, amelyeket az antikvitásból feltalált vagy tulajdon leleményével megalkotott és magyarázatokkal ellátott a perugiai Cesare Ripa, Szent Mór és Lázár lovagja* (*Iconologia or Moral Emblems. Various Images of Virtues, Vices, Passions, Arts, Humours, Elements and Celestial Bodies; as Designed by the Ancient Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, and Modern Italians by the Care and ac Charge of P. Tempest*), Budapest.

Sundhaussen H. 2007, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19–21. Jahrhundert*, Wien-Köln-Weimar.

Tamás Á. 2010, *Serbs, Croatians and Romanians from Hungarian and Austrian Perspectives. Analysis of Caricatures from Hungarian and Austrian Comic Papers*, [in:] D. Demski, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe,* Warsaw, pp. 272–297.

Vocelka K. von 1993, *Das Osmanische Reich und die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918*, [in:] A. Wandruszka, P. Urbanitsch (Hrsg.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie,* Bd. 6/2., Wien, pp. 247–278.

Vranešević B. 1993, *Außenpolitische Beziehungen zwischen Montenegro und der Habsburgermonarchie von 1848 bis 1918*, [in:] A. Wandruszka, P. Urbanitsch (Hrsg.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie,* Bd. 6/2., Wien, pp. 376–386.

Vries A. de 1984, *Dictionary of Symbols and Imagery*, Amsterdam–London.



"His Majesty, Cholera is the most victorious conqueror of the Balkans."

121 *Borsszem Jankó*, 1912, November 24.



"PULSE"

Europe: Divide up it, kids, his heart has stopped!

Vrač: But I say, he didn't even have a heart—just like you don't!"

Vrač Pogađač, 1912, November 14. 122



FAMILY PRACTICIONERS

Berchtold: Dear colleague, it seems that there is no excuse. The servants steal everything that can be stolen. Could we maybe also ensure something trifle?"

Szaszanov: Yes that sounds good colleague! We should rescue the doctor's honorarium at least."

123 *Borsszem Jankó*, 1912, November 3.

294



A FAIR “CHANGE OVER”!
Vrač Pogađač, 1913, August 14. 124



MY ONE AND ONLY!

125 *Vrač Pogađač*, 1912, December 14.



296

UNDER THE AEGIS OF THE CONFERENCE OF BUCHAREST

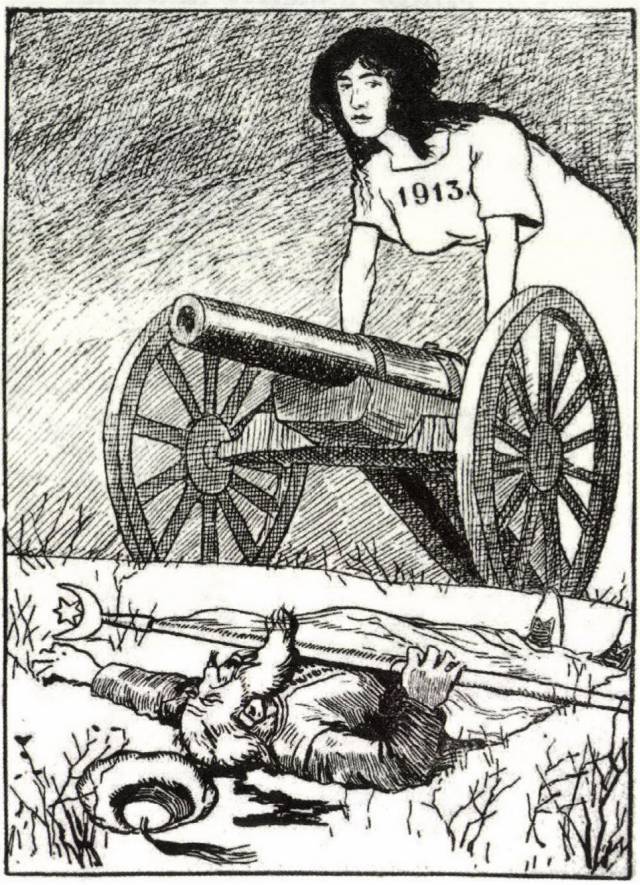
Vrač Pogađač, 1913, August 14. 126



WHEN THE BEAR IS MAKING SOMEBODY DANCE

Hacacáré, hacacáré,—everything belongs to the tsar!..."

127 *Borsszem Jankó,* 1913, July 13.



NEW YEAR: PLEASE, WHO IS NEXT?

Vrač Pogađač, 1913, January 14. 128



HAPPY NEW YEAR

Brka: Now it depends on the three of us whether you all and we will have a happy new summer.

129 *Brka*, 1913, January 1.

300



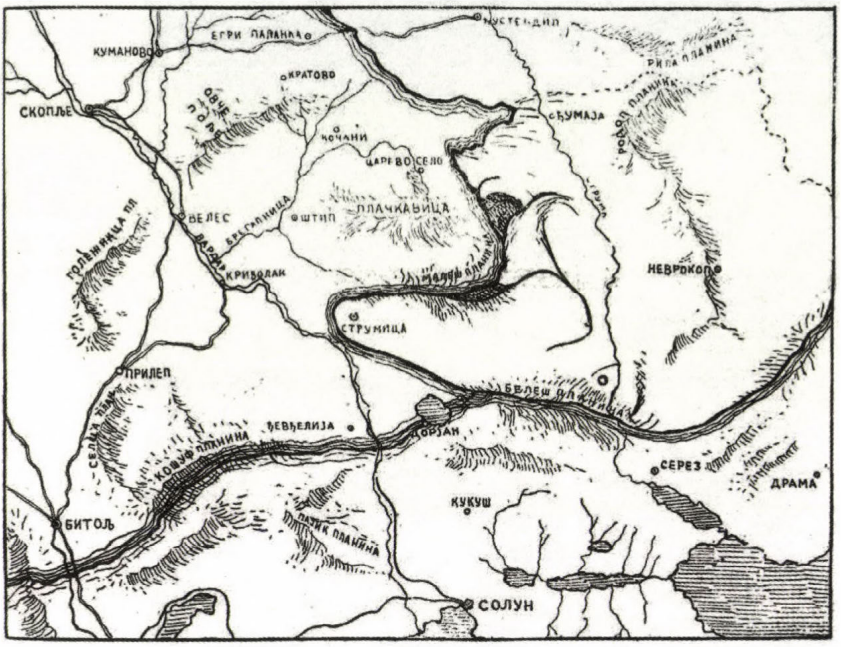
"...and over the blood flood appears the dove of the truce.
And it is chased by shrapnels, grenades and cannon balls..."
Borsszem Jankó, 1912, November 24.



THE BALKANS' ANGEL OF PEACE

found its final resting place, but she fears that she will be made to 'fly' again soon."

131 *Der Wahre Jacob,* 1913, August 17.



MIRACLE ON THE MAP!

Vrač is the first to show Serbian readers the map worked out for the Treaty of Bucharest about how to divide up the Macedonian borders. But, something none of the geographers have noticed is that this final partition has happened following a strange temper, since the thick line marks the territories that belong to the Bulgarians. Everybody can see to whom the physiognomy the line make out belongs to and whose nose Strumica was put (Please turn the picture upside down)."

Vrač Pogađač, 1913, August 29. 132

Magdalena Żakowska

The Bear and His Protégés: Life in the Balkan Kettle According to the German-Language Caricatures of the *Belle Époque*

In this article I will analyze the main iconographic and narrative ideas used by German and Swiss caricaturists to depict and describe[1] the events taking place on the Balkan Peninsula from the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) until World War I. I will especially focus on the events in which Russia took part.[2] I will follow three stages of press discourse: battle-oriented, morality-oriented, and hygiene-oriented[3] as I have called them.

I chose caricatures from the German empire and Switzerland firstly because neither of these countries were directly involved in a conflict with Russia or the Balkan countries during that time, and, therefore, they had no political reason to build any negative discourse in the mass media about these regions. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 and 1878, both Germany and Switzerland were neutral. Switzerland was only indirectly engaged in the events in the Balkan Peninsula, establishing Red Cross branches during the war and launching a stabilization military mission after the Serbian-Bulgarian War in 1886 (Hungerbühler 1886: 5). Germany's relationship with the Balkan nations was more comprehensive. From the 1890s until World War I, this country established close economic and, later, political ties with the Ottoman Empire and became, after 1905, the main trading partner of Serbia (Dedijer 1984: 230).

Secondly, both German and Swiss citizens were more or less acquainted with Russian and Balkan problems and even could personally encounter citizens of Russia and the Balkan nations. During the nineteenth century, Germany and Switzerland gave shelter to many Russian exiles as well as educational opportunities to numerous Russian and Balkan students, and, in Switzerland, to women in general. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Swiss universities became a magnet for

---

[1] I will take into consideration both the iconographical and descriptive (title, subtitle, caption) part of each caricature, treating them as complementary.

[2] During this time Russia was strongly involved in the events taking place on the Balkan Peninsula. It was at war with Turkey (the Bulgarian War, 1877–1878), it enthroned and dethroned Bulgarian prince Alexander of Battenberg (1879–1886), it established close economic and political cooperation with Serbia (from 1903), and it supported movements for the independence of the Slavonic nations under the Turkish (Macedonia, Kosovo) and Austro-Hungarian (Slovenia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Slavonia) "yoke."

[3] These terms will be explained later in the text.

Russian women. In 1905, 36% of all university students in Switzerland were Russians and two thirds of the students were females (Brügger 1996: 488).

Finally, I chose Germany and Switzerland because of the differences in the international situation of both countries during the mentioned period. The German Empire was a large monarchy with great ambitions for power, and it was strengthening its alliance with Austria-Hungary—the rival of Russia.[4] On the other hand, the Swiss Confederation was a small, democratic, and neutral republic, and the Swiss perceived themselves as a freedom-loving nation giving political asylum to refugees persecuted by authoritarian regimes throughout Europe (Collmer 2004: 296).

Germany actively participated in European politics, was an integral part of the European system of alliances, and, during the Otto von Bismarck era,[5] represented the nineteenth century idea of European order. It was, first of all, Bismarck who personified the dominant geopolitical concept of that time—the idea of a balance of power. As Karen Mingst said, "The independent European states, each with relatively equal power, feared the emergence of any predominant state (hegemon) among them. Thus, they formed alliances to counteract any potentially more powerful faction—creating the balance of power." (Mingst 2003: 32–33). This system worked well until the waning years of the nineteenth century, when the previously fluid and flexible alliances with changeable allies had solidified and two camps had emerged: the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy) in 1882 and the Triple Entente (France, Russia, and Great Britain) from 1893 to 1904 (Ibidem: 35). In this way, Germany was to play a significant role in nineteenth-century European history, not only as a pillar of a system with a balance of power, but also as its gravedigger.

Switzerland, on the other hand, was a unique country during that period. It was the only non monarchical country in Europe, besides France after 1870. Being a neutral state—which was officially recognized by the European powers in 1815—it did not participate in wars or in any political alliances. Switzerland was also strongly involved in the pacifist movement. In Geneva, a convention was signed that gave birth to the International Red Cross (1863) and the subsequent conventions that established the standards of international law for the humanitarian treatment of victims of war (1864, 1906).

My research concept is based on the constructivist theory—the concept of a collective identity as the most important factor in determining social and even political life. According to the constructivist approach,

> state behaviour is shaped by elite beliefs, identities, and social norms. Individuals in collectivities forge, shape, and change culture through ideas and

---

[4] That is, within the Triple Alliance—between Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy (as opposed to the Triple Entente, which consisted of an alliance between Britain, France, and Russia)—that lasted from 1882 until the start of World War I in 1914.

[5] Otto von Bismarck was Prussian prime minister and German chancellor from 1862 to 1890.

practices. State and national interests are the result of the social identities of these actors. Thus, the object of study is norms and practices of individuals and the collectivity, without distinguishing between domestic politics and international politics (Ibidem: 76)[6].

I have assumed that so-called realistic and idealistic ways of thinking can be considered as types of collective identities, shared by nineteenth-century Europeans. The terms "realistic" and "idealistic" are used by the theorists of international relations to describe two ways of perceiving international politics and, more broadly, encounters with alterity.

Realists see international politics as a struggle for power, inevitably selfish and ruthless, made by political leaders in the name of protecting *raison d'état*. They are concerned with security issues: "protecting the state from enemies both foreign and domestic" through "increasing its domestic capacities, building up its economic prowess, and forming alliances with other states based on similar interests" (Mingst 2003: 67–68). Therefore, realists initially treat the Other as a potential threat and build their relationship with alterity on the ethics of prudence (Hoffmann 2009: 238).

Idealists or liberals, on the other hand, believe in the possibility of mitigating aggression in international relations. They do it because they share the optimistic view of human nature and the positive role of free trade, democracy, and international interventions against aggressors in making the world better (Mingst 2003: 63–64). Therefore, idealists initially treat the Other as somebody to judge according to ethical standards. The democratic-oriented and peaceful Other is perceived as a partner for fruitful cooperation—and the tyrannical and aggressive Other, as somebody to condemn (Hoffmann 2009: 239).

Although I will refer in this article to events on the international stage, my purpose is not to discuss geopolitical questions. I only want to analyze, based on the constructivist theory, the Swiss and German perception of other nations, reflected in caricatures. I decided to compare the caricatures from Germany and Switzerland

---

[6] Alexander Wendt defines his constructivist theory as follows: "A fundamental principle of constructivist social theory is that people act toward objects, including other actors, on the basis of the meanings that the objects have for them. States act differently toward enemies than they do toward friends because enemies are threatening and friends are not. Anarchy and the distribution of power are insufficient to tell us which is which. ... The distribution of power may always affect states' calculations, but how it does so depends on the intersubjective understandings and expectations, on the 'distribution of knowledge' that constitute their conceptions of self and other. ... It is collective meanings that constitute the structures which organize our actions. Actors acquire identities—relatively stable, role-specific understandings and expectations about self—by participating in such collective meanings. ... A state may have multiple identities as 'sovereign,' 'leader of the free world,' 'imperial power,' and so on. The commitment to and the salience of particular identities vary, but each identity is an inherently social definition of the actor grounded in the theories which actors collectively hold about themselves and one another and which constitute the structure of the social world" (Wendt 1992: 396–398).

to discover whether there exists a connection between their geopolitical situation, common identity, and the way their citizens interpret events taking place in other parts of the world.

On the basis of my research I assumed that the German discourse of that time argued about the necessity to maintain order in the "European home" and, therefore, the necessity of "bringing the order" into the Balkans, while the Swiss discourse argued about solidarity with the small or weak countries, threatened by the great powers. A realistic—meaning state-oriented—political discourse should be reflected in the German press, whereas idealistic—meaning humanitarian—should be reflected in the Swiss (Morgenthau 1985: 4–18; Carr 1956: 42–88).

I analyzed the verbal and iconographic contents of three satirical weekly journals between 1876 and 1913: two German, the conservative *Kladderadatsch* (onomatopeic for *Crash* [the Editors])[7] and the liberal *Simplicissimus* (*Simpleton*),[8] and the Swiss liberal magazine *Nebelspalter* (*Fog crusher*).[9]

Sick Man, Concert of Great Powers, and Dwarfs

The first period of time that I have distinguished is the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878. This war was a conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the coalition of Serbia, Montenegro, Romania, and Bulgaria, led by Russia. The tsar empire conducted the war in the name of supporting the independence movements of the Balkan nations.[10] In 1876, Serbia, followed by Montenegro and aided by Russian troops, declared war on the Ottoman Empire; they were almost defeated by the Turks. In 1877, Russia intervened militarily, and in March 1878 it forced Turkey to sign the Treaty of San Stefano. The "great powers," alarmed by the extension of Russian power into the Balkans, modified the treaty during the Congress of Berlin. Eventually, Russia gained several provinces from Turkey (in the Caucasus) and Romania; Serbia and Montenegro formally proclaimed independence from the Ottoman Empire, and the autonomous Bulgarian state was established. Other powers also gained some benefits: Austria-Hungary was allowed to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina and the United Kingdom was allowed to take over Cyprus.

How were these events depicted and described in the European press, including in German and Swiss caricature? I call the satirical discourse about the Balkans in this period "battle-oriented." This is because attention at that time was mainly focused on the "great history": it considered nations, countries, armies, and the leaders of great powers.

---

[7] *Kladderadatsch* was published in Berlin from 1848 to 1944.

[8] *Simplicissimus* was published in Munich from 1896 to 1944 and 1954 to 1967.

[9] *Nebelspalter* has been published in Zurich since 1875.

[10] In particular, the Bulgarian uprising of 1876, and the brutal suppression of the rebels by the Ottoman Empire, created sympathy for the Balkan nations across Europe.

The main point of the satirical discourse can be, in my opinion, summarized as follows: Russia used the slogans of the brotherhood of the small Balkan nations to intervene in the declining Ottoman Empire, invaded and defeated the "Sick man upon the Bosporus" and gave nothing to the manipulated "Slavonic brothers."

The Russian activities in the Balkans were presented as "Big Brother" politics by the western Europeans. This was also reflected in the metaphors depicting the tsar empire used by German and Swiss caricaturists. There prevailed images of Russia, as a "giant," for example, who made an alliance with the "dwarfs"[11] (ill. 144); a cruel "Kossack"[12] swinging a knout;[13] and a huge "Russian bear"[14] crushing everything in its way.[15]

The representatives of the Balkan countries and nations also began to invade German and Swiss caricature during that time. In contrast to Russia, the Balkan states were presented as European *enfants terribles*:[16] small, weak, and easy to beat—and becoming victims of the stronger countries but at the same time aggressive like capricious children.[17]

---

[11] The term and the images of the "dwarfs"—as a synonym of the Balkan states, its nations, and its monarchs—were often used in the European satirical press in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. Balkan states were also described, for example, as "pygmies" and "brash boys," both in satirical press and daily newspapers (Stępnik 2011: 193).

[12] The term and the image of a "Kossack"—as a synonym of a Russian man or Russian soldier—was popularized in the first half of the nineteenth century throughout the whole of Europe. Initially it had a neutral or even positive meaning, but by the second half of the nineteenth century it was used only in a negative context. The term and its variations (such as "Kossack politics") gained enormous popularity not only in satirical magazines but also in daily newspapers. It was far more popular than the term "Russian bear" (Żakowska 2012: 173–174).

[13] For example, Vorläufiges aus Kriegsschauplatz (News from the war theatre), *Nebelspalter* 1877, no. 17; A Kossack with a pistol can be seen in the caricature: Allzuviel ist ungesund (Enough is as good as a feast), W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch* 1877, no. 41.

[14] The term "Russian bear"—as a synonym of the Russian Empire and Russian people—was already in use by the first half of the eighteenth century. The first caricatures of the Russian bear came from Great Britain. In the second half of the nineteenth century this term was popular throughout the whole of Europe (including Germany and Switzerland), especially, in satirical discourse (Żakowska 2012: 171–200).

[15] For example, Serbien und Rumänien (Serbia and Romania), *Nebelspalter* 1877, no. 28. The "Russian bear" from German caricatures of that period did not seem as dangerous as the same figure presented in the Swiss press. On the contrary, the bear was rather presented as a victim, for example, Bär und Bassa (Bear and Pasha), *Kladderadatsch* 1877, no. 6; In der Neujahrsnacht (New Year's Eve), W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch* 1878, no. 1.

[16] The term and the images of *enfants terribles* were very often used in the European press in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries in many contexts. Probably the most famous variation of this idea was a series of lithographs, showing the children innocently (or perhaps mischievously) revealing to an adult an embarrassing truth, drawn by Paul Gavarni between 1838 and 1844 for the satirical magazine *Le Charivari*. The term enfants terribles also appeared in Balkan context. Generally, it was meant to be a description of the Balkan states, whose political demeanor was perceived as "provocative" and "quarrelsome" (Stępnik 2011: 192).

[17] For example, Die orientalische Frage (The Oriental Question), *Nebelspalter* 1875, no. 36; Eine

The Balkan region was even, in some situations, depicted as various objects or inanimate parts of nature. However, in my opinion, we can assume that these images were not made with bad intentions. A caricature published in the German press during the Congress of Berlin in 1878 serves as a good example. It shows Russia as a bear in the arena and the Balkans as a "glove of discord." The absent main hero of the illustration was Chancellor Otto von Bismarck—"the honest broker" of the conference (ill. 134). This manner of representing the Balkans was also present in Swiss caricature. One of the ways of depicting that region in Switzerland was showing it as sticky mud or as a kettle boiling "European war" made by a (Russian) wizard (ill. 136).[18]

Why did this happen? It seems to be that after the unification of Italy and Germany in 1870 and 1871, the affirmative attitude in western Europe toward the national independence movements began to decline, and the state-oriented discourse began to prevail. Western Europeans began to perceive establishing new states in Europe as a way to damage the balance of power over the whole continent. They also began to consider all nations without their own countries as too immature to create them. The Balkan states were also perceived in this way. Even after they appeared at least as semiactors of international relations in the western European perception, they began to be considered as unable to maintain an autonomous existence without the "parental" care of the great powers. It was considered obvious that it was the European powers who should decide about establishing new countries in the Balkans and choose monarchs for these countries.[19] The monarchs of that region, even these of Balkan origin, also often did not trust their own citizens. Milan Obrenović, king of Serbia, wrote in the 1880s to his friend Alexander of Battenberg, prince of Bulgaria: "Don't count on your Bulgarians. They are Slavs and this fact speaks for itself. My Serbs are not better and we have to accomplish our duty exactly against their will" (Kennan 1981: 140–141).

Nevertheless, differences between the German and Swiss satirical discourse of that period can be noticed. German caricatures concerning Russia can be described as relatively mild. They usually showed Russian politics as qualitatively not different from the politics practiced by other countries. This can be seen in a caricature published in *Kladderadatsch* in 1876, a year before Russian intervention. It shows

---

Hand wäscht die andere (One hand washes the other), W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch* 1876, no. 43.

[18] It is worth mentioning that it was exactly the Swiss territories (besides southeastern France and the southwest part of Reich) where in the early modern ages the most intensive witch hunt took place. It was also Switzerland, where one of the last witches in Europe was sentenced to be burned in an official trial (in Glarus, 1782) (Pfister 2006).

[19] This was the case for the majority of Balkan monarchs in the nineteenth century, for example, Otto of Wittelsbach (king of Greece, 1832–1862), George of Schleswig-Holstein-Sonderburg-Glücksburg (king of Greece, 1863–1873), Alexander of Battenberg (prince of Bulgaria, 1877–1886), Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha-Kohárу (prince and later tsar of Bulgaria, 1887–1918) and Carol of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen (prince and later king of Romania, 1866–1914).

Alexander Gorchakov, the Russian foreign minister, as one of the inhabitants of the "European home," who looks with disgust at the quarrelsome Balkan neighbors devastating the eastern wing of the building (ill. 133).

This caricature reflected one of the principal imperatives of that time: the idea of restoring European order. German satirical discourse during that period also reflected the prevailing concept of policy making in the era—the *Realpolitik* that corresponded to a vision of international relations as a fight for prey among the beasts.[20] German caricaturists tended to mock Russian or other states' weaknesses rather than condemn their brutal behavior on the international stage.[21]

In comparison, one of the main imperatives underscored in the Swiss press discourse of that time was the idea of "law before power" and the concept of making international relations more "human." This attitude was reflected in the very severe opinion about Russian policy making. The tsar empire was described in Switzerland as a "kingdom of knout," its foreign and domestic politics as "Kossack politics," and the Russians as barbaric, fanatic, always drunk, and dirty (compare Plum 1998: 121–122).[22]

Balkan *Bons Vivants*[23]

The second critical period is, in my opinion, the turn of the twentieth century. This was a period of peace in the Balkan region,[24] on the one hand, and of natio-

---

[20] The term *Realpolitik* is here perceived as synonymous with the concept and practice of "political realism," defined as the theory focused on the interests of the states defined in terms of power. "Interest is the perennial standard by which political action must be judged and directed. ... Universal moral principles cannot be applied to the actions of states in their abstract universal formulation, but that they must be filtered through the concrete circumstances of time and place. ... Realism, then, considers prudence—the weighing of the consequences of alternative political actions—to be the supreme virtue in politics" (Morgenthau 1985: 5–15).

[21] See, for example, Der Schrecken Europas mit und ohne Kredit (The bugbear of Europe, with and without credit), *Kladderadatsch* 1887, no. 35.

[22] There can be found, for example, expressions associated with Russia such as: "Läuse!—Fusel!—Schmutz und Prügel!" (Louses!—Hooch!—Dirt, and Thrashing!); Neue russische Nationalhymne (New Russian national anthem), *Nebelspalter* 1882, no. 8.

[23] The term *bon vivant*—"good liver," meaning the people who devote themselves to a sociable and luxurious lifestyle—was very popular in nineteenth-century European social and cultural discourse, and was reflected in polite letters, press, and colloquial speech. I did not find any literal examples of defining Balkan people as *bons vivants* in satirical press. Nevertheless, I chose this term as a synonym for some hedonistic Balkan monarchs, such as King Milan of Serbia, because I found it appropriate for the way they were described and depicted in European—including German and Swiss—press; see, for example, Politisches Mittel gegen Mutterliebe (Political methods against mother's love), *Nebelspalter* 1888, no. 30; Wahrscheinliche Verfassungsänderung (Probable constitutional amendment), *Nebelspalter* 1888, no. 46.

[24] The scene of the only military conflict was Crete, where the anti-Turkish uprising took place in 1898.

nalism, growing under the flags of pan-Hellenism,[25] Illirism,[26] Great Serbia,[27] or Great Bulgaria,[28] on the other. It was also a time of gradual political, social, and economic reforms, aimed at modernizing and Europeanizing the Balkans.

How did the European satirists react to these changes? I have called the German-language press discourse about the Balkans during this time "morality-oriented." Not only the Balkan monarchs public lives, but also their private lives, which had previously seemed to be of no importance, suddenly became an important subject for caricaturists.

Journalists paid a lot of attention, for example, to the family life of the Serbian dynasty of Obrenović. They described the life of revelry of King Milan, as well as how he divorced his wife, Natalie Keşco, struggled with her for custody of their son Alexander,[29] and eventually abdicated the throne. Ten years later the satirists mocked Alexander Obrenović's misalliance with widow Draga Mašin, 12 years older than him (ills. 135, 137), and her simulated pregnancy.[30] The satirical journals focused on the personal relationships between the Balkan and other European monarchs and even on specific features of their appearance, for example, the charm of Alexander of Bulgaria,[31] the big nose of Ferdinand[32] (the next monarch of that country), and the ugliness of young Alexander Obrenović of Serbia.

Satirists thus included the Balkan dramas into the all-European discourse on the "depraved" *Belle Époque*.[33] Life in the Balkans appeared not to be different from this,

---

[25] The modern idea of pan-Hellenism—a union of all Greeks in a single political body—emerged in the 1820s, resulting in the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829) against the Ottoman Empire, and became a potent movement in Greece shortly prior to and during World War I.

[26] Illirism was a cultural and political movement that emerged in the nineteenth century among the southern Slavs of the Austro-Hungarian empire, especially the Croats. The adherents of Illirism wanted to unify all the southern Slavs culturally, with a common Slavonic language, and politically, within an independent Slavonic state.

[27] The term "Great Serbia" applies to the Serbian national ideology and movement, originally formulated in 1844. Its main idea was to unite all Serbs, or all historically Serb-ruled or Serb-populated lands, into one state, including the territories of modern day Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, Macedonia, Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Romania.

[28] The modern idea of Great Bulgaria refers to the nineteenth century Bulgarian territorial aspirations, based on historical arguments (Bulgarian conquests in the seventh century). Great Bulgaria was to include, besides the territory of the Principality of Bulgaria from 1878, the territories of East Rumelia, Macedonia, and Thrace.

[29] Politisches Mittel gegen Mutterliebe (Political methods against mother's love), *Nebelspalter* 1888, no. 30.

[30] Aus Serbien. Caption: "Ein Prinz oder eine Prinzessin?—Ein Luftkissen, Majestät" (From Serbia. Caption: "Prince or princess?—Air bag, Your Majesty"), Th. Th. Heine, *Simplicissimus* 1901, no. 12.

[31] Der große und der kleine Alexander (Big/great and small Alexander), *Kladderadatsch* 1889, no. 5.

[32] For example, Eine Anleihe ist der andern werth (One loan is worth as much as the other), *Kladderadatsch* 1901, no. 21; Der Friedensengel (Angel of peace), *Kladderadatsch* 1903, no. 12; Der arme Ferdinand! (Poor Ferdinand!), *Nebelspalter* 1903, no. 36.

[33] The *Belle Époque* is conventionally defined as a period in European, particularly French, history, starting between the 1870s and 1890 and ending in 1914. The epoch is also called *fin de siècle*. The latter

representing for some "degenerate" members of the European élite, the *Belle Époque*.

The *Belle Époque* was a period of contradictions. On the one hand, it was a time of breaking the chains of official morality, duties, and tradition by the most liberated Europeans, including monarchs and their heirs. It resulted in a considerable number of political and moral "scandals," specific to this epoch, for example, the mysterious death of "mad" King Ludwig II of Bavaria in 1886; the suicide of Rudolf, the crown prince of Austria in 1889; the escape to South America of Johann Salvator, the archduke of Austria, after he renounced his title and all privileges in 1889; and the misalliance between Franz Ferdinand, the archduke of Austria, and Bohemian countess, Sophie Chotek, in 1900 (Łątka 1983: 72–73).

On the other hand, the Belle Époque was a time of increasing importance of public opinion and a triumph of bourgeoisie morality. The moral scandals caused by the monarchs of the great powers and their closest relatives were usually absent or presented only indirectly in the European press, primarily because of censorship (Graf 2007: 9–10). Yet the public was much more informed about the sins of their monarchs than were the people of former epochs. Societies were also much more eager to judge the morality of the upper classes. This was especially the case with the "shameless" behavior of some women from the European aristocracy.[34] In this context, the Balkans turned out to be a part of Europe; and the discourse on the Balkans, part of the discourse about modern Western civilization.

Also during this time, differences between the German and Swiss satirical discourse can be noticed. Swiss caricatures seem to be more didactic and expressive. They also contained more anti-Russian ideas as well.[35] An example of this is a caricature published in the Swiss press in 1889 after the abdication of King Milan, who emigrated to Paris with a kind of bribe given to him by Russian diplomats (ill. 140).[36] The illustration shows a huge Russian bear that breaks into the study of Bismarck-the-watch-maker, squeezing young Alexander Obrenović and his mother Natalie, while King Milan is escaping from its paws. The caricaturist's intention seems to be clear. The Russian intrigues caused the abdication of the succeeding anti-Russian monarch in the Balkans, who was replaced by a child and a woman, both easy to be manipulated by Russia.[37] This is, however, an exceptional example.

---

term underscores the nihilistic and decadent aspect of this period. The term *Belle Époque*, on the other hand, which was popularized after World War I, commemorates merely the nostalgic atmosphere associated with that time: as Hannu Salmi says, "a lost world that was still innocently unaware of what the future would bring" (Salmi 2008: 147).

34 See footnote no. 25.

35 Anti-Russian ideas in German caricatures during this period generally followed the previous anti-Russian ideas in German satirical discourse, such as the depiction of Russia as a giant on clay legs.

36 However, the main reason that King Milan abdicated in 1889 was his decreasing popularity caused by the defeat in the war with Bulgaria (1885) and his pro-Austro-Hungarian politics.

37 Natalie Obrenović was the daughter of Moldavian boyar Keşco, who was an officer of the Russian army.

As a rule, the anti-Russian discourse about the Balkans was less visible in both Germany and Switzerland during this time.

Ladies and Slobs

This quite humoristic discourse of the Balkans was interrupted in 1903 after the pro-Austrian royal family in Serbia[38] were assassinated by their own subjects. Additionally, the later events in the Balkans, such as the "Bosnian crisis" from 1908 to 1909[39] and the two Balkan wars during 1912 and 1913, gave new impulses for reinterpreting the image of that region. Small Balkan nations seemed to revolt against the status quo, established by the great powers. Serbia dared to make a diplomatic intervention against the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary. Ferdinand of Bulgaria appeared to be a European Machiavelli.[40] All the Balkan countries dared to demonstrate territorial and political ambitions.

During this period, German and Swiss satirical discourses about the Balkans differed. The Swiss caricaturists presented both Balkan countries and those of the great powers analogically. They were depicted as human beings, among other personifications, and as beasts among other animalized metaphors (ill. 139). This narrative/strategy generally shows that Swiss caricaturists aimed to underscore the subjectivity of the Balkans. On the other hand, the satirists did not particularly sympathize with the political ambitions of the Balkan countries or nations. For instance, after the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria-Hungary, *Nebelspalter* published a caricature that showed both lands as two ladies who seemed to be glad that the emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria wanted them to join him (ill. 138).

---

38 Alexander Obrenović was not as dependent on the alliance with Austria-Hungary as his father Milan, but his politics were considered as more pro-Austrian than pro-Russian.

39 The Bosnian Crisis began after Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in October 1908—the territories occupied and administered by Austria-Hungary since the Treaty of Berlin (1878). At the same time, Bulgaria declared its *de jure* independence from the Ottoman Empire—the country had been an autonomous principality since 1878—and its monarch, Ferdinand I, proclaimed himself tsar. The great powers of France, Britain, Russia, and Italy, as well as the Ottoman Empire and Serbia, viewed these events as violations of the Treaty of Berlin. As a result, a flurry of diplomatic protests and discussions began. The crisis eventually ended in April 1909. The great powers agreed to the amendments of the Treaty of Berlin and accepted the new status quo. Nevertheless, the crisis destroyed relations between Austria-Hungary on the one hand and Russia and the Kingdom of Serbia on the other, which indirectly contributed to the outbreak of World War I.

40 Ferdinand of Bulgaria, prince (1887–1908) and king (1908–1918) of Bulgaria, became an important factor influencing international affairs not only in the Balkans. In 1908 he used the occasion of the eve of the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina to proclaim the full independence of Bulgaria from the Ottoman Empire, and in 1912 he spearheaded the formation of the Balkan League that pursued the partitioning of European Turkey. His foreign political ideas were based on close relations with Triple Alliance countries as well as with Russia.

In German caricature, a "hygiene-oriented" discourse on the Balkans prevailed instead. It was reflected in frequent ideas of disinfection, dirt, excrement, and cages in a zoo.

This discourse began, I believe, with a caricature published in *Simplicissimus* in 1903 after the coronation of King Peter Karađorđević of Serbia, who was known to sympathize with Russia. The illustration suggested that the king was anointed with an insecticide (ill. 143). In 1908, during the "Bosnian crisis," the same journal published a whole special "Balkan number," which included a more comprehensive "hygiene-oriented" discourse. It described and depicted, for example, the politics of the "insect's stings"[41] made by the Balkan countries and the dirty, scandalously unhygienic life in Serbia (ills. 141, 142).

It can be assumed that these narratives aimed to stigmatize the Balkans and exclude this region from the community of civilized nations. The anthropologist Edmund Leach noted that insects were perceived as the most inferior category of animals by the Europeans and that they evoked only disgust and a need for their annihilation[42] (Leach 1964: 36–42). Therefore it is exactly the "hygiene-oriented" discourse[43] that can be considered to be the most severe form of symbolic violence in Western culture, at least since the beginning of the twentieth century (McClintock 1995: 4–5).

It is possible that the Germans chose to use these kinds of metaphors after they had changed their own perception of what hygienic life was supposed to be like. The beginning of the twentieth century was a period of prosperity for the soap trade. The middle-class German citizen took enormous care of the nattiness of his clothes. He also washed his hands and face with soap every day and bathed every two months.[44] Such a hygienic order became a symbol of civilization and social belonging and even of one's morality (Ashenburg 2009: 153–159, 201). Terms such as "dirt," "filthiness," "poverty," and "backwardness," were perceived as closely connected to one other. The members of the lowest classes as well as the uncivilized people belonged automatically to the category of the "great unwashed" (McClintock 1995: 4–5).

Depictions of swines and zoos were also popular in German caricature of this period. An example is the caricature "From the Balkan Menagerie" that was published in *Kladderadatsch* in 1909. It shows Serbia, Montenegro, and a Czech as three dirty pigs in a cage that disgust not only Madame Europe but also the Austro-Hungarian eagle and the Russian bear.[45]

---

41 Politik der Insektenstiche (The politics of the insect's stings), Th. Th. Heine, *Simplicissimus* 1908, no. 32.

42 Leach says that "all reptiles and insects seem to be thought of as evil enemies of mankind and liable to the most ruthless extermination. Only the bee is an exception here" (Leach 1964: 40).

43 The term Sozialhygiene—"social hygiene"—became popular in Germany in the 1880s (Heinzelmann 2009: 80–103).

44 This has to be considered to be huge progress compared to the situation that took place even thirty years earlier, when even not poor Europeans seldom used soap and bathed about once or twice a year.

45 Caricature: Aus der Balkanmenagerie oder Angenehme Nachbarschaft (From the Balkan menag-

The choice of the swine metaphor had probably both symbolic and prosaic motivation. The Balkan people, including the Serbs, usually worked as farmers. Swine made up more than 30% of Serbian exports, and Serbia waged several customs wars with Austria-Hungary, called "swine wars," during this period (Pavluchenko 1987: 19–22; Sundhaussen 2007: 210–211).[46] There was also an implied meaning hidden in the swine metaphor. In Western culture, the swine symbolizes attributes such as gluttony, selfishness, ignorance, dirt, and filthiness[47] (Tresidder 2005: 216). The satirical images of swine undoubtedly also referred to these meanings, as the majority of the illustrations of swine, published in German or Swiss satirical magazines, did not have a direct connection to agriculture. As an example, the "filthy" love affairs that took place in Germany were depicted as swine in a Swiss caricature in 1903.[48]

Conclusions

The comparison of the main iconographic and narrative ideas concerning the Balkans in Germany and Switzerland shows that they were influenced by the actual political situation as well as the national ethos in both countries. The Swiss judged international affairs from an ethical point of view. Therefore, they usually depicted Russia as a barbarian Big Brother and the Balkan states as her puppets and victims. The Swiss condemned the expansionistic goals of Russian politics, and it can be assumed that they partly identified themselves with the dilemmas of the small Balkan states, whose autonomy was always precarious.

The German satirists, on the contrary, depicted particular nations mainly from an amoral, geopolitical point of view. They considered Russia as one of the leading countries in the Balkans, whereas the Balkan states were considered as a playground

---

erie or a nice neighborhood), Ludwig Stutz, *Kladderadatsch* 1909, no. 14.

46 In 1890–1892 and 1906–1911.

47 While analyzing associations connected to swine in English culture, Leach states: "Some animals seem to carry an unfair load of abuse. Admittedly the pig is a general scavanger, but so, by nature, is the dog and it is hardly rational that we should label the first 'filthy' while making a household pet of the second. I suspect that we feel a rather special guilt about our pigs. After all, sheep provide wool, cows provide milk, chickens provide eggs, but we rear pigs for the sole purpose of killing and eating them, and this is rather a shameful thing, a shame which quickly attaches to the pig itself" (Leach 1964: 50–51).

48 Caricature: Er riecht schon wieder. Caption: "Michael: 'Na, das könnte jetzt einmal aufhören, man muß sich ja von den Nachbarn schämen'"(It smells again. Caption: "[German] Michael: It shall be stopped at last; we have to be ashamed in front of our neighbors"), W. Lehmann-Schramm, *Nebelspalter* 1903, no. 10. Depicted as swine are "Fall Giron and Louise von Sachsen" ("Case of Giron and Louise of Saxony") and "Fall Grossherzogin Anastasia von Schwerin" ("Case of the Grand Duchess Anastasia of Schwerin"). The first case refers to the affair that Archduchess Louise, wife of Frederick August, the crown prince of Saxony, had with her children's French tutor, André Giron, her pregnancy, and the fact that she fled from her husband and was divorced from him in February 1903 by the royal decree of her father-in-law (Fellmann 1992: 49–72). The second case refers to the love affair between the grand duchess of Mecklemburg-Schwerin Anastasia Mikhailovna and her personal secretary, which resulted with the birth of her illegitimate son. Both princesses, after giving rise to scandals, lived mostly abroad and seldom visited Germany (Grewolls 1995: 17).

for the "great powers," ridiculous political actors, and finally a hotbed of chaos in the region.

Positive or not, the German and Swiss metaphors of Russia and the Balkan countries were insulting for at least one reason: the images of "Kossack," "Russian bear," Balkan *enfants terribles*, "insects," and "kettle" were not the symbols with which either region identified themselves (Moser 2006: 312). Finally, the great war came and called into question the satirical visions. The German, Austro-Hungarian, and Russian empires were strained and died during or near the end of the war. Russia appeared to be a giant on clay legs. In 1917, as Mingst states: "Revolution raged within its territory [and] the tsar was overthrown and ... replaced by not only a new leader ... but a new ideology" (Mingst 2003: 37). Germany had been defeated on the battlefield, thwarted in its territorial ambitions, and forced to pay the economic cost of the war. The Austro-Hungarian Empire disintegrated and was replaced by several small countries: Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, part of Poland, and part of the Balkan states, such as Romania and Yugoslavia. However, the small nations from central and southern Europe eventually fulfilled their aspirations for independence and their territorial desires (Tanty 2003: 146–150).

In this context the German, as well as Swiss, satirical discourse about the Balkans appeared to mirror the main stereotypes, prejudices, and wishful thinking of the German and Swiss public. The lesson for the oppressed nations could be, in this case, summarized by the words attributed to Mahatma Gandhi: "First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win" (Gandhi 1922).

References

Ashenburg K. 2009 [2007], *Historia brudu* (*The Dirt on Clean: An Unsanitized History*), Warszawa.

Brügger L. 1996, Russische Studentinnen in Zürich, [in:] *Bild und Begegnung. Kulturelle Wechselseitigkeit zwischen der Schweiz und Osteuropa im Wandel der Zeit*, ed. P. Brang, C. Goehrke, R. Kemball, H. Riggenbach, Basel–Frankfurt am Main, pp. 485–508.

Carr E. 1956, *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, London.

Dedijer V. 1984, *Sarajewo 1914* (*Sarajevo 1914*), vol. 2, Łódź.

Fellmann W. 1992, *Sachsens letzter König Friedrich August III*, Berlin–Leipzig.

Gandhi M. 1922, *Freedom's Battle*, [in:] *The Project Gutenberg EBook of Freedom's Battle*, 2nd edition, http://www.gutenberg.net/1/0/3/6/10366/10366-h/10366-h.htm (accessed 20.07.2012).

Graf A., 2007, *Die Ursprünge der modernen Medienindustrie: Familien- und Unterhaltungszeitschriften der Kaiserzeit (1870–1918)*, http://www.zeitschriften.ablit.de/ graf/flibla. htm (accessed 5.03.2012).

Grewolls G. 1995, *Wer war wer in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern? Ein Personenlexikon*, Bremen.

Heinzelmann W. 2009, *Sozialhygiene als Gesundheitswissenschaft. Die deutsch/deutsch-jüdische Avantgarde 1897–1933. Eine Geschichte in sieben Profilen*, Bielefeld.

Hoffmann M. J. 2009, Is Constructivist Ethics an Oxymoron?, *International Studies Review*, no. 11, pp. 231–252.

Hungerbühler H. 1886, *Die schweizerische Militärmission nach dem serbisch-bulgarischen Kriegsschauplatze*, Frauenfeld.

Kennan G. F. 1981, *Bismarcks europäisches System in der Auflösung. Die französisch-russische Annäherung, 1875–1890*, Frankfurt am Rhein.

Łątka J. S. 1983, *Oskarżam arcyksięcia Rudolfa* (*I Accuse Crown Prince Rudolf*), Kraków.

Leach E. 1964, Anthropological Aspects of Language: Animal Categories and Verbal Abuse, [in:] *New Directions in the Study of Language*, ed. E. H. Lenneberg, Cambridge, pp. 23–63.

McClintock A. 1995, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context*, London.

Mingst K. 2003, *Essentials of International Relations*, New York–London.

Morgenthau H. J. 1985, *Politics Among Nations. The Struggle for Power and Peace*, New York.

Moser A. 2006, *Land der unbegrenzten Unmöglichkeiten. Das Schweizer Russland- und Russenbild vor der Oktoberrevolution*, Zürich.

Pavluchenko O. W. 1987, *Serbija i Rossija. 1888–1903* (*Serbia and Russia, 1888–1903*), Kiev.

Pfister U. 2006, *Schweiz—Hexenverfolgungen* (*Switzerland—The witch-hunts*), [in:] *Lexikon zur Geschichte der Hexenverfolgung*, eds. G. Gersmann, K. Moeller, J.-M. Schmidt, http://www.historicum.net/no_cache/persistent/artikel/1643/ (accessed 20.07.2012).

Plum A. 1998, *Die Karikatur im Spannungsfeld von Kunstgeschichte und Politikwissenschaft: Eine ikonologische Untersuchung zu Feindbildern in Karikaturen*, Aachen.

Salmi H. 2008, *Nineteenth-Century Europe. A Cultural History*, Cambridge.

Stępnik K. 2011, *Wojny bałkańskie lat 1912–1913 w prasie polskiej. Korespondencje wojenne i komentarze polityczne* (*Balkan Wars 1912–1913 in the Polish Press. War Ccorrespondence and Political Comments*), Lublin.

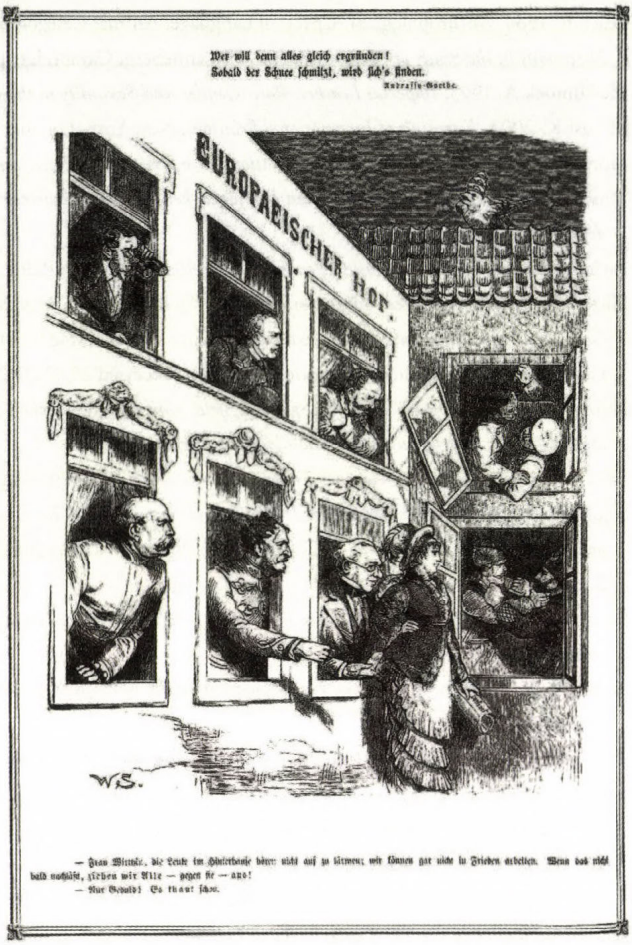
Sundhaussen H. 2007, *Geschichte Serbiens. 19-21. Jahrhundert* (*The History of Serbia. 19th–21st Century*), Wien, Köln, Weimar.

Tanty M. 2003, *Bałkany w XX w. Dzieje polityczne* (*The Balkans in the 20th Century. Political History*), Warszawa.

Tresidder J. 2005, *Słownik symboli* (*The Dictionary of Symbols*), Warszawa.

Wendt A. 1992, Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics, *International Organization*, vol. 46, no. 2, pp. 391–425.

Żakowska M. 2012, Niedźwiedź i zegarmistrz. U źródeł metafory „rosyjskiego niedźwiedzia" w prasie szwajcarskiej w drugiej połowie XIX w. (The bear and the watch-maker. The sources of the "Russian bear" metaphor in the Swiss press in the second half of the 19th century), *Klio*, no. 20 (1), pp. 171–200.



EUROPEAN HOME

—Landlady, the people in the outbuilding are making noise all the time; we can't work in peace at all. If it doesn't calm down we will move from you immediately!

—Be patient! It thaws.

W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch* 1876, February 27, nos. 9–10.



319

GLOVE OF DISCORD OR KNIGHT DELORGES IS WANTED [free translation from Schiller].

Madame Europe. May congress start soon and remove the glove!

134 W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch* 1878, April 21, no. 18.

„Wir winden Dir den Jungfernkranz."



320

WE WEAVE FOR YOU THE BRIDAL WREATH

Best wishes for King Alexander from Serbia from all the European princesses on the occasion of his engagement with the widow Draga Mashin.

J. Kälin-Küpfer, *Nebelspalter* 1900, August 11, no. 32.



THE WIZARD

Russia sent a Russian wizard to the Serbs in order not to be [directly] involved in the case, and this wizard is boiling Russian drink about which Russia does not want to know anything, because she does not want to be perceived as its inventor, and she does not want anybody to drink it because it is being boiled by a Russian.

136 F. Boscovits, *Nebelspalter* 1876, October 21, no. 43.

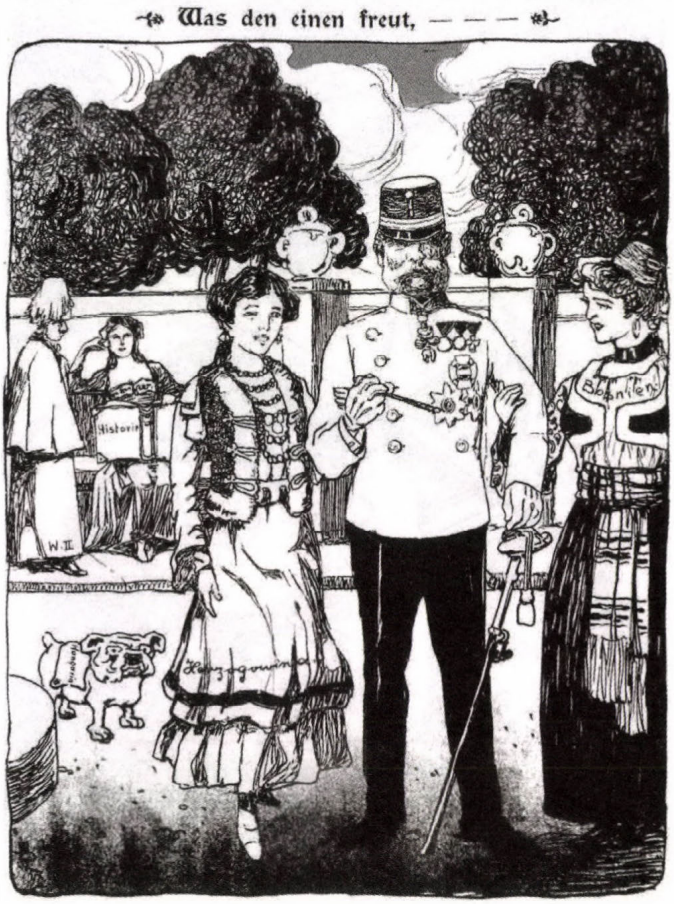


322

FINE IT WOULD BE, WERE THIS THE CASE!

Come, Alexei, when they won't let us in here, it is open there, there we can come in.

W. Lehmann-Schramm, *Nebelspalter* 1902, November 1, no. 44. 137



WHAT MAKES SOMEONE HAPPY ...

Klio: But my dear Wilhelm, let the old gentleman have an innocent pleasure!

138 F. Boscotits junior, *Nebelspalter* 1908, October 24, no. 43.



TWO SOULS AND ONE THOUGHT

I would devour him, I swear, if he didn't make me scared.

G. von Steiger, *Nebelspalter* 1908, November 28, no. 48.

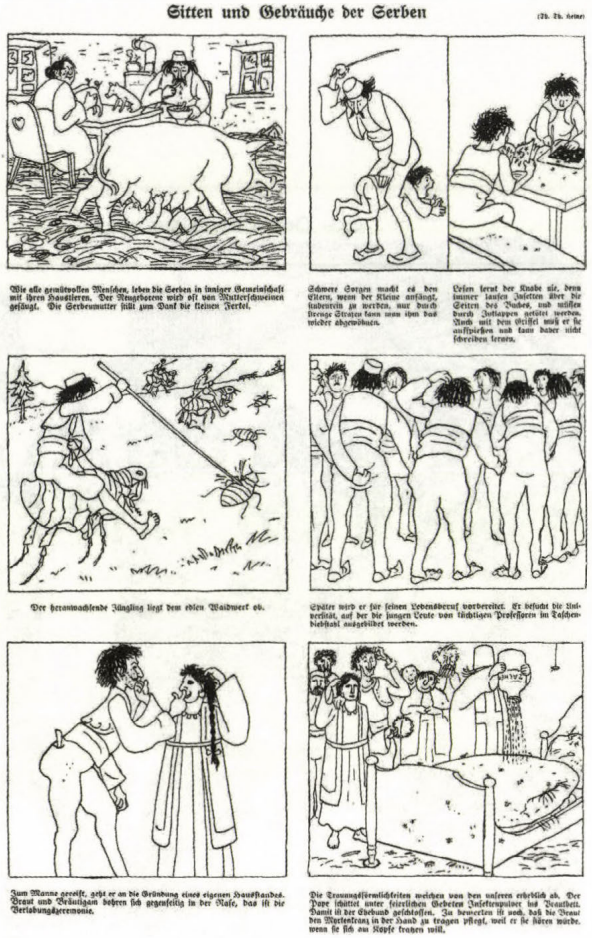


THE WATCH-MAKER

I live like the pilgrim from St. Just; I don't regulate watches appropriately.

Something always happens, and if only it was a bear.

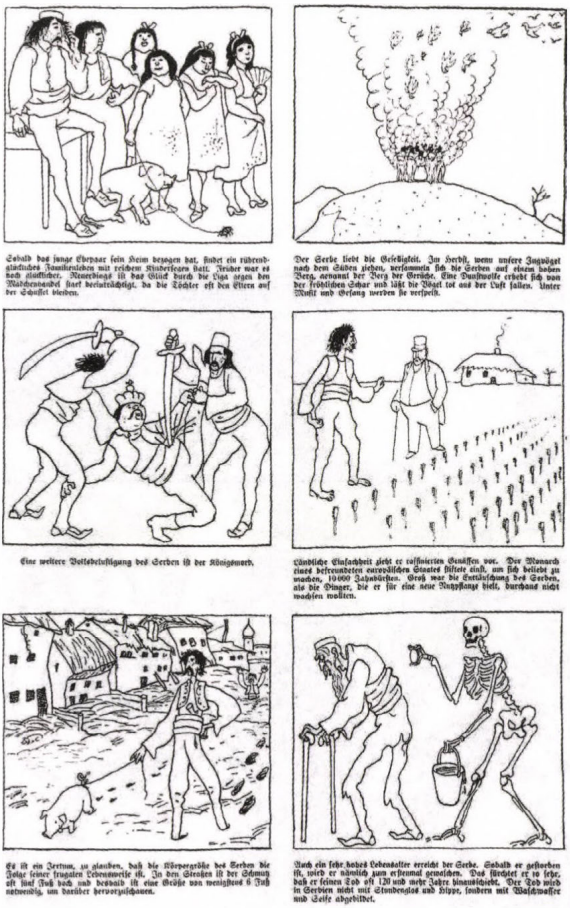
140 H. Jenny, *Nebelspalter* 1889, March 16, no. 12.



SERBS' CUSTOMS AND TRADITIONS

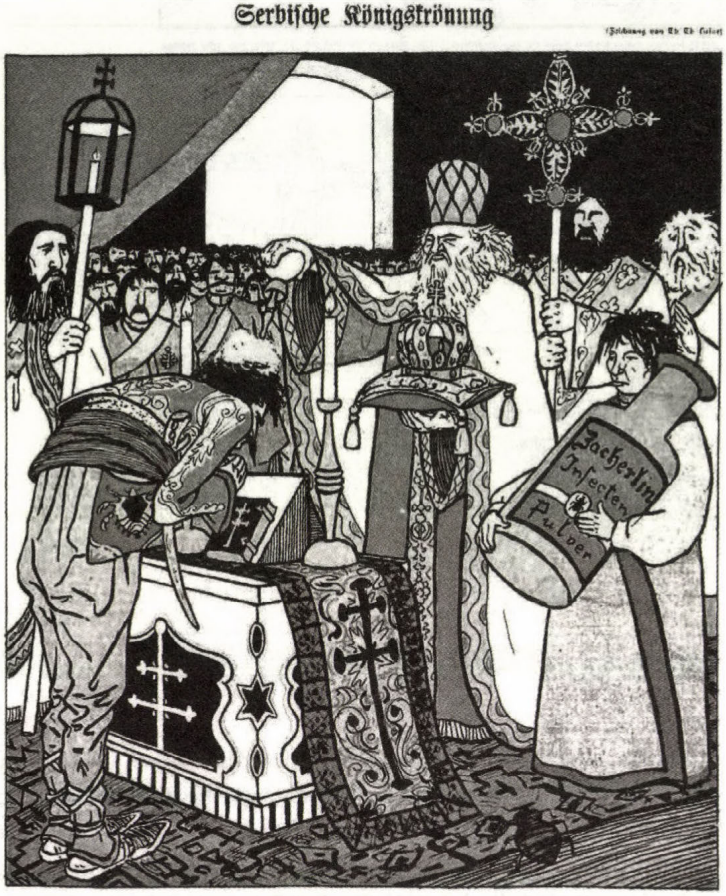
Like all sentimental people, Serbs live in close relationship with their domestic animals. A newborn baby is often nursed by a sow. Grateful Serbian mothers suckle young pigs. It is a huge problem for parents when their kids start to wash themselves and behave decently. They can be broken of this habit only with severe punishments. A boy never learns to read because he has to kill the insects—that always run through the pages—by closing the book. He also has to stick them on a pencil and, therefore, he cannot learn to write. A young man gives up the noble art of hunting. He goes to university where young people are taught in the field of pick-pocketing by experienced professors. A mature man establishes his own house. An engaged couple mutually pick their noses—this is an engagement ceremony. The wedding traditions are very different from ours. The pope spills insecticide in a marital bed amidst solemn prayers. It is how marriage is accomplished. It also has to be said that the fiancée holds the myrtle wreath in her hand because otherwise it would disturb her while scratching her head.

T. T. Heine, *Simplicissimus* 1908, November 9, no. 32.



Married people lead a very happy family life blessed with many children. In former times they were even more fortunate. Nowadays happiness is strongly affected by the League against trafficking in girls. Eventually many daughters live on their parents keep. The Serbs love sociability. In autumn, when our migrating birds go south, the Serbs come together on the top of a big mountain, named the Mountain of Smells. A cloud of smog rises from the cheerful crowd and makes the birds fall from the sky. They are eaten amidst music and songs. Other Serbian folk entertainment is the assassination of the king. They prefer the countryside's simplicity rather than fancy pleasures. The monarch of a friendly European country once donated 10,000 toothbrushes to gain more popularity. The Serb was very disappointed when the things he considered new crop plants did not want to grow. It would be a mistake to believe that the Serb is tall because he lives frugally. Dirt on the streets is often five feet high and, therefore, one has to be at least six feet tall to be able to look out over it. The Serb also lives to an old age. This is because after death he has to be washed for the first time. He is so afraid about that that he often postpones his death for 120 or more years. The Serbs do not imagine death with an hourglass and a scythe but with washing water and soap.

142 T. T. Heine, *Simplicissimus* 1908, no. 32, 1908, November 9, no. 32.



CORONATION IN SERBIA

The ceremony will be held with insecticide.

T. T. Heine, *Simplicissimus* 1903, July 7, no. 15.



A FAIRY TALE ABOUT THE GIANT. FROM VICAR OF WAKEFIELD

A giant and a dwarf went together on an adventure. Of course, they had to struggle in fights of which the giant got all the benefits and the dwarf got whipped. Then the giant with feet of clay said to the dwarf with a paper crown: 'Another victory and we will gain fame for our whole lives!' Yet the dwarf said: 'I will not collaborate with you anymore!'

— He was just so tired he could not do anything else.

144 W. Scholz, *Kladderadatsch* 1876, November 12, no. 54.

Petr Karlíček

Us and Them: Cartoons of the Sudeten German Satirical Magazine *Der Igel* at the End of the First Czechoslovakian Republic (1935–1938)

This article analyses the political cartoons published in the pro-totalitarian German-Bohemian magazine *Der Igel* (*The Hedgehog*) between 1935 and 1938, and discusses the influence of European satirical magazines on the publishing of cartoons in pre-war Czechoslovakia. The main goal of the article is to show the development of totalitarian self-presentation and the depiction of political rivals by editors of the satirical magazines of the day, whose worldview could be summed up in the motto, "Whoever is not for us is against us." In addition, the article explores the pictorial representation of political themes and the impact of censorship.

After the fall of the Austrian monarchy, German Bohemians became, practically overnight, a national minority in the newly established Republic of Czechoslovakia. Initially, most of their political representatives did not accept the new Czechoslovak government, but later some German-Bohemian politicians did recognize the newly formed state and began to participate actively in the state administration. Mounting political tensions between Czechs and Germans (and between individual German-Bohemian political parties) began during the Great Depression of the 1930s. The crisis greatly affected the industrialized areas of Czechoslovakia—mostly the border regions inhabited by Germans, an area known for the value of its export economy. During the depression, the volume of sales dropped sharply, and social-political tensions escalated with Adolf Hitler's accession to power in Germany. Since the turn of the twentieth century, many German satirical magazines had been well received throughout the Czech lands, for example, the Munich magazine *Simplicissimus* (named after the protagonist of Grimmshausen's novel, *Der Abenteurliche Simplicissimus Teutsch*), Berlin's *Kladderadatsch* (onomatopeic for *Crash* [the Editors]), the Viennese liberal tribune *Figaro*, and *Humoristische Blätter* (*The Humorous Magazine*) and *Die Muskete* (*The Musket*), also from Vienna. Others that were equally popular, and easily accessible, were French publications such as *Le Rire* (*Laughter*) (Fronk 2011: 34–35).

A wide range of traditional Czech satirical papers complemented the periodicals published by German Bohemians, such as *Rübezahl* (the "*Woodwose*," a spirit from the "Giant Mountains")[1] in Liberec, *Der Grade Michel* (Honest Michael) and *Der Hockauf* (*The Hockauf*). Czech and German historians have largely focused their at-

[1] In Czech, "Krkonoše": The "Giant Mountains" in the former Czechoslovakia also inhabited by Bohemian Germans.

tention on cartoons portraying the conflict arising from the coexistence of Czechs and German Bohemians in the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth (Becher 1997: 7–8; Peterova 2001: 8–12; Fronk 2011: 44–69). So cartoons from the beginning of the darkest period of Czech-German relations, starting from the second half of the 1930s, were ignored for a long time and went virtually unnoticed, and cartoons published in the once famous and highly significant *Der Igel* are almost completely unknown. The magazine is, however, a great resource for discovering the nature of the political satire of the German Bohemians.[2] At the same time, long-established satirical magazines were still being published in the Czech lands, such as *Humoristické listy* (*The Humorous Magazine*), *Kvítko* (*The Prankster*), and, in Slovakia, *Kocúr* (*The Cat*). These magazines were not, however, as politically and ideologically oriented as *Der Igel*.

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 Sudeten German Party (SdP).[3] The SdP, inspired by the German NSDAP, and taking its instructions from Nazi Germany, played a tactical game: its public proclamations differed considerably from its actual goals. Concerns about a possible ban on the party and the necessity of achieving success and tangible results in the borderlands initially forced the SdP to go along with the government. But the party's policies did not in fact include supporting self-determination for the German Bohemian minority in Czechoslovakia; its leaders simply attempted to destabilize the situation in the republic and bring the border areas under the jurisdiction of the Third Reich (Malíř 2005: 895–909).[4]

The main caricaturist working on *Der Igel* was a native of Děčín, Hanns Erich Köhler (1905–1983), who signed himself Erik or Till. Concerns about censorship also made other artists use pseudonyms,[5] with the exception of Anton Haelbig (Hael) and the Slovak artist Gustáv Mallý (G. Mally).

Der Igel contained cartoons (ill. 155), humorous columns, epigrams, extracts from the press of its political opponents (both Czech and German) that it used

---

[2] The media policy of the SdP was built on a totalitarian model. Party propaganda was fully unified, so using *Der Igel* magazine as an example it is possible to study and demonstrate the political satire of the whole of the SdP. In fact, similar cartoons were published in the journal *Die Zeit* (*The Times*), and in weeklies such as *Rundschau* (*The View*) and *Der Trommler* (*The Drummer*).

[3] The SdP (*Sudetendeutsche Partei,* the Sudeten German Party, 1935–1938) had as its main political aim the political autonomy for German Bohemians in Czechoslovakia, and later the destabilizing of Czechoslovakia and the incorporation of German-speaking areas into the Third Reich.

[4] The first leader of the SdP was the politician and PE teacher Konrad Henlein. Immediately following the occupation of the Czech borderlands in 1938, the party united with the NSDAP. Henlein operated as the head of the newly established administrative unit until May 1945; he committed suicide on 10 May 1945, during the American liberation.

[5] The most frequent pseudonyms in *Der Igel* from 1935 to 1938 were: WALTER, FIRIPI, KARLCHEN, IG., S., HANS KNOBLAUCH, + + +, and AUCH EINER.

for its own propaganda, illustrated glosses about the current political scene, and fictitious letters from readers with answers from the editors. From time to time the magazine published derisive verses based on well-known melodies, and also "reliable information" overheard in the pub or on public transport.[6] Although the free dissemination of political opinions was allowed for in the Czechoslovak constitution, there were of course limitations. It was forbidden, for example, to caricature the head of state, so humorous illustrations of the minister of foreign affairs, Edvard Beneš (1884–1948), appeared only until December 1935, when he was elected president in succession to Tomáš G. Masaryk (1850–1937).[7] It was also forbidden to hold the state itself or the whole system of government to ridicule. Due to its satirical content, *Der Igel* often encountered problems with the law. Naturally, it attempted to outwit the censors by not attacking the state directly, rather, by pointing out the poor situation of German Bohemians through irony and satire. This tactic was not, however, completely foolproof. We estimate that there were more than 40 censorship interventions across the 48 issues published between 1935 and 1938. A frequent result of censorship was confiscation of the front-page cartoon. The first intervention of this kind was in April 1937,[8] the next in November of the same year,[9] and two more in June[10] and July 1938.[11]

Diplomats also complained about inconsiderate comments in *Der Igel*. The Aus-

trian ambassador made a protest to the Czechoslovak ministry of foreign affairs about insults made towards the Austrian Republic published in summer 1935.[12] But SdP senators, elected in the autumn of 1936, canvassed the Czechoslovak minister of justice and demanded an explanation for the censorship intervention. In support of the magazine, they pointed out that *Der Igel* was one of the best and most artistically valuable satirical magazines in Europe,[13] which was of course somewhat of an overstatement, but we can, nevertheless, acknowledge the up-to-date nature of its design and satirical illustrations, inspired by the famous German satirical periodicals, *Simplicissimus* (from Munich) and *Kladderadatsch* (from Berlin).

The magazine spoke out strongly against its opponents and divided public opinion in the borderlands. German Bohemians were sorted according to their political orientation into "good" Germans, "misguided" Germans, and traitors. "Good"

---

6 *Der Igel,* 1935–1938.

7 *Der Igel,* Asch, December 1935, vol. 10.

8 *Der Igel,* Prague, April 1937, vol. 4.

9 *Der Igel,* Prague, April 1937, vol. 4.

10 *Der Igel,* Prague, June 1938, vol. 8.

11 *Der Igel,* Prague, July 1938, vol. 10.

12 See the complaint to the Austrian Embassy about the content of the satirical monthly *Der Igel* from August 21st. In: Národní archiv Praha. Fond Ministerstvo spravedlnosti 1918–1953. Tiskové záležitosti, karton 968 (National Archive Prague, Fund of the Ministry of Justice 1918–1953. Press matters, file No. 968).

13 *Der Igel,* Prague, July 1938, vol. 10.

Germans voted for the proto-Nazi SdP—they managed to get over all of the differences and start building a National Community (*Volksgemeinschaft*). The "misguided" ones were those who sympathized with the activist, non-left-wing political parties such as the German Agrarian Party (Bund der Landwirte—BdL) and the Christian Socialist Party (Deutsche Christlichsoziale Volkspartei—DCVP). In a group of "temporarily misguided" we can include members of the SdP whose views opposed those of their leaders. The obvious traitors were followers of the German Social Democratic Party (Deutsche sozial-demokratische Arbeitspartei—DSAP) and, of course, the Communists (Komunistická strana Československa). The magazine also reflected news from abroad, but only in terms of the policies of the Third Reich. Actual events taking place outside the German-speaking areas of the Czech lands and Slovakia were flagrantly ignored.[14]

Us: The National Community (*Volksgemeinschaft*)

Since the Napoleonic Wars, the character of "Michael" had been used to depict the "typical German", inspired by Saint Michael, the patron saint of Germany, and supposedly making reference to some kind of German indolence and political naivety (Becher 1997: 22–28; RAK 1994: 97–109). In Czech and German satirical magazines, divergences between Czechs and Germans were depicted as skirmishes between "Michael" and "Wenzel" (ill. 146), but *Der Igel* only followed this gentle form of caricature for a short period. From the second half of the 1930s, the traditional character of Michael was replaced by a new depiction of the so-called National Community (*Volksgemeinschaft*), whose most frequent archetype was a strong, healthy young man wearing trousers and a shirt with rolled up sleeves. While Michael had been more of a quiet and lonely scholar, the "New German" was resolute, strong-minded and confident as he had the whole National Community standing up for him—except of course for the misguided and the traitors (ill. 151).[15] One depiction of this "New German" appeared on the front page in the spring of 1938 to emphasize the new direction of the First of May celebrations, in which Marxist ideas, represented by the flag flying the "class struggle" slogan, were replaced by a celebration of work. The picture's key explained this change very clearly, and even transformed a well-known Nazi march, *Die Fahne hoch* (*Lift high the flag*), into *Die Fahne hoch für Arbeit, Recht und Brot* (*Lift high the flag for work, right and bread*).[16] This symbolic metamorphosis of Michael into a member of the National Community can be found in Erik's cartoon, *Unerwartete Pressewirkung* (*The Unexpected Effect of the Press*) of June 1938. Henlein's propaganda was, from the very beginning, aimed at anyone reporting on the situation on the Czech-German border in any way that differed from his own; the greatest enemies were

[14] *Der Igel*, 1935–1938.

[15] *Der Igel*, Asch, May 1935, vol. 3.

[16] *Der Igel*, Prague, May 1938, vol. 6.

considered to be the (more or less) neutral Czech or German journalists, German Social Democrats, Communists, and foreign representatives of the press. In this particular cartoon, the National Community member (a young man wearing black trousers and a white shirt clearly bearing the emblem of the SdP) is laughing at the journalists, who are promoting their campaign of hate. The typical hat refers back to the character of Michael. It is significant that this cartoon was published immediately following the end of activism when the only German opposition to the SdP was provided by Communists and Social Democrats (ill. 145).[17]

Another notable comic figure in *Der Igel* was Alois Lampl, with his commentaries on the contemporary political situation. He was a simple character who was deeply affected by the crisis and bore the brunt of the deprivation suffered by German Bohemians, but his overcomplicated summaries may cause some fun and amusement.[18]

Them: The Enemy Within

The SdP's rivals and opponents among German Bohemians could be described as the "enemy within." As mentioned above, the most caricatured opponents of the SdP were the leaders of German activism, who from 1926 participated in the state administration and whose ministers served for a period in the Czechoslovakian government. German activism sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the SdP in the spring election of 1935, but despite this, representatives of German activist parties continued to be involved in government (Klimek, A. 2002: 424–436).

Caricaturing the activists followed a set of basic rules. Agrarian politicians, for example, were portrayed as wealthy farmers from the German countryside, clad in trousers, waistcoat, and a traditional Tyrolean hat with feathers.[19] They sometimes carried a small whip, were pictured with amusing signs saying *Grüss Gott* (*May God greet you*), or were accompanied by farm animals, usually cattle (ill. 149).[20] In colour illustrations, Agrarian party members were usually rendered in different shades of green; the leader of the German Agrarian Party was Franz Spina (1868–1938).[21]

Besides the Agrarians, other activists included the Christian Socialists, whose leaders were usually depicted with long coats or suits and a shepherd's hat (*capello romano* or *saturno* in Italian) of the kind worn by Catholic clergy. Their typical colour was black, and their leader was Robert Mayr-Harting (1874–1948).[22]

---

17 *Der Igel*, Prague, June 1938, vol. 9.
18 *Der Igel*, 1935–1938.
19 *Der Igel*, Asch, May 1935, vol. 3.
20 *Der Igel*, Asch, June 1935, vol. 4.
21 *Der Igel*, Prague, April 1938, vol. 5.
22 *Der Igel*, Prague, June 1937, vol. 6.

The archetypal Social Democrat was portrayed as someone profiting from taking part in politics, and who was indifferent to the social position of the working classes (ill. 147).[23] The only thing he was interested in was money and a well-paid position in the civil service. His logo was three arrows, a reference to the German Iron Front (*Die Eiserne Front*). Another significant symbol was a tall cap, probably to accentuate the short, stout figures of those being caricatured. Another striking attribute was the blind man's glasses, indicating political blindness.[24] Some cartoons depicted Social Democrats with handprints on their shirts, and this had two possible meanings: dark handprints were a sign of corruption; red ones symbolized dealings with Communists—cutthroats with blood on their hands. Red was the typical colour for a Social Democrat in colour illustrations, unless he was pictured with a member of the Communist Party, in which case he was pictured in pink, and red was used for the communist.[25] As party leader and multiple minister in the Czechoslovak government, the most commonly caricatured Social Democrat was Ludwig Czech (1870–1942).[26]

The rejuvenation of German activism began on 18 February 1937, on which day the Czechoslovak government adopted a motion tabled by activist parties aimed at reaching a Czech-German settlement. But the plans were firmly rejected as half-hearted by the SdP, and the activists were portrayed as ridiculous figures who could not be taken seriously by anyone (Malíř 2005: 861–893). Besides the older politicians—Spina, Mayer-Harting, and Czech—also caricatured was a younger generation of activist leaders such as Gustav Hacker (1900–1979), Hans Schütz (1891–1982), and Wenzel Jaksch (1896–1966).[27] *Der Igel* depicted the events of 18 February as a flying balloon, symbolizing departing illusions of a Czech-German settlement, and carrying with it, away from the scene, the satisfied activists. The SdP considered the goal of the German activists to stay in power at all costs to be a betrayal as they considered cooperation with the Czechs at this level could only harm the National Community.[28]

The German-Austrian *Anschluss* in March 1938 and high-running tensions within the SdP led to the break-up of several of the smaller political parties of the German Bohemians. The majority of Germans from the Czech lands were integrated into the ranks of Henlein's party. The last caricature of Spina (who resigned on 23 March 1938) and Czech (who resigned on 11 April 1938) is entitled *Die Zähen* (The Die Hards). It was published on the front page, and in a certain way drew a line under the long-standing participation of German ministers in Czechoslovakian

---

23 *Der Igel*, Asch, March 1935, vol. 1.
24 *Der Igel*, Asch, March 1935, vol. 1.
25 *Der Igel*, Asch, November 1935, vol. 9.
26 *Der Igel*, Asch, June 1935, vol. 4.
27 *Der Igel*, Prague, February 1937, vol. 2.
28 *Der Igel*, Prague, June 1937, vol. 6.

governments.[29] The grumpy politicians are standing in the dark, hand in hand, but an arm, representing the Sudeten German community, urges them to go into the light, where they can answer to the SdP members for their misguided activist policies. It was only the German Social Democrats and Communists who resisted the joining Henlein's SdP, an action they persisted in right up to the annexation of the borderlands (Malíř 2005: 861–893).

Even though they were rivals in terms of practical politics, in Henlein's magazine, Social Democrats and Communists were always portrayed as co-workers and conspirators. In one illustration, the Social Democrat leader, Ludwig Czech, is pictured giving a "red commie" revolutionary a tender kiss. Czech is holding a gun and the communist's knife is stained with blood (ill. 153).[30] German Communists did not have their own party but were incorporated into the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the KSČ. Its members were usually portrayed as bloodthirsty vagrants or dangerous creatures from the fringes of society. Their clothing was ragged and unattractive, covered in holes and patches and topped off with a proletarian flat cap.

Der Igel often pointed out the danger of a potential union of Communists and other parties with a People's Front (*die Volksfront*). For example, in the cartoon *Communism Then and Now,* which would still be relevant today, the poor, bloodthirsty revolutionary from the periphery is set in contrast against a smooth lounge politician.[31] In December 1935, in connection with the convergence of the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, the magazine published, on the front page, a caricature of M. M. Litvinov (1876–1951), Soviet minister of foreign affairs, repainting a revolutionary vagrant from red, to white, blue, and red. The different colours were marked with the letters Č, S, and R, and the illustration was aptly titled *Litvinov's protective paint for the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia* (ill. 152).[32]

Them: The Enemy Without

a) Czechs and Slovaks

An important feature of political caricatures was the depiction of Czechs and Slovaks making a show of Czech nationalism in the German-speaking areas. The Czech version of the German Michael was Wenzel, named after the patron saint of Czechs, St. Wenceslas. Wenzel wore trousers, a shirt, a round *Sokol* cap decorated with a falcon feather, and a red and white breast-knot. In colour illustrations, Wenzel was portrayed in the national colors of red and white. In German cartoons he had always, since 1918, been depicted as an arrogant country bumpkin

---

[29] *Der Igel*, Prague, April 1938, vol. 5.

[30] *Der Igel*, Asch, November 1935, vol. 9.

[31] *Der Igel*, Prague, January 1938, vol. 1.

[32] *Der Igel*, Asch, December 1935, vol. 10.

holding all the power of the state. Michael, in stark contrast to Wenzel, was a slim, benevolent man smoking a pipe, who simply could not believe all the antagonism coming from the Czechs (Becher 1997: 45–59). The character of Wenzel slowly disappeared along with Michael, which meant that now, among the German National Community, the Czech nation had no representative but a hostile mass of bureaucrats, hateful policemen, Jewish journalists, misguided humanists, and barbarian Marxists.[33]

b) Emigrants

Other enemies of the SdP included the emigrants seeking political asylum in Czechoslovakia from Nazi Germany (after 1933) and, later, from Austria (during and after 1938). The emigrants were usually portrayed, wrongly, as fat, rich tourists, financially supported by the government, in contrast to the poor, unemployed German Bohemians who received no help at all from their "own" state. Henlein's magazine also contained contemptuous editorials about the emigrants and used every opportunity to cast a slur on them (ill. 148).[34] Two famous German emigrants to Czechoslovakia were Thomas and Heinrich Mann (ill. 150). *Der Igel* portrayed the latter as a coach driver carrying all his writings with him; Mann's warnings about the dangers of Nazism were dismissed by Henlein's satirists as mere foolish talk.[35]

c) The Others: racism and anti-Semitism

A number of racist theories divide groups into social hierarchies according to a certain racist "key." These theories usually point to the different "evolutions" of individual ethnic groups, from which are drawn social or political conclusions. Racist cartoons in *Der Igel* were often aimed at Black colonial soldiers in the French army (ill. 154). But in contrast with the poorly-armed Black Abyssinians resisting Italians who were armed with modern weapons, they were never lionized. This was only the case when, ignoring the policies of Nazi Germany, the magazine criticized Italy for its operations in Habesh in 1935.[36]

At the turn of 1936–1937, more and more anti-Semitic cartoons began to appear in the magazine. Most Communists were portrayed as having significant "Semitic" features, including, for example, the aforementioned M. M. Litvinov, who was of Jewish origin.[37] Also pictured with these features were the majority of left-wing politicians and journalists and most of the emigrants. Anti-Semitism was not only

---

[33] *Der Igel*, Asch; Prague, November 1935, vol. 9; December 1936, vol. 12; May 1938, vol. 7; and August 1935, vol. 6.

[34] *Der Igel*, Asch, July 1935, vol. 5.

[35] *Der Igel*, Prague, July 1936, vol. 7.

[36] *Der Igel*, Prague, May 1937, vol. 5.

[37] *Der Igel*, Prague, April 1936, vol. 4.

promulgated through illustrations—*Der Igel* also published a number of rhymes and short satirical articles.[38]

Conclusion

Political caricatures of and by German Bohemians reflect the highly complex political situation that prevailed in central Europe prior to the Second World War. The propaganda of the pro-totalitarian SdP divided society into those who either sympathized with or were enemies of its policies. This polarization made it easy to sort the cartoons that appeared in *Der Igel* into the categories, "Us" (The National Community), and "Them" (activists, traitors, Czechs, emigrants, and "Others").

We also find political caricatures of Czechs, emigrants, and Jews in satirical magazines of the Third Reich, but not the German Bohemian activists. Reminding the populace of their existence would probably have counteracted the propaganda that proclaimed the unity of the oppressed Germans of Czechoslovakia.

As we have seen, between 1935 and 1938, the depiction of national stereotypes in cartoons was rapidly changing: the character of Michael was replaced by a member of the German "National Community," and the figure of Wenzel was gradually transformed into a depiction of various enemies of the party, such as Czechoslovak policemen, leftist journalists, and bureaucrats.

Before the Munich Agreement of 1938, Czechoslovakia was the only remaining parliamentary democracy in central Europe, and totalitarian policies—unity, orientation towards the masses, contempt of democracy, and hateful propaganda—were not its usual way of conducting politics. But in the late 1930s, under the influence of Nazi Germany, the political atmosphere in the German-speaking regions rapidly changed. Even Western journalists noticed that the borderlands settled by the Germans were radically different from the rest of Czechoslovakia, and it was in these regions that the semi-totalitarian SdP was in power. The SdP's political style is clear, even now, from the visual and other content of its press—especially its cartoons.

The cartoons depict German Bohemians with great compassion as victims of the state they no longer wanted to live in. Conversely, the party's enemies are depicted with the cold, ruthless, untruthful rhetoric of a demagogue. But this was not merely humorous ridicule. Indeed, rather than bringing relief and laughter, the cartoons fomented confrontation.

After the Munich agreement, however, readers of *Der Igel*—now citizens of Nazi Germany – who wanted to lay their hands on further issues of the magazine, were to be disappointed. The Third Reich, which had its own propaganda machine, did not need the help of some local satirical magazine of the German Bohemians. *Der Igel* had served its purpose and was now "disappeared" without compensation. Our reader had then to satisfy himself with the cartoons of Berlin's *Kladderadatsh*

---

[38] *Der Igel*, Prague, September 1938, vol. 14.

and Munich's *Simplicissimus;* so continued the totalitarian practices in the world of cartoons in central Europe. (It is no coincidence that some of the caricatures in *Der Igel* magazine are conspicuously similar to those of Stalin-era Czechoslovakia after the coup of February 1948).

But our knowledge of history cannot be built on political cartoons alone – they certainly cannot be considered as primary sources in the way that written documents or documentary photographs can. Caricatures and cartoons provide an important complement, a certain reflection of a particualr period, but it is necessary to view the whole historical and social background of an era in order to gain a complete understanding of what the illustrations mean.

Caricature is a medium that expresses a somewhat tendentious view of the world, but which can yield satisfactory didactic results. So a visual illustration of, for example, the aims of a totalitarian party via caricatures that depict the affairs of the time, can be more effective than a written analysis of an empty and untruthful political program.

References

Fronk V. 2011, *Sebereflexe české společnosti. Přelom 19. a 20. století v perspektivě humoristických časopisů* (*Self-Reflection in Czech Society. Turn of 19th–20th Century According to the Perspective of Satirical Magazines*), Bílina–Praha.

Becher P., Dzambo J. (eds.) 1997, *Gleiche Bilder, gleicher Worte. Deutsche, Österreicher und Tschechen in der Karikatur* 1848–1948, München.

Peterová, M. 2001, *Němci v české karikatuře: proměna obrazu Němců ve 20. století* (*Germans in Czech Caricatures: The Changing Picture of Germans in the 20th Century*), Přerov.

Malíř J., Marek P. (eds.) 2005, *Politické strany* (*Political Parties*) (1861–1938), Brno.

Klimek A. 2002, *Velké dějiny zemí koruny české 1929–1938* (*The Great History of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown 1929–1938*), Praha–Litomyšl.

Rak J. 1994, *Mýty kmene Čechů* (*Myths of the Czech Tribes*), Praha.

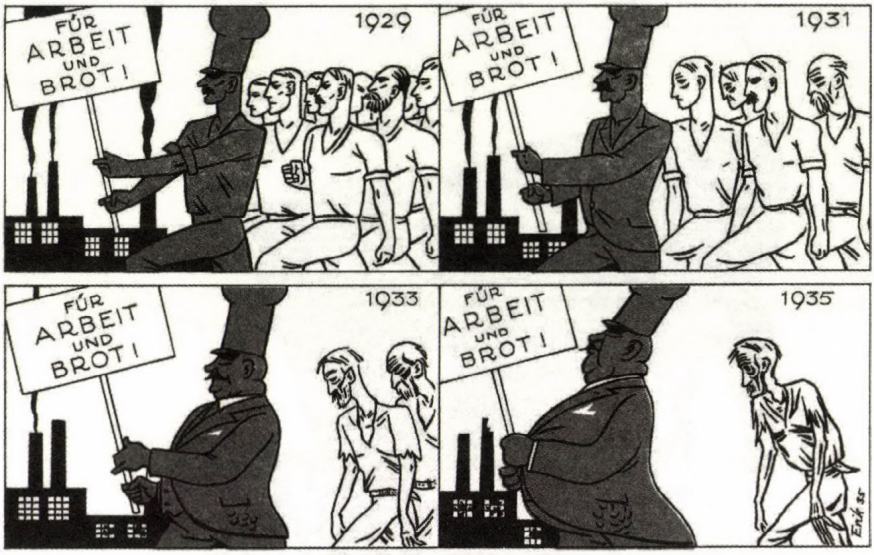


Unexpected influence of the press. "Thanks a lot, guys, now of us really knows the whole world!" The symbolic interconnection of the attributes of Michael and a representative of the united German "National Community" (Volksgemeinschaft).
Erik (H. E. Köhler), *Der Igel* (Praha/Prague) 1938, June 15. 145



Equal among equals. Michael says to Wenzel: „Hey man, I wouldn't see it this way".
The representative of the Czech nation, Wenzel, oppressing Michael,
the German minority in Czechoslovakia.

146 Till (H. E. Köhler), *Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935, August.

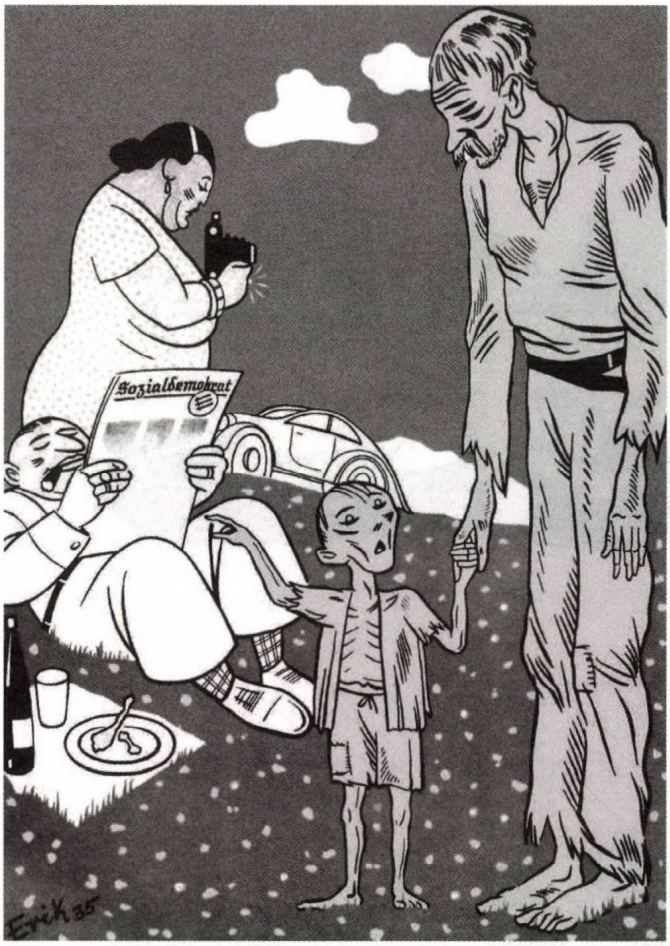


Peinliche Szenenänderungen

AWKWARD SCENE CHANGES

Caricature of German Social Democrats in Czechoslovakia.

Erik (H. E. Köhler), *Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935, March 1.



THE EMIGRANTS

Child: Daddy, these are also comrades?

Father: Yes, but the're doing much worse then us—they are the poor emigrants.

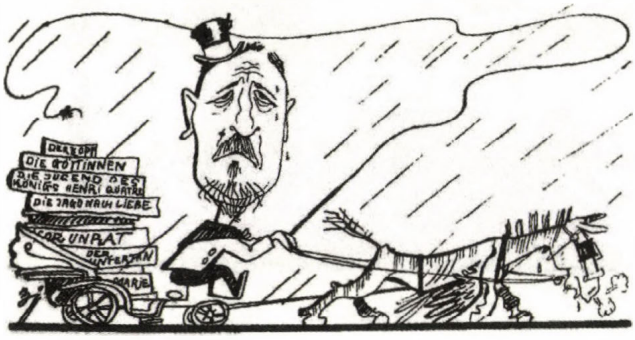
A cartoon untruthfully representing differences between the situation of political emigrants from Nazi Germany and the "oppressed" German minority in Czechoslovakia.

148 Erik (H. E. Köhler), *Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935, July.

Leader of the German Agrarian Party, Franz Spina, one of the prominent leaders of German activism in Czechoslovakia.
Der Igel (Aš/Asch) 1935, June. 149



344

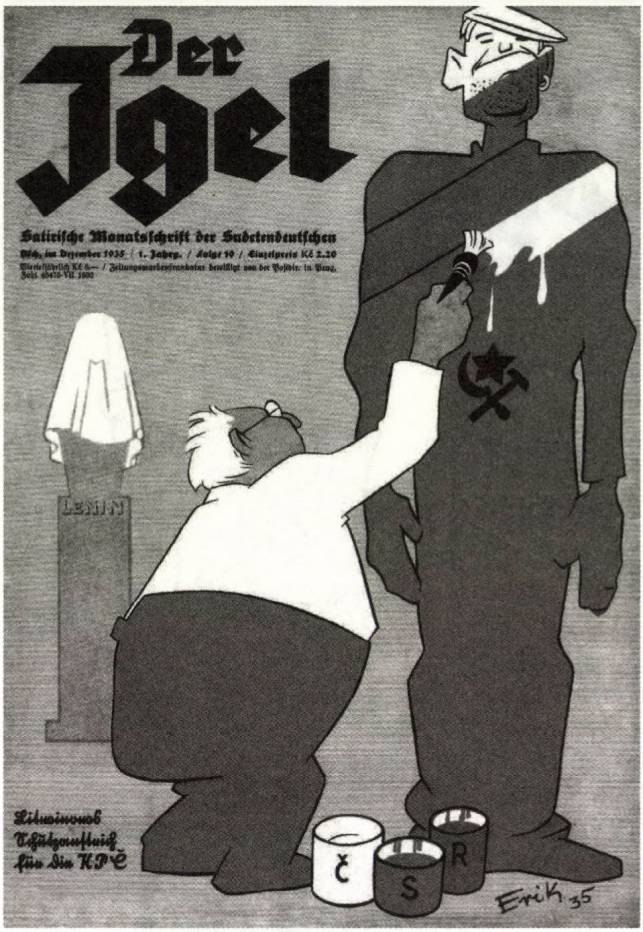


THE COACHMAN OR THE MOANER? THIS IS THE QUESTION
One of the most famous German emigrants to Czechoslovakia was the writer Heinrich Mann, often criticized by German Bohemian Nazis for his resistance to Hitler's regime.
Der Igel (Praha/Prag) 1936, June. 150



"And this is the end! You were only blabbing all the sixteen years. We're gonna act now!"
The united German minority—the "National community"
—during the parliamentary elections of 1935.

151 Erik (H. E. Köhler), *Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935, May 1.



LITVINOV´S PROTECTIVE VENEER FOR THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA

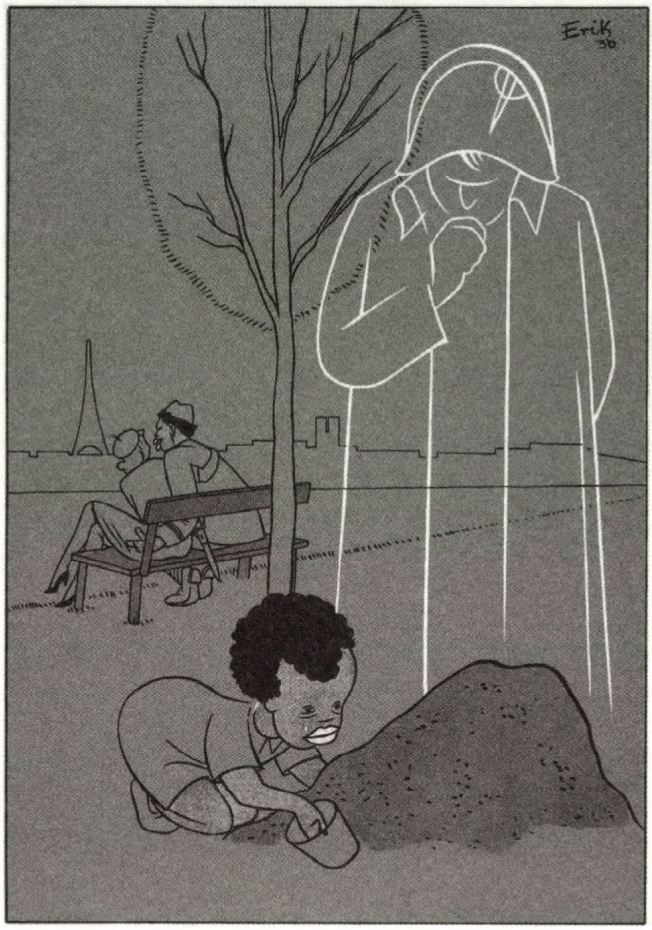
M. M. Litvinov, Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs, repainting Czech Communists in the national colours. Erik (H. E. Köhler), *Der Igel* (Praha/Prague) 1935, Dezember. 152



FAT FRIENDSHIP

'Gangster' unity between the Social Democrats and Communists.

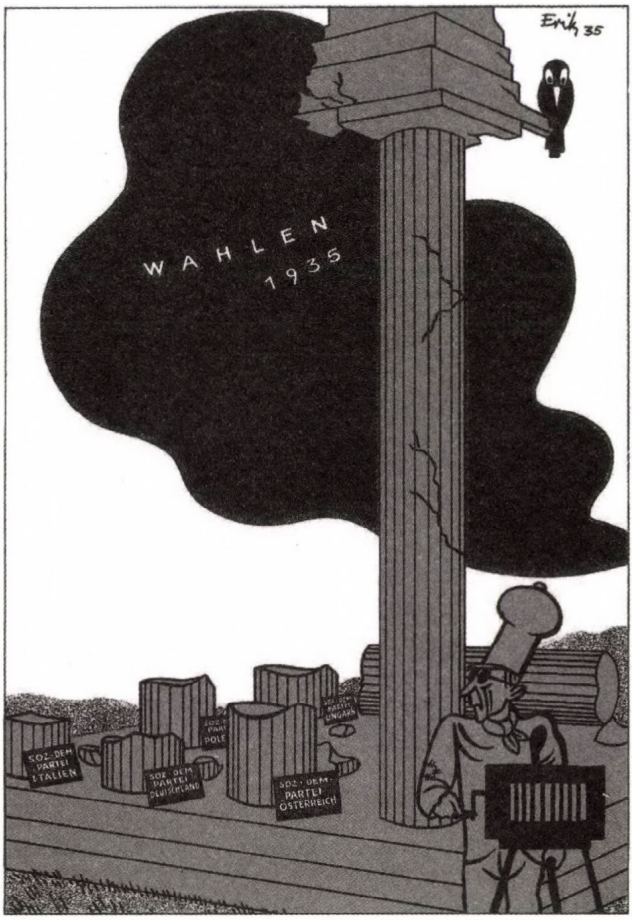
153 Hael (A. Hälbig), *Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935, November.



RACIAL ISSUES ON THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RHINE RIVER

"Mon dieu—how have the French changed!" Racist caricature referring to the numerical superiority of 'colonial' soldiers in the French army.

Erik (H. E. Köhler), *Der Igel* (Praha/Prague) 1936, April. 154



MARX´S SHRINE. ONE MORE HIGH COLUMN SHOWS THAT DISAPPEARING SPLENDOR...

Cartoon making fun of Social Democrats on the cover of the first edition of *Der Igel* magazine.

155 Erik (H. E. Köhler), *Der Igel* (Ašl/Asch) 1935, March 1.

5. Political Eyes: From Distant to Close Others

Edina Kicsindi

Reinterpreting the Distant Other in Nineteenth-Century Hungarian Political Cartoons

The Distant Other, or Exotic Other, is a well-described topic in anthropological literature, especially in postcolonial anthropology. According to French anthropologists, although the expression of Otherness is an ancient concept, the meaning of the notion changed throughout the centuries and the meaning of the Exotic Other changed significantly as well in the past 400 years. For example, "Persia, China and the Ottoman Empire were in vogue in the seventeenth century, and were considered to be mysterious and fascinating ... The colonial period gradually constructed a different kind of Other, which was less strange and more everyday in nature, since it had to form part of a colonial and racial hierarchy dominated by the white peoples" (Blanchard, Bancel, Boëtsch, Deroo, Lemaire 2008: 25). And

although the appearance of Otherness in cartoons is also a well-researched topic in Western anthropology, the Exotic Other in caricatures was rarely researched in countries without former colonies, such as Hungary. One of the main reasons for this is that during the past few decades, due to the Marxist philosophy of science, Hungarian historians denied any connection between the former Habsburg Empire (and Hungary) and the colonization of Africa; and the question was not really revisited after 1989 either. This article shortly explores the image of Africa and its people in the eyes of the Hungarian public based on the colonization of the continent, examining the similarities and differences of the emerging stereotypes with those from western Europe and showing how these stereotypes were used to convey different meanings in satirical papers.

As with China and Persia in the seventeenth century, in Europe in the nineteenth century, the topic of Africa and explorations in general were in vogue, and the newspaper-reading public was highly interested in all news from the "dark" continent. In Hungary, where most of the information and news about the world arrived from foreign daily newspapers (such as *The Times*) and illustrated weekly magazines (such as *London Illustrated News*) to the newspaper editors residing in Budapest, the colonization of Africa could be followed on a daily basis. Despite the fact that the Habsburg Empire had no colonial relation with any African territories, Hungarian newspaper readers could participate vicariously in the process of colonization in Africa through reading its news from their armchairs, and could form their own opinions about it. Furthermore, if we consider that the colonization of Africa had not only political, economical, and military aspects but also scientific

and popularized ones, we could define it as a long-term and complex process that started in the mid-nineteenth century. From this complex point of view, not only western European states, such as Great Britain, France, and Germany, were strongly connected to the colonization and participated in it, but also other European states. The Habsburg Empire, which defined itself as a major European power—and most of all an empire—in contemporary international politics participated as well.

Colonization was a process, because—as Alexander Honold stated it—the definition of the word itself had multiple meanings and indications at the same time in nineteenth-century Europe: colonial politics, trading networks, cultural exchange, geographical exploration all fit into what he described as "*In-der-Welt-Sein*" (being-in-the-world) (2002: 105). If we accept the Habsburg Empire as part of the Western world and one of the major powers in Europe, then, based on Edward W. Said's study on imperialism, we should consider not only the historic experience of the empire, but also colonization as one of its aspects as common European experience (1994: xxi–xxii). Mary Louise Pratt had a similar opinion, writing about a European-based "planetary consciousness" that had existed Europe-wide since the great explorations of the eighteenth century (1992: 15). According to her, the increasing interest toward the world shown by those who stayed home was the true driving force of the explorations, and through various channels, the gathered experience became part of a European knowledge, which also changed the place of Europe in the world (Ibidem: 23–24). In this context, exploration implies that a few people bring local (African) knowledge into the common European knowledge, connecting it to the known European power structures and relations. Thus the exploration becomes real after the explorers return home, as it is realized through their texts (Ibidem: 202–204). This means that in the examined timeframe, the process of African colonization became part of the common European knowledge and historical experience through the texts and pictures published by the press.

The colonization of Africa directed, not only political, but "at the same time the scientific, popular, geographic, administrative and cultural interest" of Europe toward the African continent (Coombes 1994: 7). Knowing, speaking, and reading about Africa was considered fashionable and the person reading, educated; this view became widespread, affecting all social classes. In his analysis of the colonization of Egypt, Timothy Mitchell writes of "global colonialism," indicating the sudden change in point of view that can be seen as parallel to the notion of globalization today, or even as its forerunner (1991: 130).[1] Its global nature, according to him, was exactly due to the fact that, through the telegraph and postcards—and even explorations in the form of articles and books, as Pratt pointed out—military events

[1] According to Hans Werner Debrunner, "In the second half of the nineteenth century the exploration of inner Africa generated the same interest Europe-wide in the news as the exploration of outer space in our time. ... The accounts of nineteenth century explorers satisfied the desires of a continent full of people longing for adventure and exotic life" (1979: 262).

and everyday colonial life were constantly present in all European homes, not just in the colonizing country (Ibidem: 130–131).

Colonization is a process that continuously represents itself—to others through the press—making everyone a part of the process, regardless of whether the news and travel writings are received in Vienna, Budapest, or Stockholm. As was usual for the era, the news in Hungarian newspapers was taken from foreign papers, so the mostly locally made satirical cartoons remained one of the few indicators of the Hungarian public's opinion about Africa.

Examining Estonian cartoons published between the two world wars, Liisi Laineste stated that "the exotic other is almost never the main addressee of caricature humour: it usually plays an assisting role" (2010: 98). Cartoons from Hungarian newspapers of the Habsburg Empire were a bit different, especially those connected to Africa in some way. The Habsburg Empire defined itself as a major European power through the second half of the nineteenth century. The governing Hungarian parties, who ensured their relative dominance within the empire via the Austro-Hungarian political compromise in 1867, shared this power. However, based on contemporary newspapers, Hungarian public opinion was not unanimous in this regard and became divided between the ideas of independence or joint state with the Habsburgs.[2] To quote Tamás Dersi, "The public opinion of the age was shaped by the opposition of 1848 and 1867, warping the themes of humorous press as well" (1973: 6).

Thanks to this strong political interest in the society, political satirical newspapers remained the dominant kind of satirical press until World War I, and politics became an integral part of everyday life, including the lives of middle-class newspaper readers. However this sudden public interest was not limited only to the events of Austro-Hungarian political life: news from outside the empire was integrated into this frame and worldview focused on domestic politics. The news of international politics was published differently in papers with different political inclinations (progovernment or opposition), and some events were only mentioned in certain newspapers while other newspapers might ignore them completely.[3] In addition to this, the political and military aspects of African colonization could be interpreted in the context of the European imperial political system and the network of alliances as a new but, during the nineteenth century, only a marginal space of political power. Because of this, African colonization surprisingly gained a stronger emphasis also in the political press, including satirical papers although to a different degree.

---

[2] See Kosáry, Németh 1985: 169, and Fülemile 2010: 28.

[3] For example, the events of the Anglo-Zulu War of 1879 were directly ridiculed in the progovernment paper but were not even mentioned in the other satirical magazines. About the Second Boer War of 1899–1902, the progovernment paper criticized the British actions—due to the increasing English-German opposition in Europe and to the anti-English, pro-German foreign affairs politics of the Habsburg Empire—while the anti-government papers compared the Boer fight for freedom to the crushed Hungarian efforts of 1848.

In Hungary, the events of African colonization were covered most directly on the pages of the progovernment *Borsszem Jankó* (*Peppercorn Jack*), which supported the government's policy of being a part of the Habsburg Empire, and, as the newspaper of an imperial power, it was its duty to follow international politics.[4] The focus of this attention was primarily the African expansion of the British Empire and its possible effects on the European network of alliances existing since the Congress of Vienna.

The Exotic Other appeared in two ways in Hungarian satirical papers. Direct interpretations of colonial events—mostly campaigns and wars—did appear (unlike in the Estonian materials); the reason for this was that the position of the Habsburg Empire as a European power justified direct comments to international affairs.[5] The jokes were mostly verbal, with cartoons emphasizing the character of the wild African native ruler opposing the Europeans; in the context of European politics mostly the continuous failures of Great Britain and Italy were ridiculed. These types of jokes and cartoons were prevalent mostly in the progovernment *Borsszem Jankó* (ill. 165).

The second appearance of the Exotic Other was playing an assistant role in caricatures connected to Hungarian political events and persons, similar to the Estonian examples. These cartoons—mostly depicting government politicians as native Africans—usually appeared in the papers of the opposition, such as *Bolond Istók* (*Foolish Stephen*)[6] or *Az Üstökös* (*The Comet*),[7] or in *Borsszem Jankó* itself, which

[4] The *Borsszem Jankó* (published between 1868 and 1938) was the most significant satirical paper of the period, supporting the governmental parties from 1868 on (first the Deák Party, named after Ferenc Deák, who was the main Hungarian leader in the negotiations that led to the Austro-Hungarian political Compromise in 1867; then the Liberal Party founded by later prime minister Kálmán Tisza from the rest of the Deák Party in 1875). After 1875, it became openly pro government. Editor Adolf Ágai, commissioned by Imperial Chancellor Gyula Andrássy himself, started the paper in 1868 shortly after the compromise. The contributing cartoonists included Karel Klič, János Jankó, József Faragó, Atanáz Homicskó, Ákos Garay, Ferenc Kunossy, Árpád Cserépy, Lajos Márk, and Alfréd Lakos. Part of the caricatures were taken uncredited from foreign papers (Buzinkay 1983: 67). Being pro-government, the paper dealt with foreign affairs more often than any paper of the opposition. However its statements were "characterised by an anti-war sentiment" (Kosáry, Németh 1985: 203), often disapproving of Great Britain's colonial policy as well.

[5] Such directly covered events were the British punitive expedition to Abyssinia in 1868, the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879, the rebellion of Muhammad Ahmad al-Mahdi from 1884 on, and the First Italo-Ethiopian War in 1895–1896.

[6] The *Bolond Istók* (published between 1878 and 1918) was the counterpart of *Borsszem Jankó*. The long-lived satirical paper voiced the 1848 revolution-based opposition's opinion, but it remained loyal to the monarch and the Habsburg dynasty was never the subject of its jokes. According to Dersi, "A *Bolond Istók* cartoonist's fantasy revolved around the everyday affairs of two dozen public figures. His work features a lot of repetition, emptiness, crudeness free of humour" (1973: 63). The majority of the paper consisted of politician portraits and connected jokes. While its content focused on internal affairs, this was the newspaper that paired jokes and cartoons with a domestic content and from a domestic context with imagery on the topic of colonization.

[7] Géza Buzinkay does not consider *Az Üstökös* (published between 1858 and 1918) a satirical newspaper but rather a "raconteur" quasi-literary paper, full of the personalities of founding bestseller author

was forced into opposition during the short-lived coalition government in 1905. These papers of the opposition, which unlike *Borsszem Jankó* condemned the role Hungary played in the European imperial politics of the Habsburg Empire, were mostly attacking the ruling Hungarian party's politics in their jokes, and the papers only featured the largest and longest international events.[8] However these oppositional satirical papers only rarely dealt with African wars, but taking note of the increasing public interest of other newspapers (daily newspapers, illustrated weekly magazines, and even geographical journals) in these events, they began to use the characteristics of other papers' illustrations of African events on their cartoons connected to Hungarian public figures and events. This lead to the creation of the Hungarian interpretation of the African native, which became one of the defining archetypes of satirical politician depictions.

Different archetypes of the native as the Exotic Other existed earlier, but the image of the African native in general in Hungarian satirical papers was created without a doubt during the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879, which became a basis for the specialized "native politician portraits" later. News of the South-African conflict already appeared in daily political papers in the summer of 1878, but they only became major news after the British defeat at Isandlwana in January 1879. The reason for the special attention was that European diplomacy vigilantly monitored any potential sources of conflict that could change the status quo between the greater European powers. And although South Africa was marginal in the Bismarckian System, as part of the "Eastern question," the rivalry between Russia and Great Britain turned into an armed conflict in Afghanistan and any potential regrouping of British troops from Afghanistan to South Africa could affect this rivalry and the European status quo and create new bargaining positions for every power with an interest in the Ottoman Empire (such as the Habsburg Empire).[9] One of the reasons for the sudden interest in the Anglo-Zulu War was that the defeat of the world's leading military power by inferiorly armed, "primitive" Africans seemed to shake the foundation of the European alliance forced into an arms race. Because of its ef-

Mór Jókai (1983: 23). Based on its content we cannot say the paper was purely a literary paper. Jókai himself was a representative of the Deák party, thus his newspaper alternated between literature and political articles, as well as cartoons. It did occur multiple times that literature dominated the articles. Unlike the other satirical papers, it did not cover the Anglo-Zulu War in 1879. Later, under the editorship of Endre Szabó, the paper went through a longer apolitical period between 1886 and 1889. Because of the changing editors, it changed its political views much more often than its contemporaries.

[8] These major events include the American Civil War (1861–1865), and later the Second Boer War (1899–1902).

[9] The Habsburg Empire tried to extend its political and economical reach toward the Balkan countries, breaking free from the weakening Ottoman supremacy. The possible reallocation of armies and weakening of Russia—also interested in the area on a political and ideological basis—and Great Britain in Afghanistan would have provided an opportunity for a shift in power in the diplomatic forums deciding about the area.

fects on European imperial politics, jokes focusing on the British defeat mostly appeared in *Borsszem Jankó*, which was sensitive to the international political situation.

In addition to this, the 23-year-old son of the late Napoleon III, Napoléon Eugène Louis Bonaparte, living in exile joined the British reserve troops and died during an unfortunate field inspection, further contributing to this increased attention. His death stirred international public opinion, but in Hungarian satirical papers it was only covered in the *Borsszem Jankó*. Using the well-known childhood nickname "Lulu," referring to the word "Zulu" in the poems, implies that his ignoble fall was the result of his irrational ambitions and that he deserved to die by the hand of an unworthy foe.[10] The death of Prince Napoléon helped to solidify and spread the earlier savage African image (ill. 156).

As Jan Nederveen Pieterse in his pioneering work about the Exotic Other stated, "The basic colonial image of the native is, as far as Africa is concerned, an enemy image. The first episodes of colonialism were of battle and bloody violence ... The ignoble savage of colonialism was first of all a warrior. Virtues which earlier determined the image of the 'noble savage', such as proud aggression, were now revalued to signify cruelty, beastliness. Nudity, earlier a token of purity, now formed part of the profile of primitivism and stood for lack of control." (1992: 78–79). In addition, newspapers' images depicting battles and warrior dance mirrored also cruelty and beastliness and provided the basis for the European belief that Africans were cannibals (Codell 2006: 414).

Verbal jokes about the Anglo-Zulu War from 1879 follow this trope. Most of the texts show the history of the Zulu people, reflecting the styles of the feuilletons of daily papers and anthropological descriptions of scientific and illustrated journals, stressing the primitiveness of the Zulus and contrasting them with the English armies and further emphasizing the surprising Zulu victory at the beginning of the war. Dan Wylie in his study about the representation of King Shaka pointed out that the "Zulu history" was constructed for the Europeans, due to the attention the 1879 war gained, as part of the cognitive process whereby the area and the people gained their place in the constructed worldview of Europeans (1997). Thus, as the illustrated and scientific journals published historical and anthropological articles, the satiric papers were also criticizing the increased interest and media attention.[11] The tone of the writings escalated to obscenities in the characterization of cruelty, massacre, and cannibalism, and these writings were mostly published in the progovernment *Borsszem Jankó*, whose reporters were covering the war directly.[12] The basic concepts of general knowledge about Africa in this age consisted of cannibalism, polygamy, slavery, fanaticism, despotism, savagery, and nudity/half-nudity, according to multiple authors (see, e.g., Kuper 1993; Mudimbe 1988). Both the progov-

---

[10] *Borsszem Jankó*, Budapest, 22 June 1879.

[11] See e.g. Rakovszky 1879.

[12] See *Borsszem Jankó*, Budapest, 23 February 1879, and *Borsszem Jankó*, Budapest, 16 March 1879.

ernment and the opposition satirical papers used African natives in their jokes and cartoons in connection with the Anglo-Zulu War, but in different ways. The main reason for the difference was that while the main topic of the opposition press was to critique the governing party and its politicians, the progovernment paper obviously did not publish such jokes and instead could cover more international political events. The other reason arguably was that the government-subsidized paper focused on international politics instead of internal affairs, partly to refocus the attention of their audience, and partly to strengthen their identity as one of the European empires. This was aided by the fact that the jokes depicting the Zulu—after the English template—followed the trend in western Europe, which focused on demonizing the Zulu image and through this erased the earlier general idea of the "noble savage." The western European way of thinking reaffirmed the feeling of "*In-der-Welt-Sein*" in the readers of a country who had just begun in the last decade to deal with politics again and to consider itself a part of Europe.

According to Ágnes Fülemile, "The caricature was also influenced by earlier graphical traditions" (2010: 29). The signs of the constructed image of Zulu descended also from multiple sources. Preconceptions in the minds of Hungarian readers were limited to the images of the "dark-skinned human" and the "exotic savage" connected to early images of indigenous peoples and African slaves of America and illustrations of African peoples in travel writings. As Fülemile wrote, the general "attribute-like metonymic signs" connected to the constructed image of indigenous peoples were different objects, such as the pike, the bow and arrow, nude or half-naked bodies, and feathers as decoration for male indigenous people (2010: 36). Due to the practice of international press reviews, British Zulu cartoons appeared in the European press, but the cartoonists of Hungarian satirical papers had other sources as well, such as earlier *Az Üstökös* cartoons about feather-haired "exotic savages" or cartoons from *Az Üstökös* (ill. 158) and *Bolond Miska* (*Foolish Michael*) about American slaves from the Civil War period (ill. 159).[13] Similar forerunners are illustrations from *Vasárnapi Ujság* (*Sunday News*) published descriptions of African journeys, for example, etchings from the 1873 voyage of Stanley (ill. 157) or illustrations of Africa-based novels by Jules Verne published in weekly installments in the *Vasárnapi*

[13] The *Bolond Miska* (published between 1860 and 1875) was a relatively short-lived newspaper, compared to its contemporaries. Its readership was mostly the same as the leading political daily paper of the period between 1850 and 1870, the *Pesti Napló* (*Pest Journal*). Its editorial staff was the same as that of *Az Üstökös*. Between 1860 and 1861, its editor was the poet Kálmán Tóth, followed by Viktor Szokoly, although Kálmán Tóth remained on staff until the end. The graphic artist was János Jankó; not surprisingly, he created most of the original cartoons for most satirical papers of the period. The *Bolond Miska* was the most popular satirical paper of the first half of the 1860s. Its popularity—maybe because the readers preferred the "noisy actualities" of the newfound freedom of press to the "time-tested, higher humour"—exceeded that of *Az Üstökös* (Kosáry, Németh 1985: 172–185). In 1868, however, it could not keep up with up-and-coming *Borsszem Jankó*, and the paper was discontinued (part of the staff joined the competition).

Ujság, like *Dick Sand* or *A Captain at Fifteen.*[14] The image was further influenced by pictures of Zulus and King Cetshwayo kaMpande, also published in *Vasárnapi Ujság* (ill. 160). Thus, the formal characteristics of Zulu cartoons consisted partly of the clothing considered to be traditional—such as a loincloth made of linen, leaves or skins; shrouds; feathers in the hair; hand-, feet- and nose piercings; spears; and long oval shields—and partly of the dark skin; black, curly hair; and anthropological signs of the face (ill. 161).

However, when comparing this generic, impersonal representation of Other and the visualization of Hungarian politicians as Zulus, we can discover significant changes in the methods of depiction. The figure becomes more personified, and in order to become recognizable, it loses most of the anthropological signs of the generic image. Only the half-nudity, the clothing, and the traditional oval Zulu shield remain, along with a few other signs, such as the merging of the name of King Cetshwayo with that of the caricaturized politician (ill. 164). These cartoons also show the next stage of their evolution, where the dark skin as a primary trait remains but takes on new meanings when coupled with tattoos that characterize the depicted person, usually a politician.

In the conception of V. Y. Mudimbe, African nudity in the eyes of Europeans expresses the innocence and ignorance of a child but also a lower evolutionary state—a primitive one connected to paganism (representing evil) and cannibalism (symbolized by the beast) (1988: 49–50). The interpretation of nudity as a symbol of the child cannot be used with the cartoons of Hungarian politicians, because the opposition papers in their nude- or half-naked-politician portrayals focused on the governing politicians' corruption and scandals, which could not really be related to the idea of childish innocence, but rather to notions of primitivism and beastly behavior. Furthermore, I would like to refer again to Honold, who commented that during the Ashanti Show in Vienna in 1896, West Africans had to sit half-naked in the fall weather because the audience, based on their preconceptions about primitiveness, accepted only this as authentic (2002: 119). Authenticity is a key motif in these politician portraits as well; the nudity shows the true colors and motives of the politicians, uncovered. However, in the work of Honold, the fact of nudity was accompanied by a racist stereotype connected to skin color; namely, that, unlike white skin, dark skin is already colored, serving as clothing, serving the function that only clothing provides for White people: covering up (Ibidem: 119). Following up on this thought, the dark skin of the politicians visualized as African natives has

[14] The *Vasárnapi Ujság* was one of the most widespread and longest running weekly illustrated newspapers, published between 1854 and 1921. In terms of internal affairs the paper was impartial, but its general objectivity is questionable because of the fact that "its interests, spirit was mostly shaped by the dominating English orientation, from technology to travelling accounts" (Kosáry, Németh 1985: 221). The majority of the Africa-themed articles were taken from foreign—mostly English—papers rather than being written by the staff of the newspaper (Miklóssy 1975: 339).

the ability to conceal, gaining an important role in political cartoons: it becomes the symbol of the corrupt politician, authentically (unconcealed), proving the politician's un-authenticity (concealment).

This visual construct is closely connected to another motif often used in political cartoons: "washing the Moor white." This imagery was not an invention of the 1880s, but a long used, international motif of the Victorian era, appearing in soap advertisements and in the cartoons of early satirical papers of the 1860s when Hungarian political life became reinvigorated (ill. 162). This motif of American origin became popular again with the African native politician cartoons, and with the change of context, the formal elements changed as well. In the examined material, the opposite motif of "smearing into a Moor" appears, as the rite of initiation of newly elected government representatives, as the beginning of their corruption according to the satirical papers of the opposition. The depiction of the corruption is still connected to concealment and camouflage and to moral degradation (ill. 163). It is important to note that the dark skin as the symbol of the immoral politician never reappears in the native depictions of the cartoons of African events: that is, despite their savagery and cruelty, African leaders are never depicted as weak, easy-to-bribe politicians.[15] In this context, corruption, as a characteristic of social classes close to power, is interpreted more as a disease of civilization and opposes the mentality of the age that defined African societies at the lowest stage of civilization (savagery). The notion of corruption assumes a degree of social development, more precisely, development that pointed toward western European society but got stuck, for example, as shown in caricatures depicting the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, symbolizing the East. It is probably not a coincidence that politicians of the Hungarian government were often called "*Mameluks*," referring to the oligarchs of the late feudal system in Egypt, who were the main obstacles to the country becoming a modern state through reforms and whose reign was ended by Muhammed in the first half of the nineteenth century.

"Washing the Moor white" is not only used to turn the dark skin white: it is also used on the tattooed politician, for example, after a change of political direction. For example, the political paper *Pesti Napló* tries to conceal the less successful and clean work of author Mór Jókai as a representative, as shown in the caricature of *Az Üstökös*. Tattoos as "primitive" traits are synonymous with dark skin, and in the contemporary cartoons the determining features of a person were shown as tattoos that indicated one's political convictions or affiliations (e.g., the two-headed eagle of the Habsburgs) or served to characterize the politician's personality, habits, or flaws (e.g., beer mugs, sausage). These tattoos could appear on both dark and white skin, and washing the tattooed person was basically a merging of two motifs.

---

[15] See, for example, the cartoons about Tewodros II of Ethiopia (*Borsszem Jankó*, Budapest, 10 May 1868) or cartoons about Menelik II on his visit to Budapest in 1900 (*Kakas Márton*, Budapest, 16 December 1900).

Politicians tattooed with their crimes, corruption scandals, or political convictions are not exclusive to Hungarian cartoons but also appeared in Anglo-Saxon caricatures as well.[16]

Following the Berlin Conference in 1885, the satirical papers started to evaluate the civilization ideology of the colonization of Africa differently from *Vasárnapi Ujság* and the geographical journals. Regardless of their political position, both *Bolond Istók* of the opposition and *Borsszem Jankó* of the government published harsh criticisms of the Africa policy of the European powers. This was arguably due to the fact that during this time it became clear that the main reason for colonization was not a pan-European civilization mission in which everyone could take part, regardless of being a British, a German, or an Austrian subject. Nearing the turn of the century, African wars still appeared among the foreign political topics of satirical papers, but in the context of the increasingly bipolar European alliances, the focus shifted toward a criticism of colonial powers.[17] Despite this, the depiction of politicians as African natives—often as cannibals—and the Moor-washing and Moor-smearing motifs remained the main motifs of Hungarian cartoons criticizing Hungarian governmental politics up until World War I. These motifs did not vanish from the satirical papers in the 1900s when the significance of these papers declined: the new generation of satirical papers such as *Mátyás Diák* (*Scribe Mathias*)[18] and *Kakas Márton* (*Rooster Martin*)[19] still used these figures. Even after the interest in Africa and African events following 1900 waned, the cartoons remained, showing that these motifs became strongly embedded in the way the Hungarian public expressed their opinions before World War I.

References

Blanchard P., Bancel N., Boëtsch G., Deroo É., Lemaire S. 2008, *Human Zoos: The Greatest Exotic Shows in the West*, [in:] Blanchard P., Bancel N., Boëtsch G., Deroo É., Lemaire S., Forsdick C.

---

[16] See, for example, *The Tattooed Man* caricature series of Bernhard Gillam about James G. Blaine in the American satirical newspaper *Puck* in 1884 (Thomas 1987).

[17] For example, ridiculing the Ethiopian campaign of the Italians in 1896 or criticizing British politics during the Second Boer War (1899–1902).

[18] *Mátyás Diák* (published between 1888 and 1921) was different for more reasons from the satirical papers introduced earlier. It was not connected to any political parties, although it regularly stated its opinions regarding internal affairs and foreign events (not just political). It was more similar to a "Vienna-style satirical paper," meaning that in addition to political and social cartoons, popular culture and tabloid topics were covered. Because of its independence, it harshly criticized the government, but it was loyal to the monarch and the dynasty, which was assurance of the Hungarian status as a European power. The paper published several cartoons about the politics of European powers, and as a part of it, colonization, from the point of view of a major power.

[19] *Kakas Márton* (published between 1894 and 1914) was very similar to *Mátyás Diák*, also being a "Vienna-style satirical paper." The main difference between them was *Kakas Márton*'s clear connection to politics: as a paper of the opposition, it supported the Függetlenségi Párt (Independence Party). It published not only political jokes but chants, couplets, and humoresques.

(eds.), *Human Zoos. Science and Spectacle in the Age of Colonial Empires,* Liverpool, pp. 1–49.

Buzinkay G. 1983, *Borsszem Jankó és társai. Magyar élclapok és karikatúráik a XIX. század második felében* (*Borsszem Jankó and Its Contemporaries. Hungarian Satirical Papers and Their Caricatures in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century*), Budapest.

Codell J. F. 2006, Imperial Differences and Culture Clashes in Victorian Periodicals' Visuals: The Case of Punch, *Victorian Periodicals Review,* vol. 39, pp. 410–428.

Coombes, A. E. 1994, *Reinventing Africa. Museums, Material Culture and Imagination,* New Haven–London.

Debrunner, H. W. 1979, *Presence and Prestige: Africans in Europe. A History of Africans in Europe Before 1918,* Basel.

Dersi T. 1973, *A Borsszem Jankótól a Herkó Páterig* (*From Borsszem Jankó to Herkó Páter*), [in:] Dersi T. (eds.), *Századvégi üzenet. Sajtótörténeti tanulmányok* (*Message from the End of Century. Press History Studies*), Budapest, pp. 5–76.

Honold A. 2002, *Kakanien kolonial. Auf der Suche nach Welt-Österreich,* [in:] Müller-Funk W., Plener P., Ruthner C. (eds.), *Kakanien revisited. Das Eigene und das Fremde (in) der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie,* Tübingen–Basel, pp. 104–120.

Fülemile Á. 2010, *Dress and Image: Visualizing Ethnicity in European Popular Graphics. Some Remarks on the Antecedents of Ethnic Caricature,* [in:] D. Demski, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures,* Warsaw, pp. 28–61.

362 Kosáry D., Németh G. (eds.) 1985, *A magyar sajtó története* (*A History of the Hungarian Press*), vol. 2 (1867–1892), Budapest.

Kuper M. 1993, *Über die Wut im Bauch des Kannibalen. „Die meisten Vorstellung sind falsch",* [in:] Lorbeer M., Wild B. (eds.), *Menschenfresser—Negerküsse. Das Bild vom Fremden im deutschen Alltag,* Berlin, pp. 36–45.

Laineste L. 2010, *The Frighteningly Funny Foreigner: Caricatures of the Other in Estonian Interwar Public Discourse,* [in:] D. Demski, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures,* Warsaw, pp. 92–119.

Miklóssy J. 1975, *„Organum a nagy közönségért". A Vasárnapi Újság a Bach-korszak éveiben* (*"Press for the Public". The Vasárnapi Újság in the Years of the Bach-Period*), [in:] Németh M. (eds.), *Az Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár Évkönyve 1972* (*Annual Review of the National Széchenyi Library 1972*), pp. 329–342.

Mitchell, T. 1991, *Colonising Egypt,* Berkeley–Los Angeles–Oxford.

Mudimbe V. Y. 1988, *The Invention of Africa. Gnosis, Philosophy, and the Order of Knowledge,* Bloomington–Indianapolis.

Pieterse J. N. 1992, *White on Black. Images of Africa and Blacks in Western Popular Culture,* New Haven–London.

Pratt M. L. 1992, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation,* London–New York.

Rakovszky I. 1879, A délafrikai bonyodalmak (The South-African Complications), *Budapesti Szemle,* vol. 20, pp. 416–428.

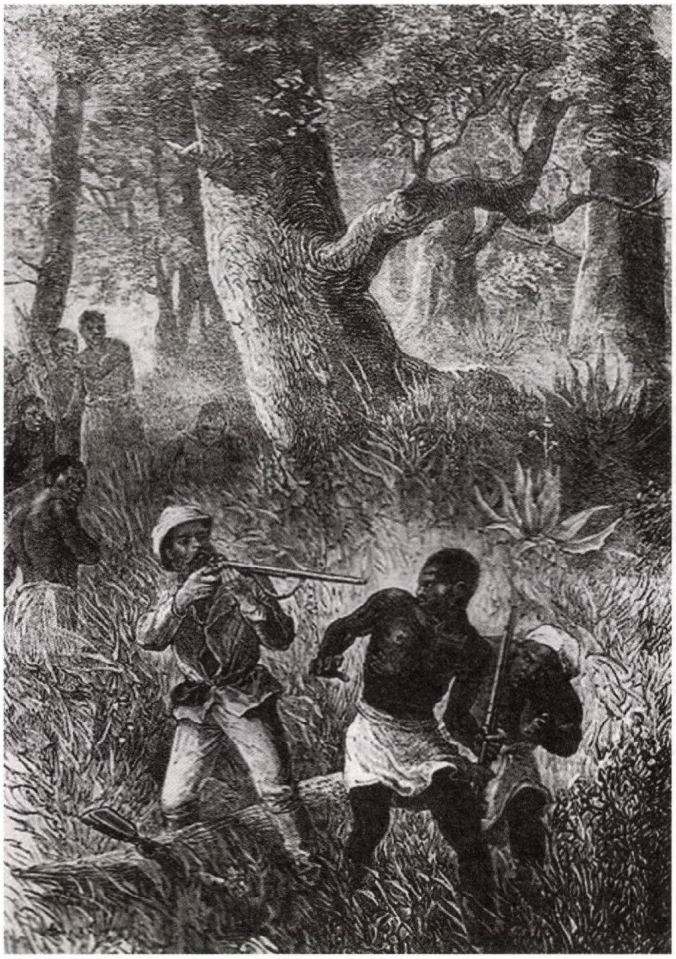
Said E. W. 1994 [1993], *Culture and Imperialism,* New York.

Thomas S. J. 1987, The Tattooed Man Caricatures and the Presidential Campaign of 1884, *Journal of American Culture,* vol. 10, no. 4, pp. 1–20.

Wylie D. 1997, Violently Representing Shaka, *Mots Pluriels,* vol. 1, http://www.arts.uwa.edu.au/ MotsPluriels/ MP497dw.html (accessed 02. 06. 2007).



DEATH OF PRINCE NAPOLÉON
G. Durand, *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 1879, July 6. 156



157 **From Stanley's African journey: mutiny at the river Gombe**
Vasárnapi Ujság, 1873, March 2.



CANNIBAL NAÏVETÉ

Depiction of the indigenous people of Haiti

Az Üstökös, 1859, February 5. 158

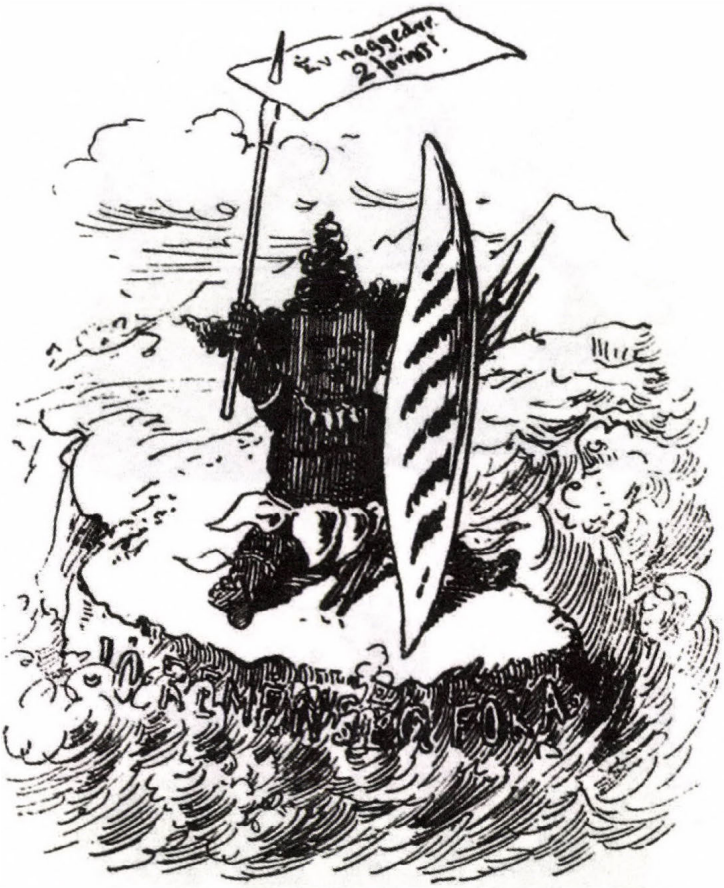


CAPTURING OF SLAVE OWNER

159 *Az Üstökös*, 1865, June 3.



CETSHWAYO THE KING OF ZULU-KAFFIRS
Vasárnapi Ujság, 1879, March 2. 160



161 **"2 forints for a quarter year. Cape of Good Hope"**
Borsszem Jankó, 1879, June 29.

PARLIAMENT PICTURE 162

"They are indeed washing him, but I think they are washing a Moor."

Bolond Miska, 1861, June 9.



370



THE ZULU

Bolond Istók, 1879, October 26. 163

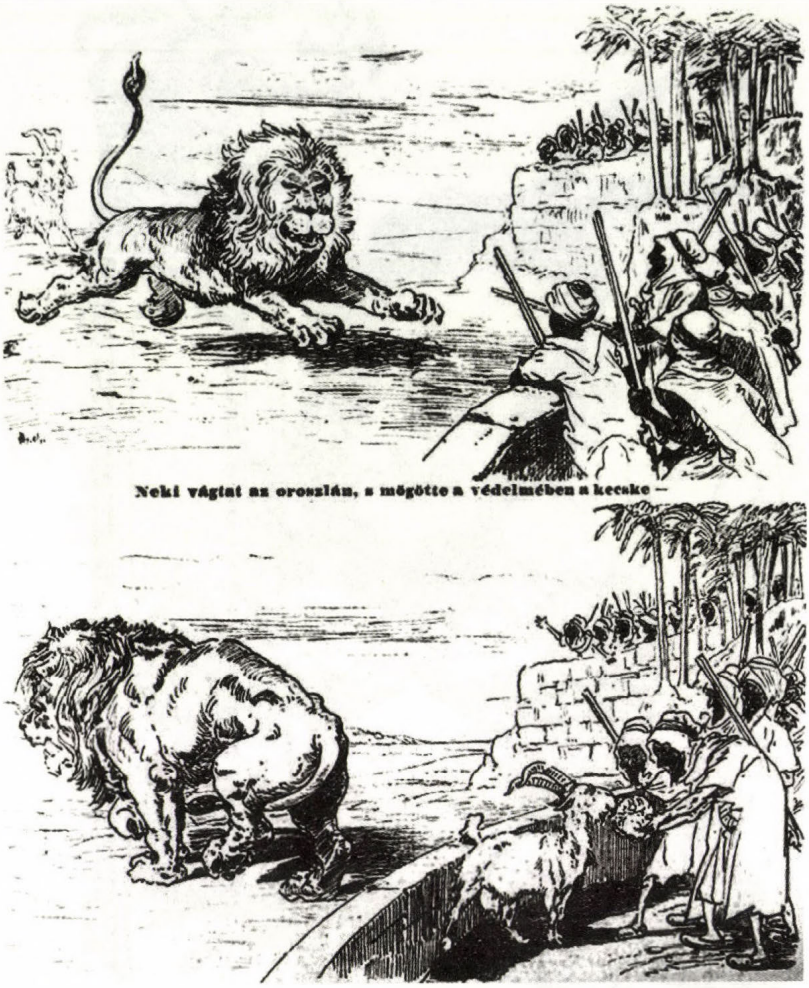


ALBUM OF *MAMELUKS*. FERENCZ KRAJCSIK

Csittvájó Tisza-Idol, King of Mameluks.

Senator Ferencz Krajcsik before Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza. The name "Csittvájó" [Silent-wayo] refers to the prime minister's characteristic to be a man of silence.

164 *Bolond Istók*, 1879, April 6.



372

THE ENGLISH LION AND THE ITALIAN GOAT

"The lion charges, the goat rushes behind him to protect him—the lion retreats and... the goat stays."
The Italian expansion in East-Africa in the wake of the British campaign in Sudan.
Borsszem Jankó, 1885, March 1.

Barbara Derler

Constructions of Otherness: The Establishment of Studio Photography and the (Non-)Visibility of Muslim Women in Sarajevo Until World War I

Although there are histories of photography in southeastern Europe, the embedding of these narratives into a broader context of European photography and a history of visual perception has been absent. Seminal country studies on the history of photography have been carried out by Milanka Todić for Serbia (Todić 1989, 1993), by Petar Boev for Bulgaria (Boev 1983), by Nada Grčević for Croatia (Grčević 1981), and by Alkēs X. Xanthakēs for Greece (Xanthakēs 1988). In contrast, a compendium on the overall history of photography in Bosnia and Herzegovina is still missing. There exists a well-done book written by the enthusiastic photographer and private photo collector Nikola Marušić (Marušić 2002), which gives references about the first photographers in the country. However, in a critical analysis of this book, his achievements have to be treated with some reservation due to a lack of specified sources. There is one article published by Sarita Vujković on the establishment of photography in Banja Luka (Vujković 2002), and there have been some exhibitions of photographers organized by museums.[1] Surprisingly enough, the history of photography in the capital city of Sarajevo has not been a special focus. Besides this lack of knowledge about photography in this city, the lack of knowledge about the perception of the country and its people through the eyes of the Western world is even more surprising. Bosnia and Herzegovina were, not only in focus during the Yugoslav wars in the 1990s, but also attracted attention in much earlier time periods, during the occupation and annexation by Austria-Hungary (1878–1918) and, especially, through the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in 1914. By providing concrete pictures in addition to an

[1] In Sarajevo, the exhibitions were organized by the National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There have been two exhibitions dedicated to the work of František Topič: *Etnografski predmeti na fotografijama Franje Topiča* (*Ethnographic Objects in the Photographs of Franjo Topič*), 2005 and *Sarajevo između dvije carevine* (*Sarajevo Between Two Empires*), 2007. Photographs of Milan Karanović were presented in the exhibition *Milan Karanović, život i rad* (*Milan Karanović, Life and Work*), 2006. In 2010, the Museum of Herzegovina organized an exhibition called *100 godina od posjeta cara Franje Josipa I. u Mostaru* (*100 Years After the Visit of Emperor Franz Joseph I in Mostar*) with photographs by Anton Zimolo, and in 2004 the exhibition *Stari most u očima fotografa Antona Zimola* (*The Old Bridge Through the Eyes of the Photographer Anton Zimolo*).

analysis of mental images, photography and other visual sources can contribute to a better understanding of the external perceptions of the countries of southeastern Europe and its peoples.

This article is based on my research within the project "Visualizing Family, Gender Relations, and the Body. The Balkans, approx. 1860–1950" (project number 22104), funded by the Austrian Science Fund (2010–2013) and situated at the Centre for Southeast European History and Anthropology at the University of Graz, Austria.[2] Since my research is in progress, my remarks are based on preliminary insights, which naturally raise more questions than provide answers. As a matter of course, my future research will confirm or disprove aspects that crystallize in this paper. The following arguments are based on photographs, which have been collected from different archives and museums in Vienna and Sarajevo from February 2011 until July 2011.[3] Out of around 14,000 viewed images, I came to a stock of about 800 pictures, such as documentary photographs,[4] studio photographs, and picture postcards. The aim of this article is to retrace the establishment of photography in Sarajevo by elaborating the main types of photography (studio photography, picture postcards, souvenir cards) until World War I and by evaluating their potential for analysis. The three examples presented are isolated cases, which retrace specific ways in which the Sarajevans were visually represented by foreigners. In future research and after the evaluation of the remaining material, these single perceptions may lead to the modeling of common perception patterns during the period of examination. As a matter of course, the perception of foreign countries and their inhabitants always implies Othering,[5] an artificial construction of the "observed objects." In the case of Sarajevo, it seems to be more than interesting how foreign photographers dealt with the different religious confessions, or how those were visually constructed. Due to the strong presence of Islam in Sarajevo and especially due to the presence of veiled Muslim women, which is very much in contrast to religious expression through clothing in western European cities, it has to be assumed that Orientalism and/or Balkanism play a role in photography too.[6]

---

[2] For a short project summary, see http://www.fwf.ac.at/de/abstracts/abstract.asp?L=D&PROJ=P22104.

[3] Many thanks for the support of all responsible collaborators in the following institutions: Muzej Sarajeva, Bošnjački Institut, Historijski arhiv Sarajevo, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Österreichisches Museum für Volkskunde.

[4] The term "documentary photography" has to be used carefully in the sense of "scientific" approaches in the late nineteenth century. Nevertheless, I would like to use the term for photographical endeavors, especially in *Volkskunde.*

[5] Since the influential book of Edward W. Said on Orientalism (1978), the concept of othering has been and still is intensely discussed in cultural studies.

[6] Triggered by the controversy on Edward W. Said's *Orientalism,* Maria Todorova was inspired to write *Imagining the Balkans* (2009), which has led to an extensive debate on Balkanism in southeast European studies. Her book was first published in 1997.

In the first part of this article, the focus will be on some notes about the preconditions for my analysis. In the second part, I will present my preliminary results on studio photography in Sarajevo. The third part deals with the visualization of Muslim women on souvenir cards; this is followed by a discussion of dichotomic representations detected in picture postcards in the fourth part. Finally, the fifth part will provide a summary and final remarks.

Preconditions

My remarks are based on three preconditions that concern, firstly, religion; secondly, the occupation and its aftermath; and thirdly, visual media as tools for expressing power relations.

First of all, the use of the pictorial has to be considered in diverse religions.[7] In various communities of faith, depictions are banned for religious reasons. Karl Kaser observes that, in Judaism and Islam the prohibition of images has been and sometimes still is very strict (Kaser 2013). The attitude toward pictorial representation in Islam, which includes injunction against the representation of humans and that of animals, has a considerable influence on how photography is accepted as a medium. This provides evidence why photography's early history in the Ottoman Empire was dominated by foreigners, and Muslim photographers were but an exception. Due to the large Muslim population in Sarajevo, photography must be evaluated in this context.

Second, the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina was part of an expansion policy into southeastern Europe by Austria-Hungary (Ruthner 2003; 2008), and it had an impact on the development of photography in Sarajevo. Already in the 1850s, with the arrival of different craftsmen from Austria-Hungary, travelling photographers came to town (Marušić 2002: 33–43). However, only the military occupation of the city by Austria-Hungary in 1878 initiated development of local photography. This was undertaken by foreign photographers, who established the first photo studios, and by foreign researchers, who were working for the newly established National Museum (*Landesmuseum*), through the use of photography as a research tool. In summary, photography was brought to the city rather than being introduced by locals. Therefore, it is not an overstatement to say that Sarajevo was "photographically colonized."[8]

Thirdly, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austria-Hungary was confronted with a heterogeneous population of Muslim, Orthodox, Jewish, and Catholic people who were

---

[7] Karl Kaser focuses on these aspects in his forthcoming book: Kaser K. Forthcoming 2013, *Andere Blicke. Religion und visuelle Kultur auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten* (Different Views. Religion and Visual Culture in the Balkans and the Near East), Vienna/Cologne/Weimar.

[8] To read Austria-Hungary's history and the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina under a postcolonial stance see among others Feichtinger, Prutsch, Csáky (2003), Ruthner (2003; 2008), Marchetti (2003) and Kaser (2011).

looking for religious and political participation in varying degrees.[9] The authorities were concerned with putting the different population groups under the interests of the monarchy and keeping them out of the national aspirations of the Serbs and Croats in the neighboring countries (Babuna 1996). Especially Benjámin Kállay, joint imperial minister of finance and administrator of Bosnia and Herzegovina, promoted the creation of an interdenominational *bošnjaštvo* (Bosnianism) in order to establish the basis for a pluralist and multiconfessional Bosnian nation (Donia & Fine 1994: 93–119; Milojković-Djurić 2000). This policy also included the establishment of a so-called *Bosnische Volkskunde* (Bosnian folklore), which sought to explore the country and its people. Photography played an important role in the people's detection and description (Marchetti 2003). Therefore, the third precondition can be formulated as follows: as in all colonial efforts, the visualization of the Bosnian people reflects asymmetric power relations between the photographer/artist and the portrayed people. In fact, visual media are the tools par excellence for Othering, which brings out and strengthens differentiations between internal and external groups, as the subject-object relationship is clearly arranged by the act of representation. The photographer constructs the Other and, in doing so, he/she creates representations. In this process it is not the portrayed who decide his/her way of self-presentation.

The Establishment of Studio Photography in Sarajevo: Photographers and Their Clientele

As mentioned before, the first photo studios were established by men who came with the military forces or afterwards during the course of an internal migration. Before 1918, important photo studios were run by German-speaking men like the Viennese photographer Anton Schädler. He probably arrived with the army, and by 1878, he had opened his first atelier on Obala Street. Unfortunately, not much can be said about other photographers' biographies due to the lack of sources.

Interestingly, the first photo studios run by local men from Sarajevo were established only in the interwar period, after the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (Ivica Lisac, Atelier Božić, Nusret Halačević, Atelier Karahasanović, Foto Tauš, Foto Grk, Foto Jović). Presumably, most of these photographers had learned their business in the first studios, and most likely after the dissolution of the monarchy, they took over the ateliers of their teachers when parts of the German population left the country.

These results are in contrast to other cities with Ottoman heritage such as Sofia or Belgrade.[10] In these places, local studio photography developed around thirty

---

[9] According to the 1879 census, 42.88% of the total population of Bosnia and Herzegovina were Orthodox, 38.73% were Muslim, 18.08% were Catholic, and 0.29% were Jewish (Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Herzegovina 1880).

[10] I would like to refer to my colleagues' ongoing research on studio photography in Sofia (Anelia Kassabova) and Belgrade (Ana Djordjević), see this volume.

years earlier and, to some extent, photographic dynasties have been established, which are still part of the cultural memories of Bulgaria and Serbia. On the contrary, in Sarajevo not a single photographic dynasty is evident before 1918. In the future, it will have to be explored why and under which circumstances local studio photography developed later here than in other comparable cities.

When talking about visualization processes and the perception of the Sarajevans, we should also take a look at the cities' population development in order to understand the social structure. From 1879 to 1910, the percentage of the Muslim population in Sarajevo decreased from about 70% to about 36% (Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina 1880, 1896, 1912). In contrast, the percentage of the Christian population increased during the same period from around 20% to around 51%. Especially the growth of the Catholic people was robust, from 3% of the total population in 1879 to around 35% thirty years later. The Jewish population increased somewhat more slowly, from 10% to 12%. Other religious affiliations played a marginal role in 1879 and represented only around 1% of the total population in 1910 (Ibidem).

This shift of population by religious affiliation reflects a shift in social structure. The political change, which was triggered in 1878, altered the elites: Muslims made up the majorities in almost all Bosnian cities, but they were also most affected by the economic stagnation at that time, which turned them into the losers by the end of this transition period. The Muslims lost their position of advantage and saw themselves on a similar political and social level as the Christian population, which, in contrast, experienced gradual advancement (Džaja 1994). It can be attested that, after 1878, the new elite represented men from all religious groups. As a matter of course, immediately after the occupation, the elite was formed by public officers from Austria-Hungary, but later on, locals and members of all different groups would form the bourgeois elite in the city, too.

Consequently, it is an interesting question how the different elites are represented in studio photography, which was in its early years exclusively a bourgeois phenomenon. Concerning Sarajevo, this may mean that all three elite groups (Muslim, Orthodox, and Catholic) may have accepted and used photography despite religious affiliation. However, for the period of examination I was able to identify only 129 studio portraits out of 800 photographs. Since portraits were created primarily for private purposes, it may not be surprising that such a small number of images had found their way into the archive. A large number of photographs is probably still in private hands.[11] But it could also imply a skeptical approach of the Sarajevans toward photography.

---

[11] Around 1878, a large number of Bosnian Muslims left the country (Džaja 1994: 60). Most probably I will find private photographs of former Muslim representatives of the Ottoman Empire in family albums in Turkey.

As mentioned before, in 1879, 70% of the Sarajevans were Muslims and only 20% were Christians. Islam was far more skeptical toward photography than Christianity. This could explain why, unlike in other former Ottoman cities such as Belgrade or Sofia, no major stock of private studio photographs is available in Sarajevo's public archives. Referring to the photos on which the portrayed persons could be identified, the following picture emerges. The portrayed people belonged to notable Sarajevo families, Orthodox or Muslim merchants, and artists or intellectuals, who gradually took over political, social, or cultural functions under the Austro-Hungarian rule. These studio portraits are in the style of the prevailing middle-class photography and do not notably differ in composition, design, and format from studio photography in other European cities (ills. 166, 167).

Regarding the proportion of women and men in the photographs, the relationship between townsmen and townswomen seems relatively balanced. However, the depicted women are exclusively wives, daughters, or other members of Christian families. Still, it is interesting that not a single Muslim woman can be identified by name among the photographed women. On the other hand, I want to stress that this does not necessarily mean that Muslim women were not at all photographed. Sarah Graham-Brown describes for Egypt that Muslim women found ways of having their pictures taken in studios (1988: 81). I assume that future research will prove this to be the case for Sarajevo too.

In summary, it can be said that mainly portraits of the Christian population have remained in public archives. Muslim men were photographed too, but in the main public institutions in Sarajevo there are no pictures left that are unequivocally portrayed Muslim women. This supports the assumption that, before 1918, the Muslim population, especially with respect to the representation of Muslim women, had doubts about photography.[12] Research on the participation of Muslim women in public and private life will shed more light on this matter.

The Visualization of Muslim Women on Souvenir Cards

By contrast, a great stock of archival material provides commercial visual media. It seems to be promising to have a look at these visualization strategies such as souvenir cards and picture postcards, which especially address a foreign audience and transport images of how the country and its people were intended to be seen. Analyzing these pictures is particularly interesting in the case of Sarajevo because, as mentioned before, the producers of these pictures were not local people.

In comparison to the aforementioned studio portraits mostly made for private use, souvenir cards picture anonymously persons. This genre can be described as a forerunner of the modern picture postcard; the souvenir cards were produced in

[12] I did not mention families of the Jewish community, who were part of the elite in Sarajevo, too. Until now I could not elicit portraits of Jewish people, but of course the Jewish community has to be considered in future analysis, too.

high quantities and sold in bookstores to foreign visitors of the city. The motifs range from depictions of various folk costumes to people who obviously represented Otherness through clothing or the color of skin—like veiled Muslim woman, poor people, or Roma people.

Unlike in studio photography, there are photographs of Muslim women or, rather, pictures that represent them.[13] On the souvenir card, the Muslim woman is even highlighted as shown in illustration 171. One can see a veiled woman wearing a *zar*, street clothing that was very popular among Muslim women in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the nineteenth century (Beljkašić-Hadžidedić 1987: 13–18). In addition, a black veil called a *peča* often hid the woman's face completely, as is also shown in this picture. The portrayed woman is lifting her dress slightly so that her left ankle can be seen. She is wearing gloves, but still, her knuckles are visible. She is holding, as an accessory, an umbrella in her hands. A man in urban clothes is kneeling in front of her.

What does the card represent? Clearly, the perky posture of the veiled woman is a deliberately staged pose; whereas the Otherness of the Muslim woman is created for a non-Muslim audience. The Muslim woman is depicted as withdrawn and aloof, a woman who cannot be seen behind her veil, without individual traits, boldly speaking, as a "piece of clothing". On the contrary, the intransparency of the veiling is diametrically opposed to the visibility of her wrists and ankles and her playful foot position. Naked skin, together with the flirtations with the man, leads to the motif of seduction.

According to Edward W. Said, the motif of seduction is related to Orientalism and expresses much more the viewer's imagination than social reality (Said 1991: 186–190). The described souvenir card can be allotted to this Orientalism because of its staged kind of presentation and its specific visual code of seduction. Therefore, this souvenir card from Sarajevo is in contrast to Maria Todorova's statement that Balkanism cannot be regarded as a variant of Orientalism (Todorova 2009: 3–20).[14] She states that Orientalism is closely associated with feminized erotic depiction, while in contrast, Balkanism is attributed with uncivilized, primitive, crude representations and, therefore, is male: "Unlike the standard orientalist discourse, which resorts to metaphors of its object of study as female, the Balkanist discourse is singularly male" (Ibidem: 15). Even though the described card is a single expression of Orientalism, it challenges her argument and presumably hints that Orientalism is

[13] In Istanbul portrayed women very often were paid models and not obligatorily Muslim. (Özdenes 1999: 186—190). This can be assumed for Sarajevo, too.

[14] Even though Todorova describes the Balkans as "semi-oriental" (Todorova 2009: 16), she does not work out the crucial argument for what *semi* stands for. Todorova stresses Balkanism and regards it as the main discourse on southeastern Europe; whereas other perceptions and discourses take a back seat. Also Aleksandra Djajić Horváth has already proved in her doctoral thesis about man-woman in the Balkans that Balkanism was also built through numerous representations of women (Horváth 2005: 126—129).

more present in visual representations of the Balkans, especially with respect to the perception of Muslim women, than stated in written sources. The card asks for an in-depth examination of additional visual material, which will prove or disprove my educated guess. This example clearly shows that, especially with respect to research on perception patterns, it is indispensible to include visual sources and question theories predominantly based on textuality, which was Todorova's approach.

Dichotomies of Representations on Picture Postcards

The photograph and the picture postcard are closely intertwined in history (Starl & Tropper 2010), because photographs were very often used as a template for postcards. In the picture postcard, interpretations and attributions can be even more stressed and directed through combining different visual motifs, for example to a collage or through an image-text combination.

Illustration 169 shows a street scene in front of the Catholic St. Augustine School and the Seminary Church in Sarajevo. On the left-hand side, one can see a woman and a man in urban clothes walking arm in arm. In the middle of the image there are men in traditional clothes, who are leading sumpters. On the other hand, illustration 168 shows a postcard with a scene in front of the Hadžijska Mosque in the district Alifakovac. A group of veiled women is moving in front of the mosque, amidst other people in urban clothes who are passing by. Fabricated for a foreign audience, these two picture postcards are examples of the many postcards that all emphasize two subjects: (1) The Oriental Muslim element of the city and (2) the modernization processes initiated by the Austro-Hungarian presence. Both images are characterized by pairs of opposites, with a strong dichotomy between tradition and urbanity represented by the urban clothing versus traditional clothing. Also, the physical closeness of the couple in city dress (ill. 169) contrasts with the disembodiment of the veiled Muslim woman (ill. 170). If the city dress, the clothing in European style called *à la franga*, addresses the individual, the rural and orientally influenced dress called *à la turca* symbolizes the collective. The "rural collective" itself is either homogeneously male (ill. 169) or female (ill. 168). On these postcards, pairs of opposites can be read in the architecture, too. The Viennese-style construction of the occupiers differs entirely from the Bosnian style of architecture and from the Moorish Revival architecture, which was imported as well.

To underpin the role of architecture in the perception of Sarajevo and its inhabitants, I would like to present a postcard showing the interior of the Town Hall built between 1892 and 1894 (ill. 170). This card was produced in the interwar period and, therefore, also proves the continuation of this influence on perception over time. The Town Hall was designed in neo-Moorish style, which was trying to imitate Oriental designs but was not a reference to traditional Bosnian architecture. In fact, it was a style inspired by the Moorish architecture of Spain as well as the Mameluk architecture of Egypt and Syria. These designs created Orientalism and, therefore, showed how the construction authority interpreted the city and its people:

The postcard is a black-and-white photograph and obviously the depicted people—who are apparently Muslims—have been worked into it. The figures themselves were taken from other photographs. This means that, in fact, such a scene never existed in reality. Rather, this collage reflects the producer's wish for how the Town Hall should be interpreted, namely, as an Oriental Muslim symbol in Sarajevo. This is supported by the presence of Muslim people in the Town Hall. The idea of Sarajevo as an Oriental city correlated with the imagination about and Romanticism of the exotic Orient of a western European audience at that time.

Summary and Final Remarks

While photography had been established in Sarajevo, discourses embedded in private studio photography and those transported with commercial photography, such as souvenir cards and picture postcards, very much differed. In private studio photography the individuals presented themselves in the style of the prevailing middle class. As opposed to it, the presented souvenir card and the picture postcard show visualization strategies, in which discourses of Othering in the form of Orientalism and/or Balkanism are evident. The depicted cards exemplify the visual codes of a series of postcards that highlight Sarajevo and the Sarajevans in dualism, and they support Todorova's metaphor of the Balkan as a *bridge*.[15]

Thereby, Oriental and Ottoman heritage are in contrast to the influence on architecture, clothing, and habits brought by Austria-Hungary. Pairs of opposites such as West/East, modern/traditional, individual/group, and Christian/Muslim evoke a special perception of Sarajevo and its inhabitants. Firstly, to perceive the city with its Ottoman heritage and Oriental influence in contrast to western European cities, imagination served the longings of a western European audience who discovered—especially at the end of the nineteenth century with the development of a worldwide imperialism—the temptations of the Orient. Secondly, as tools for propaganda, photography, souvenir cards, and postcards would verify the relevance and influence of Austria-Hungary, which brought modernism, urbanism, and western European styles and concepts to the city. Not clearly articulated by the new authorities was the implementation of a fateful style and idea, which continue to have an effect even today: Orientalism.

The representation of the heterogeneous Sarajevans in commercial pictures focused on the Muslim population, in particular on the Orientalization of Muslim women. With respect to gender, we can sum up by saying that, prior to 1918, Muslim women were rarely present in studio portraits. In contrast, illustrations of Muslim women on picture postcards and souvenir cards were very popular. The

---

[15] "The Balkans ... have always evoked the image of a bridge or a crossroads. ... The Balkans have been compared to a bridge between East and West, between Europe and Asia. ... The Balkans are also a bridge between stages of growth, and this invokes labels such as semi-developed, semi-colonial, semi-civilized, semi-oriental" (Todorova 2009: 16).

Muslim woman in her nonvisibility and seemingly missing individuality represented Otherness par excellence and was considered THE symbol for Otherness. Moreover, souvenir cards sometimes depicted another attribute, namely, seductiveness, which is not diametrically opposed to nonvisibility. This suggests that with regard to the depiction of Muslim women, a far more significant element of Orientalism than Balkanism is apparent.

Still, many questions arise from the depictions. The investigated material does not give information about Muslim women in studio photography made for private purposes. Accessing private collections would be essential for making conclusions about the self-representations of these women. For Bosnia and Herzegovina, the interplay between photography and politics has to be particularly analyzed due to its history of occupation. The concept of Bošnjaštvo (Bosnianism) does not strengthen religion or favor any religious group. This is very much in contrast to the highlighting of the Muslim population in commercial pictures. A special focus has to be placed on the theoretical frameworks of Balkanism and Orientalism too. It needs to be more carefully elaborated whether Balkanism can be regarded as a variation of Orientalism or in contrast to Orientalism, with different connotations.

However, I hope I was able to suggest that visual material may confirm or question written sources and descriptive knowledge. The conclusiveness of the image has to be critically analyzed. Can an image ever be taken as a descriptive piece of evidence that provides statements about social realities? With regard to foreign perceptions of the Sarajevans in commercial pictures, the discourses on the population, the essentialization and alterization of the inhabitants, seem to be evident. These commercial photographs should be a priori read as normative sources that provide immanent information about how it "should" be but not how reality is.

With regard to the validity of self-representations in studio portraits, the significance of the material seems to be difficult to evaluate. In relation to other European cities with Ottoman heritage, the number of studio photographs is low. In addition, only a very specific segment of society was presented in studio photography in the late nineteenth century, and photography was an elitist phenomenon of urban dwellers. This means also for Sarajevo that the majority of the population was not represented in private photography. To exaggerate, this also implies that studio photography not only gives us information about the portrayed elites, but, dealing with the subject itself also constitutes an elite approach to history, which excludes the awareness of large portions of the population. Due to the lack of sources for describing social reality at large, the power relations that are reflected in the visual perception of the Sarajevans are persisting through the research process over time. To conclude with Gayatri Spivak: "The subaltern cannot speak" (Spivak 1988: 104). And with respect to the visual: The subaltern cannot be seen.

References

Babuna A. 1996, *Die nationale Entwicklung der bosnischen Muslime. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der österreichisch-ungarischen Periode* (*The National Development of the Bosnian Muslims. With a Special Focus on the Austro-Hungarian Period*), Frankfurt am Main et al.

Beljkašić-Hadžidedić Lj. 1987, *Gradska muslimanska tradicijska nošnja u Sarajevu. Priručnik za rekonstrukciju narodne nošnje* (*Traditional Muslim Urban Clothing in Sarajevo. A Construction Guide for National Costumes*), Zagreb.

Boev P. 1983, *Fotografsko uskustvo v Bălgarija* (*Photographic Art in Bulgaria*), Sofia.

Djajić Horváth A. 2005, *Balkan Transgressions: Representing the Figure of the Man-Woman, 1850s to Today*, PhD defended at European University, Florence.

Donia R. J., Fine J. V. A. (eds.) 1997, *Bosnia and Hercegovina: A Tradition Betrayed*, London.

Džaja S. M. 1994, *Bosnien-Herzegowina in der österreichisch-ungarischen Epoche, 1878–1918* (*Bosnia-Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian Period, 1878–1918*), Munich.

Feichtinger J., Prutsch U., Csáky M. (eds.) 2003, *Habsburg postcolonial. Machtstrukturen und kollektives Gedächtnis* (*Habsburg Postcolonial. Power Relations and Collective Memory*), Innsbruck-Vienna-Munich-Bozen.

Graham-Brown S. 1988, *Images of Women. The Portrayal of Women in Photography of the Middle East 1860–1950*, New York.

Grčević N. 1981, *Fotografija devetnaestog stoljeća u Hrvatskoj* (*Nineteenth Century Photography in Croatia*), Zagreb.

Kaser K. 2011, *Bosnien-Herzegowina unter Österreichisch-Ungarischer Herrschaft– Eine Zwischenbilanz* (*Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austro-Hungarian Rule – Interim results*), [in:] Z. Šehić (ed.), *Međunarodna konferencija Bosna i Hercegovina u okviru Austro-Ugarske 1878–1918. Održana u Sarajevu, 30. i 31. Marta 2009.* (*International Conference Bosnia and Herzegovina Within the Austro-Hungary 1878–1918. Held in Sarajevo on March 30–31, 2009*), Sarajevo, pp. 21–32.

— 2013, *Andere Blicke. Religion und visuelle Kultur auf dem Balkan und im Nahen Osten* (*Different Views. Religion and Visual Culture in the Balkans and the Near East*), Vienna/Cologne/Weimar.

Landesregierung für Bosnien und die Hercegovina (ed.), 1880, *Ortschafts- und Bevölkerungs-Statistik von Bosnien und Hercegovina. Statistika miesta i pučanstva Bosne i Hercvegovine. Amtliche Ausgabe.— Službeno izdanje 1880* (*City Statistics and Population Census of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Official Edition 1880*), Sarajevo.

—1896, *Hauptresultate der Volkszählung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 22. April 1895, nebst Angaben über territoriale Eintheilung, öffentliche Anstalten und Mineralquellen 1896* (*Main Results of the Census in Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 22, 1895 with Information on the Territorial Division,* Public Institutions and Mineral Sources 1896), Sarajevo.

—1912, *Die Ergebnisse der Volkszahlung in Bosnien und der Hercegovina vom 10. Oktober 1910* (*Results of the Census of Bosnia and Herzegovina from October 10, 1910*), Sarajevo.

Marchetti Ch. 2003, *Austro-Hungarian Volkskunde at War. Scientists on Ethnographic Mission in World War I*, [in:] R. Johler, Ch. Marchetti, M. Scheer (eds.), *World War I and the Cultural Sciences in Europe*, Bielefeld, pp. 207–230.

Marušić N. 2002, *Istorija fotografije u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918.* (*History of Photography in Bosnia and Herzegovina to 1918*), Tuzla.

Milojković-Djurić J. 2000, Benjamin von Kállay's Role in Bosnia-Herzegovina 1882–1903: Habsburg's policies in an occupied territory, *Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, vol. 14(2), pp. 211–220.

Özdenes E. (1999), *From Sébah & Joaillier to Foto Sabah. Orientalism in Photography*, Istanbul.

Ruthner C. 2003, K.u.k. >Kolonialismus< als Befund, Befindlichkeit und Metapher. Versuch einer weiteren Klärung (Imperial &Royal >Colonialism< as Result, Mood and Metaphor. Attempts to a Further Clarification), http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/theorie/CRuthner3.pdf (accessed 10.10.2012).

—2008, *Habsburg's Little Orient. A Post/Colonial Reading of Austrian and German Cultural Narratives on Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1878–1918*, http://www.kakanien.ac.at/beitr/fallstudie/CRuthner5.pdf (accessed: 10. 10. 2012).

Said E. W. 1991, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient*, London et al.

Spivak G. Ch. 1988, *Can the Subaltern Speak?*, [in:] C. Nelson, L. Grossberg (eds.), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, London, pp. 271–313.

Starl, T., Tropper E. (eds.) 2010, *Fotogeschichte vol. 118., Zeigen, grüßen, senden. Aspekte der fotografisch illustrierten Postkarte* (*Showing, Greeting, Sending. Aspects of the Photographically Illustrated Postcard*), Marburg.

Todić M. 1989, *Photography in Serbia in XIX Century*, Belgrade.

—1993, *Istorija srpske fotografije 1839–1940* (*History of Serbian Photography 1839–1940*), Belgrade.

Todorova M. 2009, *Imagining the Balkans*, Oxford.

Vujković S. 2002, Počeci fotografije u Banjaluci (The Beginnings of Photography in Banja Luka), *Refoto. Časopis za kulturu fotografije*, vol. 12, pp. 52–53.

Xanthakēs A. X 1988, *History of Greek Photography, 1839–1960*, Athens.



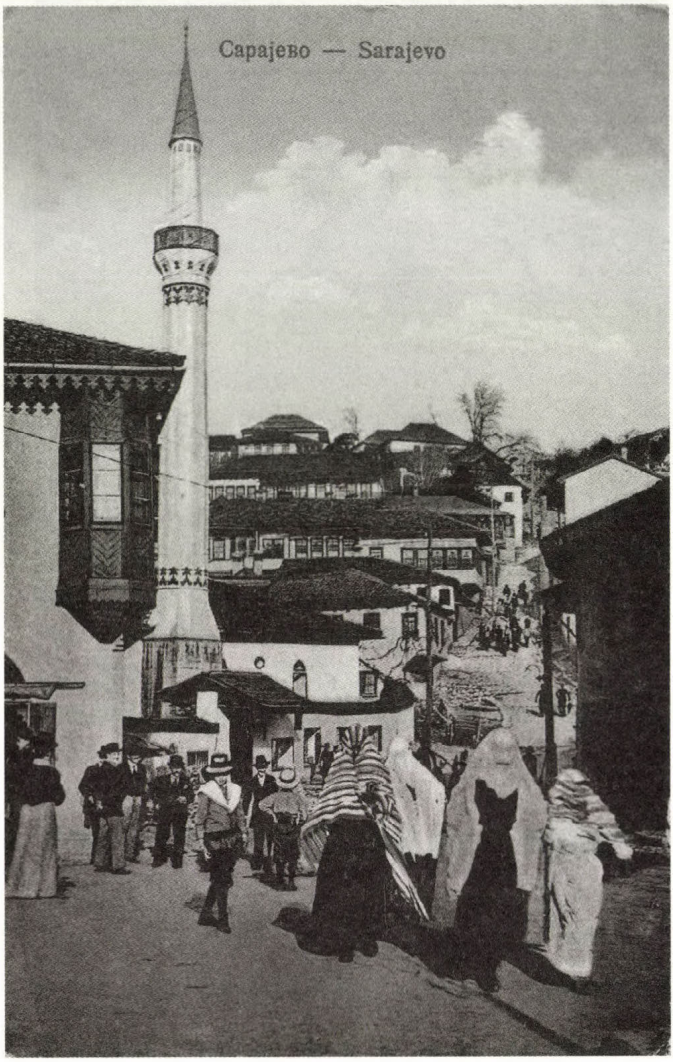
STUDIO PORTRAIT OF MIRA JEFTANOVIĆ NÉE MILIŠIĆ, WIFE OF THE MUNICIPAL COUNCILOR KONSTANTIN JEFTANOVIĆ

Photography *Atelier Färber*, Historijski arhiv Sarajevo, around 1900. 166



STUDIO PORTRAIT OF THE MERCHANT JAKOV MARIĆ

167 Photography A. Schädler, Historijski arhiv Sarajevo, around 1900.



STREET SCENE IN THE DISTRICT ALIFAKOVAC
A. Thier (publisher), Bošnjački Institut Sarajevo, around 1910. 168



ST. AUGUSTINE SCHOOL AND SEMINAR CHURCH

169 Author unknown, Bošnjački Institut Sarajevo, before 1904.



TOWN HALL
Photography W. Tausch, Muzej Sarajeva, around 1925. 170



MAN AND WOMAN IN CLOTHING *à la turca* **(souvenir card)**

The expression *à la turca* refers to fashion influenced by Oriental styles. It was created in western European countries and materially expressed imaginations about the Orient in clothing.

171 Photography A. Schädler, Muzej Sarajeva, between 1879 and 1895.

Anna M. Rosner

The Image of the Jewish Street Seller in Nineteenth Century London

Jews in England

While discussing the history of the perception of Jews in England, it is important to remember that the history of Anglo-Jewry differs greatly from the history of Jews in other parts of Europe. The presence of Jews on the British Isles dates back to the times of the Battle of Hastings—1066. It was then that the Jews, following the troops of William the Conqueror, first settled in England, inhabiting mostly cities or big villages and making a living by trade or minor craft. By the thirteenth century, English Jews had started to deal in money lending, and since the Christians, limited by the religious laws, were forbidden to make money on their brothers in faith, the Jews had hardly any competition in that field. In 1290, under the influence of the church and nobility, Edward I of England signed the Edict of Expulsion. It answered the calls of both the nobility, who opposed the

Jewish money lending system,[1] and the church, who wanted to dispose of the non-Catholic population. The Jews were forced to leave England before 1291 under the threat of death penalty. Those who wished to stay had to relinquish their faith and go through a complicated process of conversion. Their belongings had been confiscated and new restrictions placed upon them (Endelman 2002: 15–16).

The change of the anti-Jewish policy came during the times of Sir Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England. The readmission of the Jews was a long-lasting process, connected both to international politics and the personal beliefs of Cromwell and members of the Parliament (MPs). It is impossible to give a precise date, but researchers agree that the readmission permit should be dated at around 1655 (Ibidem: 19–27). It did not bring a massive flow of Jewish population but gave the legal basis for migrations of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In the eighteenth century, England became a place of residence for approximately 7,000 Sephardim[2] and Ashkenazim[3] (Ibidem: 41). The next century brought

---

[1] At that time England had witnessed many internal conflicts. Noble families feared the Jews would lend money to the people who could later use it to gather or call military reinforcements or to arm them.

[2] Sephardim, or Sephardi Jews, is a general name referring to the descendants of Jews who lived in the Iberian Peninsula before their expulsion in 1492. The name comes from the word "Sfarad" (ספרד) meaning Spain in Hebrew (for more information see Tomaszewski 2001: 410–411).

[3] Ashkenazim, or Ashkenazi Jews, is a general name referring to Jews living in Central and Eastern Europe and has been in use since the eleventh century. It comes from "Ashkenazi" (אשכנזי), the word derived from the name of a biblical figure—Ashkenazi (for more information see Tomaszewski 2001: 28–29).

an almost uninterrupted flow of immigrants. The migrations of that time can be divided into three major waves:

1. 1750–1815. Migrations taking place before the Congress of Vienna brought from about 8,000 to 10,000 Jews to Great Britain (Ibidem: 41). The immigrants originated mostly from territories belonging now to the Netherlands, Germany, and Poland. They settled in the biggest cities and harbors of the British Isles.[4]
2. 1830–1870. The first data determining the number of Jewish inhabitants of London show that by the early 1830s there were approximately 2,000 Jews living in the city and by 1870 their numbers rose to about 20,000 (Ibidem: 79). Most of the Jews arriving to the city in the mid-nineteenth century were German Jews with some Ostjuden.[5]
3. 1881–1914. The assassination of Tsar Alexander II resulted in the rise of anti-Semitic feelings in Russia and pogroms. The number of Jews living in London at that time rose to approximately 200,000—some of them staying permanently, some not longer than a few weeks, before taking on further travels. Between 120,000 and 150,000 settled in Great Britain permanently (Ibidem: 127).

The Jewish population of nineteenth century London was far from being unified. There were the Sephardim (who came at the early stage of migrations), the Ashkenazim (whose mass migration took place in the second half of the century), and the Zionists, Hasidim,[6] and Maskilim.[7] There were big congregation synagogues and small and independent ones, representing different factions of Judaism. The immigrants arriving to London in the early nineteenth century had little trouble finding a place where they could fit in, while the ones arriving at the turn of the century faced increasing competition in the labor market. Opportunity was a major reason for early migration to Britain but not for later stages: while in the early stage most Jews migrated in search of business and educational opportunities, often moving with all of their belongings and money to invest, people who arrived to Great Britain after 1880 were fleeing persecutions and pogroms that directly threatened their lives. These later immigrants took few possessions and hardly any

[4] No specific data for London itself is available for that period of time.

[5] Ostjuden is a name of part of the Jewish population that moved to German territories from eastern Europe in the nineteenth century and while remaining deeply traditional opposed assimilation and acculturation among German Jews (for more information see Aschheim 1982).

[6] Hasidim (חסידים), or Hasid in singular, is a general name referring to the Jews considering themselves as the followers of the Hasidic Judaism—one of the forms of the Orthodox Judaism dating back to the seventeenth century (for more information see Tomaszewski 2001: 55–64).

[7] Maskilim, or Maskil in singular (משכיל), is a general name for people supporting and following the Jewish enlightenment movement—Haskalah (הלכשה). Haskalah was most active between the 1770s and 1880s. Its main goal of both the religious and private life of Jews was to gain acceptance for the members of this minority in modern societies (for more information see Tomaszewski 2001: 127–128).

money with them; instead of looking for a chance of improvement of their material and social status, they needed shelter and were happy with any job and accommodation they could find (Ibidem: 127–183). In the nineteenth century, the time of arrival to Great Britain was one of the factors influencing the status of the immigrants among themselves—along with profession and occupations, knowledge of English language and culture, ability to communicate with non-Jews, and place of origin or economic status of families. This has changed over time, and nowadays the gaps between different groups of Jews in Great Britain are not so important nor even visible.

Although in the nineteenth century, the differences within the Jewish society in London (and other cities of Great Britain) were deep and hard to overcome for Jews themselves, in the eyes of the British society the Jews seemed a unified group of aliens. Most of the British could not tell the difference between a Sephardic Jew from the Netherlands who had been living in London for 40 years and a Hasidic Jew who has just arrived to the isles. Stereotypes and beliefs present within the British society applied to all of the groups.

Most Common Stereotypes

The massive flows of Jewish migrations led to the acquisition and creation of stereotypes within the British society. Some of them were universal, others unique and present only in Great Britain. The most universal stereotypes of Jews, common both in Great Britain and outside of it, were based on their foreignness—their contrasting traditions, culture, and religion. What seems important is that the lack of presence of the Jewish population in Great Britain since 1290 led to the creation of a society for which the stereotypes concerning Jews (and present within continental Europe) were largely unknown. While beliefs applying to Jews and concerning such things as ritual murders and kidnappings connected to them, well poisoning, host desecration, money cutting, financial frauds or spying, and betrayal of the home country were fairly common in continental Europe, they did not exist in Great Britain at the time between 1290 and 1655. After the readmission laws protecting the Jewish population from "superstitious lawsuits" had been applied, the laws also stopped those particular stereotypes from growing in the public perception (Ibidem: 27–28).

The most common stereotypes present in nineteenth-century Great Britain were based on some of the attributes of the Jewish minority. In most cases these were easy-to-see features that made Jews stand out in a crowd:

– appearance: beards, curly and dark hair, sidelocks, hooknoses, slim figures
– traditional clothing: overalls (כאלאַט[8]), hats, dark colors, worn and used clothes

[8] Yiddish name of a specific sort of a coat or an overall, worn in eastern Europe by Jews and some peasants until World War II. It was usually a dark piece of long-sleeved clothing, reaching from arms to ankles.

– occupations: street trade (clothes and second-hand items), sweat-shop employment, pawnbrokerage, artisan manufacturing, banking

– social status: appearance of poverty, living in the East End (traditional immigrant district of London)—only those who arrived before the mid-nineteenth century managed to leave the district before the biggest migration at the end of the century

– attitude: greedy, scamming, quickly taking advantage of new regulations and eagerly fighting for them

– foreignness: maladjustment to British culture; attachment to tradition, religion, and culture

Most of the features and attitudes mentioned above existed worldwide and created a base for stereotypical reception. Nonetheless some of the stereotypes existing in eastern Europe did not appear in Great Britain. The best example was related to the blood libel legend.[9] Though trials based on the latter were present in England before 1290, after readmission such trials became extremely rare. London merchants tried to press charges against Jews, but the main reason for "ritual murder accusation" was in fact trade competition. In all of these cases, the Jews had been cleared of charges and a new law was passed imposing penalties on those pressing charges without reliable evidence (people who tried to discredit their opponents using false evidence could expect to be charged with crimes themselves). The medieval libel that held that Jews used to murder Christian children for their blood was voiced only on occasion, just like other medieval fantasies—the beliefs, for example, that Jews caused plagues or could be defined by a peculiar smell (Ibidem: 68).

For a modern historian, one of the best primary sources that can be used to examine the perception of the Jewish immigrants in the eyes of the British society in the nineteenth century are caricatures. Similar to literature, caricatures offer a look into the era and present the most common attributes ridiculed by the Victorian British. The biggest advantage of cartoons though is that, while written sources at the time of their creation aimed at the higher ranks of the society (i.e., those who could read and afford to buy a newspaper or a book), the pictures were designed for all of the classes to see and understand. Even without their captions, in most cases, the cartoons could be easily understood by everyone—from well-off persons who could afford to buy and read the newspaper to those who could not read or did not speak English. In the case of newspaper illustrations commenting on chosen political topics, the pictures are easy to read, but sometimes one needs a basic knowledge of the history of the era to understand their full meaning. In the case of nonnewspaper cartoons (postcards, drawings, engravings) captions are less important and quite often they seem even unnecessary. These sorts of pictures more commonly

[9] "Blood libel" or "blood accusation" is a false accusation based on the belief that Jews need human blood for ritual purposes, especially for Passover bread production (for more information see Tokarska-Bakir 2008).

comment not on a specific event, but on a general impression of a person or a people they are showing.

In the nineteenth century, newspaper illustrations were most often created by professional illustrators on publisher demand. They usually fitted the article and completed it by illustrating the events or people described in the written word. Pictures that were not designed to be published in the media, most often, were sold on the streets by the artists themselves or by merchants specializing in art (Mayhew 1982: 5–8). The authors of the two kinds of pictures differed as much as the way their art was delivered to the people and as much as the receivers of their works. Different press titles aimed at different groups of readers: the newspapers supporting the Conservative Party (such as the *Times*[10] and the *Daily Telegraph*[11]) aimed at nonliberal readers and often rejected acceptance of any immigrants; while the titles supporting the Labour Party (like the *Observer*[12] or the *Guardian*[13]) acted against any regulations giving limits to the number of immigrants accepted in the country. Pictures that were not designed for press usually expressed the views of the artists or reflected the general mood of society. For their creators, the most important thing was to simply sell their work, and to do that they had to find people who agreed with statements or attitudes presented in their work. One of the ways of achieving that goal was to use simple and understandable stereotypes, with no or few captions.

Most of the nineteenth-century cartoons refer to one or more of the stereotypes mentioned earlier. There are two kinds of cartoons that can be easily recognized—one describing everyday life and another devoted to political events. Those illustrating everyday life usually showed figures and scenes typical of nineteenth-century London and most of all East End. Figures presented in the pictures could be easily recognized as Jews, due to their looks or actions. The political cartoons, however, show less of a direct connection to simple stereotypes of appearance, as they are addressed to a more sophisticated reader. Instead they use captions referring to political events and situations with witty and cunning punchlines.

Vast collections of the Jewish Museum London give opportunities of finding rare and interesting representations of the Jewish minority in Great Britain throughout the ages and especially in nineteenth-century art. Some of the items are nothing but simple illustrations to novels such as Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (first published in 1837) or Zangwill's *Children of the Ghetto: A Study of a Peculiar People* (first published in 1892); some are pictures documenting the looks of the nineteenth-century city; and others are caricatures printed in newspapers or magazines of various kinds. This article uses cartoons and caricatures from the archive of the Jewish Museum

---

[10] Published since 1785 (for more information see www.bl.uk [UK titles list]).

[11] Published since 1855 (for more information see www.bl.uk [UK titles list]).

[12] Published since 1791 (for more information see www.bl.uk [UK titles list]).

[13] Published since 1821 (for more information see www.bl.uk [UK titles list]).

London to show how the stereotypes applying to the Jewish population were presented in nineteenth-century British prints.

Everyday-Life Cartoons

Illustrations showing day-to-day-life scenes played an important role in Victorian Britain. Apart from being used to illustrate novels and books, they were popular merchandise sold by street art sellers (Ibidem: 5–8). The scenes reflected the everyday experiences of the townspeople, which in nineteenth-century London, among other things, meant more of a need of coexistence with immigrants than had existed before. In the case of the Jewish population, the most common occupations were street trade (usually in used items), tailoring, shoemaking, and carpentry (Booth 1970: 52–56). Jewish merchants or tailors and their non-Jewish customers were often portrayed, and pictures showing them were used to introduce a stereotype of dishonest Jewish merchants trading with unaware Englishmen. One of the cartoons showing a scene of that kind and offering some idea on how the Jewish minority was represented in the first half of the nineteenth century is "The Razor Seller" (ill. 172).[14] It is a lithograph by J. Jenkins from 1826 (catalog number AR 1168).

The picture shows two figures—an Englishman dressed in a white coat and a Jewish street trader, wearing dark overalls and a furry hat. The occupation of the Jewish figure can be easily recognized based on the tray in front of him. This was a common way of dealing with legal restrictions on street trade in nineteenth-century London—the law prohibited selling any wares from fixed stalls or tables, which could block pathways or pavements. A person not owning a shop and willing to trade goods in the streets had to be moving all the time (Mayhew 1985: 15). Therefore street merchants either carried their commodities in hand or used trays, bags, or small carts to display their wares and be able to change locations.

The scene shows a quarrel between the two men. The buyer, who is clearly dissatisfied with his purchase, tries to return a razor and complains about the quality of the item. The seller smiles with an innocent look on his face, his hands spread wide as if in a gesture of total misunderstanding of the problem. In the first half of the nineteenth century Jews had a massive share of the street trade. Most of them specialized in such wares as used clothes, books, and metal objects such as razors, umbrellas, knives, and pots. The quality of the items was poor and the prices were low.

A slightly different scene focusing on street trade is presented in the picture entitled "Jew-venal" (ill. 181),[15] by W. Heath. The scene takes place outside a large,

---

[14] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=7827&offset=0 (accessed 04. 07. 2012).

[15] The dating of the cartoon is difficult, since the Jewish Museum Archive holds it under the very same title in two collections. In the first case under the catalog number AR1154 it is described as a piece of art from 1823 (http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=5451&offset=0 accessed 04. 07. 2012), and in the second case the catalog number is C 1986.7.12 and the date is 1835

double-windowed pawnshop —Moses Levi. Hats, shawls, and other garments are visible through the windows. Five figures presented in the cartoon can be easily recognized as three Jews and two Britons. The locals are dressed in a modern manner, in colorful clothes and standing erect. The Jews are wearing dark and partly torn outfits, all of them have sacks on their shoulders or next to their feet and are in bent-over positions. They have beards and dark hair, and two out of three wear two hats on their heads. The hat (a motif returning in many pictures) is very important and can be read as a symbol of assimilation—what for the Jews meant acceptance within the society and equality of rights,[16] to the British had seemed an attempt to become "more British than the Britons." In the mid-nineteenth century, the increasing number of immigrants was considered a threat to the stability of the state and its economy. The Jews themselves were not seen as a danger, but assimilation of the lower classes caused questions connected to social aid and relief possibilities and needs.

Unlike the previous caricature, this one focuses on several types of behavior considered by the author of the picture important enough to point out. The signature below the picture says, "Get de Monish—honestly if ye Can,—but get de Monish!" where *monish* is an old word meaning to be warned. This warning is clearly meant for the Britons and suggests an anti-Jewish message aimed at showing the public what sort of behavior could be expected from the Jewish minority. The Jew on the
398 pavement across the street from the pawnshop holds a garment over an opened sack. His face shows more of a cunning leer than a kind smile. He's most likely presenting objects he is about to sell. There is a second Jewish figure behind the merchant, quarreling or bargaining with a stout man. A third Jew is visible just outside the shop, pickpocketing a dandy-gentleman in front of him.

In 1837, Charles Dickens published *Oliver Twist; Or, the Parish Boy's Progress.* The scene not only recalls Dickensian London itself, but most of all the Jewish thief looks like one of Fagin's boy gang members. In the book, the Jewish youth gang leader, an elderly Jew by the name of Fagin, orders his juveniles to steal handkerchiefs from well-off citizens. In this case the title of the cartoon is an obvious word play referring to the word "juvenile." Of course the caricature is dated before the publication of Dickens' novel, but the precise date of publication of the caricature remains unclear; secondly, it is well known that the writer had focused on showing London as he saw it. Therefore, it seems clear that such thefts and minor offenses were rather common (but committed not only by Jews). Moreover, the cartoon's caption indicates that wares bought from Jewish merchants were likely to have been stolen.

(http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=6927&offset=0 accessed 04. 07. 2012).

[16] In the nineteenth century, most countries did not grant the Jewish population access to the rights that the non-Jewish population had. Among them were access to universities, participation in elections (both passive and active), and access to certain occupations.

What also attracts attention in this cartoon is that although it was clearly drawn for the British public, it contains a misspelling in the caption—"de" instead of "the." Misspelling of English words in cartoons focusing on immigrants was neither rare nor unusual and was meant to point out immigrants' misuse of the language. The very same technique can be found in a caricature entitled "One of the Benefits of Jewish Emancipation (ill. 173),"[17] from 1847, by J. L. Marks. It is a color etching that can be described as a caricature between the political and everyday ones. It is held at the Jewish Museum Archive under the catalog number AR 1028.

This cartoon actually has two titles: "One of the Benefits of Jewish Emancipation," written in English, and "let us rejoice," written in Hebrew ("חחמשנו חליגב").[18] There are two main characters visible in the picture, who are talking to each other: a man and a woman. The male figure has several attributes by which he can be defined as a Jew: the overalls; the exaggerated facial features and expression; the beard; and the sack on the back. The woman looks different: she is dressed in bright colors, usual for middle-class Victorians, and has flowers in her hair instead of a traditional wig. The only signs of her Jewishness are visible on her face—the features and expression. The man hands a piglet to the woman and says "Dare mine dear, see vot I've pought you! tanks to de Paron Roast-child and de Pill." She bends over to have a closer look and replies "Plefs mine heart it is von pretty ting. Vont I have my pelly full."

In 1847, Baron Lionel de Rothschild was first elected to the House of Commons as a representative of the City of London. Due to the Christian character of the oath one had to take to be allowed to sit in the Parliament, Rothschild could not fulfill his obligations.[19] Finally, the law was changed to enable the members of the Jewish minority to become MPs. The cartoon illustrates both of the events. At the same time, the author used it to show his view on the ease of acceptance of changes in the law by Jews, as soon as it was of any use to them.

What catches the attention is the language both figures use. Jews arriving to Great Britain throughout the nineteenth century rarely spoke any English at all. Most of them took on the task of learning it, but in many cases it was the first generation (and later generations) born within Great Britain that could speak English without a foreign accent or loanwords. Since the majority of the immigrants had foreign accents and tried to communicate using mixed English-Yiddish or English-German, the way they spoke became one of the things by which they could be quickly recognized, along with their traditional clothes and names.

---

[17] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=7705&offset=0 (accessed 04. 07. 2012).

[18] Transcription without vowel signs, translation to English based on the archive information.

[19] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=7705&offset=0 (accessed 04. 07. 2012).

Many authors of cartoons tried to use the distinct language and pronunciation as another Jewish feature or as something that could be mocked. In "Jew-venal" it is used to a lesser extent, while in "One of the Benefits of Jewish Emancipation" the dialogue is as important as the rest of the picture. The most common changes in the language which can nowadays be found in the caricatures are ones where "the" is replaced by "de", "there" by "dere," and "one" by "von." Most commonly the changes were based on simply switching a few letters: "t" or "th" to "d," "v" to "w," and "b" to "p," and the silent "h" was often dropped.

A slightly different representation of the imperfect usage of English can be found in a caricature entitled "Clo' Clo' Clo'" (ill. 174),[20] which was drawn in 1861 by an unknown artist (Jewish Museum London catalog number AR 1233). Again, the character's long beard, dark and curly hair, and the coat show clearly that he is of Jewish origin. This picture comes from the second half of the nineteenth century and shows the Jewish street seller as a stranger but at the same time one who does not stand out much in the crowd. His clothes do not differ from the rest of society; he does not look for acceptance because he is already a part of the community. This is represented by the hat—a modern, fashionable top hat of a gentlemanly kind. Although he is a street merchant, carrying his wares in a bag, he is good-looking. The caption states: "The Jew Old-Clothes-Man" and underneath: "Clo' Clo' Clo'," the cry of the busker who is selling old clothes.

400

This picture stands in opposition to the earlier caricatures, showing evidence for a changing trend. While the early pictures show people dressed in cheap, worn garments, the ones originating from the second half of the century quite frequently focus on decent-looking people who work hard to make a living and succeed in it. It is still easy to recognize the "Jewishness" of those portrayed, but the general impression changes from a vagabond to a hard-working merchant. The change is visible in another cartoon from 1861 entitled "A View in Rosemary Lane" (ill. 175),[21] (catalog number AR 1230).

This picture was an illustration for one of Henry Mayhew's texts focusing on the East End, either drawn by him or by one of the cartoonists he cooperated with. Henry Mayhew was a journalist associated with the *Morning Chronicle* and the author of a number of articles talking about the London poor. His work was complied into a series of books entitled *London Labour and London Poor* in the mid-nineteenth century.

The cartoon shows a scene outside the East London Bazaar. While the earlier caricatures show men dressed in used and often dirty clothes, the man visible in the picture looks like an ordinary lower-middle-class or middle-class trader. He is ply-

---

[20] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=7821&offset=0 (accessed 04. 07. 2012).

[21] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=7824&offset=0 (accessed 04. 07. 2012).

ing his trade on the street, just outside the market, showing boots for sale and most likely advertising his wares. He is fashionably dressed in a top hat, a nice-looking coat, a vest, and trousers to match. The clothes look nice and clean, the same as the garments of the women behind him. The fact that the man in the picture is a Jew could be questioned since even his facial features do not match the stereotypes known from earlier drawings. Nonetheless he is Jewish—the picture illustrates an article about Rosemary Lane, which was in a nineteenth-century Jewish quarter in London, and from the text we learn that the market was mostly occupied by Jews.

The fact that the late-nineteenth-century cartoons present Jewish figures that are harder to recognize can be easily linked with the assimilation of the Jewish population in Great Britain. However, as I have said, the nineteenth-century Jewish population in London (and other major cities of Great Britain) was extremely diverse. Some of the immigrants wished to remain traditional and show their cultural and ethnical origin; for others, the chance to become an unrecognizable member of the British society was very tempting and seemed to mean safety from possible future persecutions or pogroms. More to the point, in most cases, the first generation of immigrants found it very difficult to assimilate within the British society, not only because it was so different from the one they knew and experienced before migration,[22] but also because of cultural and linguistic barriers. It was the second and sometimes the third generation of Jewish immigrants who actually managed to assimilate fully.

Political Cartoons

Nineteenth-century cartoons representing Jewish presence in Great Britain vary in topic. Apart from those showing day-to-day life there are a vast number that involve the contemporary political figures, Jewish minority authorities, and events such as new legislations, speeches, and elections. In most cases people represented on the political pictures can be easily linked to events they took part in, that is, anonymous characters are rare.

Caricatures concentrating on politics were usually drawn by request from publishers and for publication in newspapers or magazines. The readers for which they were intended were up-to-date on political events and current issues, therefore, they did not need a clear hint as to who was in the picture. Instead they expected a caption with a clever commentary or witty punchline to be added to the piece of art. Out of all Jews in British politics, a few were commonly presented in the papers, with Prime Minister Disraeli, Baron de Hirsch, and members of the Rothschild family among them. Disraeli, the first prime minister of Jewish origin, became

[22] Most immigrants had travelled from small cities or villages and getting used to life in one of the biggest cities in the world was a challenge. Many of the immigrants lived in the closest neighbourhood to their homes, rarely visited other districts, and tried to live without contacting the non-Jewish population except when necessary.

a synonym of an assimilated Jew and a reformer of the state and himself. The reform he conducted on himself is of course the change from being born in a Jewish immigrant family to being a well-educated and purposeful politician who managed to become a prime minister. The portraits showing him as a prime minister and not pointing out his origin gained in popularity with time and one of the best known caricatures representing Disraeli and focusing on his profession and not his breed is the one by Carlo Pellegrini, printed on 30 January 1869 in *Vanity Fair* (ill. 177) (catalog number: C 1986.5.11[23]).

The magazine's title could be explained as "a place or scene of ostentation or empty, idle amusement and frivolity."[24] The periodical was well known for both articles and pictures, which focused mainly on the most recent political issues. *Vanity Fair* did not support any of the parties; the journalists wrote their commentary on nearly any possible subject and made jokes about most things and people. Disraeli's caricature was published during his first term in the office (February 1868–December 1868). The picture itself does not aim at hurting or offending anyone, the prime minister is dressed in the most fashionable manner: a smart coat, a top hat, and gloves—he is leaning on a long umbrella. The only Jewish feature by which his identity could be guessed is his dark, curly hair. He is clean-shaven and his expression represents calm and patience; his eyes show a desire to judge or observe, but surely not to cheat. Of course that does not represent a change in the perception of the Jewish minority in Great Britain. Similar expressions and judging looks are common in Victorian era cartoons of high-ranking politicians as representation of their position in the state.

This particular caricature was designed as an opening image for a series of portraits of well-known political figures. Thomas Gibson Bowles, the founder of *Vanity Fair*, highly valued Disraeli and proved it in the caption following the picture. Bowles expressed his admiration of the man who had managed to become one of the greatest politicians of the era.[25] The final caption was cut short just to one last sentence of the original text: "He educated the Tories, and dished the Whigs to pass Reform; but to have become what he is from what he was is the greatest reform of all."[26]

For the readers of *Vanity Fair,* the punchline had more meaning than a presentation of Disraeli as a street merchant or a sweat-shop worker would. At this time Benjamin Disraeli was considered an important politician, an intelligent man, and a person whose role in the parliament should not be undervalued; but still his origin was pointed out on many occasions and never forgotten. That was due to the fact that he was the first Jew to take over such an important position in the state.

---

[23] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=17535&offset=30 (accessed 04. 07. 2012).

[24] http://www.vanityfair.com/magazine/vintage/oneclickhistory (accessed 04. 07. 2012).

[25] In *Vanity Fair*, Roy T. Matthews and Peter Mellini, Scolar Press, 1982, London, p. 26.

[26] C 2005.5.

A somewhat different approach to Disraeli's Jewishness is presented in an earlier cartoon by Thomas McLean, entitled "The New Christo-Judean Creed," (ill. 176)[27] from 1844 (catalog number: C 2005.5).

When this caricature was first printed, Disraeli had already been a member of parliament (but would not become the prime minister for another twenty-four years) and had stood in opposition to Sir Robert Peel's government.[28] The caption under the picture reads: "The Ultimate or Crowning Triumph of the new Christo-Judean creed (of the pure Caucasian race) Intended for special edification of Young England." The picture as well as the caption can be analyzed in many ways, none of which would be actually flattering to the future prime minister.

Young England was a political group formed by former students of Eton and Cambridge, sharing school memories and ideas on questions related to the state and the church. Most of all they stood for more state independence from the church and for restoration of the position of nobility and gentry. They felt antipathy toward the middle class and recognized it as a group that should be under the control and protection of the higher social classes (Monypenny 1912: 162–165). Disraeli became a member of Young England and, eventually, its leader, though he had never graduated from Eton or Cambridge.

The picture shows Disraeli seated in a throne-like armchair, dressed in clothes similar to ones worn by high church authorities, with three hats on his head and a white handkerchief. Another man is kneeling in front of him, kissing his right boot. The picture has many features and interpretations—most important are the pose and clothes, all together suggesting Disraeli's desire to make decisions about things that he (according to the caricaturist's opinion) should not be involved in. The hats are similar to ones noticeable in other cartoons. They symbolize the need for acceptance and the willingness to become an equal member of the society, in this case a political one. They may also indicate that Disraeli did not actually belong to the world of which he wished to be a part of, in terms of religion, politics, and even educational background. The handkerchief is associated with the highest classes, such as the nobility. The man kissing Disraeli's foot symbolizes the politicians who had tried to create a coalition with Young England's members of Parliament. Many of Young England's members had managed to become members of Parliament still maintaining their views and ideology. For years their role in Parliament was limited to coalitions and temporary agreements with other politicians, just for a few votes, over issues important to themselves.

Another figure that is often shown in nineteenth-century British caricatures is

---

[27] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/?location_id=429 (accessed 04. 07. 2012).

[28] In 1841, Sir Robert Peel, head of the Conservative Party (Prime Minister 1835–1841 and 1841–1846) passed over Disraeli during the forming of his cabinet. Disraeli, hurt by that, became his sharp and devoted opponent. The antipathy was most noticeable during the dispute over the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 (for more information see Trevelyan 1963: 759–767).

Maurice de Hirsch, a German-Jewish philanthropist and a businessman. He had spent part of his life in London and became well known for his large-scale investments and involvement in the issues of the Jewish minority in Russia. He had been devoted to the educational work of Alliance Israélite Universelle, a Jewish intellectuals' movement funded in 1860 in Paris (Laskier 1983: 147) and in 1891 had created the Jewish Colonization Association. The main goal of the organization was to find a place suitable for Jewish settlement and to finance the migration itself. The plan for eastern European Jews was to move to the territories purchased for them by the Jewish Colonization Association and organize self-sufficient communities. Although the organization owned land in a few places, such as Palestine, the United States, and Canada, its biggest achievements were connected to the Argentinean part of the plan. The Jewish Colonization Association actions never gained the scale Hirsch had hoped for, but his involvement and publicity of the association had resulted in increased awareness of the problems of eastern European Jews among European communities.

The Archive of the Jewish Museum London holds a cartoon entitled "The Modern Moses" (ill. 178)[29] (catalog number: AR 1561). It comes from 1891 and was drawn by George Hutchinson. This caricature refers to Hirsch's plans of organized migrations and settlement. He is presented as a traveller, or even a wanderer. Though dressed in fashionable clothes and looking like a gentleman, he is supporting himself on a walking stick made of a simple branch. Behind him there is an endless line of Ashkenazim, all seemingly traditional and resembling characters of the early street-merchant cartoons. They look poor and their faces show sadness and misfortune. Two of them, following Maurice de Hirsch closely, hold a sign "Jewish Colonization Company Limited." The scene refers to the history of Moses leading the Jews out of Egyptian slavery.

Massive migration of Ashkenazim from eastern Europe, which took place after 1881, caused a discussion about the possibility of limiting the admission of new immigrants to Great Britain. Many Britons shared the opinion that the immense flow of immigrants posed a threat to the stability of the economy. In response to that fear, in 1905, the Aliens Act was brought to life. It did not limit the number of people allowed to enter Great Britain but gave basis to refuse entry to anyone with a criminal history as well as to people whom authorities deemed could not support themselves in Great Britain. In the eyes of a large part of the community, the law stood in opposition to the two-hundred-years old tradition of offering shelter to anyone persecuted in their homeland. The cartoon "The Aliens Act at Work" (ill. 179)[30] from 1906 represents the views of the people who opposed the new regulations.

---

[29] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=7980&offset=6 (accessed 04.07.2012).

[30] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=15787&offset=0 (accessed 04.07.2012).

The picture held by the Archive of the Jewish Museum London (catalog number C 1997.1, p. 356) shows a number of people getting off boats in London harbor. A female figure, Britannia, holding a copy of the Aliens Act stops an orthodox Jewish family. The caption states: "Britannia: I can no longer offer shelter to fugitives. England is not a free country,"

In March 1906, another cartoon representing a similar approach was published as the cover of a special supplement to the *Sphere* magazine. The full-page illustration takes part in the discussion of the Aliens Act and offers a response to the view that unregulated immigration represented a danger. The picture (catalog number: 1385.1) entitled "Our Alien Immigrants. How the New Alien Act Operates" (ill. 180)[31] shows people waiting outside the immigrations courtroom, along the banks of the Thames, which is visible through the open door. There are two men and two women accompanied by five children, all of them looking poor, helpless, and harmless. In fact, the youngest immigrants are what the cartoon is about. The Aliens Act was supposed to stop the immigration of people who would most likely reinforce the poorest class of the society, but it also affected the children of the immigrants—the most helpless and vulnerable people, who, if given the chance, could become valuable members of the society. People opposing the new regulation often pointed out that England should not introduce laws detrimental to people whose lives were in danger. Shortly after the introduction of the Aliens Act it became clear that it was not used just to keep criminals out but to discourage immigrants in general. The data presented by the Jewish Museum London proves that many people were refused entry into the British Isles, but if they had appealed they might have been granted entry (in the first month after the introduction of the law, 202 aliens were refused entry, 199 appealed and only 89 of those were refused permission again).[32]

Conclusions

The cartoons representing Jews in nineteenth-century Britain were based on simple stereotypes that were created or adopted by the society after the readmission of the Jews. The stereotypes varied depending on the time they gained broad acceptance, the viewers they were intended for, the people they depicted, and even the approach toward the minority they presented (which changed over time). Most of the caricatures devoted to everyday life expressed a belief that Jews were poor, uneducated, hardly able to communicate, and taking advantage of every opportunity to make a profit or gain privilege. They rarely harkened back to early Jewish history and rarely represented the members of the minority as "the chosen people." Unlike the written sources, the cartoons never represented them as hard working and

---

[31] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=18590&offset=0 (accessed 04.07.2012).

[32] http://www.jewishmuseum.org.uk/search-our-collections-new?adlibid=18590&offset=0 (accessed 04.07.2012).

struggling for survival. If the authors chose to state a punchline at all, it would be there only to stress the message of the picture, usually already clear enough without it. Day-to-day cartoons did not require high-level thinking patterns—the most common stereotypes usually connected with the appearance of the Jews. During the early stage, they presented the members of the Jewish society as the lowest class, the poorest, and dishonest; later Jews were presented as poor and hard working but, generally, honest and devoted to their occupation.

The pictures connected to political events differed from the first kind. If any Jewish authority was presented, it would never resemble "the East End Jew"—a beggar, a thief, a fraud. The pictures were kind, usually drawn in a way that would not offend the person in question. The captions were often witty, sometimes rude, sometimes harsh, and always pointing out the origin of the portrayed. The ancestry, the cultural heritage of the people depicted was important, because that made them aliens. Otherness, in terms of origin and ancestry became a very important part of Victorian society self-consciousness. In times of industrialization and the growing importance of social groups other than the highest class, people wanted to point out where they came from and where they belonged. For the Victorians it was natural to show the cultural background of people present within their society and represented in art. The easiest way of doing so was to use stereotypes.

At the dawn of the twentieth century, the issues of limitation of migrations and fear of the danger they might bring were recognized as important enough to present. These cartoons reflected political views, and ones supporting the Jews were more common than those supporting the Aliens Act. Though the portrayed had remained alien and strange, in time, they were no longer misunderstood or considered to be dangerous. Instead they came to be perceived as weak—in need of help and eligible to receive it.

In time, sympathy for the oppressed had grown and so did the understanding of the role England had played in their migrations. The stereotypes referring to attitudes that depicted Jews as dangerous, dishonest, and greedy had started to play a less important role, and the number of caricatures that depicted such attitudes decreased with time. What had remained, though, were the stereotypes connected to appearance, especially facial features and social status (presented also by clothing)—within Great Britain and outside of it.

Rights to all presented caricatures and pictures belong to the Jewish Museum London Archive. Caricatures were used with permission of the Social History Curator.

References

Aschheim S. E. 1982, *Brothers and Strangers: The East European Jew in German and German Jewish Consciousness, 1800–1923*, London.

Booth C. 1970, *Life and Labour of the People in London*, vol. I., New York.

Diamond M. 2006, *"Lesser Breeds": Racial Attitudes in Popular British Culture, 1890–1940*, London.

Endelman T. 2002, *The Jews of Britain 1656 to 2000*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London.

Finestein I. 1993, *Jewish Society in Victorian England*, London.

Laskier M. M. 1983, Aspects of the Activities of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in the Jewish Communities of the Middle East and North Africa: 1860–1918, *Modern Judaism*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 147–171.

Kushner T. 2009, *Anglo-Jewry since 1066. Place, locality and memory*, Manchester.

Trevelyan G. M. 1963, *Historia Anglii* (*History of England*), Warsaw.

Matthews R. T., Mellini P. 1982, *In "Vanity Fair,"* London.

Mayhew H. 1985, *London Labour and the London Poor*, London.

Monypenny W. F. 1912, *The Life of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield Volume II 1837–1846*, Norwood.

Tokarska-Bakir J. 2008, *Legendy o krwi: Antropologia przesądu* (*Legends of Blood: Anthropology of Superstition*), Warsaw.

Tomaszewski J. 2001, *Żydzi w Polsce: dzieje i kultura. Leksykon* (*Jews in Poland: History and Culture. Lexicon*), Warsaw.

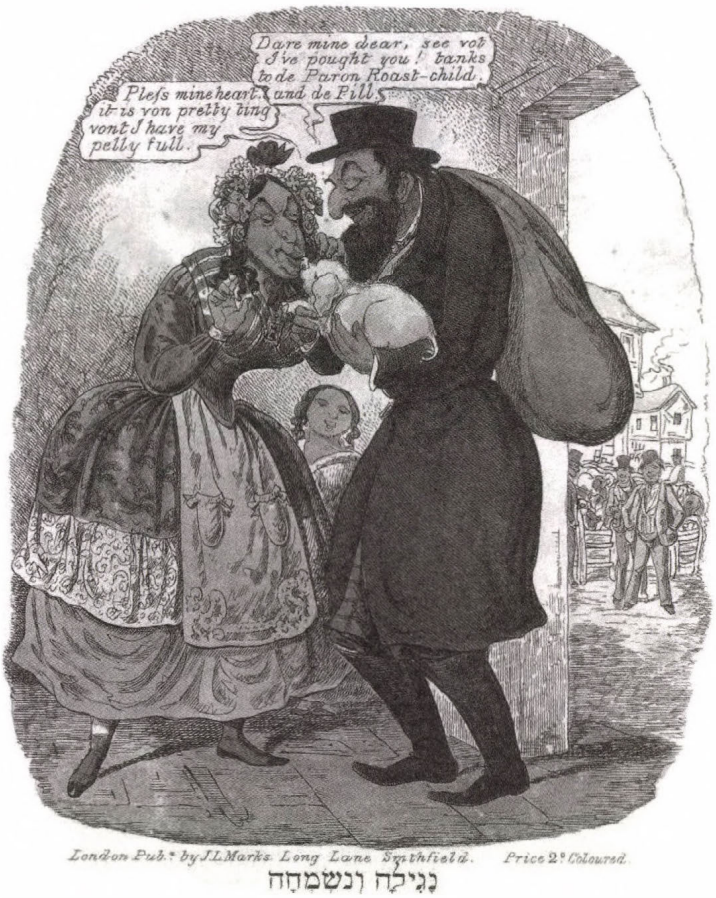
Wilson A. N. 2002, *The Victorian*, London.

Żyndul J. 2011, *Kłamstwo krwi: Legenda mordu rytualnego na ziemiach polskich w XIX i XX wieku* (*The Blood Lie: Legend of Ritual Murder on Polish Lands in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*), Warsaw.



THE RAZOR SELLER

J. Jenkins, the Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1826. 172



ONE OF THE BENEFITS OF JEWISH EMANCIPATION

173 L. Marks, the Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1847.



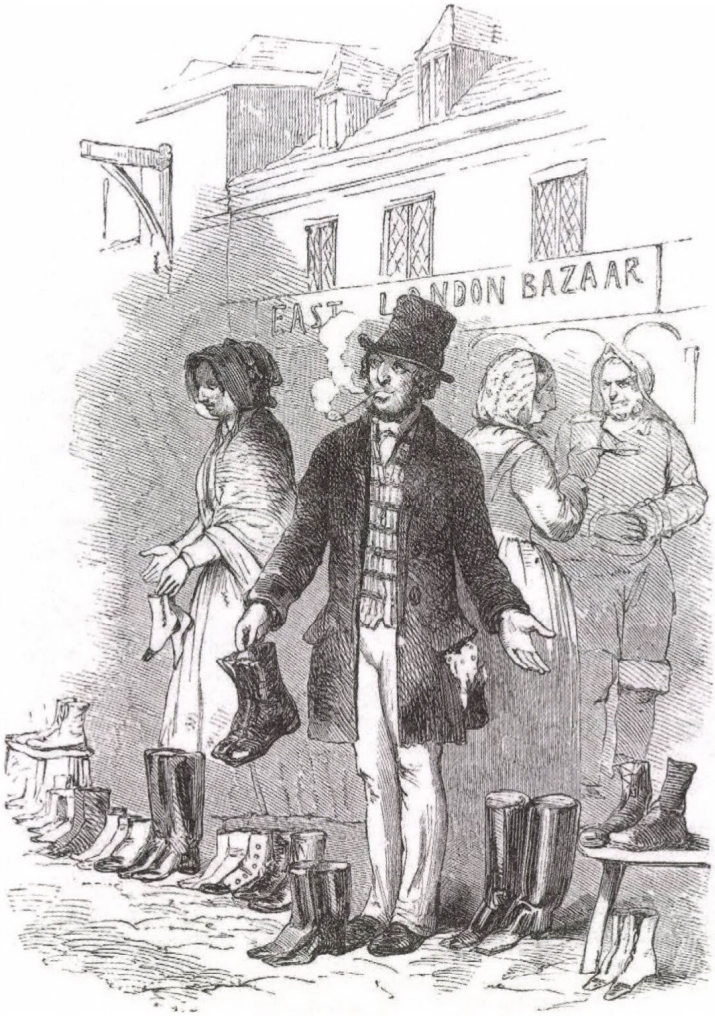
THE JEW OLD-CLOTHES-MAN.

"Clo', Clo', Clo'."

CLO' CLO' CLO'

Jewish Clothes Seller.

The Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1861. 174

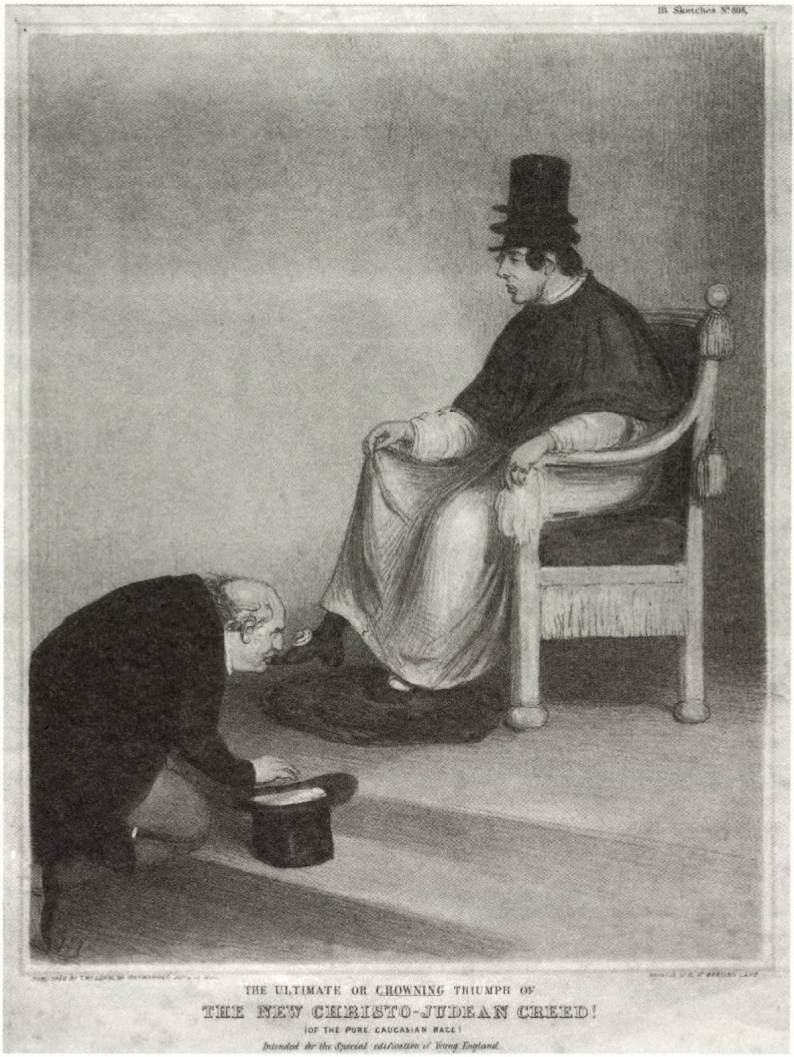


A VIEW IN ROSEMARY LANE.

A VIEW IN ROSEMARY LANE

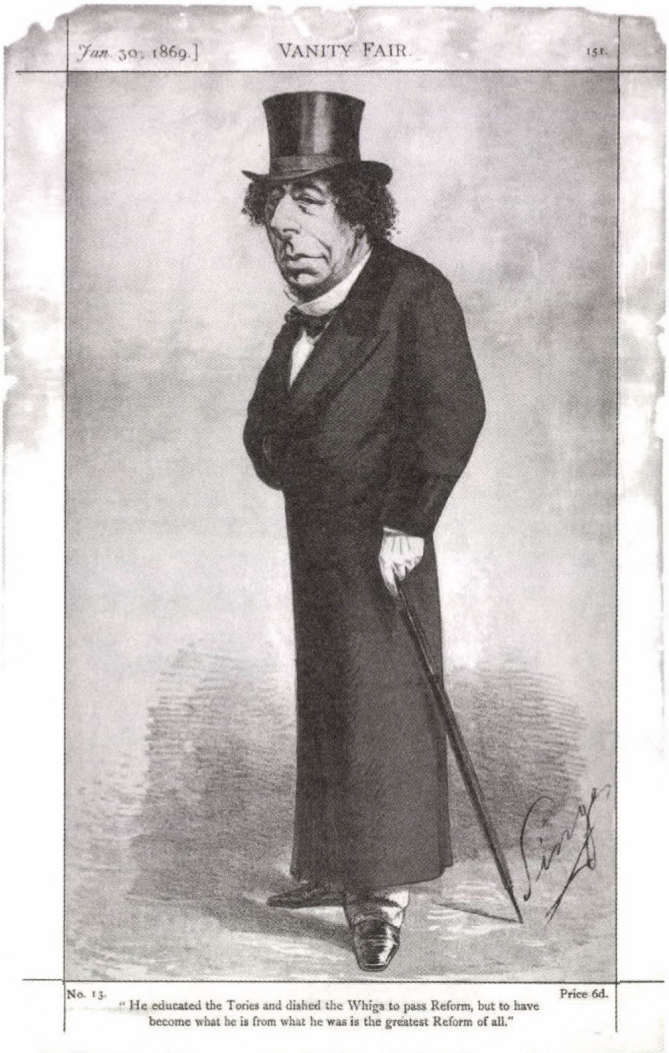
Jewish Trader Outside a Marketplace.

175 H. Mayhew (?), the Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1861.



THE NEW CHRISTO-JUDEAN CREED

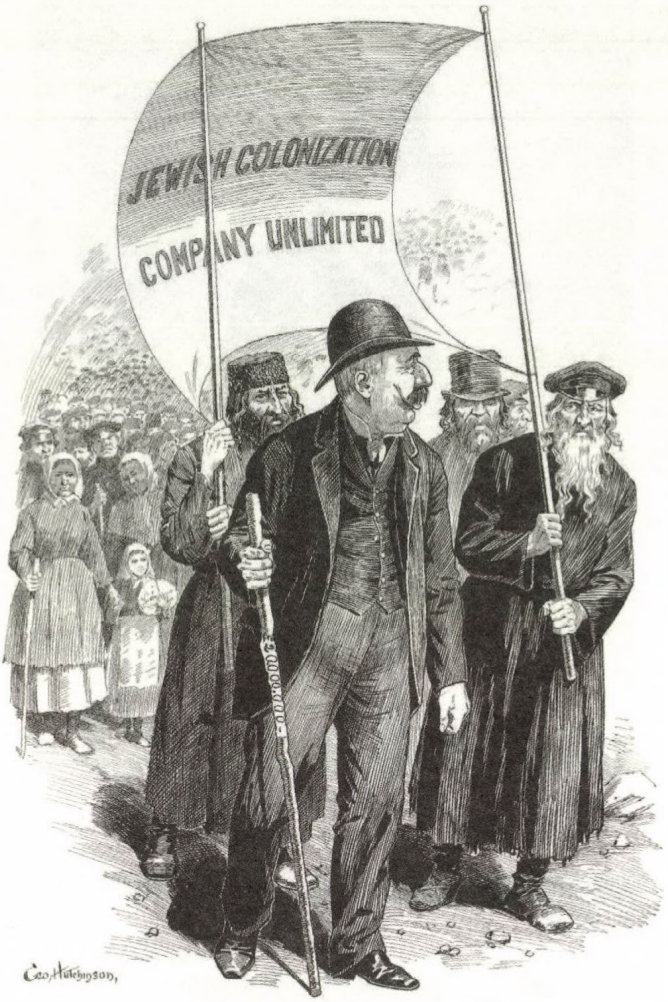
T. McLean, the Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1844. 176



BENJAMIN DISRAELI

Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli from Vanity Fair.

177 C. Pellegrini, the Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1869, January 30.



THE MODERN MOSES

Maurice de Hirsch as the modern Moses.

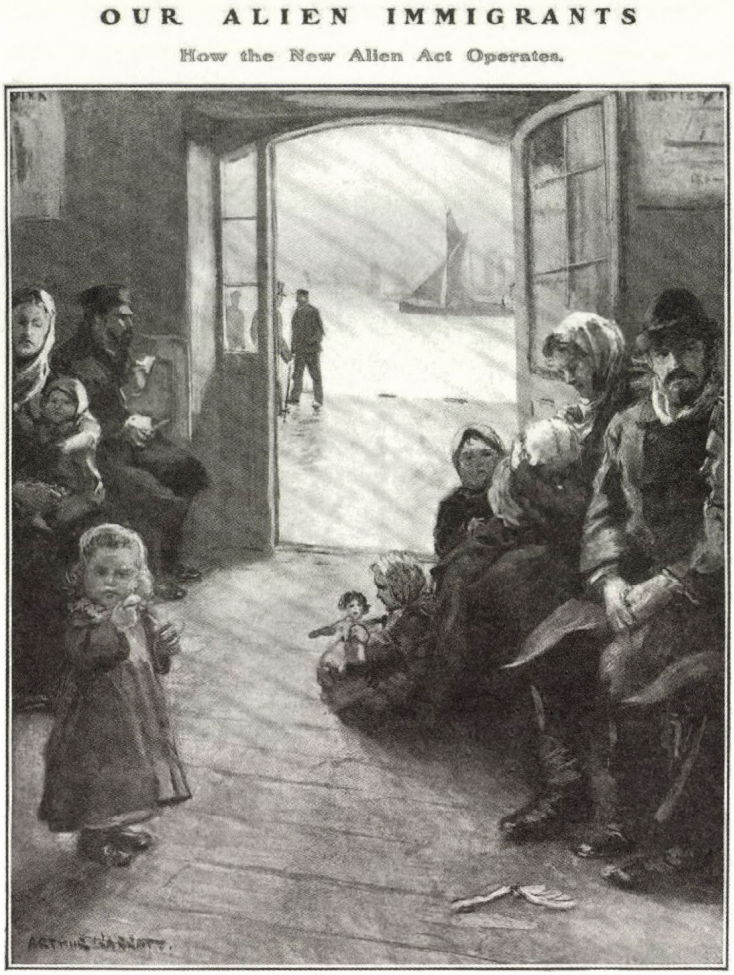
G. Hutchinson, the Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1891. 178



THE ALIENS ACT AT WORK

Reception of the Aliens Act.

179 The Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1906.



OUR ALIEN IMMIGRANTS. HOW THE NEW ALIEN ACT OPERATES

The Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1906, March 17. 180



JEW-VENAL

181 W. Heath, the Archive of the Jewish Museum, London, 1823 or 1835.

Dobrinka Parusheva

Bulgarians Gazing at the Balkans: Neighboring People in Bulgarian Political Caricature at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

The impulse to poke fun at public men in satiric verse is very old, but the political caricature is rather a modern phenomenon since "it cannot be transmitted orally," and its dissemination depends upon ink and paper and the cooperation of the press (Maurice, Cooper 1904: 1). Caricature usually offers interpretations of political events and political figures to supplement the presentation of news. "This appears to be necessary," since, as Lawrence Streicher emphatically pointed out, "As we enter the twentieth century, the news story increasingly has divorced the *narration* of events from the question of their meaning" because of "the cult of objective reporting" (1967: 438–439). On the one hand, scholars have explicitly pointed to the importance of the social situation in which caricature appears (Speier 1938; Demski, Baraniecka-Olszewska 2010: 17–18) and to the understanding of politics, on which the audience relies (Speier 1998: 1354). But, on the other hand, the caricaturist's knowledge of the audience is also very important, since it affects the way that he or she tries to influence it. "The caricaturist has to be well versed in the life of the society, in the visible as well as hidden factors of its developments, apart from his gift for drawing," insists one of the most famous Bulgarian caricaturists, Iliya Beshkov (2008: 172).

Caricature often requires the use of a variety of symbols and that is the reason why caricature in general has so much to do with stereotypes. A few of the caricatures of the type of the Other—the close Other—considered in this text are also redolent with stereotypes and prejudices. They present us with images of the Other that are rooted in past encounters and draw upon the folkloristic understandings of neighboring peoples that are reflected in proverbs and popular folktales. The appearance and development of national stereotypes in the Balkans, the stereotypes of one's own nation as well as those of one's neighbors, depend very much on the specific historical context, since it is this which predetermines a focus on specific features and their reinforcement and exaggeration at particular moments. For instance, negative attitudes toward the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the Greek Orthodox church were reinforced by the national movement against the Ottomans in the nineteenth century, since "the authority of the Greek Church itself was derived from Ottoman theocracy" (Mishkova 1995: 165–166). Wars also bring a change in the way one's neighbors are represented: one can interpret the mocking of Romanian cowardice in 1916 as using "black ink" to underline the contrast this presented with the usual

stereotype of the Romanians as a boastful people. Caricatures that replicate national stereotypes are important in an age of hot and cold wars, when people are exposed to rival forms of propaganda and advertising.

This text aims at analyzing images of the close Other, the neighbors beyond Bulgarian state borders, who were present in the pages of the humorous press in Bulgaria from the beginning of the twentieth century until the early 1920s. In such a brief text, it is impossible to consider all the interesting or important issues raised by the image of the Other in political caricature, so I will try only to offer a view on the dynamics of these images as they appeared at the time and say something about their background.

Bălgaran: Bulgarian Herald of Satire

At the beginning of the twentieth century Bulgaria circulated about twenty periodicals devoted to humor. Here, my attention is focused on newspapers offering small-size cartoons on a daily or weekly basis. Beyond any doubt, the newspaper *Bălgaran* (the word is similar to Bulgarian, both in its sound and its meaning) was the most important. This was not just because the leading intellectuals of the time contributed to its content: rather, the main reason for its importance and influence was the fact that it played a role of "loudspeaker" for an intellectual group with clearly expressed societal as well as aesthetic positions. It is possible to describe *Bălgaran* as a kind of "a gathering of gentlemen, whose co-operation has absolutely prevented the faintest possibility of any lapse, even accidental, of good feeling or good taste," as M. H. Spielmann said of the British journal *Punch* (1906: xii). A number of famous Bulgarian poets and writers such as Dimitar Boyadzhiev, Dimtcho Debelyanov, Kiril Hristov, Konstantin Konstantinov, Nikolay Liliev, Elin Pelin, Petko Todorov, and Peyo Yavorov used to work for *Bălgaran*, regularly or occasionally. Prominent among the caricaturists who worked for the newspaper was Alexander Bozhinov. Others included Rayko Alexiev, Dimitar Andreev (Andro), Alexander Dobrinov, Aneta Hodina, Petar Morozov, and Petar Paspalev.

Observation and analysis of the contents of the caricatures in *Bălgaran* over the years offers information about changes in the way the Bulgarian people (or at least that part of the Bulgarian cultural elite working for the newspaper) imagined their neighbors. On the one hand, these images reflected some of the stereotypes circulating in the public sphere, and, on the other, they also influenced public opinion through a relationship of mutual interdependence involving both the source of the material and the audience the newspaper was intended to reach.

Bălgaran was published in two series, from 1904 to 1909 and again in the period from 1916 to 1924. When the weekly was banned in 1909 and 1910, its chief editor Alexander Bozhinov joined the teams of two other humorous newspapers, firstly, *Baraban* (*Drum*) and, later on, *Smyah* (*Laughter*). As this was exactly around the time that new touches were being added to the images of the neighboring peoples and older ones, somehow forgotten, were reactivated, one could use material from

these papers as a possible "réservoir" for comparisons for the period 1909–1915. In 1916, *Bălgaran* made its second appearance at the end of an epoch that was about to change the entire value system of Europe and the European way of thinking. As any other time, this period was open to humorous interpretation.

1900s: Peaceful Time

There are many situations and persons that attracted the attention of the *Bălgaran* caricaturists during the first decade of the twentieth century. However, only a few can be considered from the point of view of imagining the Other, conceived in terms of the neighboring peoples beyond the state border, since all the Balkan countries were focused on their current domestic problems and not on the disagreements with their neighbors.

As an exception to this, representations of the sultan of the Ottoman Empire can be cited as representative of Bulgarian attitudes regarding the politics of the empire. Abdul Hamid's image was used to comment on the inability of the empire to follow the way of reforms in general and, more particularly, to apply the reforms in Macedonia required by the Great Powers. At the end of February 1905, for instance, the sultan was pictured in European clothing accompanied by an editorial note: "Reforms will be introduced to the extent to which the European suit suits him." Three years later, the *Bălgaran* people made fun of the sultan again; this time occasioned by the dissatisfaction of the Great Powers with the fact that the reforms already promised in 1903 had not yet begun. Abdul Hamid looks very uneasy in the face of the appearance of a "squadron" of flying eagles; a map of Macedonia sticks up out of his pocket: "I do not know why these Mürzsteg eagles are flying to me—because of this bone or??" (ill. 189).

Only the sultan was made an object of fun during this first decade of the twentieth century. None of the other Ottoman politicians, stereotypical images of Turks, or Muslims in general were caricatured. At the same time, *Bălgaran* occasionally published pictures stereotyping Greek and Serbs. For the Bulgarian people or, at least, for Bulgarian intellectuals, such as those working for *Bălgaran*, the Serb was closely identified with the image of the pig (pig-breeding is one of the main occupations in Serbia). And during 1906 when there were problems with trading and customs between Serbia and Austro-Hungary, some images of Serbs in traditional clothes accompanied by a pig appeared on the pages of *Bălgaran*. There were, however, no other negative elements at that time. Later, the images changed and Serbs were personified in the form of pigs (as we will see below). The Greeks, however, were thought of as stingy and swindlers: a caricature from the same year shows a man wearing modern clothes, leaving a restaurant while the waiter complains: "He is wearing down-at-heel shoes, gives as *baksheesh* (a tip) fake money—he could be an attaché at the Greek embassy ..." This image of the Greeks was similar to the traditional one, as presented in a Bulgarian dictionary dating from the late-nineteenth century, conveyed in proverbs: "The Greek tells lies as nine Gypsies do. The

Greek lies and he does not believe himself" (Danova 2003: 116–117). Romanians, unlike the Serbs and Greeks, were accorded only verbal attention since they were not subjects for caricature, at least not until the Balkan wars. It is possible to claim that during the 1900s the Romanians were Bulgaria's best neighbors compared to those with whom Bulgaria was constantly clashing over the issue of Macedonia. The ethnic Other appeared in caricature form only when there was a matter to debate or struggle about.

War Time: Friends Turned Foes

The mood changed sharply during the two Balkan wars of 1912–1913, when attitudes regarding the neighbors reflected the progress of the political conflicts under way. Already in February 1912, before the start of the First Balkan War, the front page of *Smyah* showed the Austro-Hungarian emperor, Franz Joseph, talking to one of his senior military officers: "Keep your eyes wide open: the chimney of the hotel BALKAN fumes, pay attention to it! Don't let it cause a fire otherwise it will be your fault!" The officer's answer speaks volumes: "Don't worry, Your Majesty! Even if a fire starts, the firm BULGARIA will pay for the damages, as always!" This was in its way a prophetic image, though it can be interpreted as an illustration of the belief of Bulgarians that they were always being victimized or as an allusion to the state of Great Bulgaria of San Stefano (which would also have included all the Macedonian lands), which was never realized because of the politics of the Great Powers in 1878. The cartoon's author, Alexander Bozhinov, together with all the other Bulgarian intellectuals expected nothing positive from their politicians, and especially not from King Ferdinand. It was a front page of *Smyah* that gave an answer, again using caricature, to the question "Why is this so?": The Montenegrin King Nicola says to the Ferdinand of Bulgaria: "My brother, now is the right moment to put Turkey under pressure together, and Macedonia will be in our hands." —"No, Nicola, I cannot do it now; it will make a mess of my anniversary in August." Ferdinand's love for all kinds of luxury and festivities, as well as for travelling, was well known to his contemporaries. State concerns usually gave way before the king's personal weaknesses and this was a contributory, if not the main, reason (as some researchers think) for the bad performance of Bulgaria during the war years.

The First Balkan War was a war between the Balkan League (formed by Bulgaria, Greece, Montenegro, and Serbia) and the Ottoman Empire. It ended in the Treaty of London in May 1913 with the result that, after five centuries, the Ottoman Empire lost virtually all of its possessions in the Balkans. During the war, the Bulgarians and their neighbors were allies, if not friends. At its end, however, Bulgaria was dissatisfied over the division of Macedonia agreed upon by Bulgaria's former allies, Serbia and Greece. Misjudgment of the situation by the Bulgarian government (or rather by the king) led to an attack by the Bulgarian army on Greek and Serbian positions in June 1913, thus starting the Second Balkan War. Allies

turned into enemies. The Serbian and Greek armies counter attacked by entering into Bulgaria, while Romania and the Ottoman Empire also attacked Bulgaria and gained (or regained) territory. The end of this second war came with the Treaty of Bucharest in August 1913, according to which Bulgaria lost most of the territories it had gained in the First Balkan War.

"The firm Bulgaria" paid almost the whole cost of the "fire" from which Serbia and Greece were the winners. To the anger and distress of the Bulgarian people, Macedonia was divided between them with the largest part going to Serbia. The Bulgarian attitude regarding the manner in which Serbia imposed its power in Macedonia was extremely well presented in a cartoon with the title "Serbian cultural activities in Macedonia" (from May 1914) in which a pig with a fur cap represents a Serb who is victimizing Bulgarian teachers and priests, destroying churches and so on (ill. 182). In contrast to the peacetime image of the Serb, the pig is no longer merely the accompaniment to the man but has been transformed into the personification of the Serb himself. A similar situation had been noted by Petăr Petrov in the context of the Serbian-Bulgarian War of 1885, when enmity between the two neighbors led to the substitution "of the image of the swineherd with that of the swine" (2010: 86).

With the onset of World War I there were many reasons for imagining the close Other. A new development was the frequent, not to say regular, appearance of political cartoons on the pages of the second *Bălgaran*. We owe most of them to Rayko Alexiev. As was the case in the period of the Balkan wars, the humor is vicious and nasty, aimed at underlining the most unpleasant features of the neighboring peoples, who are once again foes.

World War I began as a war between Austro-Hungary and Serbia, with Russia immediately supporting Serbia. About two years later, the first issue of the second series of *Bălgaran* shows the Russian emperor deeply regretting his help: "It has been too expensive for me, this Serbian pig. Some are wise and some are otherwise; that's what comes of not using your head." Montenegro supported Serbia soon after war broke out, but the other Balkan states entered the war only later: Romania and Greece joined the Entente Powers, but only in 1916 because of internal political disagreement as to which coalition to support; the Ottoman Empire joined the Central Powers in November 1914, and Bulgaria, in the autumn of 1915. Obviously, all of Bulgaria's neighbors, except the Ottoman Empire, were on the other side. It is to be expected therefore that this would be marked in the caricatures of the period.

Often the powerful men of the neighboring states were "guests" of the pages of the Bulgarian press. The Serbian and Montenegrin kings were usually satirized together. I can offer two explanations for this: firstly, in the past, these two peoples were close to each other not only geographically but also culturally and linguistically; and, secondly, the governments of the two states had already made their choice at the time the war started. The personal shortcomings of the heads of states reinforced the influence of these images. King Peter of Serbia usually wears a shabby

military uniform while the Montenegrin, King Nicola, is in his usual clothing and wears a large traditional-style belt and is equipped with some kind of weapon, either a knife, musket, fork, or spoon. If a knife or musket has been put into his belt, then a fork can be seen in his boot. While weapons were associated with the preference of Montenegrins to solve all problems by using force, the fork and spoon referred to Nicola's love of food (and drink). Both heads-of-state were often shown asking the Great Powers for something, either help or money, complaining when they failed to receive it or expressing pleasure when their wishes were met. Nicola's image often includes a reference to his fondness for beautiful women, for example, in one caricature in answer to Peter's question, "At which military theatre will you undertake an offensive, my brother?" he replies: "At the one where the actresses are more beautiful" (ill. 183).

Pitying Greece

Greece, during the war, was an object of pity from the perspective of the Bulgarian caricaturists since Greece had been put under pressure by the Entente Powers to enter the war on their side, pressure that included the landing of their armies in Thessalonica in October 1915 and in Piraeus a year later. On this occasion a couple of caricatures by Rayko Alexiev were published, one of which shows John Bull (as Englishmen were widely known at the time) smoking his pipe in a bed that has a sign on it saying "Greece." The text says, "John Bull dozes and thinks: It is so good to respect freedom of the small nations!" Another "Caricature Week", this time designed by *Kladderadatsch*) changed the nickname to John Bluff: "John Bluff went to Athens and said: Madam Hellas, I've been fighting for two years for freedom of the small nations; that's why I occupy all your ports now." There is a difference between the two caricatures: the latter addresses the point directly, while the former, by Rayko Aleksiev, addresses the the idea implicitly. In both cases, however, the attitude adopted by *Bălgaran*'s caricaturists toward the forceful pressure exerted on Greece to enter the war by the Entente Powers, and Great Britain in particular, is made clear to the contemporary reader of the newspaper. It is interesting to observe the shift in attitudes as Bulgaria's southern neighbor moves from the position of an enemy, during and immediately after the Second Balkan War, to becoming an object of pity. Once again a political explanation can be offered: At that time Bulgaria was already an ally of the Central Powers while France and Great Britain were on the other side; hence, their attempts to make Greece enter the war on their side were, therefore, subject to criticism by the caricaturists even while they pitied the Greeks.

It was the prime minister, Elephterios Venizelos, and not King Konstantin, who was the most powerful man in Greece, which was why Venizelos was so often the object of caricature. He is shown, for example, digging the grave of Greece while John Bull waits for him with a coffin inscribed "Greece" in his hands. Or in the role of a pimp, he reassures a shy Hellas that the two gentlemen (an Englishman and

a Frenchman) will not hurt her (ill. 184). Particularly successful, in my opinion, are two small caricatures that appeared as a part of the "Caricature Week" of *Bălgaran* (issue 33); their author was, again, Rayko Alexiev: "1. They crucified the martyr Hellas like Jesus on Golgotha, and Pharisees pierced her through the heart. 2. And Venizelos, like Pilate, washed his hands and said: "I am clean, I am clean!" The motif of Golgotha aimed at reinforcing the idea of Greek suffering, despite the fact that it was not a very popular idea in Bulgaria at the time. Bulgarian caricaturists shared the general opinion that Greece, as a "small nation," was torn between the conflicting powers and compared the Greek situation to the popular proverb "Give him an inch and he'll take an ell."

Hating Romania

Bulgarian caricaturists may have satirized Venizelos; however, developments have shown that if considered from a long-term perspective, his position was a winning one, even though the dignity of his country and nation was violated. The same was true for Romania, where there was also an argument between Prime Minister Ionel Brătianu and King Carol I, a problem which was more easily overcome than the situation in Greece, because of the ascent to the throne by Ferdinand (Carol's nephew) in October 1914. This facilitated the Romanian entry into the war on the side of the Entente Powers, even though it only occurred in August 1916.

During the month of September 1916, Romanians and their political leaders began to appear frequently on the pages of *Bălgaran*. Each issue provided at least two cartoons dealing with Romania and its people for the reason that Bulgaria and Romania not only belonged to the enemy alliances but were, simultaneously, engaged in military operations against each other in the region of Dobrudzha. The rapid retreat and defeat of the Romanian army was the object of many caricatures and satiric texts illustrating the cowardice of Romanians. This was considered to be one of the main reasons for the Bulgarian victory, together with the brave behavior of the Bulgarian army. For instance, one caricature shows a Romanian who wears what was considered to be his typical costume, a long, embroidered shirt, and carries a bag with a violin, in line with the stereotypical image of the Romanian that often refers to his love of music and entertainment. This person says to his military superior: "Domnule Colonel, there is something heavy in my trousers: is it my heart that went down into my trousers?" (ill. 185). There are similar allusions in other issues during the same month. Cowardliness was a quality that contrasted with the boastfulness perceived to be a typical characteristic of Romanians, whom the Bulgarians regarded as "show offs." Both features were of interest in the "Caricature Week" of issue no. 36: The first sequence shows the big claims and high expectations of the Romanian who is thumping his chest: "1. I am heading to Sofia—shouted Domnul Falimentescu ..."; in the second one, we see his breakdown and bowed head: "2. And he headed to Petrograd."

Romanian political leaders also attracted the satirists. Prime Minister Bratianu

appeared as a dandy dozing in an armchair: "Bratianu dreams about railway Russe-Varna coming to him [i.e. becomes a Romanian] as a hen cooked in a dish." King Ferdinand of Romania, referred to as "Mamaligarski," could in his turn be seen reading a military communiqué and pondering developments. He thinks: "Ha, this is how I've imagined it and this is how it happened." Only a month after Romania entered the war, the people working for *Bălgaran* comment on the situation as follows: "Bratianu rushed to Dobrudzha and Sedmogradsko in a search for glory but got lost in the fog and appeared at Cobadin"; "At the same time Ferdinandul Cel Mare was running while whispering: may I save the crown at least! ..." Apart from the already mentioned, there are some caricatures whose suggestions are much more direct: for example, the caricature "Theatre Dobrudzha," in which one Romanian and one Russian are lying on a stage while Sir Grey says: "The performance is over, gentlemen—the actors did not know their parts" (ill. 186).

Bălgaran's people were ruthless in their treatment of the Romanians. This was because the Bulgarians looked on the events of 1916 as a kind of revenge for the hostile behavior of the Romanian army in the Bulgarian part of Dobrudzha during the Second Balkan War in 1913. Three years later, in 1916, the gloating over Romania's defeat appeared as compensation for Bulgarians as the accumulation of hatred brought about a desire for revenge. These sentiments were illustrated not only by political caricatures but also in many of the war songs and literature of the time (cf. Nyagulov 2003: 193–194).

War Is Over, Treaties to Come

At the end of the war and for the first few years after it, the Romanian who had been so often depicted before was almost entirely missing from caricatures, the only example I can offer shows a typical image of a Romanian, but he is pictured at the Bessarabian border and is talking to Lenin (ill. 187). The reason for this remarkable absence is probably closely related to the outcome of World War I as a consequence of which Romania almost doubled its territory; but this time that did not affect Bulgaria: no further parts of Dobrudzha were cut from the state's territory, but Great Romania included all of Transylvania, which meant it was created at the expense of Hungary.

Hating Greece

Unlike Romania, which disappeared from the pages of *Bălgaran* in the late 1910s and early 1920s (possibly to reappear on the pages of contemporary humorous Hungarian newspapers and journals), Greece and Elefterios Venizelos continued to occupy many pages in issues of *Bălgaran* during 1918–1920 due to the fact that Eastern Thrace was to pass from Bulgaria to Greece. This event was presented in various ways: Prime Minister Venizelos was shown as eating the big apple "Thrace" greedily or as proudly walking on a carpet with the inscription "Thrace" and with the label "Made in London," alluding to the British help Greece was receiving at

the peace conference (ill. 188). British support for Greece was represented several times, also in connection with the Greek-Turkish war in 1919–1922 and developments in Asia Minor: for example, Venizelos, hidden behind the big body of Sir John Bull, is shown switching his sword against Turkey and, in another case, Venizelos is depicted as Napoléon Bonaparte, saying, "Put Britain behind my back and I will conquer the world!" The discrepancy between the greed of the Greek government and its ability to carry out military operations was duly mocked, with the emphasis placed on the greed. The Greeks, represented again by Venizelos, were made to look as if they wished to swallow the whole earth and, even, the moon. Yet, the *Bălgaran* caricaturists focused mainly on Bulgaria's loss of Eastern Thrace, which was the reason why Greece was mocked for its appetite and greed for new territories. It was also pictured in caricatures representing the Bulgarian prime minister of the time, Teodor Teodorov. In one of them he was waiting for Mme. Thrace to come for a rendezvous in the park of Neuilly and was saying to him, "This Mme Thrace is not coming—has she gone to meet Mr Venizelos instead?!"

Bearing in mind the fate of Eastern Thrace, we can understand that the Bulgarian caricaturists were laughing bitterly at the Greeks when the so-called catastrophe in Asia Minor, which was the defeat of the Greek army by the Turks led by Mustafa Kemal, occurred. Alexander Dobrinov comments in a caricature that the fate of each despot, by which is meant Venizelos, is to be thrown away with a stone bound to his feet. Similarly to the case of Romania in 1916 (by comparison with 1913), the *Bălgaran* people seem to have perceived Greece's fate at the end of the Greco-Turkish war as compensation for the Bulgarian loss, at the end of World War I, as a kind of counterweight to the Bulgarian misfortune regarding Thrace. Not only the prime minister of Greece was lampooned but also a stereotypical military Greek person named Yani, shown rushing off from Turkey in huge jumps alluded to the cowardice displayed by the defeated Greeks.

Old and New Players to the West

Some of our other old acquaintances, the Serbian and Montenegrin kings, reappeared together for a period at the end of the war, although they were also depicted separately. Their time had however come to an end, and they now stepped down from the political scene: a good example of this was a caricature in which the American president Wilson was informing Peter and Nikita that he did not need them as "waiters" anymore, that for now it was Great Britain and France who were fulfilling this role. Nikita tried to negotiate his future fate with the new political entity, Yugoslavia: "I'm ready to join to your Yugoslavia but under one condition—to be the director of all Yugoslav banks." Once again, the Montenegrin king was depicted as someone eager to get more and more wealth.

Now that Yugoslavia was the new "player" in the Balkans, one of the new heroes on the pages of *Bălgaran* was Prime Minister Nikola Pashich. There are many examples but the principal ideas of the Bulgarian caricaturists can be represented by

just two. The blooming of the "flower," Yugoslavia, was not going well and Pashich explains that the reason for this was that it, the flower, had Serbian roots and could not therefore do well, no matter how much it was watered. Despite claims that the three different nationalities in the new federal unity—Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes—were equal to each other, it was dominated by Serbia and Serbian politicians. The cartoons reflect this fact. In addition, most of them illustrate the difficulties the prime minister, Pashich, was facing, all of them resulting from the disagreements between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Hence, Yugoslavia was represented either as a nasty fly, as a hot soup, or as a beehive.

Conclusion

Satirizing the neighbors and their military defeats cannot but remind us of a proverb, common for many nations: "He who laughs longest, laughs best." Romania, Greece, and the new-born Yugoslavia were among the winners at the end of World War I. The Bulgarians, although proud of their military victories, were again on the side of the losers because of the political and diplomatic inadequacy of their elite. The feelings of despair and deep grief that dominated public space in Bulgaria after the Versailles treaties were explicitly expressed in all the newspapers and journals of the time. The humorous press did not fail to interpret the war results as it had done in the preceding years. Here, I will summarize the observations above and draw a few conclusions.

Firstly, we definitely see changes appearing in the images of the Other in Bulgaria at the beginning of the twentieth century during the period of wartime. Bulgaria was on the side of her neighbors only for a few months during the First Balkan War. After this brief period, friends turned to foes for several years, particularly during the Second Balkan War and World War I. The war years led to a focus on the characteristics of the neighboring peoples that were perceived to play a role in the process of the division of territory and during a generation of hostility. The majority of and, generally, most-hostile images of close Others appeared in times of direct confrontation—either military, as in the case of the Romanians in 1916, or diplomatic, as in 1919–1920 in the case of the Greeks. The repetition of images of the Romanians as a cowardly and boastful people who deserve to be given a lesson were evidence of Bulgarian national pride regarding the military victories at the front. On the other hand, these could be read as an expression of the need of the Bulgarian people to compensate for past humiliation and to make the Romanians feel defeat, as the Bulgarians had felt it in 1913. In the case of the Greeks, the shift from an attitude of pity for this people in 1915–1916 to one of hatred in 1919–1920 was due to the clash over Eastern Thrace. Hostility to the Greeks was expressed by showing the Greek prime minister as a greedy man ready to eat and swallow not only Thrace but also the whole earth and, even, the moon. In addition, when Greece was defeated in the Asia Minor campaign in 1919–1921, the image of the cowardly Greek rushing off from Turkey was often present in Bulgarian caricatures. In short,

the caricatures representing political developments and images of the Other were in tune with the current feelings directed to whichever neighbor was dominating Bulgarian society at the time.

Secondly, it was usually the political leaders who were depicted rather than the standard stereotypes of the neighboring nations. The principal heroes of the caricatures in *Bălgaran* and its followers were the heads of state or political leaders of Serbia and Montenegro, and later the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes; Romania; and Greece. Yet, some stereotypical images also appeared on the pages of the satirical newspapers, as for instance, the Romanian man with his shirt and musical instrument and the Greek man called Yani. It is not possible to make a clear distinction between the various occasions when the caricaturists used a particular image. The dominance of real political figures results in a representation of the neighboring peoples as men. Since politics, which was the main arena for caricatures of the Other, was still regarded as the domain of men until the great war was over (and for some time after that), this is easy to understand. At the same time, when a neighboring state and not a people or a disputed geographical territory was depicted, it was sometimes depicted as a woman, for instance, Hellas (Greece) or Lady Thracia. One can argue that this particular way of imaging the Other stems from the fact that we were discussing wartime issues. At the beginning of the twentieth century, war—as politics—still was mainly men's business: it was men who went to the battlefield and behaved bravely or with cowardice.

Last but not least, the reader has undoubtedly gotten the impression that the motif of Bulgarians as victims—despite their military victories—and the neighbors as winners was reiterated in a variety of cartoons. Indeed, Bulgarian caricaturists, like the rest of the Bulgarian population, under the influence of wartime propaganda, perceived Bulgaria to be the big loser. The Bulgarian army was victorious in almost all the battles, but in the end Bulgaria still lost the war and found herself in isolation, "pushed by the winners to the position of an underdog, severely restrained in her freedom to voice 'revanchist' resentments other than the remorse of the victimized" (Mishkova 1995: 184). The story of friends-turned-foes is the story of Bulgaria's stern enemies. Bulgarian caricaturists reflected the predominantly negative national attitude toward the neighbors. The Bulgarian "gaze at the Other" in the Balkans evolved over time as a by-product of the invention and construction of Bulgarian national identity. Although the attitudes of Bulgarians were shaped by political propaganda to a certain extent and followed political circumstances, their establishment also contributed to the attitude and behavior of the neighboring peoples toward Bulgarians. This has been the case in so many instances of national image-projection that it has turned into a cliché. Yet, it is one that certainly holds true for Bulgaria.

References

Beshkov I. [Бешков И.] 2008, *Карикатурата* (*Caricature*), [in:] *Слово и образ* (*Words and Image*), София, pp. 167–185.

Danova N. [Данова Н.] 2003, *Образи на гърци и западноевропейци в българската книжнина през XVIII–XIX век* (*Images of Greeks and West European people in Bulgarian literature in eighteenth–nineteenth centuries*), [in:] Aretov, N. [Аретов Н.] (ed.) *Балканските идентичности в българската култура* (*Balkan Identities in Bulgarian Culture*), София, vol. 4, pp. 92–132.

Demski D., K. Baraniecka-Olszewska 2010, *Introduction. Encountering Images of the Other*, [in:] Demski D., K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*, Warsaw, pp. 11–25.

Gehl K., P. Petrov 2005, Die Nachbarn Bulgariens im Spiegel der Karikaturen „Balkanski Papagal" (1915–1927), *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie*, vol. 41, pp. 152–189.

Maurice A., Fr. Cooper. 1904, *The History of the Nineteenth Century in Caricature*, London (available via The Project Gutenberg e-Book: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/37603/37603-h/37603-h.htm#page1) (accessed 10.10.2012).

Mishkova D. 1995, *Friends Turned Foes: Bulgarian National Attitudes to Neighbours*, [in:] Kontler, L. (ed.) *Pride and Prejudice: National Stereotypes in 19th and 20th Century Europe East to West*, CEU History Department, Working Paper Series 2, CEU Budapest, pp. 163–186.

Nyagulov Bl. [Нягулов Бл.] 2003, *Румънците и Румъния в българската литература* (*1878–1989*) (*Romanians and Romania in Bulgarian Literature*), [in:] Aretov, N. [Аретов Н.] (ed.) *Балканските идентичности в българската култура* (*Balkan Identities in Bulgarian Culture*), София, vol. 4, pp. 183–208.

Parusheva D. [Парушева Д.] 2006, *Българската политическа карикатура в началото на XX век: Образът на съседа* (*Bulgarian Political Caricature at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century: Image of the Neighbour*), [in:] *Юбилеен сборник. Изследвания в чест на 80-годишнината на Проф. Кръстю Манчев* (*In Honorem Prof. Krastyo Manchev*), София, pp. 297–316.

Parusheva D. 2008, "They Are All Rotters!" Political Culture and Political Caricature in South-Eastern Europe, Late 19th and Early 20th Century, *Etudes balkaniques*, 4, pp. 37–63.

Petrov P. 2010, *Caricature as a Source in the Study of Mental Images: A Bulgarian Example*, [in:] Demski D., K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe*, Warsaw, pp. 80–91.

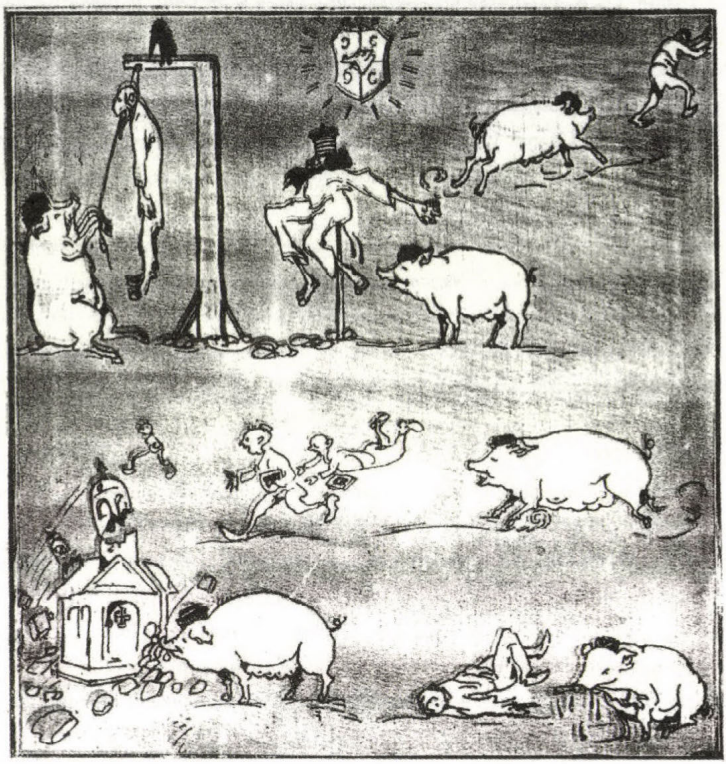
Petrov P., K. Gehl. 2007, *Das bunte Gefieder der bulgarischen Papageien. Das Bild des Westens in der politischen Wandbildkarikatur* (*1915–1945*), [in:] Petrov P., K. Gehl (eds.), *Fremdes Europa? Selbstbilder und Europa-Vorstellungen in Bulgarien* (*1850–1945*), Berlin, pp. 197–278.

Spielmann M. 1906, *The Cartoons from "Punch"*, [in:] *Cartoons from "Punch"*, vol. I, London, pp. v–xii.

Speier H. 1938, The Social Determination of Ideas, *Social Research*, vol. 5, pp. 182–205.

—1998, Wit and Politics: An Essay on Laughter and Power, *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 103, issue 5, pp. 1352–1401.

Streicher L. H. 1967, On a Theory of Political Caricature, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 9, issue 4, pp. 427–445.



430

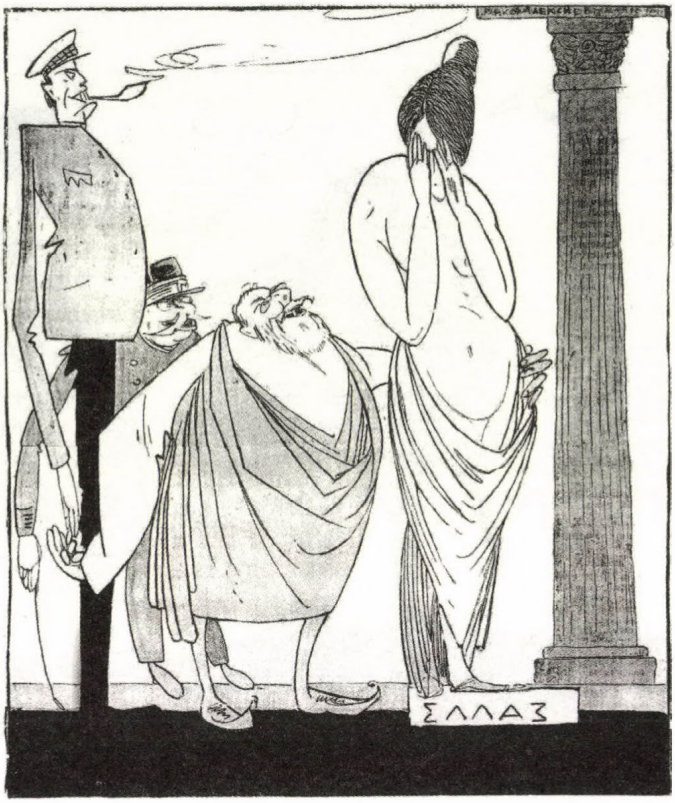
SERBIAN CULTURAL ACTIVITIES IN MACEDONIA

P. Paspalev, *Smyah* (Sofia), 1911/12, no 141, p. 8.



Petar: At which military theatre will you undertake an offensive, my brother?
Nikita: At the one where the actresses are more beautiful.

183 R. Alexiev, *Bălgaran* (Sofia), 1916/17, no 16, p. 5.



THE PIMP

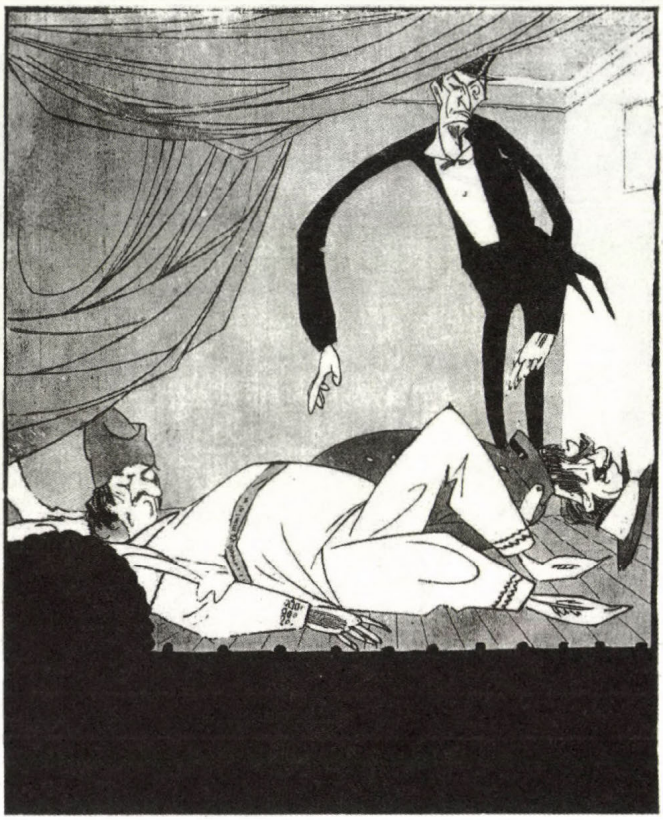
Venizelos: Come on, my dear, go with these gentlemen, they won't hurt you.

R. Alexiev, *Bălgaran* (Sofia), 1916/17, no 27, p. 8. 184



Domnule Colonel, there is something heavy in my trousers:
is it my heart that went down into my trousers?

185 A. Bozhinov, *Bălgaran* (Sofia), 1916/17, no 20, p. 1.

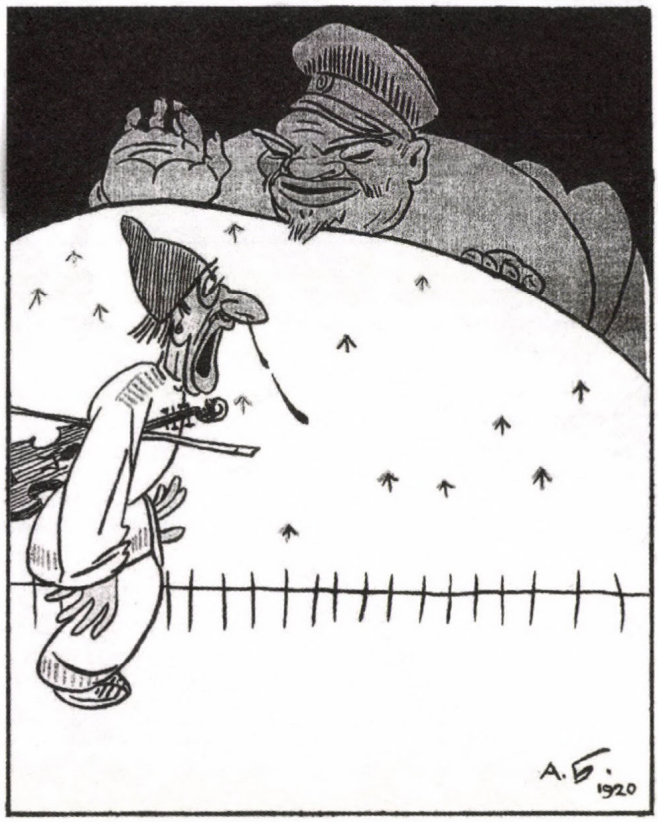


434

THEATRE DOBRUDZHA

Sir Grey: The performance is over, gentlemen—the actors did not know their parts.

R. Alexiev, *Bălgaran* (Sofia), 1916/17, no 25, p. 1. 186



AT THE BESSARABIAN BORDER

Good night, Lenin!

187 A. Bozhinov, *Bălgaran* (Sofia), 1920, no 5, p. 1.



THE GLORIOUS HOUR OF KIRIOS VENIZELOS

– Servus, John! [on the carpet reads "Thrace"]

A. Bozhinov, *Bălgaran* (Sofia), 1920, no 18, p. 1. 188



The Sultan: I do not know why these Mürzsteg eagles are flying to me—because of this bone or??
[In his pocket: Macedonia]

189 A. Bozhinov, *Bălgaran* (Sofia), 1908, no 132, p. 1.

6. New Versus Old: Local Responses to a Changing World

Karla Huebner

Otherness in First Republic Czechoslovak Representations of Women

With the founding of Czechoslovakia in 1918, women throughout this "multinational nation-state" (Huebner 1993) achieved the vote and constitutional promises of legal equality. Widespread Czech acceptance of female higher education and political equality suggests that the Czech New Woman did not provoke the same degree of anxiety in her compatriots as did New Women in France and Germany.[1] In fact, popular visual imagery of Czech women often made them a symbol of modernity (Huebner 2011). Yet Czechs were only one ethnic group—though as it turned out, the dominant one—in a country that was also home to many Slovaks, Germans, Ruthenians (Rusyns), and members of other ethnicities. The urban Czech ideal of a fashionable, active, efficient young woman was not necessarily meaningful to or valued by members of all ethnicities within Czechoslovakia. Furthermore, by the late 1920s, Czech imagery of young Czech women as a sign of modernity often contrasted with the use of older or Slovak women as a visual symbol of backwardness. This paper examines how Czech and Slovak women, both constituents of the newly founded Czechoslovakia, were constructed in Czech and Slovak visual imagery during the 1920s. To what extent were there commonalities or contrasts between images of older and younger women or Czech and Slovak women, and between leftist and traditional or advertising and fine-art depictions? To what extent did Czech and Slovak periodicals picture women of the "other" ethnicity, and for that matter how often did they show women from other ethnic groups within Czechoslovakia? By analyzing a sampling of representations from First Republic Czech and Slovak periodicals, this paper sheds light on some of the ways Czech and Slovak women were imagined, pictured, and ultimately expected to perform separate versions of modernity and nationality that offered different benefits to Czech and Slovak viewers.

While periodicals published in Czechoslovakia during the 1920s and early 1930s used many photos of modern women, in fact, many of these photos were of foreign origin and Czech and Slovak periodicals depicted their own New Women more often via drawings and sketches than via photography. Numerous sketches,

---

[1] The term New Woman has meant somewhat different things depending on location and decade, but most frequently (between about 1890 and 1940) New Woman refers to a nontraditional woman, often but not always feminist. The New Woman as an international phenomenon is explored in Otto and Rocco 2011.

advertisements, and cartoons of Czech, Slovak, and Czechoslovak women appeared in periodicals from independence to the end of the 1920s, when the effects of the Great Depression began to hit Czechoslovakia. Both photographic and sketched images proved to be a potent means of imagining the Czechoslovak New Woman's liveliness, fashionability, and physical fitness (Huebner 2011). This analysis focuses on the differences between Czech and Slovak imagery and looks at some representations of cultural Others.

This paper, then, is intended as a preliminary survey that, in part, looks at *which* women were regarded as Other by specific periodicals and/or populations between 1924 and about 1930 and, in part, analyzes how those Others were portrayed. The periodicals chosen were, relatively speaking, mainstream publications, although each occupied a specific social niche, being targeted to (for example) men, women, or leftists. As we will see, some illustrated periodicals avoided the idea of the Other almost entirely, and some highlighted the distant and exotic Other while avoiding looking at Others closer to home. The Czech-language periodicals considered include the women's magazines *Moderní dívka* (*Modern Girl,* Prague, founded October 1924), *Eva* (*Eve,* Prague, founded December 1928), *Ženský svět* (*Women's World,* Prague, founded 1896), *Žena: Tyden komunistických žen* (*Woman: Communist Women's Weekly,* Prague, founded circa 1914); the men's magazine *Gentleman* (Prague, founded circa 1923); the general interest magazine *Světozor* (*World Horizon,* Prague, publication resumed 1904); the leftist photomagazine *Reflektor* (*Reflector,* or *Spotlight,* Prague, founded 1925); and the humor paper *Trn* (*Thorn,* Prague, founded 1922). Though published in Czech, these were accessible to Slovaks and may have been intended to be more Czechoslovak than narrowly Czech. Slovak-language periodicals considered include *Vesna* (*Springtime,* Košice, founded 1927) and *Dav* (*The Masses,* founded circa 1927), which were specifically targeted to Slovaks although they could also have been read by interested Czechs.

First Republic Czechoslovakia as Multiethnic State

As we examine this imagery, it is important to keep in mind that Czechoslovakia in the 1920s was a newly created, vibrant country. It had not suffered heavy losses during the First World War, and its cultural identity was still forming. Its First Republic, later idealized as a golden age, lasted from 1918 to 1938 and was a parliamentary democracy with strong political ties to France, Great Britain, and the United States. However, while Czechs and Slovaks were politically united as Czechoslovak, in practice the two groups, though close geographically and linguistically, usually considered themselves to be distinct. Indeed, the arrival of Czech administrators in Slovakia after independence produced some tensions between Czechs and Slovaks as both groups began to realize the extent of their cultural, educational, and economic differences. And, just as Czechs and Slovaks had mutually intelligible languages yet differed historically and culturally, the Ruthenians,

or Rusyns, to the east were rapidly seen to be different from both the Czechs and the Slovaks.[2]

Czechs formed the dominant cultural group in the new state, but rather than overtly comparing themselves to the Slovaks, with whom common ground was sought, historically, the Czechs saw Czech culture in contrast to German culture and this perceived difference—and the perceived need to outnumber ethnic Germans with Slavs—was in fact a major reason for adding Slovakia onto the Czech lands in 1918.

Women's Situation During the First Republic

I will now briefly review the Czechoslovak woman's situation in the early twentieth century. While the western territories formerly ruled by Austria initially retained Austrian laws and the eastern territories formerly ruled by Hungary had other laws, the overall situation can be summarized as follows. The interwar Czechoslovak (primarily Czech) New Woman was more than a product of mere international fashion; she came into being partly as a result of the earlier, explicitly designated *Nová žena* (*New Woman*) of *fin-de-siècle* feminism. Scholars agree that Czech resistance to feminism was comparatively weak, and by 1920, Czech feminists had achieved many of their early goals. Pre-independence Czech political parties had in fact mostly endorsed women's suffrage.[3] Particular support had come from intellectual and future president Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk. Masaryk continued to support feminism throughout his presidency, which lasted nearly the whole of the period of the First Republic (Neudorfl 1990). Laws discouraging divorce were relaxed in 1919, and Czech women began to vote in the same year.[4] Access to higher education for women, which had been increasing for decades, improved considerably in the 1920s.[5] During the 1920s, some Western feminists even considered Czechoslovakia a "paradise of the modern woman," an assessment that was proudly pointed out to westward-looking readers (*Revue Française de Prague,* December 1929). However, literacy, industrialization, and educated women were far more typical of the Czech- and German-speaking western areas—Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia—than of Slovakia or Ruthenia. Modern, urban Slovak (or Ruthenian) women were fewer in number and less visible in the media.

---

[2] Regarding the general history of Czechoslovakia and its ethnic groups, see, for example, Agnew 1993; Agnew 2004; Cornej and Pokorny 2000; Godé, Le Rider, and Meyer 1996; Judson 2007; Judson and Rosenblit 2004; Kirschbaum 1995; Kořalka 1991; Toma and Kováč 2001; Wingfield 2007.

[3] Scholarship on pre-independence Czech feminism includes Bahenská 2005; Neudorflová 1999; Horská 1999; Lenderová 1999; Pynsent 1996; Pešek and Ledvinka 1996; David 1991; Volet-Jeannert 1988; Freeze 1985.

[4] Czechoslovakia, *Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého* (Collection of laws and regulations of the Czechoslovak) 1919: 77. My thanks to Todd Huebner for bringing this to my attention.

[5] Scholarship on women of the First Republic includes Burešová 2001; Feinberg 2006; and Garver 1985.

During this period, Czech women not only became artists, writers, composers, and office workers but also pilots, motorcyclists, and race car drivers—a development that the mainstream women's magazine *Eva* highlighted with one-page photo essays of women from around the world in unusual fields of endeavor and by providing a page on women and work in each issue. Meanwhile, new laws abolished the requirement that women employed in the civil service be unmarried and acknowledged their right to the same salaries as men. However, while interwar Czechs generally believed that women had a right to intellectual and political equality, in practice, women's rights remained subsidiary to the rights of family and nation and did not take precedence over essentialized concepts of womanhood; a woman was female first, a citizen second. This became more noticeable once legal experts began the labor of revising inherited Austrian legal codes to align them with the egalitarian promises of the constitution and when the economic downturn of the 1930s prompted widespread opposition to double-income families.[6] Furthermore, throughout the interwar period, most Czech feminists continued to tie feminism to nationalism and to emphasize sexual purity—a stance that made explicit feminism unappealing to the younger generation.[7] This generational distinction would become very noticeable in mainstream Czechoslovak visual culture, where images of the older generation tended to show these women as dignified and respectable, very much comparable to their male counterparts, while younger women were represented in more diverse ways that included the suffering proletarian mother, the urban showgirl or gold-digger, and the nicely dressed members of the bourgeoisie.

Czech Periodicals

Looking first at Czech imagery from the 1920s and early 1930s, the magazine *Moderní dívka* stressed fashion and preparing young women for love and marriage (ill. 201). During its brief existence, it showed no interest whatsoever in the Other beyond providing brief readings in foreign languages such as French. Its imagery centered on young, cautiously modern women and its readers either were Czech or read Czech. A few years later, the handsomely produced and more successful *Eva* presented articles on culture, fashion, décor, and fitness accompanied by a well-designed mix of photography and illustration. *Eva* presented the modern woman as short-haired, active, and young—a rational, thrifty, well-dressed working woman. *Eva*'s mix of photography (often of American women, French fashions, or exotic peoples but also of Czech women writers and performers) and lively, often colorful illustration created a look that was both modern and sophisticated. Its modern

---

[6] Regarding women's legal situation during the First Republic, I summarize the pioneering work of Feinberg 2006.

[7] See for example *Masaryk a ženy,* Prague, 1930, an anthology including praise of the president's position on monogamy.

woman was both visibly and invisibly international, in that many of the photos were of foreign origin but the editorial intent was clearly to suggest that the domestic readership partook of this international modernity. Few images show Others with whom Czechoslovak readers would not readily identify or whom they would not aspire to be like; such Others were usually exotic and distant Africans and Asians. Urban Slovak readers could choose to identify with the fashionable modern women shown, although if there were any rural Slovak readers of *Eva*, it is unlikely they would have found these images much like anything in their own lives; such imagery would have functioned more as fantasy. Their own clothing was more like some of that shown in the spread "How Women of Various Nations Dress" (*Eva*, Prague, 1 March 1930). Some of the only Czechoslovaks in the early years of *Eva* to be photographed dressed in *kroj* (regional garb) were children of unspecified ethnicity greeting President Masaryk (*Eva*, Prague, 1 March 1930). The unstated message, then, was that folk costume was charming as costume but most suitable for people with little power—children and rural Slovaks. Folk costume did not appear at all in *Eva*'s pictorial history of clothing from creation to the present (*Eva*, Prague, 1 October 1930) (ill. 190).

Feminist magazines were not image-heavy and in general their images were of prominent women. *Ženský svět* offered more images than most, but aside from its photos of artists, writers, and dancers, its illustrations were similar to those in *Eva* in emphasizing the lives of modern young women whose ethnicity was simply of generic European origin (*Ženský svět*, Prague, 1928) (ill. 191).

Periodicals aimed at leftist and communist women, unsurprisingly, took a very different direction than bourgeois consumer magazines like *Moderní dívka* and *Eva*. The communist weekly *Žena: Tyden komunistických žen,* for example, did not use imagery of fashion and abundance and modernity. Instead, in the mid-1920s its images of women were almost universally of poor agricultural and industrial workers wearing buns or head scarves. Often sad or stern, only occasionally jolly, they represented a universalized yet recognizably central European proletariat (ill. 194).[8] Images of suffering Germans emphasize similarity, not Otherness, although a touch of *Schadenfreude* (pleasure in the sufferings of others) may be present given that the Germans look so miserable (ill. 192).[9] A picture of life in Russia takes the opposite tack and is unbelievably idyllic.[10] The most Other image in all of 1924, however, appeared in an advertisement for a book on the so-called history of love.[11] This scene of dark-skinned voluptuousness was not used for every magazine's

---

[8] *Rozsévačka* (*The Female Sower*) section of *Žena: Tydeník komunistických žen* (*Woman: Communist Women's Weekly*), 21 February 1924.

[9] *Žena: Tydeník komunistických žen*, 14 February 1924: "German proletariat!"

[10] *Žena: Tydeník komunistických žen*, 13 November 1924: "Fruits of the triumphant social Russian revolution"

[11] *Žena: Tydeník komunistických žen*, 16 October 1924.

advertisement for this book and may have been chosen to situate erotic love as titillatingly alien to the kind of sexual and marital lives experienced by *Žena*'s readers.

Reflektor, a leftist photomagazine also aimed at the working class, was not specifically directed at women. It emphasized international coverage and international solidarity among workers and the oppressed. Thus, the serious-looking German proletariat leader Ruth Fischer was not out of place on an early cover (*Reflektor*, 1925). Likewise, photographs of Russian Communist women gave evidence that even the most ragged could be ideologically strong (*Reflektor*, 1925). However, while *Reflektor* published photos from all over the world, it was not particularly interested in showing cultural Others within Czechoslovakia. Most photographs from within Czechoslovakia were of crowd scenes such as May Day gatherings. The magazine did, however, begin to make a point of showing poverty at home among Slovaks (*Reflektor*, 1925) (ill. 193). It emphasized that life was even worse in sub-Carpathian Ruthenia by showing "idiots" there whose condition was presumably the result of poverty and poor nutrition (*Reflektor*, 1925). The leftist press typically referred to the region as Czechoslovakia's colonies and stressed the suffering that Masaryk's democratic government had failed to alleviate.

Returning to the pleasures of capitalism, the anglophile men's magazine *Gentleman*, which focused on what might be considered male dandyism, included some images of young urban women, mainly in sketches and in ads for social dance venues, but the magazine did not normally portray cultural Others unless those Others were high-status or famous, like the African-American dancer Josephine Baker (*Gentleman*, Prague, 1927) (ill. 195).

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, the general-interest photomagazine *Světozor* provided an international selection of images that included slender young Czechs and women from all over the world. Whether on the cover in Dr. Desiderius's cover sketch for *Světozor* of a New Woman standing insouciantly reading a newspaper while presumably waiting for a tram to take her to work (*Světozor,* Prague, 4 October 1928) (ill. 196) or in ads in which she tells incredulous older and head-scarved women that her beautiful laundry smells so good because she buys Hellada's Šotka soap (*Světozor*, Prague, 1928–29) (ill. 197), the New Woman is everywhere; but other Czechoslovak women are less visible.

Trn, a Czech humor publication originally targeted at students, published numerous cartoons by both domestic and foreign artists. While the dominant topics of these varied from year to year, it is fair to say that overall most fell into the categories of politics, sex, and daily life. Nonetheless, during the 1920s and early 1930s, Slovaks, Rusyns, and Roma were not of particular interest for *Trn*. Other women had to be more exotic than that, a role filled by Africans around the time of the Paris colonial exposition (*Trn,* Prague, 1929).

As we have begun to see, both Czech and Slovak periodicals showed Slovaks as primarily rural, whether as quaintly folkloric characters in *kroj* or as impoverished, exhausted farm laborers. By the late 1920s, however, Czech women were almost

never shown in *kroj,* except in theatrical productions of nineteenth-century nationalist plays and operas. This was a change from the first years of the Republic.

Slovak Periodicals

During the 1920s and 30s, Slovak publications tended to be much more focused on Slovak identity than Czech publications were on Czech identity. This was particularly true for the heavily illustrated magazine *Vesna* (not to be confused with the Czech feminist magazine of the same name). During its first year, *Vesna*'s illustrations emphasized Slovak pride and uniqueness, with both men and women frequently depicted in traditional clothing (*Vesna*, 1927). The magazine did occasionally print images of exotic foreigners, such as central Africans, Turks, and Native Americans (*Vesna*, 1927). An article discussing beggars was accompanied by a photo of female Roma flower sellers—in safely distant Bucharest, not Slovakia (*Vesna*, 1927). Closer to home were photos from the city of Mukachevo in sub-Carpathian Ruthenia (today Ukraine); photos such as that of a young woman from Neresnice in Ruthenia (also now in Ukraine) (*Vesna*, 1927) did not emphasize poverty and were generally respectful, perhaps because Rusyns may have been among the purchasers of the magazine. The fact that Rusyn women as well as Slovaks could appear on the cover (*Vesna*, November 1927) (ill. 200) supports the possibility of Rusyn readership or, at least, the likelihood that the magazine's editors regarded Rusyns as being much like Slovaks. *Vesna*'s rare images of Czech women included photos of major actresses (*Vesna*, February 1927), but Czechs were clearly of less interest here than were Slovaks or Rusyns. Overall, *Vesna*'s pictorial coverage included representations of Others but created a mix in which Slovaks occupied a safe middle ground from attractively traditional to cautiously modern—neither too up-to-date nor too primitive. Cultural Others were shown as unthreatening, and those from eastern Europe were often photographed in traditional garb not too unlike Slovak *kroj. Vesna*'s romanticization of Slovakness even extended to making a cover image from a painting of an idealized Slovak family by the nineteenth-century Czech artist Josef Mánes (*Vesna*, September 1927) (ill. 199). And finally, in a rare cartoon about modern versus traditional women, *Vesna* diplomatically poked fun at both when the modern girl did exercises hidden behind the rain barrel (*Vesna*, July 1928) (ill. 198).

The leftist Slovak paper *Dav* took a less idyllic view of everyone. Like *Vesna*, it covered both Slovakia and Ruthenia, noting hunger in Slovakia. However, in essence, *Dav*'s idea of a cultural Other was class based more than ethnic. Priests and the perceived ruling classes were mercilessly caricatured.

Conclusion

Visual imagery of women changed somewhat in the 1930s as a result of the economic downturn and increasing social conservatism, but in both the 1920s and the 1930s consumer magazines tried to balance the goals of pleasure and responsibility

while leftist magazines emphasized social issues. In both decades, images of older women represented either solid, often feminist, respectability or rural backwardness, while images of young women stressed attractiveness and, for the Czechs, modernity.

To review, the fact that by the second half of the 1920s most First Republic imagery showed Czech women as modern, well dressed, competent, and good-looking suggests that Czechs not only valued modernity strongly but expressed it, in part, through the image of the intelligent, attractive, competent, working New Woman, a woman who was educated and voted. These women were represented without markers of ethnic specificity; in the urban, internationalist Czech context, they could be read as being any modern young woman. Thus, images of modern womanhood in Czech publications could be read as either Czech or as Czechoslovak, but images of old women and Slovaks frequently suggested backwardness. Slovak publications were directed at a more narrowly Slovak and perhaps Ruthenian readership, and the samples examined emphasized imagery of Slovaks and Ruthenians rather than of Others within Czechoslovakia. Images of Ruthenians in Czech publications usually accompanied articles about poverty and poor conditions in that region and were often censored by the government, whereas Slovak publications made less of a separation between Slovak and Ruthenian life.

In conclusion, during the 1920s and early 1930s, both Czech and Slovak periodicals generally avoided imagery of what we might call internal Others—citizens regarded as different or alien—although exotic Others were a staple of photo-heavy magazines for both capitalist and leftist audiences, and political cartoons did not hesitate to take on the Nazi threat over the border, for example, showing German women as fat and ugly. Capitalist Czech magazines usually emphasized similarity to other modern European nations; leftist magazines emphasized similarity to the international proletariat and peasantry; and Slovak magazines emphasized Slovak identity but with a sense of solidarity toward Ruthenian and other eastern European peoples. Images of women, to a greater degree than images of men, were used to represent a range of possibilities, from modernity and the charmingly traditional to the backward, miserable, or downright primitive. However, given that the imagery of internal Others was generally friendly in intent prior to 1933, showing images of poverty in order to arouse sympathy rather than disdain, and that Sudeten Germans and Roma were almost ignored, we can conclude that during this period both capitalist and leftist periodicals in the Czech lands envisioned a united Slavic state with strong international ties. Slovak periodicals also envisioned a united Slavic state, but one whose identity was focused on Slovakia and Ruthenia rather than on Czechoslovakia as a whole.

References

Agnew H. 2004, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, Stanford.

— 1993, *Origins of the Czech National Renascence*, Pittsburgh.

Bahenská M. 2005, *Počátky emancipace žen v Čechách: dívčí vzdělávání a ženské spolky v Praze v 19. Století* (*The Beginnings of Women's Emancipation in the Czech Lands: Girls' Education and Women's Organizations in Prague in the 19th Century*), Prague.

Burešová J. 2001, *Proměny společenského postavení českých žen v první polovině 20. století* (*Changes in the Status of Czech Women in the First Half of the 20th Century*), Olomouc.

Cornej P., Pokorny J., 2000, *A Brief History of the Czech Lands to 2000*, Prague.

David K. 1991, Czech Feminists and Nationalism in the Late Hapsburg Monarchy: "The First in Austria," *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 3, no. 2, pp. 26–45.

Czechoslovakia. Sbírka zákonů a nařízení státu československého (Collection of laws and regulations of the Czechoslovak state) 1919.

Feinberg M. 2006, *Elusive Equality: Gender, Citizenship, and the Limits of Democracy in Czechoslovakia, 1918–1950*, Pittsburgh.

Freeze K. 1985, *Medical Education for Women in Austria: A Study in the Politics of the Czech Women's Movement in the 1890s*, [in:] S. Wolchik, A. Meyer (eds.), *Women, State and Party in Eastern Europe*, Durham, pp. 51–63.

Garver B. 1985, *Women in the First Czechoslovak Republic*, [in:] S. Wolchik, A. Meyer (eds.), *Women, State and Party in Eastern Europe*, Durham, pp. 6–81.

Godé M., J. Le Rider, F. Meyer, eds. 1996, *Allemands, Juifs et Tchèques à Prague*, Montpellier.

Holy L. 1996, *The Little Czech and the Great Czech Nation*, Cambridge.

Horská P. 1999, *Naše prababičky feministky* (*Our Feminist Great-Grandmothers*), Prague.

Hroch M. 2000, *Social Preconditions of National Revival in Europe: A Comparative Analysis of the Social Composition of Patriotic Groups Among Smaller European Nations*, New York.

Huebner K. 2011, *Girl, Trampka, or Žába?* (*Girl, Tramp, or Froggie?*) The Czechoslovak New Woman, [in:] E. Otto, V. Rocco (eds.), *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s Through the 1960s*, Ann Arbor, pp. 231–251.

Huebner T. 1993, The Multinational "Nation-State": The Origins and the Paradox of Czechoslovakia, 1914–1920, Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, New York.

Judson P. 2007, *Guardians of the Nation: Activists on the Language Frontiers of Imperial Austria*, Cambridge, MA.

Judson P. and M. Rosenblit, (eds.) 2004, *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, New York.

King J. 2002, *Budweisers into Czechs and Germans: A Local History of Bohemian Politics, 1848–1948*, Princeton.

Kirschbaum S. 1995, *A History of Slovakia: The Struggle for Survival*, New York.

Kořalka J. (ed.) 1991, *Tschechen in Habsburgerreich und in Europa, 1815–1914*, Vienna.

Lenderová M. 1999, *K hříchu i k modlitbě: Žena v minulém století (About Sin as Well as Prayer: Women in the Last Century)*, Prague.

Neudorfl M. 1990, *Masaryk and the Women's Question*, [in:] Winters, S. (ed.), *Thinker and Politician*. Vol. 1 of *T. G. Masaryk (1850–1937)*, New York, pp. 258–282.

Neudorflová M. 1999, *České ženy v 19. století: Úsilí a sny, úspěchy i zklamání na cestě k emancipaci* (*Czech Women in the 19th Century: Ambitions and Dreams, Successes and Disappointments on the Path to Emancipation*), Prague.

Otto E., Rocco V. (eds.), 2011, *The New Woman International: Representations in Photography and Film from the 1870s Through the 1960s*, Ann Arbor.

Pešek J., Ledvinka V. (eds.) 1996, *Žena v dějinách Prahy* (*Woman in the History of Prague*), Prague.

Pynsent R. 1996, *The Liberation of Women and Nation: Czech Nationalism and Women Writers of the Fin de Siècle*, [in:] Pynsent, B. (ed.) *The Literature of Nationalism: Essays on East European Identity*, London, pp. 83–155.

Sayer D. 1998, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History*, Princeton.

Toma P., Kováč D. 2001, *Slovakia from Samo to Dzurinda*, Stanford.

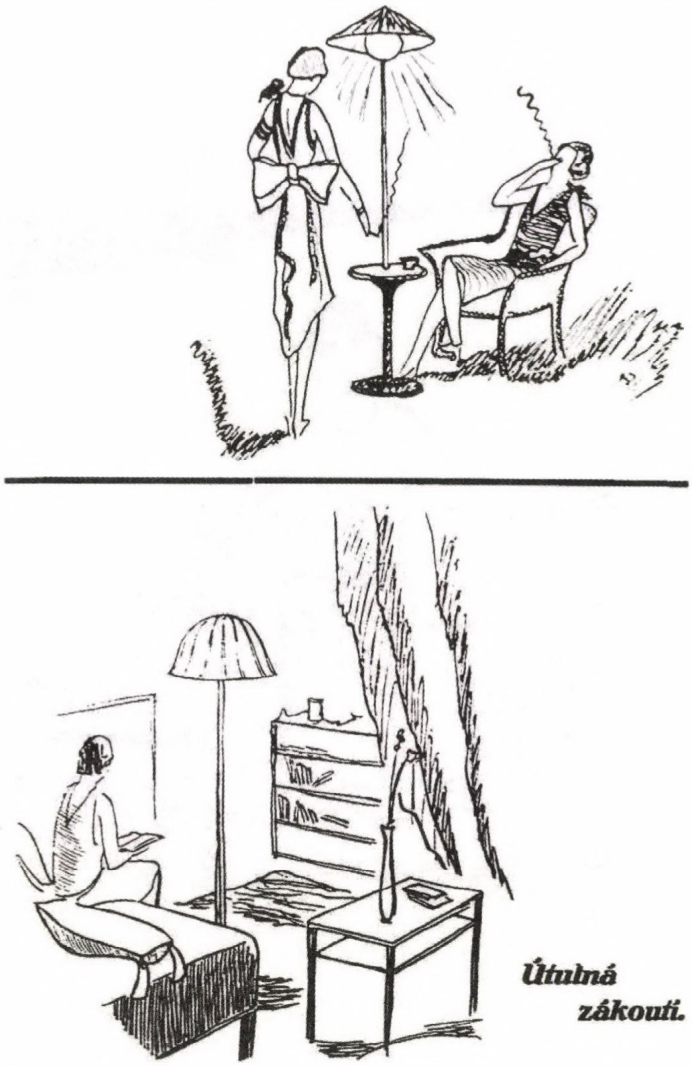
Volet-Jeannert H. 1988, *La Femme bourgeoise à Prague, 1860–1895, de la philanthropie à l'emancipation*, Geneva.

Wingfield N. 2007, *Flag Wars and Stone Saints: How the Bohemian Lands Became Czech*, Cambridge.



450

Eva's garments from prehistory to our day.
Eva, 1930, October 1. 190



191 **A COZY NOOK**
Ženský svět, 1928.



452

German proletariat!

Žena: Tydeník komunistických žen, 1924, February 14. 192



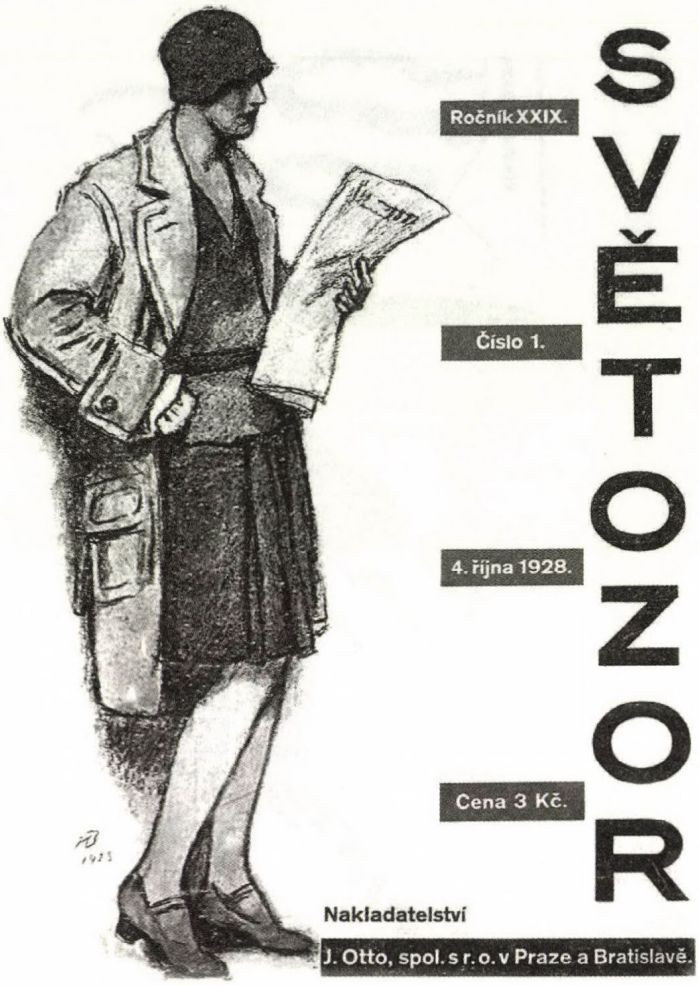
Residential democracy in Ružomberok, Slovakia.
Reflektor, 1925.



Rozsévačka (The Female Sower).
Žena: Tydeník komunistických žen, 1924, February 21. 194



195 **Josephine Baker.**
Gentleman, 1927.



Hugo Boettinger.
Světozor, 1928, October 4. 196

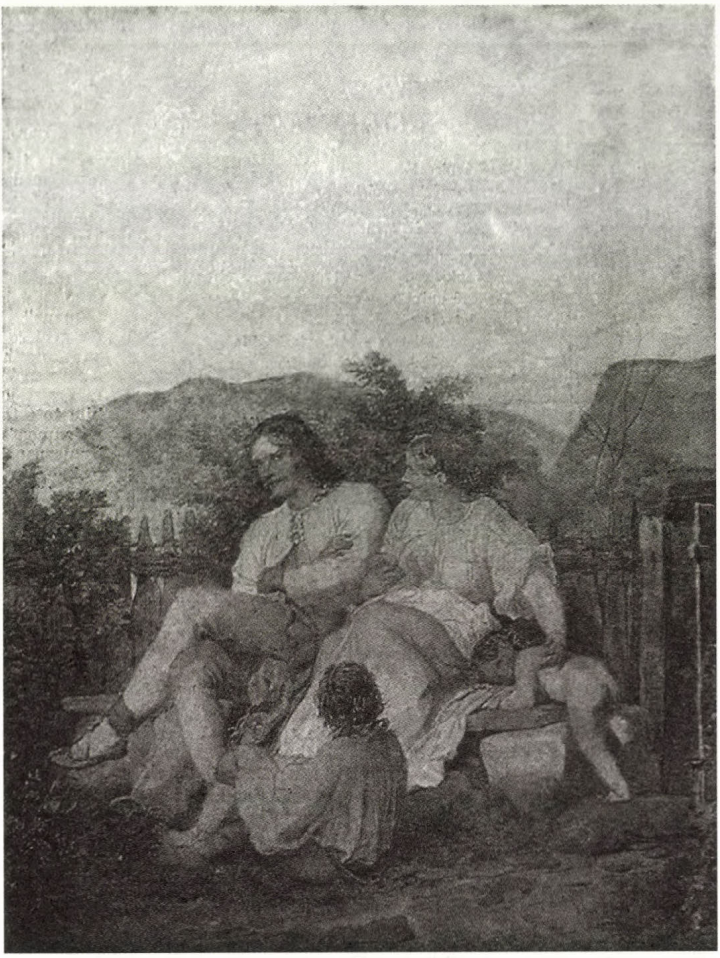
197 **Ad for Hellada's Šotka soap.**
Světozor, 1928.





198 **Jesus-Mary! Our little miss fell into the barrel!—But here. I'm just doing exercises.**
Vesna, 1928, July.

458



SLOVAK FAMILY

J. Mánes, cover of *Vesna*, 1927 September.



459

RUSYN WOMEN

200 *Vesna*, 1927 November.

460



Cover
Moderní dívka, 1925, November 1.

Eva Krekovičová, Zuzana Panczová

Visual Representations of "Self" and "Others": Images of the Traitor and the Enemy in Slovak Political Cartoons, 1861–1910[1]

Introduction

The study of stereotypes in the social sciences has revealed the importance of observing stereotypes in their concrete context. It has drawn attention to the fact that stereotypes can emerge very quickly (such as happened with the stereotype of the Ukrainian as mafioso after 1989) and can spread indirectly and unconsciously (Uhlíková 2005). It has also shown that stereotypes provide rich material for manipulation. Stereotypes represent cultural patterns involving categorization, generalization, and persistence in time, in addition to processuality and contextuality. Culturally oriented research has also employed, alongside the term *stereotype*, the term *image*, which conveys broader and multilayered meaning, since images contain within them multiple stereotypes and not infrequently display a tendency toward ambivalence (e.g., in images of "self"and "others" in literature or in folklore).

In this paper we set forth from the assumption that, in comparison with other forms of stereotypes and images, visualized stereotypes and images occupy a specific position in the processes of circulation and stabilization over time. "Visualizations provide the most easily accessible representations of other cultures, with the result that mental images formed on the basis of seen images generate very stable stereotypes (e.g., the typical Indian, the typical Jew)" (Uhlíková 2005: 13). In their function as a cultural code (Csáky 2004), visualized images are easily transferable (facing no barriers of language), while recent research in cognitive psychology has tested the hypothesis that visual stereotypes emerge in human thought through specific mechanisms unrelated to those that govern the emergence of semantic stereotypes (Dotsch 2012). And the genre of political cartoons has proven to be a rewarding object of investigation for research into visual stereotypes. We see cartoons as vectors of collective memory, complementary to other vectors (folklore genres, literary texts, aural [musical] stereotypes, etc.).

The goal of this piece is to trace the development of ethnic and ethnic-related stereotypes/images through their public representations in the context of nationalism in the multiethnic Kingdom of Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth

[1] Translated by Joe Grim Feinberg.

century and the first decade of the twentieth. We focus above all on the process of distinguishing images of "the other"[2] from "ours," and we pay particular attention to images of "traitors" and "enemies," including the figures of the Jew and the *maďarón* (the latter being a Slovak pejorative term derived from the word Magyar[3] and used for people who were born of Slovak parents or whose Slovak origin was supposed[4] but who declared themselves to be Magyars and Hungarian patriots). The term *maďarón* was a key tool in the anti-Hungarian rhetoric of Slovak national patriots, especially in the second half of the nineteenth century, and in *Černokňažník* (*The Wizard*) it belongs to the most popular topics and objects of satire, mockery, and criticism.

During the time period in question, the territory of present-day Slovakia possessed no form of administrative delimitation within the Hungarian state. Only as an informal geographic entity was it given a distinct name, *Horné Uhorsko* (in Slovak), *Felvidék* (in Hungarian, literally, the "Upper Land"). Nevertheless, beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century, an awakening desire for national emancipation expressed itself in the social and political discourse of a large part of the Slovak cultural elite, who were influenced by modern nationalist thought, which attributed a crucial role to language. The fact that Slovaks spoke a Slavic language presented a major barrier to their assimilation into "Hungarian" culture; at the same time, it provided an important point of argument against the idea of a unified Hungarian nation that was being promoted in Hungarian politics during the period of the dual monarchy (1867–1918). Slovak political discourse was also increasingly influenced by a confrontation between prevailing conservatism and rising liberalism, which manifested itself not only in nationalist politics but also in approaches to political anti-Semitism.

Our source material was the humor magazine *Černokňažník*, which was published from 1861 to 1910 (with a break from 1865 to 1875) and was ideologically tied to Slovak efforts toward national emancipation. For purposes of comparison we also discuss texts and images from the *Slovenský obrázkový antisemitský kalendár*

---

[2] The internal hierarchization of different groups of "others" is expressed in a continuum from "the other" ("*iný*" in Slovak, "*der Andere*" in German) to "the foreign" ("*cudzí*" in Slovak, "*der Fremde*" in German) with no fixed boundary between the two ends of the continuum. "The foreign" is most frequently given negative attributes, dangerous for the group of "ours." The image of "others," by contrast, is marked by a greater quantity of concrete signs demonstrating the specificity of given groups. For more on the categories of "the other" and "the foreign," see Krekovičová 1998. In this text the more general term "other" will be used for the entire continuum. We will use the term "foreign" in cases where marks of "the foreign" are particularly accentuated.

[3] The term *Magyar* is used in the ethnical and lingual sense; the term *Hungarian* indicates political nationality and was used in connection with all citizens of the Kingdom of Hungary (including the Magyars, the Slovaks, the Serbs, etc.). See also Kováč 2011: 120–136.

[4] This was often the case with members of the upper or lower nobility whose family names refer to toponyms from the territory of present-day Slovakia.

na rok 1886 (*The Slovak Antisemitic Picture Almanac for 1886*, published in Buda, 1886), which served as electoral campaign material for the Országos Antiszemita Párt (National Anti-Semitic Party), which in contrast to *Černokňažník* sought Upper Hungarian voters' support for the Hungarian national cause.

Our paper focuses on the processual development of new stereotypes and images that emerged in place of old ones in the ideological encounter of two historic conceptions of nationalism: Magyar on the one hand and Slovak on the other. We map out a specific layer of stereotypes expressed by Slovak "national-patriots" (*národovci*) about a stratum of people engaged in these ongoing processes: "renegades" (*odrodilci*) and "betrayers of the nation" (*zradcovia národa*).[5] In addition, a specific class of *maďaróni* (plural, from the term *maďarón*) was composed of Jews. The following images (of the *maďarón* Jew and the *maďarón* Slovak) are, moreover, evidence of the interchangeability of representatives of "the other."[6]

Černokňažník

The magazine *Černokňažník* was the first and most successful Slovak humor magazine of the nineteenth century. It was first published in 1861 in Buda (moving later to Skalica in present-day Slovakia) as a "weekly for humor and literature" and in its first year had already attracted 900 subscribers. It owed its success in part to the talents of its first editor, Viliam Paulíny-Tóth[7] (who authored most of the articles and illustrations), and in part to the fact that, in the face of constant censorship and fines, the feuilletons, allegories, and cartoons of a satirical-humoristic publication

[5] An analog to the traitor instrumentalized on the Hungarian side of this Slovak-Hungarian ideological conflict was the image of the Panslav, an adherent to the Panslavic movement for unifying Slavic nations. The idea of Slavic reciprocity was indeed quite widespread in the Slovak national movement, as representatives of Slovak nationalism in this period supported national emancipation movements in the Balkans and, in contrast to the official policy of Austria-Hungary, looked positively on the role of Russia as a liberator of southern Slavs in the war with Turkey (1877–1878). Russophilism was expressed already by the leading representative of the Slovak national movement in the mid-19th century, Ľudovít Štúr (1815–1856), as it was later by Svetozár Hurban Vajanský (1847–1916), who saw Russia as the future liberator of the Slovaks. In the 19th century, Panslavism was thus viewed as a threat to the integrity of Hungary, and its supporters were accused of being organized and financed directly by Russia (Podrimavský, Hapák 1992: 626–635). With this threat of treason in mind, many of the Slovak national activists were convicted and punished by the Hungarian government for their publishing and organizing activities, even though the accusations were frequently unfounded and were merely a pretext for silencing any critical voices against Hungary's assimilationist policies.

[6] For a more detailed discussion of the interchangeability (*zástupnosť*) of representatives of "the other," see e.g. Bálik 2011.

[7] Viliam Paulíny-Tóth (1862–1877) edited *Černokňažník* from 1861 to 1864. An important Slovak politician, reporter, and writer, he dedicated himself above all to political journalism and cultural organizing. He participated in the 1848–1849 revolution on the side of the Slovak volunteers; he was the first director and a co-founder of *Matica slovenská* (a Slovak cultural institution founded in 1863 to promote the development of literature, art, popular education, and national consciousness); and he was a representative to the Hungarian National Assembly from 1869 to 1872.

could engage more freely in political criticism than could periodicals that were explicitly political.

The cartoons in *Černokňažník* reveal an extraordinarily broad range of portrayals of Otherness, relating to the period's political developments in addition to differences of gender, age, nationality, region, social position, and opinion among residents of the Hungarian Kingdom and its surroundings.[8] Among the most frequent ethnic stereotypes appearing in *Černokňažník* are those that visualize the Slovak ("ours") and the Magyar ("the other," or sometimes "the enemy"). The Slovak is above all a member of the lower classes (with a slender figure), is a peasant (in traditional dress, with a shaven face and long hair), and is often referred to by the familiar name *Jano*. He might be a wire tinker,[9] a shepherd, a wandering singer, a timber raftsman, or a beggar. In symbolic form he represents a poor, hard-working people occasionally prone to song. In Slovaks' concrete and symbolic self-image, regional differentiation is emphasized. This is reflected in the depiction of traditional dress and in characters typical of specific regions, such as Upper Trenčín, Kysuce, Šariš, Liptov (represented by broad-brimmed hats), or Detva (represented by distinctive long braids and small hats). The Magyar, by contrast, is usually drawn in these cartoons as a nobleman or a fat landlord in the typical outfit of the Hungarian nobility (the so-called *díszmagyar* coat), with a long mustache, and, unlike the Slovak, who appears barefoot or in light leather shoes (*krpce*), the Magyar always wears spurred boots. Among the images of the Magyar, however, we also see other, more specific characters representatively named *Pišta*,[10] appearing for example as a swineherd, which extend the regional and social variety of images representing Magyars. After the year 1876,[11] an additional dimension of the Magyar began to appear in *Černokňažník*, the Magyar as enemy (irritable, shouting, domineering, threatening Slovaks).

Another frequently appearing figure was that of the Jew (a typical representative of "the foreign"). This figure is noteworthy for the degree to which it changed in conjunction with the changing roles it presented in concrete cartoons, and with which it revealed and modified the character of "the other."

---

[8] The issues surrounding these other differences, however, lie beyond the scope of this paper.

[9] Wire tinker, or *drotár*—a travelling craftsman who could repair broken ceramic ware with iron wire, which he also fashioned into housewares to be sold. The profession was almost unique to ethnic Slovaks. There was, however, a Hungarian term for the profession (pejorative and ironical): *drótostót* (translator's note).

[10] Pišta—Slovak spelling of Pista, a familiar form of the common Hungarian name István (Stephen) (translator's note). Pišta (Pista) and Jano (Janó) were typical figures used both in Slovak and Magyar caricatures.

[11] This was when the publication of *Černokňažník* was renewed under the changed editorship and also under the changed political circumstances—as we explain in the next section.

Černokňažník and Images of the Jew

During the first period of its existence (1861–1864), *Černokňažník* was not markedly anti-Semitic. V. Paulíny-Tóth took an accommodating approach toward Jews, not attacking them but rather attempting to win their cooperation in the struggle for equal rights for all ethnic groups in Hungary.[12] Paulíny-Tóth set forth *Černokňažník*'s approach to nationality issues in Hungary already in the magazine's first issue: "The chief role of Černokňažník will be: to dispel ill will, to quiet wrathful thoughts, and especially to maintain good relations between Magyars and Slovaks, so that the German will not grow fat over their destruction but will rather shrink. Beyond this, we will commiserate with fools and tempt the shameless; we will lament the proud, but the evil we will simply sweep away" (*Černokňažník* 1861, vol. 1, p. 1). Caricatures of Jews appear in this magazine only rarely, and then only in a neutral depiction of the stereotype of the distillery owner (ill. 204). The Jew is here shown, on the basis of a traditional visual stereotype, in a long coat and striped pants and a long double beard, in an obligingly hunched posture before his customer.

A notable change in this attitude took place with the renewed publication of *Černokňažník* (1876–1910) under the editorship of Gustáv Kazimír Zechenter-Laskomerský and, later, Juraj Čajda.[13] From the start, the new publication contained caricatures of the Jew as a privileged parasite, profiting at the expense of Christians (ill. 203). This shift in the image of the Jew was related to Slovak national activists' disappointment with the development of nationality politics in Hungary and, in particular, with the government's failure to grant collective minority rights in the Nationality Law of 1868. In the eyes of Slovak national activists, this contrasted sharply with the liberal government policy of the previous year, which had led to the so-called Emancipation Law of 1867, which granted equal civil and political rights to Jews. The fact that the government had passed the Emancipation Law one year before the Nationality Law was perceived by Slovak elites as a manifestation of the government's favoring of Jews over other non-Magyar ethnic groups (Rybářová

[12] This attitude comes forth especially in Paulíny-Tóth's *Letters to the Jews* (*Listy k Židom*), in which the author proposed cooperation in the struggle for national emancipation. And in *Černokňažník* in 1861 we see, for example, the report that "Mr. Leopold Popper, an Israelite from Hlinník," granted an interest-free loan to eight villages for the purchase of church bells and was prepared to contribute to the foundation of *Matica slovenská*. "Indeed it is high time that the Israelites in the territory of Slovakia joined us in declaring their nationality and their belonging to the people. We Slovaks, their colleagues in oppression, hold out to them our brotherly right hand" (*Černokňažník* 1861, vol. 15, p. 3).

[13] Gustáv Kazimír Zechenter-Laskomerský (1824–1908) was a doctor, writer, and amateur natural scientist. Like V. Paulíny-Tóth, he participated as a Slovak volunteer in the 1848–1849 revolution; he was a co-founder of *Matica slovenská* and later of the Slovak Museum Society (*Muzeálna slovenská spoločnosť*). Juraj Čajda (1844–1913) was a Slovak journalist, actor, and director who was expelled from secondary school for Panslavism and later dedicated himself to critical political journalism and satire. He was a friend of the renowned Czech painter Mikoláš Aleš (1852–1913), who contributed a number of cartoons to *Černokňažník*.

2010: 38). Feuilletons[14] and political cartoons from this period also reflect the fact that a large portion of assimilated Jews tried to obtain civic privileges by taking on Hungarian identity (adopting Magyarized names, using the Hungarian [thus Magyar] language, declaring Hungarian nationality, and so on), and that in line with this attitude they supported the ruling liberal party.

In the middle of the 1870s these tendencies intensified. As a result of an economic crisis, after 1873 Hungary witnessed a general rise in anti-Semitism, while in Slovak contexts this anti-Semitism was increasingly tied to anti-Magyar rhetoric and images of the Jew mixed in various ways with caricatures of *maďaróni*. Between 1874 and 1875, at the initiative of the Zvolen (the territory of present-day Slovakia) *podžupan* (county vice-president) Béla Grünwald,[15] three Slovak secondary schools and *Matica slovenská* were closed. At this point there began to appear political cartoons attributing to Jews the role of Magyar flunkies committing the national and social injustices that came down on the Slovak people.

A high point in anti-Semitic feeling in Hungary came at the start of the 1880s, when public opinion across the country was inflamed by alleged Jewish ritual murders in the town of Tiszaeszlár (in the territory of present-day Hungary).[16] On a political level, anti-Semitic discourse became fully institutionalized with the birth of the National Anti-Semitic Party. The image of the Jew in the Magyar anti-Semitic press of the day adopted a racist tone, and cartoons took on bloodthirsty, bestial dimensions, depicting Jews as a biological enemy of Christians. The motif of the bloodthirsty Jewish *šachter*,[17] as visualized in these cartoons, appeared in the *Slovak Antisemitic Picture Almanac* as well as in *Černokňažník*.

During this period we also find several other visualizations of anti-Semitic motifs in the Slovak and Magyar press. An example is the anti-Semitic stereotype of

---

[14] This theme was addressed, for example, in the following feuilleton: "A recipe for the proliferation of Hungarians. Take any old Jew, give him a civil baptism and some name like 'Tuhutmássy'; send him so prepared to Russia where he can marry a Jewess speaking the brotherly tongue of Finnish; domesticate the new couple in *Magyarország* [i.e. Hungary—translator's note]; and the result will be beyond all expectation" (*Černokňažník*1880, vol. 3, p. 24).

[15] The core of his ideological conviction was a desire to unite the Hungarian nation and struggle against Panslavism, which was presumed to be widespread in the institutions in question.

[16] In 1882, a local Jewish *šachter* (see subsequent note) and fourteen other Jews were accused of a ritual murder. The alleged victim was a 14-year-old Christian girl who disappeared in April 1882, during Easter. According to rumor, she was murdered by Jews who needed Christian blood for the rituals of Passover. Her dead body was found two months later in the Tisza River with no signs of violence, and it became clear that the only witness of the "ritual murder," a 5-year-old Jewish boy, had been placed under considerable manipulative pressure. During this time anti-Semitic agitators and political leaders (Győző Istóczy, Géza Ónody, and others) excited public opinion against Jews with blood libel accusations, which led to a number of local anti-Semitic acts of violence. In the end, however (August 1883), the accused Jews were found innocent by the court (Rybářová 2010: 51–53).

[17] The *šachter* or *shochet* was a butcher who ritually slaughtered, or oversaw the slaughter of, animals for Orthodox Jews. In this case, the cartoons likely allude to the *šachter* accused in Tiszaeszlár.

the Jew as a coward and traitor who could not be a patriot or a hero and, thus, not even a proper soldier: "After all, the Jew never spilled his blood for a homeland, a nation, and freedom. Or, have you ever read anything about Jewish heroes? The Jew only hucksters, deceives his country, and for good money will even do the work of a spy" (*Slovenský obrázkový antisemitský kalendár na rok 1886*: 44). In *Černokňažník* there appeared a cartoon on this theme, depicting an incompetent Hungarian army, which would eventually be led by the Jewish *šachter* (ill. 202). Another cartoon intimates that the Jew can adapt his language and dress but on the inside will continue to pursue his own interests (ill. 205).[18]

The 1880s were notable also for a great increase in the granting of noble titles to newly rich Jewish families, which can be explained as a means by which Prime Minister Kálmán Tisza sought to ensure their financial and political support. This granting of equal rights to Jews, along with their elevation to noble status, made the prime minister a target for both Magyar and Slovak critics, who called him a Jewish lapdog. National Anti-Semitic Party propaganda expressed this most clearly: "Christians! Count the beggars in the streets, count the graves and crosses in the cemeteries, and then count the Jews in their mansions and palaces, and draw your conclusion!"[19]

This state of affairs was also visually reflected in *Černokňažník*, with cartoons of "false members of the upper classes." This was portrayed either by combining Jewish physical marks (large, bent noses) and names[20] with imitations of the superficial signs of the "upper classes" (dress, hairstyles, and manners); and for more effective satirical contrast, the image of the Orthodox Jew was also used. In the case of a cartoon of the Orthodox *šachter* as a member of the Upper House of the Hungarian Parliament (ill. 207), this had little to do with reality,[21] but the image reveals the internal character of the given scene, emphasizing the conservative conviction that however hard assimilated Jews and liberal politicians might try, the Jew does not belong in the nobility and will remain always "only" a Jew. To this depiction were added further, more general attributes of "foreignness," such as filth or stench (ill. 208).

---

[18] This attitude was also expressed by conservative Slovaks like S. H. Vajanský, who was of the opinion that "scattered among nations everywhere, they are the living negation of nationality; residing in different homelands, they are the living negation of patriotism … They can be taught Magyar, but this will not make Jews into Magyars any more [than] Jews can be made into Slavs" (For more on this point, see Vajanský 1881: 289–292, cited in Rybářová 2010: 78).

[19] *Slovenský obrázkový antisemitský kalendár na rok 1886*: 44.

[20] Given names were taken from Hebrew but always altered into local forms that would be comical for Slovaks: Šmúľo (Izmael), Srúľo (Izrael), Šlojmo (Šalamún), and so on.

[21] The leader of the Pest Jewish community, Ignác Hirschler, was a close friend of the minister of culture and education, Baron J. Eötvös, and became the first Jewish member of the Hungarian House of Magnates. He was not, however, Orthodox. He was a reformist, assimilated Jew, as were four other Jews in the House of Magnates and approximately fifty representatives in the lower house of parliament between the Compromise of 1867 and the fall of the monarchy. Orthodox Jews were apolitical and did not enter parliament, see Rybářová (2012: 32).

An important instrument in these stereotypes and images of "the other" is their contrast with the self-image of supposed non-others. The contrast "dirty Jew-clean Christian" is clearly expressed by, once again, the *Antisemitic Almanac*: "The God of your fathers and the inheritance of your children demand that you shake off the yoke of disgusting, dirty, knavish Judaism ... Come therefore under our sacred banner, the banner of anti-Semitism, of clean Christianity."[22] Contrasts are, of course, widely used in images of ethnic antagonism. In a cartoon ridiculing liberal Hungarian policy, the Slovak and the Serb appear in the role of victims, in a typical positive image as young, handsome youths in traditional village dress, members of the lower (peasant) classes, in sharp contrast to the overbearing, fat, shrill Magyar and the ugly, bogus (wealthy) Jew in bourgeois dress, hiding behind the Magyar's back (ill. 209).

When liberals passed a bill in 1894 legalizing civil marriages, recognizing the Jewish religion and making it possible to leave the Church, in *Černokňažník* the criticism of liberals was turned into criticism of Jews, who were seen as a hidden force of secularization in society, overturning traditional Christian morality (ill. 210). The image of the Jew-philanderer also began to appear, in connection with the attribute of "the foreign" as sexually more potent and, thus, threatening. This image is found also in folklore, for example, in folksongs,[23] without however containing the motif of punishment found in the cartoon.

Jews, in the end, began to appear as universal mechanisms of evil in the country. Toward the end of the century, *Černokňažník*'s cartoons on the theme of relations among Magyars, Jews, and Slovaks frequently expressed the opinion that Jews were the true threat to the country. In one cartoon this is clearly depicted in an image of the Hungarian homeland, from which a Magyar, a Slovak, a Székely, and a Romanian are all fleeing before the "Khazar invasion"[24] (ill. 211).

Slovak *Maďarón*

While in cartoons of the Jew *maďarón* the basic idea was to unmask the Jewish (physical and mental) core in supposedly assimilated Hungarian citizens, in order to connect (and interchange) two different images of "others," in the mid-1880s there appeared in *Černokňažník* a series of cartoons depicting a class of "apostates" (*odpadlíci*) who were of Slovak origin or were, at any rate, so considered by Slovak "national-patriots" (*národovci*).

---

[22] *Slovenský obrázkový antisemitský kalendár na rok 1886:44*. For more on this contrast see also Krekovičová (2005: 75).

[23] For more on this point see Krekovičová (1998).

[24] A reference to the theory of the Khazar origin of Jews in Europe, which was and still is popular in anti-Semitic discourse. The goal of this theory is to show that European Jews in fact have nothing in common with the "chosen" people (see also Panczová 2010: 96–97).

Although the self-image of the "denationalized" Slovak can be found in *Černokňažník* already during the period of V. Paulíny-Tóth's editorship, in a cartoon from 1863 (ill. 212), this was not yet the figure of the "Slovak" *maďarón*. It depicted the son of a poor cobbler, dressed in expensive bourgeois dress, embarrassed by his origins. The picture emphasizes the social rather than the ethnic dimension of the "renegade" (*odrodilec*).

The image of the Slovak *maďarón* appears later. It is closely tied to the heteroimage of the Magyar conceived as "enemy of the Slovak nation." Like the image of the Jewish *maďarón*, it appeared in *Černokňažník* in 1876. The *maďarón* in this case represented a specific character of the cultural, scientific, and political scene in Hungary in that period: nobles whose families came from the territory of Slovakia (as could be seen in their families' names) but who actively supported the unity of the Hungarian nation. For it was during that period that, with the support of the Hungarian government, there began to take shape the institutional bases for realizing the project of a unified Hungarian political nation. After the closing of *Matica slovenská*, the beginning of the 1880s saw the foundation of cultural-educational associations in the territories of non-Magyar ethnic groups. These associations made it one of their goals to promote Hungarian patriotism and, often, to accelerate ethnic assimilation. In Slovakia such associations were active in various individual counties, but the most prominent association, the so-called *Felvidéki Magyar Közművelődési Egyesület* (the Upper-Hungarian Magyar Educational Association), or FMKE, founded in 1882, was active throughout the ten counties of Upper Hungary. Its chief role was to engage Slovak youth, for example, by organizing day-care centers where the Hungarian language was spoken, which was meant to aid in assimilating children of Slovak origin. Another action was singled out for especially sharp criticism in Slovak public discourse as well as abroad: the humanitarian transfer of poor children from Upper Hungary to Magyar families in the Lower Land,[25] which was interpreted as a most outrageous manifestation of forced Magyarization. The year 1885 saw the foundation of the *Magyarországi Tót Közművelődési Egyesület* (the Hungarian-Nationwide Slovak Educational Association), or MTKE, which was meant as a substitute for the scientific, cultural, and educational activity of the banned *Matica slovenská* but was based on the idea of a unified Hungarian political nation and funded in part from public fundraising efforts originally meant for *Matica slovenská* (Podrimavský, Hapák 1992: 622–623).

The foundation and operation of these associations met with heavy resistance on the part of Slovak national activists, as could be seen in *Černokňažník* in a caricature of "Femka" as a witch or a hideous woman devouring Slovaks and their children (ill. 213). The aforementioned representatives of these associations, members of noble families from Upper Hungary, were "demasked" not only by Slovakizing

[25] Lower Land, *Dolná zem* in Slovak, *Alföld* in Hungarian—a region south of central Hungary or, from the perspective of Slovakia, the general area downstream and south of Slovakia (translator's note).

their names but also by depicting them in the guise of typical Slovak stereotypes such as the poor wire tinker, the raftsman, the peddler, or the vagabond, even while at the same time they were shown working to support their Hungarian cultural associations. These caricatures contain none of the stereotypical Magyar attributes (like fine Magyar dress or even spurred boots, as were seen in other caricatures of the *maďarón*). This type of cartoon included caricatures of Baron Béla Radvánszky, director of FMKE, as a raftsman transporting the property of *Matica slovenská* to "Pešťbudín"[26] (ill. 214); István Rakovszky, co-founder of FMKE, as a wire tinker (ill. 215), Mihály Zsilinszky, secretary of MTKE, as a wandering musician; and Gábor Baross, co-founder of MTKE and minister of transport and public works, as a wandering monger of "Slovak-Hungarian axle grease" (ill. 217). In this series of cartoons there also appeared Béla Grünwald (ill. 216), the aforementioned *podžupan* of Zvolen County, who was considered by Slovak patriots as one of the worst "Magyarizers" and an enemy of the Slovak national movement, but whose mother was known to be of Slovak origin.[27] It is, at the same time, interesting that several identical motifs, albeit with an altered ideological message, can be found later in the Hungarian humor magazine *Borsszem Jankó*, as Slovak historian Roman Holec has shown (2009: 52). Specifically, the character of Gábor Baross was always depicted in Magyar magazines wearing traditional Slovak dress and bearing other stereotypical markers of Slovakness (depiction as a wire tinker, a raftsman, or a wandering salesman).[28] While in *Černokňažník* this image conveys the taste of betrayal to Slovaks, in the Magyar magazines Slovaks are shown obeying Baross's every word.

More typical representatives of the *maďarón*, however, were small landlords, numerous members of the lower nobility who, living in small Slovak towns and villages, emphasized their Hungarian patriotism by consistently declaring their allegiance to Magyar culture. As with Jewish *maďaróni*, Slovak *maďaróni* were targets of condemnation and ridicule for having betrayed their origins to gain social position and material wealth. In *Černokňažník* we found numerous feuilletons and comical vignettes mimicking these characters' broken Magyar speech or attempts

---

[26] Pešťbudín—a colloquial Slovakization of "Budapest" (translator's note).

[27] Béla Grünwald's parents were, from an ethnic perspective, German and Slovak. His father, Augustin Grünwald, was caretaker of the Coburg family estate in Antol (in present-day Slovakia [translator's note]); his mother, neé Májovská, was Slovak. It is for this reason noteworthy that in his work *A Felvidék* (On Upper Hungary) he took his anti-Slovak reflections so far as to conclude that Slovaks represented an inferior race (*Slovenský biografický slovník* 1987: 238).

[28] Another type of visual parallel with opposite ideological orientation can be found in the abovementioned cartoon of István Rakovszky as a wire tinker mending a shattered jug bearing the name *tót egyesület* (Slovak association, i.e., FMKE), while above the entryway of the room in front of which the character is working, there is written *Magyar állam* (Hungarian state)—it is interesting that in 1898 *Borsszem Jankó* published a caricature of a "Slovak wire tinker," depicted in imagery that in Hungarian magazines commonly signified idiocy. The wire tinker was trying to put back together a shattered vessel labeled *szláv egység* (Slavic unity), while on the door to the room behind him we see the inscription *Praga* (Prague) (Ibidem).

to Magyarize the names of cities, villages, and the like. From the perspective of visualizations of *maďaróni* it is worth noting that, in addition to the Hungarian dress mentioned above, riding boots and spurs here take the form of a basic insignia of *maďarón*-ness (ill. 206).

Conclusion

The visualization of images and stereotypes of "the other" in the historical processes taking place in the Kingdom of Hungary in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as reflected in the magazine *Černokňažník*, brings the case of an engaged pro-Slovak view to bear on the complex question of how different ideological conceptions of "the nation" or "nations" and its/their interests are promoted and spread. The crucial role of a "trigger" of eventual conflicts is generally played in these processes by a feeling of threat (whether well-founded or artificially evoked). Slovak elites would also begin to see other ethnicities come into play in these processes, including Magyars and Jews, who over time became antagonists engaged in this intensifying ideological conflict. On the one hand the images of all three key figures maintained—in line with historical stereotypes and with the stereotypification of images—specific, enduring markers of the "typical" Slovak, Magyar, or Jew. These signs were transmitted above all on the symbolic level of images of members of ethnic (or, in the case of Jews, ethno-confessional) collectivities. On the other hand, moments of historical rupture are known to offer occasions for unveiling various layers of collective representation that might be hidden at first glance. The dynamics of unfolding processes can lead to modifications of images; to their trading places through mechanisms of the "interchangeability" of different figures of "the others"; and to the emergence of new and sometimes even thoroughly contradictory layers of imagery. *Černokňažník* reflected these changes at the beginning of its renewed publication in 1876. Changes were related to the intensified national Slovak-Magyar conflict and affected all three of the sets of images traced in this article—those of the Magyar, the Slovak, and the Jew. The Magyar took on the appearance of an enemy of Slovaks, while people who assisted the Magyars but did not have pure Magyar backgrounds took on the image of the *maďarón*, the betrayer of the Slovak nation. Slovaks, meanwhile, were accused by Magyars of Panslavism and of betraying the kingdom. And in the example of the image of the *maďarón* (Slovak or Jewish), we can observe a shift in imagery away from what might at first appear to be clearly defined categories of "us" (self-image) and "them" (hetero-image). In the case of the Slovak *maďarón,* we see a movement from "us" to "not us," but also to "not them"; in the case of the Jewish *maďarón,* we see a shift from "them" ("foreign") to "not them"[29] ("worse than them").

[29] The terms "us," "not us," "them," and "not them" are based on semiotics, namely on application of the "Greimas semiotic square," see Volli (2003: 72).

This study was supported by the VEGA Grant no. 2/0014/11 (Institute of Ethnology Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava).

References and Sources

Bálik Š. 2011, *Fenomén Žida v polštině a češtině a také v polských a českých židovských anekdotách v kontextu literatury I. pol.20. století* (*The Phenomenon of the Jew in Polish and Czech, and also in Polish and Czech Jewish Anecdotes in the Context of Literature from the First Half of the 20th Century*), Ph. D. dissertation, České Budějovice.

Csáky M. 1999, Úvod (Introduction), [in]: M. Csáky, M. E. Mannová (eds.), *Kolektívne identity v Strednej Európe v období moderny* (*Collective Identity in Central Europe in the Age of Modernity*), pp. 7–20.

Černokňažník 1861–1864, 1876–1910.

Dotsch R. 2011, *Pictures in Our Heads: Visual Stereotypes Affect Social Categorization,* http://dare.ubn.kun.nl/bitstream/2066/83189/1/83189.pdf, (accessed 30. 08. 2012).

Holec R. 2009, Biedny, nešťastný, utláčaný Jano. Ako videla Slovákov maďarská karikatúra pred rokom 1918? (Poor, Unfortunate, Oppressed Jano: How were Slovaks Seen in Hungarian Political Cartoons Before 1918?), *História,* no. 3–4, pp. 49–54.

Kováč D. 2011, The Slovak Political Programme: From Hungarian Patriotism to the Czecho-Slovak State, [in]: M. Teich, D. Kováč, M. D. Brown (eds.), *Slovakia in History,* Cambridge, pp. 120–136.

Krekovičová E. 1998, *Zwischen Toleranz und Barrieren. Das Bild der Zigeuner und Juden in der slowakischen Folklore,* Frankfurt am Main.

— 2005, *Mentálne obrazy, stereotypy a mýty vo folklóre a v politike* (*Mental Images, Stereotypes, and Myths in Folklore and Politics*), Bratislava.

Panczová Z. 2010, *Konšpiračné teórie ako naratívny fenomén* (*Conspiracy Theories as a Narrative Phenomenon*), Ph. D. dissertation, Bratislava.

Podrimavský M., Hapák P. 1992, *Slovenské národné hnutie v období zvýšeného národnostného útlaku v rokoch 1875-1890* (*The Slovak National Movement in the Period of Increased Ethnic Repression Between 1875 and 1890*), [in:] M. Podrimavský et al. (eds.), *Dejiny Slovenska III* (*The History of Slovakia III*), Bratislava, pp. 616–664.

Rybářová P. 2010, *Antisemitizmus v Uhorsku v 80. rokoch 19. storočia* (*Antisemitism in Hungary in the 1880s*), Bratislava.

Slovenský biografický slovník (*Slovak Biographical Dictionary*) 1986–1994, vol. 1–6, Martin.

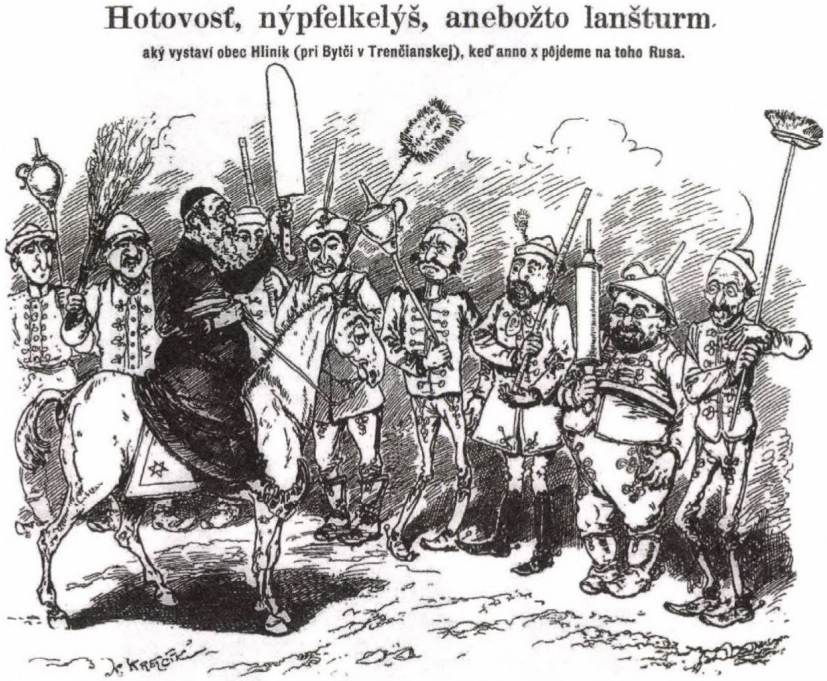
Slovenský obrázkový antisemitský kalendár na rok 1886 (*Slovak Anti-Semitic Picture Almanac for 1886*) 1886, Buda.

Tyllner L., Uherek, Z. (eds.) 2005, *Kultura—společnost—tradice. Soubor statí z etnologie, folkloristiky a sociokulturní antropologie* (*Culture—Society—Tradition: A Collection of Articles in Ethnology, Folkloristics, and Sociocultural Anthropology*), Praha.

Uhlíková L. 2005, *Kulturní stereotypy v etnologii a v dalších společenských vědách* (*Cultural Stereotypes in Ethnology and Other Social Sciences*), [in:] Tyllner, L.-Uherek, Z. (eds.): *Kultura—společnost—tradice. Soubor statí z etnologie, folkloristiky a sociokulturní antropologie* (*Culture—Society—Tradition: A Collection of Articles in Ethnology, Folkloristics, and Sociocultural Anthropology*), Praha, pp. 9–33.

Vajanský S. H. 1881, Židovská otázka na Slovensku (The Jewish Question in Slovakia), *Slovenské pohľady*, vol. 4, pp. 289–292.

Volli U. 2003, *Semiotik. Einer Einführung in ihre Grundbegriffe*, Tübingen–Basel.



HOTOVOSŤ, NÝPFELKELÝŠ, OR LANŠTURM

(a reserve army, referred in terms taken from Slovak, Hungarian, and German respectively—translator's note), how the village Hliník (near Bytča in Trenčín County) will present itself when, in the year x, we go to take on the Russian.

202 K. Krejčík, *Černokňažník* 1886, no. 3, p. 21.

THE CAUSE OF DECLINE 203

Izák, you were so fat and now you're so skinny, look how this suits me so well!—My Icikleben, that frflucht rosary group hasn't reached you yet; in my village everyone is in the rosary group, and that's why I've declined so much (i.e. grown so thin—translator's note).

Černokňažník 1876, no. 2, p. 15.



476



Žid nech páli pálené.

LET THE JEW DISTILL LIQUOR

(From a trilogy of "Illustrations of the Hungarian Constitution" with the captions "May the Jew distill liquor," "may the Gypsy forge nails," and "may the priest kiss his patron's hand....")

Černokňažník 1861, no. 38, p. 3. 204



JEWISH PATRIOTISM

205 M. Aleš, *Černokňažník* 1887, no. 1, p. 5.

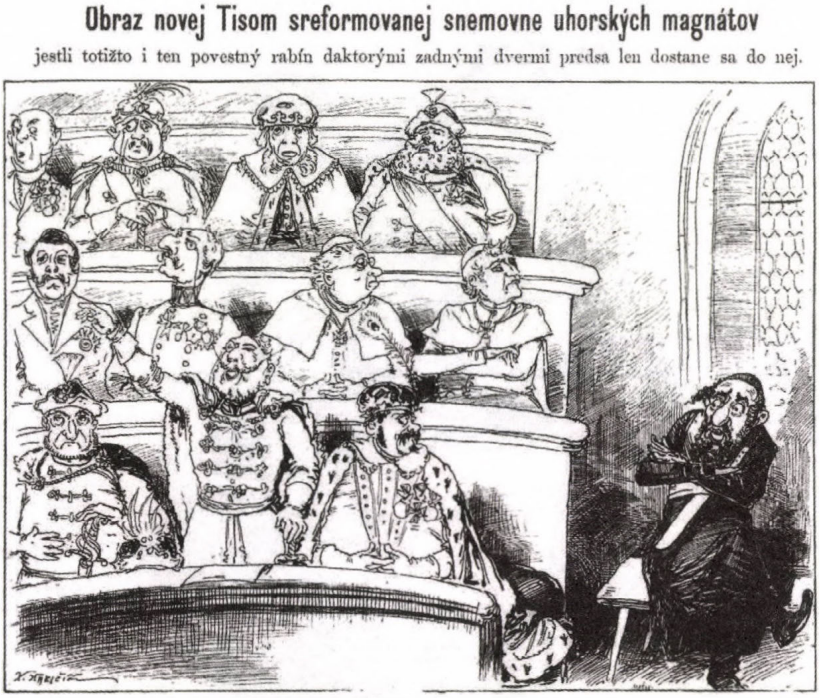


478

A SITUATION COMEDY IN HUNGARIA

– These are the finest hazafiak ("patriotic" in Hungarian—translator's note) and actors in the whole world!—You haven't seen anything like it before—and for such a pittance...

M. Aleš, *Černokňažník* 1885, no. 7, p. 53.



A PICTURE OF THE NEW HOUSE OF MAGNATES AFTER TISZA'S REFORMS

if, that is, that storied rabbi makes his way in through some back door.

207 K. Krejčík, *Černokňažník* 1885, no. 4, p. 29.



480

ANOTHER LITTLE PIECE OF HUNGARIAN LOVE

Don't cry, fene edemek. I've already scrubbed you all over and I still can't get you clean, *huncút židó teremtette!*—And in a state like that you can't mingle with Hungarian magnates, azebatta!

K. Krejčík, *Černokňažník* 1885, no. 6, p. 48.



TWO FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

The one is in front: Europe, Asia, Africa, America, Australia! Up, up and forward! Forward, the English and the Prussians! Go away Panslavia! Vivat indenpendent Bulgaria! The one behind: You just shout, that is fine, all the better! I've also been shouting to you: Vivat constitution liberalismus! (to himself: and a bit of business!) Vivat! Death to the Panslavs! (The one in front uses Hungarian words, which are italicized; the one behind uses first Hungarian/Latin aloud, then German/Yiddish when speaking to himself, then Hungarian again aloud).

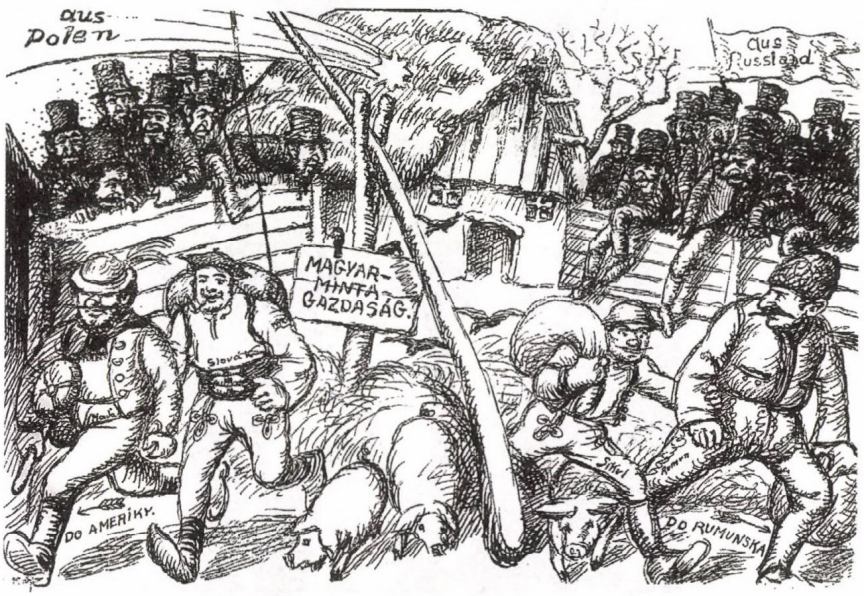
209 M. Aleš, *Černokňažník* 1886, no. 10, p. 77.



A CIVIL WEDDING IN HUNGARY

Marriage registrar: In the name of the Magyar nation, go forth and multiply the Magyar nation.

M. Aleš, *Černokňažník* 1895, no. 11, p. 85. 210



A Magyar, a Slovak, a Székely, and a Romanian flee before the "Khazar" invasion from Poland and Russia.

211 *Černokňažník* 1902, no. 7, p. 53.

Podarený syn.



484

A SUCCESSFUL SON

And who would say today that I once stood so long in this miserable shack and suffered under my old man's fly swatter? Indeed, if I weren't so worried about compromising my uniform, my word, I'd pay him a visit.

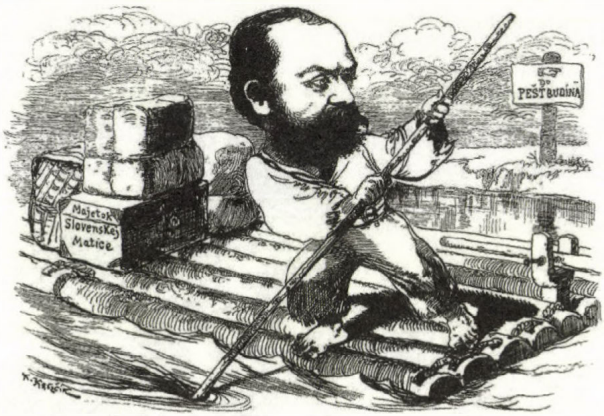
Černokňažník 1863, no. 9, p. 72.



FEMKA AT WORK

M. Aleš, *Černokněžník* 1893, no. 7, p. 53.

Baron Béla Radvánszky as the raftsman "Belo Radvanský," transporting the property of Matica Slovenská to "Pešťbudín." K. Krejčík, *Černokňažník* 1885, no. 6, p. 41. 214



Baron Belo Radvansky.

486

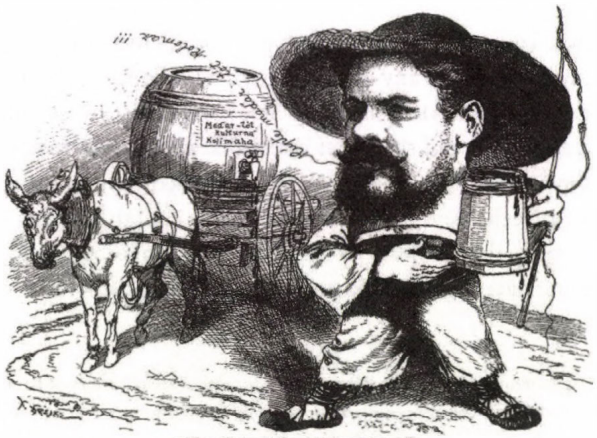


Štefan Rakovsky.

István Rakovszky as the wire tinker "Štefan Rakovský." K. Krejčík, *Černokňažník* 1885, no. 5, p. 33. 215

216 **Béla Grünwald as a poor Slovak panhandler, begging K. Tisza for Matica Slovenská's money.**
K. Krejčík, *Černokňažník* 1885, no. 3, p. 17.





Gábor Baross as a peddler of "Slovak-Magyar axle grease."
217 K. Krejčík, *Černokňažník* 1885, no. 4, p. 25.

Florin-Aron Pădurean

When Ytzig Met Shtrul: On Schmoozing and Jewish Conspiracy in Romanian Art

Traditionally, a thorough study starts with a theoretical introduction. But in this case, a social introduction would fit our study better and would clearly be far more polite to our heroes. I will introduce them to you by showing one of Ytzig and Shtrul's activities as found on many Romanian web pages:

> They say that when Ceaușescu was still alive, Ytzig and Shtrul decided to flee the country. Shtrul, a fearful person, asked Ytzig: What if the customs officer catches us? He won't, replied Ytzig, just do what I do.
>
> It was pitch dark when the two friends got to the border. Ytzig took the first steps. Half-way through the border zone, the customs officer heard him move and shouted: Stop or I'll shoot! Ytzig crouched and cried like a cat: Meeeoooow! Oh, it's just a cat, said the officer, it can go on!
>
> It was Shtrul's turn. He started crossing the border, but the officer heard him, too. Stop or I'll shoot! he called out loud again. Shtrul crouched and replied: Just another cat, can it go on?

As you surely noticed, Ytzig and Shtrul are two joke characters. They are also two placeholder names, standing in for any average Jews and, occasionally, for any average fellows. In today's Romania, Ytzig-and-Shtrul jokes are numerous and popular, to the point of representing one of the most noticeable nominal intraethnic jokes, surpassing (in popularity) Hungarian jokes,[1] and surpassed only by the anecdotes involving Romanian placeholder names. The first ratio is highly surprising, considering, on the one hand, that the Jews became an almost invisible group, whereas the Hungarians are perceived by some Romanians as a distressing minority[2] and,

---

[1] An accurate account supporting this idea is not possible, as an elaborate repertory of Romanian ethnic jokes was never compiled, the Internet being, so far, the only attesting source. A minimal Internet search would reveal to any solicitor that Ytzig and Shtrul jokes are more numerous than Janos and Pista (Hungarian placeholder names) jokes. In *Folclorul literar al românilor* (*The Literary Folklore of Romanians*), Constantin Eretescu summarizes the ethnic Romanian jokes to those with Jews and Gypsies, considering these ethnic groups to be as relevant as Irishmen or Scots are in English jokes. The author mentions Ytzig and Shtrul as being used on a regular basis in the anecdotal setting (2004: 284). In the case of Gypsy jokes, although numerous, they have no constant actors, the characters being regularly anonymous.

[2] An opinion survey organized at the request of the National Council for Combating Discrimination in November 2010 revealed some interesting aspects regarding the phenomenon of discrimination in

on the other hand, that there are countless anecdotes involving Hungarian-Romanian conversations, while such Jewish-Romanian conversations are scarce. Ytzig and Shtrul's popularity owes itself to some long-past realities. Although this ethnic twosome is no longer detectable, its dialogue still echoes. Our characters' antics are now only a part of humorous urban folklore; more than a hundred years ago, they were part of the urban life. And right in between, progressively conveying real dialogue to comedic dialogue, stood the Jew-to-Jew conversation, as portrayed in visual arts. Let us retrace the evolution of these characters and their role in Romanian consciousness, starting with the social context of almost two centuries ago.

A Jewish Dialogue

Around the mid-nineteenth century, the Jewish population increased in the Romanian provinces, especially in Moldavia, which thus underwent a sudden demographic change.[3] In the eyes of the growingly disgruntled locals, the massive presence of the Jews was augmented by a pronounced gregarious energy. The Jews lived together in ghettoes; they had their own corporations and religious congregations. Their religious and political rights were an important social coagulator, occasionally transcending the synagogue walls and the informal street gatherings, to form organized conferences. As a French journalist observed, "[The Romanian Jews] are preoccupied ... to ameliorate their collective situation and assemble at various times to debate, in congresses or [in those towns] where their main Israelite communities are represented, issues regarding their religious existence and, particularly, the recognition of their communities as legal persons" (De Gignoux 1907: 421). As a result of their "race solidarity"—a popular concept for the Romanian nationalists, understood not only as an aggregative (and dangerous) energy for the foreign nations but also as an inspiring *esprit de corps* for the Romanian

Romania. Among other results, 13% of those interviewed declared that they have a bad or very bad opinion about the Hungarians, whereas only 6% admitted having the same opinions about Jews (6% was also the number of those who declared that they have bad or very bad opinions about Romanians themselves). Hungarians occupied the second place in the unpopularity list of the Romanians, although at a goodly distance behind the Gypsies (36%). The Jews were the ethnic group that was less judged, positively or negatively, showing that Romanians are no longer as familiar with Jews as they are with Hungarians, Germans, Gypsies, or themselves. Seventeen percent of those interviewed admitted they do not have any opinion of Jews or refused to answer (*Sondaj* 2010).

Despite the survey, the anecdotes involving a Romanian and a Hungarian character, regularly, Ion (John) and Janos, are not generally xenophobic. The large number of such interethnic jokes is probably caused by the fact that Hungarians were and remained highly visible in the public conscience, rather than being actually disturbing. In fact, there are many jokes with Hungarian-Romanian interactions that ridicule the xenophobia of the Romanians, especially when the latter are represented by some local political figures, well known in the country for their national extremism.

[3] In 1803, there were 30,000 Jews in Moldavia, in 1848, approximately 60,000. The 1859 census indicated 118,922 (Iancu 2006: 46). Many fled from Bessarabia after the Russian occupation of 1812 or were brought by Romanian authorities to colonize new towns.

people—there was a visible predisposition to unite, from the poorest and simplest corporations and groups of common interest (especially economic) to intellectual and financially rich circles.

But more than a habitual ethnic unity, their social interaction was emphasized by an obvious propensity to chat. The Romanian Jews practiced, publicly, close conversations, manifesting a social behavior that supposedly characterized the eastern European Jews in general. The Jewish-American anthropologist David Efron determined in the 1940s that there was a "tendency among ghetto Jews to bunch themselves in conversation" (1972: 93). This tendency, that for Efron was the starting point for a gestural complex, his chosen point of interest, is, for the present study, an indicator of the Jews' fondness for intimate discussions. They simply enjoyed schmoozing, their everyday chatting, sometimes planned ahead, at other times, spontaneous, when the interlocutors happened to meet.[4] It was far from being a local phenomenon, and eastern European Jews, even when they left for America, found in schmoozing "an exercise in building Jewish community and identifying with other Jews worldwide" (Hoffman 2005: 9).

The intraethnic communication effectively contributed to their image of being a distinctive and homogenous ethnic group. For the Romanians, the Jewish way of socializing was quite uncommon, and it was largely perceived as an irregular con-
490 versational process, in three major aspects:

Socially. The conversation was isolated, secretive, exclusive. Even when loud, between larger groups, the conversation seemed strange. Commercial interests led to group discussions and, as there were no stock exchanges, commercial transactions took place on the street. This gave birth to a Romanian proverb: *The Jews huddle to talk just as the flies huddle on droppings*, showing the unfavorable impression the Romanians were left with of an incomprehensible phenomenon (Schwarzfeld 2004: 50).

Linguistically. Jews spoke Yiddish, a galling jargon, and their language proved to be a problem, especially because they wanted Romanian citizenship. Mihai Eminescu, the Romanian national poet and also an attentive journalist, wrote in one of his articles: "Although language is not a characteristic sign of nationality, it is a sign of importance. For as long as [the Jews] won't talk Romanian inside their families and won't keep their accounts and their inventory books and won't accept the Romanian language in their schools and synagogues—in synagogues, if not for the rituals, at least for the service—they won't be considered Romanians" (1939: 152). Additionally, they spoke Romanian badly, for which they were often laughed at.

---

[4] *Shmoozing* is a Yiddish word, meaning "a friendly, gossipy, prolonged heart-to-heart talk—or having such a talk" (Rosten 1968: 356). *Shmoos* came from the Hebrew word *shmuos*, meaning "things heard" or "idle talk." The word migrated into the English language, adding on the meaning of flattering someone to win their ear. It also entered the German language, with an additional meaning of cozying or cuddling up to someone (Finkin 2010: 148).

Content. The conversations covered other religious matters, other social and economic concerns, and other political views—not those that would normally concern Romanians.

For Romanians, the Jewish group and the Jewish dialogue was, perceptually and responsively, unfamiliar. Any hereafter misjudgment seemed legitimate. Don't we find the same misconstruction, born out of an involuntary incomprehensibility, for example, in the following lines from James Joyce's *Ullysses*? "On the steps of the Paris Stock Exchange the goldskinned men quoting prices on their gemmed fingers. Gabble of geese. They swarmed loud, uncouth about the temple, their heads thickplotting under maladroit silk hats" (1992: 34). Their verbal manifestations were too obscure and bizarre to be understood. In the nineteenth-century French dictionaries, the figurative meaning of *Hebrew*, a language that was used in the Jewish liturgical service, was *chose inintelligible,* a loosely semantic allocation that encompassed especially a riddling language (Boiste P. C. V. 1823: 701; Noël M., Chapsal M. 1832: 475; Larousse 1873: 128).[5] But it was not the language, as all around Europe Jews commonly spoke the national language of their country of residence, but their behavioral oddness, especially their clannish and noisy attitude, that precluded their dialogue from being accepted as normal. The synagogue clamor was often equated to "barking," a contemptuous label that was occasionally placed on all Jewish sounds, noise, and perhaps even speech (Stow 2006: 31). In 1871, pope Pius IX complained that the Jews were barking up and down the Roman streets, aurally polluting the city (Ibidem). The misperception of the Jews in front of the local national majorities cast suspiciousness on the Jews' most basic and unoffending social manifestations. Indiscernible, cliquish, and distressing, the Jewish dialogue was beforehand condemned to prejudicial exploits.

Picturing a Prejudice

The strange impression of the intercommunicating Jews cemented a minor motif in early modern and modern European art. Over the centuries, many artists represented Jews involved in close discussions. But since a visual rendering of a dialogue proved difficult, the actual subject of speech remained notional and inferential, being debatable and, therefore, ascribed to the art theory. As the artist's intentions were but rarely known, art critics and art historians tried to elucidate the dilemma: What are those Jews talking about?[6] Regardless of what particular topics were

---

[5] *Parler hébreu* meant and still means to speak an unintelligible language; it completed a list of far and old languages that were hard to decipher and came to represent impossible gibberish, e.g.: *c'est de l'hébreu, du grec, du chinois, du syriaque, de l'arabe.*

[6] Rembrandt's etching *Jews in a Synagogue* (1648) challenged the suppositional spirit of the modern critics, set to discover what the characters (especially an isolated group of two Jews) talked about. The nineteenth-century French critic Charles Blanc believed: "In the left forefront, two old Jews seem to be engaged in a really animated conversation. One of them, seen frontally and with the head covered by a tall bonnet, rests his left hand on a cane, in an attitude of profound attention, and holds his right hand

being examined, the verdict was generally pervasive in signalizing an insidious discussion.

In one of his works, the Romanian national painter Nicolae Grigorescu depicted two Jews facing each other (ill. 218). The roughly sketched pew makes the viewer understand that the scene is set in a synagogue. Yet, there is no devotional act, no sacramental atmosphere; the two frowning old men are paused in their own conversation. For the nineteenth-century viewer, the attitude might have been somehow suspicious, as the Romanians' church attitude—the one that was officially communicated in the nationalist speech—reflected piety. Interestingly, the artist did not invent a situation but only assigned to the Jews an attitude that was already known to be characteristic of them. A fair testimony to that was the fact that many eastern European Jews that migrated in the United States at the end of the nineteenth century were attending services, not out of religious duty, but for the schmoozing and socializing that went on there (Hoffman 2005: 8). Sociologist Samuel Heilman remarked at how uncontainable the social chatting that took place during liturgical worship came to be: "[While the Torah is being read], many people talk with one another. The *gabbais* [officials in charge of assigning Torah honors] are trying to *shush* them, but small cliques and klatches defy this *shushing* and keep on talking. Indeed, in one or two cases, the people being quieted engaged the *gabbai* in conversation. They succeed in making listening deviant and talking acceptable" (Ibidem).[7] Therefore, there was no prejudice in portraying Jews talking

---

on his chest; the other, with a flat bonnet on his head, talks lively" (1859: 318). Who are they and what are they talking about? The French critic applies a critical judgment to each couple, not only the couple from the left: "They go in and they go out in couples of two, they crawl on the pavement of the temple that plunges in the perspective of the claire-obscure. We hear them mumbling verses from the Bible or discussing of trade. They are the jewels resellers, the pearls traffickers, the dress sellers, the furriers, the moneychangers; they know how to test the diamonds and touch the gold; they know about laces, ivories, silver works and antiquities; they wear old furs, mangy bonnets, rancid clothes. Their type is accused, in this little stamp of the Synagogue, in an indelible manner, and it's easy for us to verify today, that the race wasn't altered, and they are still the same men under other clothes" (1859: 320). In a 1990 study, Rachel Wischnitzer retraced Blanc's convictions, considering that the two figures from the left are arguing over the price of the fur (Perlove, Silver 2009: 242).

Edgar Degas's *At the Bourse*, captured, in Linda Nochlin's opinion, "a whole mythology of Jewish financial conspiracy. That gesture—the half-hidden head tilted to afford greater intimacy, the plump white hand on the slightly raised shoulder, the stiff turn of May's head, the somewhat emphasized ear picking up the tip—all this, in the context of the half-precise, half-merely adumbrated background, suggest 'insider' information to which 'they' are privy, from which 'we' the spectators (understood to be Gentile) are excluded. This is, in effect, the representation of a conspiracy. It is not too farfetched to think of the traditional gesture of Judas betraying Christ in this connection, except that here, both figures function to signify Judas; Christ, of course, is the French public, betrayed by Jewish financial machinations" (Nochlin 1989: 148).

[7] The noisiness of the Jewish groups became grammatically associated with the synagogue. *They gathered to talk, as if it's the Jewish synagogue,* says an old Romanian proverb. The archaic usage of the word synagogue, *havra*, suffered a semantic contamination with the word *lavra*—noisy group. *Lavra*

during the service, but in the interpretation that the situation allowed for. In the Christian mentality, not only did the synagogue concentrate a pure ungodliness, but it was also home to evil scheming. Mihai Eminescu wrote in an article from 1876, around the same years when Grigorescu painted his work: "[The Jews] conspire in the synagogue against the Christians. It's there where they set the prices, when they crush the Christian competition and when they feel they are in control of some economic ground. It's there where they decide the death of the Romanian craftsman, under the occult authority of a state in state, in the unseen committees of the universal alliance" (Eminescu 2000: 29).[8] Though modern and contextual, his attitude reflected, over the centuries, the powerful words of John Chrysostom: "The synagogue is a brothel, a gang of rascals, a demonic temple offered to idolatry, a place of meeting for the Christ's assassins, a place of perdition" (Oișteanu 2004: 304).

In Grigorescu's case, we can only hypothesize what the artist intended. His Jews were many, and although the historiography generally avoided discussing a possible anti-Semitism, his interpretors praised his ability to capture the true Jewish essence, especially their harmful character.[9] But the dialogue in discussion,

---

evreiască (the Jewish group or the Jewish synagogue) acquired the resonance of a behavioral symptom. A classic Romanian writer, George Coșbuc, concluded that "the Jewish synagogue" was a condition of the Jews' noisy nature, manifesting when they gather together. The Romanians intended to say "just like in the synagogue," just as, with other occasions, they took the comparison from the Gypsies: just like the tent-door. Coșbuc noted a similarity between them and Gypsies, due to their strange verbal manifestations (1900: 242). In modern Romanian, there is still an outspread expression, that can literally be translated "to swear like they [the Gypsies] swear at the tent-door," with the English idiomatic equivalent "to swear like a trooper."

[8] It was often speculated that, under the guise of religious usages, Jews were orchestrating economic plans. The Romanian historian A. D. Xenopol wrote in a travel journal about the Jews from the Moldavian town Vatra-Dornei: "They walk on the street in large droves, mumbling some prayers, but their mind is somewhere else, as they stop often to ask how much is the fruit or a pair of oxen, continuing, after having received the answer, to mumble their prayer" (1901: 10). Although Jews were known for their passionate religious talks, in some eyes, being inside the synagogue or close-by did not offer the Jews a spiritual alibi. As we have seen before, Rembrandt's *Jews* were also believed to talk business instead of sacred issues or to mix them together. The same judgment can be applied in the case of an etching made by Alexandru Poitevin-Skeletti and exhibited at the Romanian Autumn Saloon in 1937. The work, representing a synagogue from Jassy, lays focus, in fact, on two Jews engaged in a surreptitious conversation.

[9] Out of the many examples, we will draw upon an excerpt from Nicolae Vlahuță, perhaps his most important biographer, relevant also because it refers to a group of Jews. When analyzing the painting *Fair in Bacău* (The National Museum of Art of Romania, Bucharest), Vlahuță made the following annotation: "In the middle—the core of the painting, a peasant, in his hour of need, sells his little cow and her calf … one of the three Jews, because there they work in groups of three, mesmerizes and makes his head spin, insomuch that the peasant just stands flabbergasted, as if he was hypnotized. Certainly, his wife whispers to him from behind not to lower the price anymore; but then, pondering with one hand over her mouth, she looks like she is telling herself: 'What can we do more?' When one looks at her, tears well up in his eyes" (Vlahuță 1936: 80). In this case, the Jewish scheme was taken one step

if we admit it, remains elusive. In the next case, the plot becomes more seeming, even though the dialogue is even less explicit.

In a cartoon published in 1900,[10] Nicolae Petrescu-Găină, a renowned Romanian caricaturist, portrayed the editorial office of *Adevărul*, one of the most important newspapers in Romanian history (ill. 221). A left-wing publication, *Adevărul* was often accused by the right-wing journalists of being Jewish. Wedded to the same outlook, in Petrescu's vision, the newspaper's managers have sidelocks and a yarmulke. Moreover, for pointing out the conspirative profile of the editorial office, two clear Jewish profiles appear behind the managers. A tacit understanding dwells between the two Jews. The one on the left has his head turned to his companion, whereas the other one, although fully facing the viewer, watches the former out of the corner of his eye. The two are a metaphor of the plot. Their unclear interest allows now a plausible total interest; masked behind an opinion-forming journal, their undermining can be political, economical, and religious.

Still, such intrigues are not practiced only in backstage cabals, but also in street-corner arrangements. The conspiracy loses intensity, but gains plausibility and justifiability. In Costin Petrescu's *Two Jews*, a water painting from the beginning of the twentieth century, we discover the same furtive eye glance as before and also a magnified satisfaction in the facial expressions (ill. 219). This time, both characters are manifestly talkative, and their speech benefits of a gestural complement that partially dissolves the corporeal immobility we have encountered so far. The raised hand of the left Jew, simultaneously indicative and expository, pointing subtly at a piece of clothing suspended by the other hand, supports the viewer in suspecting them of a shoddy trickery (probably a buy cheap–sell dear, clothes exchange), a plot far from being nationally pernicious but in which the characters invested all their cunningness and viciousness.

Almost at the same time, Octav Băncilă exhibited at Jassy, *A Good Deal*, representing two local Jews in an intimate conversation (ill. 220). This time, the subject of discussion is more clearly underlined, the title of the painting pointing out that we are witnessing a personal financial business. The painting generated a series of journalistic debates; a very interesting position was offered by a Moldavian Jewish newspaper, which offered several articles discussing the trueness of the scene and the artist's intentions. One of the magazine's reviewers pointed out: "The painting, realized with plenty of artistic skillfulness and plenty of liveliness in coloring, represented two familiar characters—two Jewish common figures, arranged, in some degree, in a suggestive position. One of the Jews—dressed in the shabby costume of the *jobless workman*—whispered to the other a hopeful secret, judging from the joy that radiates from the lighted face of the other. Both faces, characteristic, cor-

---

further. The artist did not capture the internal set-up of the plot, discussed exclusively between Jews, but its outward development and its pernicious effect on the Romanian population.

[10] Pagini literare, vol. II, no. 14 (39), 16 January 1900.

rect and eloquent, reproduce with ability a situation—replenished mildly by the Jewish costumes and gestures—but they don't offer any intention of the artist." We found out that later Băncilă declared he had not taken an anti-Semite view, but his reviewer is convinced this did not stop the viewers from believing he had insisted upon the moneymaking nature of Jews. Because the artist was not Jewish, his work was, "correct, but not moving; he was able to show only what the passers-by, over-gorged with malicious prejudices, wanted to see" (Steurmann 1899). The author of the article returns upon the work after a few months, when the painting was presented in a personal exhibition. He writes that his review was misinterpreted and that he had never accused Băncilă of anti-Semitism. He only regretted that, "from the immense variety and richness of the modern Jewish life, the artist paused upon the play of figures that was represented in the discussed *Deal*" (Steurmann 1900). Yet, in the next issue, another reviewer intervenes in the pages of the same magazine: "[Băncilă] surprised a figure, an expression, a gesture, artistically beautiful.—Should he have chosen other subjects from the Jews' life? Well, this is exactly what I want to point out: if Băncilă didn't grow among Jews and doesn't know all their intimacies, the note of *A Good Deal* is still characteristic for the Jew and ... more or less favorable to him" (Kișinieff 1900).

In conclusion, representing a group of Jews talking business was seen as normal even by the Jews. The accuracy of their gestural mechanics—the good-fortune sign of the left Jew,[11] the beard patting hand of the second, suggesting heedfulness—and their intimate proximity were not called into question. The message was correct though not emotional, stereotypical but not prejudicial—again, the prejudices being accumulated by the viewer. We are in front of an ordinary informal street brokerage, a situation that the Jews were very used to.[12] Visually, a substantial

[11] A gesture that is quite known today in the globalized era, the A-OK sign or the ring gesture had and still has different cultural meanings, corresponding to different cultural spaces, expressing positivity and negativity as well. A century ago, when Băncilă completed this painting, the ring gesture signified already in the Anglo-American culture "approval," while for several European countries, especially Mediterranean, it had an apotropaic function. Presumably the gesture had similar meanings for Jews. In the Jewish folklore, connecting the tips of the right forefinger and the right thumb to form a circle, followed by incantations and ritual movements, constituted a protection spell against robbers and accidents when crossing a river (Löwinger 1916: 57–58). Converting this gesture into a good-deal signal was possibly indebted to the so-called *Gebärde des Geldzählens*, the counting-money sign. Rubbing the index on the thumb meant good fortune, financial success, and it can be admitted that the pictorially rendered ring gesture was, in fact, a frozen motion. Although not particularly Jewish, the gesture was used by Jews and easily associated with their pecuniary nature. Samuel Astrachan, in *Malaparte in Jassy*, visualized a scene from the early 1940s, involving the same Jewish community that Băncilă found interest in a few decades earlier: "Jews sidle up to Romanians and whisper into their ears, and they rub their thumb and forefinger together at the level of their eye in gestures expressive of things long desired, vaguely soiled" (1989: 47).

[12] Schmoozing was not just small talk. In nineteenth-century Germany and Switzerland, *Schmuser* was an appellative of minor trade agents. In an article, suggestively named "All talk or business as

number of Jewish chit-chats suggest informal brokerage, financial counseling, or business partnerships.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, Băncilă repeated the subject, setting up only new scenographies for his business-oriented Moldavian Jews.[13] Four decades later, another example came from a north Transylvanian artist, when painting a northern Transylvania town. It was the year 1940 when Traian Bilţiu-Dăncuş exhibited at the Official Saloon a painting entitled *On the Streets of Sighet* (ill. 222). Despite the name, the composition was not an urban snapshot, but a social synthesis. The artist crammed in the most visible socioprofessional types from the Transylvanian town. The two Jews-in-conversation that made their way into the composition should have not interfered with the ensemble through their different ethnicity, as they probably fulfilled a social role: stock jobbers.[14] The ring gesture indicates once more a good business. However, the evident stereotypical structure presumably consolidated a more benign general understanding.

---

usual," Susanne Bennewitz analyzes schmoozing in connection with informal brokerage, offering a case study on the Swiss Jews from Basel. The *Schmuser*, almost every time a Jew, was a third party, sealing businesses between two others and receiving a fee from both sides. His job consisted in walking and talking, negotiations, mediations, bringing the parties together. But, acquainted with everything that went on in the real estate market, cattle market, etc., he was also adviser and personal informer (Bennewitz 2011: 70–93).

The situation was similar in Romania, where many local brokers were Jews and brokerage was regarded as a specific Jewish occupation. Unlike the other Jewish professions (rag-and-bone men, tailors, cart drivers, innkeepers, etc.), the brokers' field of work was invisible: it consisted of talking. They counseled Romanians and Jews and even took the role of personal counselors. Although intimate brokerage was normal and legally endorsed, in the public mind, the Jewish broker became the right hand of the Jewish merchant and landlord, and their prolocutor. In Roman Ronetti's *Manasse,* a controversial play from the beginning of the twentieth century, the main character, who gives the title of the play, is followed everywhere by Zelig Şor, his personal adviser, a broker. When Manasse dies in the end, Zelig Sor declaims: "I alone knew him, I alone knew him!" (1900: 180).

It is quite likely that, at least for a specific public, the Jew-to-Jew street brokerage seemed conspicuous. A possible evidence supporting this could be the fact that, in the Romanian vocabulary, one of the meanings of the word *brokerage* was *dishonest traffic* (Scriban 1939: 1152). Zelig Şor's philosophy was: "He who doesn't know to sell a scabby billy goat instead of a milk cow, that is not a true broker!" (Ronetti 1900: 39).

[13] In the 1901 painting *Two Jews from Târgu-Cucului* (Târgu-Cucului was the Jewish suburb of Jassy), Băncilă reintroduced the same financial street discussion: the good-business "announciation," the Informer with the hand outstretched in the same ring gesture, and the pondering Informed. *A council* (1907) represents a packed group of four Jews, involved in a secluded conversation. The items on their agenda are unknown, however, the Jassy Museum Complex that has the painting in custody catalogued the work under the name *A Good Deal*. A copy of this painting, dating from 1910, is today in the custody of Ploieşti Art Museum, under the original name.

[14] Their presence is strongly justified by the fact that Sighet (Sighetu-Marmaţiei in present-day Romania), proportionally concentrated the largest Jewish community from Transylvania. In the interwar period, one out of three locals from Sighet was Jewish. Ladislau Gyemant estimated that 40% of the total population were Jews (2004: 112).

Discussing the same streets of Sighet, Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga, some years earlier, made several literary observations, possibly overfeeding the painting's social message: "The Jewry walks or stays in group, in front of the big houses that host shops ... In every corner, two or three Jews are lurking" (1907: 557). For Iorga, the Jewish gatherings were unquestionably conspicuous, and perhaps just as well were for Bilțiu-Dăncuş. There is an unexpressed social stratification that can be deciphered in his painting, the traditional division between the poor downtrodden working class, represented in totality by Romanians, all with specific professional attributes, and the exploiting or benefiting class, in this case, the Jews. In the growingly anti-Semite climate of that moment, the two conniving characters, clearly outlined through their otherness, were most likely perceived, and maybe by a considerable number of viewers, as a social anomaly and threat, and the whole composition as a civic protest.[15] Significantly, while the painting was still being exhibited at the saloon, a law that racially defined Jews was issued in Romania.

There is indeed a differential dynamic in the Bilțiu-Dăncuş's Jews. While the Romanian loggers from the left are involved in a static dialogue, suggesting a general lethargy, the Jews gesticulate. Could these two mirroring states—the inaction and the action—reenact the emotional polarity from the medieval Passions, an inert and silent Christ opposed to a vociferating crowd of Jews?[16] The artist might have been indebted to nationalist ideas and the religious iconography, but he was also reflecting a social reality, as we will see further.

David Efron observed that gestures are strongly connected with nationality. A supporting example for this acknowledgment was the fact that eastern European Jews characteristically conversed in very close proximity, and with much gesturing. The rampant corporal movements contributed to their collective image, insofar as the eastern European Jews were strongly associated in the popular mind with the notion of frequent and lively gesticulation (Efron 1972: 60). Their self-perception cemented this belief, considering that the behavioral expressions became a subject for many stories and jokes. An eloquent example is a Jewish anecdote of two friends who, due to their colloquial gestures, overturn the boat they were sailing

---

[15] Another version of the painting, today in the custody of the Cluj-Napoca Art Museum, signed with the year 1939, displays a very similar composition, except one important detail: the two Jews are missing, their place being taken by what seems to be a well-dressed tax collector or superintendent, which was, after all, just another type of beneficiary. Although it is not possible to conclude which painting was finished first, it is clear that the presence of the two Jews (no matter if they were painted and afterwards eliminated, or if the artist repainted the scene with the clear intention of placing an ethnic add-on) was not just another formal element, but a consciously examined situation. Both paintings use the same social contrast, only the actors, filling the same role of a profiting category, differ.

[16] This opposition was analyzed by Jean-Claude Schmitt, in his remarkable study dedicated to the symbolism of gestures in medieval western Europe (1998: 324–325).

with but who eventually escape from drowning when talking in the water, their extreme gesturing turning into swimming moves (Ibidem).

The Romanians had made the same observations. The Jews loved to gesticulate as much as they loved to chat, a perception that was repeatedly drawn upon in literature,[17] and especially in theater.[18] In drama, the Jewish gestures have become, in fact, alongside physical traits and clothing, an ethnic trademark.[19]

Less efficient than in theater and cinema, but highly more representational than verbal interchange, the Jewish pantomime spread in visual arts. Efron certifies that the predisposition of the eastern ghetto Jew to gesticulate became a subject-theme for the Jewish and non-Jewish artists (Ibidem: 62–63). But more than a subject, we have to admit gesturing as a method, a way of verbalizing individual and group motivations, which, for some artists and viewers, was in fact the main point of interest. "If gestures without words are an exception, words without gestures are even more exceptional," wrote Jean Claude Schmitt, concluding also that, when an image has no additional text, gestures can express, if not the exact content of the discourse, at least the idea of the word (1998: 322). In the case of the Jews, the intense dialogue, the furtive information or the immoral condition became translatable through gestures. Willingly or unwillingly, the artist appealed concomitantly to social accuracy and pictorial conventions. The Jews' unnatural gestures, a perceived reality, ensured, in the mental and artistic evocation, a correspondence to their unuttered evil manifestations.

---

[17] In Ionel Teodoreanu's novel *La Medeleni*, the Romanians and Jews waiting in front of a lawyer cabinet behave as Bilțiu's characters: "They [the Jews] were talking collectively—a choir without music—and gesticulating furiously, although they were not quarreling, spreading out and commenting the local newspapers like some strategic maps." Meanwhile, "the [Romanian] peasants were keeping silence, standing implacable, suspicious and embarrassed" (1999 II: 50). The author returns upon this Jewish attitude once more: "The Jewish litigants … come in groups. They talk, gesticulate and stop from time to time, ready to fall to blows, but they never do that; they start talking again. Although they don't have a briefcase under their arm, they all seem lawyers, through their restlessness, gesticulation and the irrefutable tone" (Teodoreanu 1999 III: 87).

[18] In *Jidovul* (*The Yid*), a play by an important Romanian writer, Liviu Rebreanu, the author introduces, among the multitude of Jewish characters, a pair of small Jewish businessmen of secondary importance but adding hilarity. In a private conversation, Alter and Shtrul plan how to talk a Jewish bank director into financing "a good deal" (in fact, a scam). The stage directions are clear: The actors will "talk with inflammation and with lots of gestures" (Rebreanu 1980: 728).

[19] A 1916 minor theater play, dramatizing the grand-scale consequences of a small-scale extortion that a poor Jew tried to put together, led to a humorous event when the Jew that inspired the character came to see the play. The original hero, a shabby broker named Burah, was left unsatisfied with the way he was portrayed and tried, between acts, to demonstrate to the other theatergoers that the incident was exaggerated. "But, getting too excited, the real Burah, unconsciously, lent himself to intonations, gestures and movements, to everybody's amusement and conviction that the actor had copied him perfectly" (*Acțiunea* 1916).

Humor Breaks the Code: Confirming or Dispelling Convictions

But what if the artists had made clear their intentions, revealing the dialogue by simply writing it next to the image? What if the viewers had been given the opportunity to eavesdrop on the conversation? The caricaturists saw this through.

Starting with the end of the 1850s, when the Romanian political caricature made its debut, the representations of the foreigners were consistently metonymic. Rather than real types, the caricaturists preferred symbolical personifications of nations. The interaction of the characters was therefore not interpersonal, but international. Based on this acknowledgment, the Jew or the Jews, when a group was configured, represented the Jewry. At the beginning of the 1890s, alongside the metonymic ethnotypes, social types, of different ethnicity, underwent an amplitude increase on the caricaturists' sheets. The readers discovered a fresh dose of humor in these self-referential—often denominated and engaged in real interethnic and intraethnic interaction—new figures. The Jewish chit-chat, with its strange topics and funny talk, capitalized on this context, popping up constantly in illustrated epigrams and gag cartoons.

In 1889, the Romanian caricaturist Constantin Jiquidi had one of his drawings published in the *Revista Nouă*[20] magazine (ill. 224). Two Jews are gazing at one another in a face-to-face standstill. Close-by, another Jew is addressing the viewer, revealing, by means of an epigram, what goes on: "They'd cheat each other in no time,/ But what use, try as they may,/ Neither one will get a dime:/ They are both Jews, aren't they?"[21] It seems the artist has an informer. The verses are not distant, they do not have the impersonal voiceover of a narrator, as they belong to a Jew, a double-agent that is entitled to know and to report on what his comrades are discussing. The situation is reminiscent of a central and eastern European belief that one Jew's deceitfulness is useless in the face of another. *Zwei Juden wissen, was eine Brille kostet* (Two Jews both know how much a pair of glasses costs), says an old German proverb (Schwarzfeld 2004: 126).

As we move to another example, we find a different Jewish rendezvous (ill. 223). Two friends are discussing spiritedly, probably debating on the newspaper that one of them is holding in his hand. An epigram gives us the chance once more to find out the topic of discussion. This time, the Jews are debating politics: "Beresh Leibu and Avram/ Got politically involved,/ With some matters that are, damn,/ Usually in a bathhouse solved!." The drawing is a mockery of the political affairs that the Jews are apparently handling. The political involvement of the two does not consist in policy practices or acting on behalf of a given political role, but in a mare tittle-tattle of what goes on in the country. Moreover, when

---

[20] *Revista Nouă*, no. 10, November 1889.

[21] The translation of the epigrams from Romanian and the adaptation were realized, preserving the phonetic rhymes, by the author himself. Intentional licenses, meant to ridicule the way Jews talked, were however irreproducible.

mentioning the bathhouse, the author alludes, not only to the fact that in public baths the discussions were trivial, but also to the fact that public baths were places where the Jews regularly gathered.[22] The derision is therefore extended. It is the Jewish community, in fact, who is making politics in the way the two gullible Jewish "media analysts" are, and it is not only the Jews who fell into derision but also the radical anti-Semites, set on seeing in each Jew a frightening political conspirer.

Of course, there were also highly xenophobic viewpoints that restructured the cartoons from humorous to accusatory. An anti-Semite brochure from the interwar period put together several critical alerts and, among them, some Jewish dialogues. The high level of criticism was manifested in the anatomical reconfiguration of the protagonists, which are big-bellied, ugly, and animalized. The skinny underprivileged Jew was replaced by the fat, rich capitalist, largely entailed in the gloomy imagination of the caricaturist, rather than in his social experience. In one drawing, two oil kings are planning their business: "Dear Shmil, prick up your ears,/ In let's say two or three years,/ I'll have new oil wells, old boy,/ From Moreni to Băicoi [two Romanian towns, with a developed petroleum industry].// Dear Shtrul, the Romanian is a dunce/ As one might find such only once/ All that gold that he should keep/ He's selling us on the cheap// What Palestine could we still need,/ When we took this garden by deed,/ We would be stupid if we didn't rout/ The locals from their country out" (ill. 225).

Another drawing from the same brochure incriminates Jews, who came to unjustly benefit of the journalists rights: "On the road, our Ytzig ran/ Into Ghidale sin Avram,/ One sells ice whereas the other/ Is a prosperous stockjobber.// – Dear Ytzig, how is it with you, / – Just like any poor Jew,/ I'm going on a train trip/ – Was it high or was it cheap?// – Oh Ghidal, my old friend,/ Not a penny need I spend/ And I travel high class/ Cause I own a … press pass".

Finally, a serious indictment refers to the fact the Jews supposedly had the support of a very important political formation, the National Peasant Party: "Ghidal and Leiba Zipstein/ Plan the country down the line/ And they'd bring at any hour/ The National Peasants to power.// My dear Leiba, please take note/ With the Peasants we shall vote,/ Only they will not refuse/ To sell the country to the Jews.//

[22] Alongside the synagogue, the school, and the burying ground, the bathhouse was a benefice that was granted to the Jews, in the effort of the nineteenth-century Moldavian authorities to populate burgs. And just as the synagogue, the bathhouse was perceived as a place of Jewish vociferation. Ion Luca Caragiale, a great Romanian playwright, during a voyage at Piatra-Neamț, a Moldavian town, complained to a friend in a letter about the noisy Jewish clutter at the local bathhouse: "There is a bathhouse with hydrotherapy here, but it's a shame that we have to cram with all these Jews. Every Friday evening there is a hubble-bubble that gives you head-aches; because on Friday evening, every Jew, no matter how devious, is bided by his [religious] Law to wash, to go to the synagogue and to lay with his wife. And then, lo and behold, what Jewish rabble and dirt there is in the pool. One actually gets dirtier [when getting in]" (Caragiale 1942: 439).

When in office they [the National Peasants] will be/ We will surely be carefree/ And our life would be so fine,// There's no sweeter Palestine!" (ill. 226).

But the rising popularity of the Jewish tête-à-têtes surpassed gradually any political intentions and, more strikingly, the bounding ethnicity and cultural identity of the protagonists. In a 1930 cartoon from a very popular satirical magazine, *Furnica*,[23] two Jewish friends are having a day on the beach (ill. 227). They make some observations, as in front of them an obese woman is ready to go into the water: "Do you see her, Ytzig? ... This one is the Red Sea ..." says one of them. Ytzig continues: "... which goes to flow into the Black Sea ...", at which point his friend adds up: "... and they'll pull her out the Dead Sea." The caricaturist coined a pun. In Romanian, the word *sea* is a homonym with the word *big*, the woman's progressive identities being the "Big Red" and the "Big Dead." However, the two observers do not need to be Jews. Apart from the geographic connotations, alluding to the Land of Israel, the dialogue is not specifically Jewish. Ytzig and his friend are two partially deethnicized wags, and the two would remain, for many decades, central figures for humorous masquerades that sometimes have nothing specific of a Jewish dialogue.

In the diary of Ion Hudiță, a Romanian historian and politician, we discover a surprising Jewish joke; in spite of the fact that the characters are Israelites, the subject of the dialogue is not Jewish, but surprisingly enough it also involves other nationalities (2000: 118). It was the year 1940. Two Jews talk about the catastrophic earthquake that had stricken Romania a few days before. Bercu tells Ytzig that the epicenter of this earthquake was in the region of Vrancea (a seismically active zone of Romania). It's not true, replied Ytzig, the epicenter is considerably further, precisely in Albany, where, in an enormous cave, two Italian divisions shiver with the fear that the Greeks would take them prisoners. The anecdote is a short, but fully developed double act, as we are in the presence of a stooge and a comic. Ridiculing the Italian courage proved even more hilarious, as the interlocutors' ethnicity was in fact associated with the lack of courage. Two Jews, that is two cowards, were pointing out the faintheartedness of another nation.

With the communist dictatorship installed by the Soviets, the open illustrated jokes with Jews were put to an end. New subjects of mockery and new national enemies emerged—the imperialists, the rich landlords—at the same time that the Jew, as literary or artistic subject, was placed under taboo. From the pages of the national newspapers, the Jewish jokes were confined to small social gatherings. Predictably, the visual disappeared; only the story survived. Their existence can now only be recounted.[24]

---

[23] *Furnica*, year XXV, no. 2, July 1930.

[24] In the 1990s, the actor Cornel Vulpe recalled the following story that happened four decades before. Mircea Crișan, a colleague of the actor, quite famous in the 1950s, met Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, the general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and first ruler of Socialist Romania at a jamboree.

Cut-off from the public input-output, the Jewish anecdotes, and especially their ethnosocial content, faded away, as the Israelite community was assimilated and lost its visibility as an ethnic group. A further echo was however noticed, as the loyal counterpart of Bulă—the most famous joke character from the last half-century, born in backstairs gags mocking Ceaușescu and the Communist party—was named Ştrulă (Shtrulah).

The Jew jokes, regularly consisting in Ytzig and Shtrul dialogues, reappeared publicly after the fall of Ceaușescu, although their visual accompaniment was no longer at hand and has never again been consistently used. The traditional content, chiefly the financial pursuits, was revived, certifying the contemporary belief that Jewish old habits never died.[25] The Jewish jokes are once again among the most popular ethnic jokes.

Conclusion

The Jewish tête-à-tête epitomizes a larger human interaction and group of activity: the one-on-one relation becomes a symbol for the community, for the collective undertakings. Setting up this interaction in a visual composition was a pictorial response to a social reality, signaling their large number and their (dangerous, hilarious, or picturesque) Otherness. However, it reflected more than a social normality: it was a stereotypical approach. The discussed group did not make a regular appearance in urban landscapes, but very much in the art of those artists who regularly painted Jews; in other words, it was not a societal ingredient, but a deliberate topic, searched for and inserted in compositions. And this *mise-en-scène* drew in an even more deliberate subject: the Jewish dialogue.

With regard to Roland Barthes's methodology, it is admissible that the iconic message of the pictorial Jewish tête-à-tête is accustomed from the onset to the linguistic message. Technically, from the position of the artist, but even more perceptually, from the position of the audience, the absence of words overburdens the

---

When Dej asked Crișan to tell some jokes, the actor immediately agreed. Knowing that the majority of the members of the government were Jews, Crișan insisted on telling political jokes exclusively with Jews. This was on Dej's liking, as he could not bear his Israelite political companions that were brought to power by Soviet Russia. One of the jokes is constructed on a two-phase dialogue between two old friends, Ytzig and Shmoil. Ytzig tries a couple of times to inform Shmoil on the telephone of the latest Truman's and Churchill's broadcasts, only to be hung up on each time by the latter. The two meet one day at the flea market. A blustering Ytzig demands from Shmoil an explanation for his telephonic turndowns. He finds out that the telephones are tapped by Securitate (the secret services in communist Romania) and that, the next time, he should encode the conversation, using the initials of the subjects instead of their full names: A for Adenaeur, C for Churchill, T for Truman and so on. The following day, Ytzig, with his lesson learned, calls Shmoil. Before the later could react, he blurts out: Did you hear what balderdash Gheorghe Gheorghiu D said last night on the radio? Fortunately, Dej appreciated the joke and found himself extremely amused by it (Cilibia 2008: 51–54).

[25] In accordance with the survey discussed in the beginning of this article, 20% of the Romanians considered that the Jews' most important flaw is niggardliness.

image, forcing it to express an alternate content. The unheard dialogue demands an exposure; it is here where the composition, by means of real or only seeming facial expressions, gestures, ambient elements, lights, and colors, directs to a fair level of perception. The full clarity of the message remains elusive, the visual pantomime being able only to suggest the general interest of the speakers. The message becomes explicit only with the use of captions, especially in the case of the press cartoons, and with the text assuming a function of relay to the image.

Grouping, with its inherent dialogue, verbalized or simply inferential, was paradoxically the effect of a social exclusion or differentiation. The Jews were not the only ethnic groups represented on a regular basis in the official art; the Gypsies and the Turks (especially in the interwar period) were subject to collective representations, too. However, the last ones were organized in group portraits and only rarely in interactive compositions. Their dialogue was either absent or settled between the group and the viewer. Did not they talk to their own kind? Of course they did, but their dialogue was insufficiently intriguing and socially irrelevant, as they lived in distant communities.

But the Jews never seem to simply pose in groups; even when they are actually doing it, they regularly simulate a chance encounter or an organized meeting, setting upon a discussion. Their behavioral characteristics completed a general and natural profile, a desirable step in the artist's documentation, but might have also solidified a social prejudice, no matter the artist's intentions. The artistic motif of the Jewish group was a formal encasement for stereotypical projections.

The inner connection, a perfectly normal conduct for any community, was an identifying and discriminatory marker for the Jews. The behind-closed-doors "Zionist meetings," literary clubs, and synagogue gatherings were complemented by the more visible postliturgical chatting, the Jew-to-Jew brokerage, the ad hoc street gatherings between merchants. All these, and many other formal and informal gatherings, consolidated, in the Romanian conscience, an ill-intentioned solidarity and allowed for the perception of the Jewish get-together as dangerous.

For the anti-Semite artist and viewer, the Jewish socializing was a crime. Admittedly, the European conscience outlined a stereotype of the Jewish conspirator, filling out the criminal portrait of the cunning, money-thirsty Jew. In arts, the Jewish evilness could be outlined individually, by means of physiognomic bearings and personal gestures. However, taking a more strict interest in his conspirative nature meant more than unveiling an individual, but rather a human interaction. This was the way for the secret plot to be uncovered. The Jewish group could also be understood as a multiplication of a singular personality, offering different instances of a singular Other. Thus, the artist was given the permission to discover the most reclusive intimacy and to translate an abstract soliloquy into a lucid dialogue.

The Jewish compositional group answered to a faultfinding mythology. All their grand criminal deeds, either magical-ritual, such as the deicide or the infan-

ticide, or the political, such as undermining the state, were normally undertaken by the group. "The Jews have gathered, With pitchforks and axes, Our Lord to murder," says an old Romanian carol (Oișteanu 2004: 362). This mythology is confirmed by the medieval iconography, where Jewish crimes are generally sustained on compositions of figures. A simple logic, that a conspiracy implies at least two culprits, pluralized the portrait of the Jew. The Jew is never alone, not even when his accomplices are not in sight. Nominating one Jew did not mean disregarding the others.[26]

However, this vision was not unique, and the myth of the plot was often debunked, revealing rather humorous natures than evil ones. The Jews' funny talk, their strangely peculiar deals, their seemingly unoffending nature, especially that of the poor Jews, constructed many tales in the European culture. For example, the "two Jews in a train" jokes became quite popular in some central and eastern European countries. Startlingly, many Jewish jokes were produced by Jews themselves, a testimonial to the unmatched quality of Jewish humor. This unique sense of humor manifested itself in a rare and long-lasting readiness to laugh not only at their persecutors but at the same time, occasionally, at themselves (Hillenbrand 1995: 72).[27] The gag cartoons unveiled the diverse dialogue, the Jews became humanly complex: They were, indeed, talking small things and, not only did they not elaborate maleficent collaborations, but they often argued.

"Not coincidentally, two Jews always contradict on any topic," noticed the Israeli writer Amos Oz in one of his books, *How to Cure a Fanatic* (2007: 92). In fact, contradiction, rather than teamwork, stood at the base of the Jewish jokes. As C. Eretescu observed, "Ytzig and Shtrul [find themselves] always in an argument and [they are] never clear about their lives" (2004: 296).

Amos Oz also pointed out that his favorite story from the Talmud was one discussing the incurable spirit of contradiction of the Jews. Let us retell this anecdote in closing, as it also derides the very fact that the Jews talk too much. Two virtuous rabbis engaged in a religious debate. For seven days and seven nights, they talked restlessly, without sleeping and without eating, until God felt sorry for them and intervened, giving justice to one of them. But the other one dared to contest God's decision: "Oh, mighty God, you gave the Torah to the people, please stay out of this discussion," he asked. And the rabbis continued to argue (Ibidem: 93–94).

---

[26] In the anti-Semite paranoia, the total absence of Jews could signify their regrouping somewhere else. Marius Mircu, a Jewish-Romanian journalist, captured the atmosphere in Jassy prior to the pogrom of 1941, when 500 Jews were murdered: "[The Jews] hid. They didn't get out of their houses. Why would they hide in their houses and cellars? They probably plot! They definitely plot! The Jews plot!" (Mircu 1944: 8).

[27] Barbu Lăzăreanu, a Romanian writer and satirist of Jewish descent, seems to have taken his humor from his father, Herș Lazarovici: "The Moldavian boyars were crazy about the anecdotes with Jews that Herș Lazarovici used to tell. The first one to laugh was himself, contaminating the others" (Iacob 2003: 44).

References

Acțiunea, year XV, no. 3782, 20 February 1916, Bucharest.

Astrachan S. 1989, *Malaparte in Jassy*, Detroit.

Barthes R. 1964, Rhétorique de l'image, *Communications*, 4, Paris, pp. 40–51.

Blanc C. 1859, *L'oeuvre complet de Rembrandt, Tome 1*, Paris.

Bennewitz S. 2011, *All Talk or Business as Usual? Brokerage and Schmoozing in a Swiss Urban Society in the Early 19th Century*, [in:] Reuveni R., Wobick-Segev S. (eds.), *The Economy in Jewish History: New Perspectives on the Interrelationship Between Ethnicity and Economic Life*, New York, pp. 79–93.

Boiste P. C. V. 1823, *Dictionnaire universel de la langue française, avec le latin et les étymologies. Tome 1*, Paris.

Caragiale I. L. 1942, *Opere, Vol. 7: Corespondență* (*Works, Vol. 7: Letters*), Bucharest.

Cilibia M. 2008, *Peron pustiu* (*An Empty Railway Platform*), Craiova.

Coșbuc G. 1900, Cum se judecă popoarele (How People Judge Nations), *Familia*, year XXXVI, no. 21, 21 May/ 3 June.

De Gignoux A. 1907, En Roumanie. Juifs et vieux-croyants, *Revue Chrétienne*, 1 January–1 July, pp. 414–425.

Efron D. 1972, *Gesture, Race and Culture*, Hague.

Eminescu M. 1939, *Opere, Vol. 3* (*Works, Vol. 3*), Bucharest.

– 2000, *Opere, Vol. 4: Publicistică* (*Works, Vol. 4: Articles*), Bucharest.

Eretescu C. 2004, *Folclorul literar al românilor* (*The Literary Folklore of Romanians*), Bucharest.

Finkin J. D. 2010, *A Rhetorical Conversation: Jewish Discourse in Modern Yiddish Literature*, University Park, Pennsylvania.

Gyemant L. 2004, *Evreii din Transilvania. The Jews of Transylvania* (bilingual edition), Cluj–Napoca.

Hoffman L. A. 2005, *My People's Prayer Book, Vol. 1: Traditional Prayers, Modern Commentaries—Kabbalat Shabbat: Welcoming Shabbat in the Synagogue*, Woodstock, VT.

Iacob E. 2003, *Culisele memoriei, Vol. 2* (*The Backstage of Memory, Vol. 2*), Cluj–Napoca.

Iancu C. 2006, *Evreii din România, 1866–1919: De la excludere la emancipare* (*The Jews of Romania, 1866–1919: From Exclusion to Emancipation*), Bucharest.

Iorga N. 1907, *Neamul românesc în Ardeal și Țara Ungurească* (*The Romanian Nation in Transylvania and Hungary*), Bucharest.

Hillenbrand F. K. M. 1995, *Underground Humour in Nazi Germany, 1933–1945*, New York.

Hudiță I. 2000, *Jurnal politic*, Vol. 5: *7 septembrie 1940–8 februarie 1941* (*Politic Journal*, Vol. 5: *7 September–8 February 1941*), Jassy.

Joyce J. 1992, *Ulysses*, New York.

Kișinieff M. 1900, Scene evreiești (Jewish Scenes), *Răsăritul*, no. 19, 27 October (9 November), Jassy.

Larousse P. 1873, *Grand Dictionnaire universel du XIXe siècle, français, historique, géographique, mythologique, bibliographique, littéraire, artistique, scientifique, etc., etc., Tome 9: H-K*, Paris.

Löwinger A. 1916, Rechts und links in Bibel und Tradition der Juden (Schluss), *Mitteilungen zur jüdischen Volkskunde*, Wien, pp. 29–70.

Mircu M. 1944, *Pogromul de la Iași: 29 iunie 1941* (*The Pogrom of Jassy: 29 june 1941*), Bucharest.

Nochlin L. 1989, *Degas and the Dreyfus Affair: A Portrait of the Artist as an Anti-Semite*, [in:] L. Nochlin (ed.), *The Politics of Vision. Essay on Nineteenth Century Art and Society*, New York, pp. 141–170.

Noël M., Chapsal M. 1832, *Nouveau dictionnaire de la langue française*, Paris.

Oișteanu A. 2004, *Imaginea evreului în cultura română* (*The Image of Jew in Romanian Culture*), Bucharest.

Oz A. 2007 [2006], *Cum să lecuiești un fanatic* (*How to Cure a Fanatic*), Bucharest.

Perlove S. K., Silver L. 2009, *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age*, University Park, Pennsylvania.

Rebreanu L. 1980, *Opere, Vol. 11: Teatru* (*Works, Vol. 11: Drama*), Bucharest.

Ronetti R. 1900, *Manasse*, Bucharest.

Rosten L. 1968, *The Joys of Yiddish*, New York.

Schmitt J.-C. 1998 [1998], *Rațiunea gesturilor în Occidentul medieval* (*The Logic of Gestures in Medieval Occident*), Bucharest.

Schwarzfeld M. 2004, *Evreii în literatura populară română. Studiu de psihologie populară* (*Jews in Romanian Folkloric Literature. A Study of Folkloric Psychology*), Bucharest.

Scriban A. 1939, *Dicționaru limbii românești* (*The Dictionary of the Romanian Language*).

Sondaj de opinie CNCD: Fenomenul discriminării în România (*NCCD Opinion Survey: The Phenomenon of Discrimination in Romania*) *2010*, http://www.cncd.org.ro/files/file/Sondaj%20CNCD-TOTEM_2010.rar (accessed 06.10.2012).

Steurmann A. 1899, Evrei zugrăviți (Painted Jews), *Răsăritul*, nr. 22, 5 (17) November.

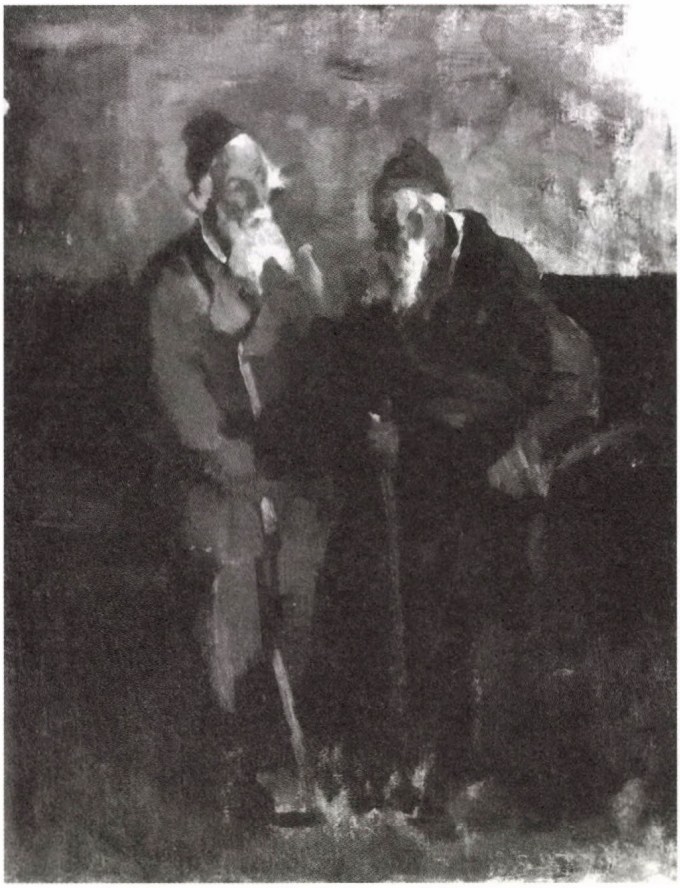
—1900, La Expoziția Băncilă (At the Băncilă Exhibition), *Răsăritul*, no. 17 (71), 13 (26) October.

Stow K. 2006, *Jewish Dogs: An Image and Its Interpreters*, Stanford.

Teodoreanu I. 1999, *La Medeleni, Vol. 2 & 3* (*At Medeleni, Vol. 2 & 3*), Bucharest.

Vlahuță N. 1936, *Pictorul N. Grigorescu. Viața și opera lui* (*The Painter N. Grigorescu. His Life and Work*), Craiova.

Xenopol A. D. 1901, *Amintiri de călătorie* (*Travels*), Jassy.



TWO JEWS

N. Grigorescu, reproduction from the exhibition catalogue.

 Grigorescu în perpetuare, 2007, Bucharest, p. 12.



508

TWO JEWS

C. Petrescu, The National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest. 219



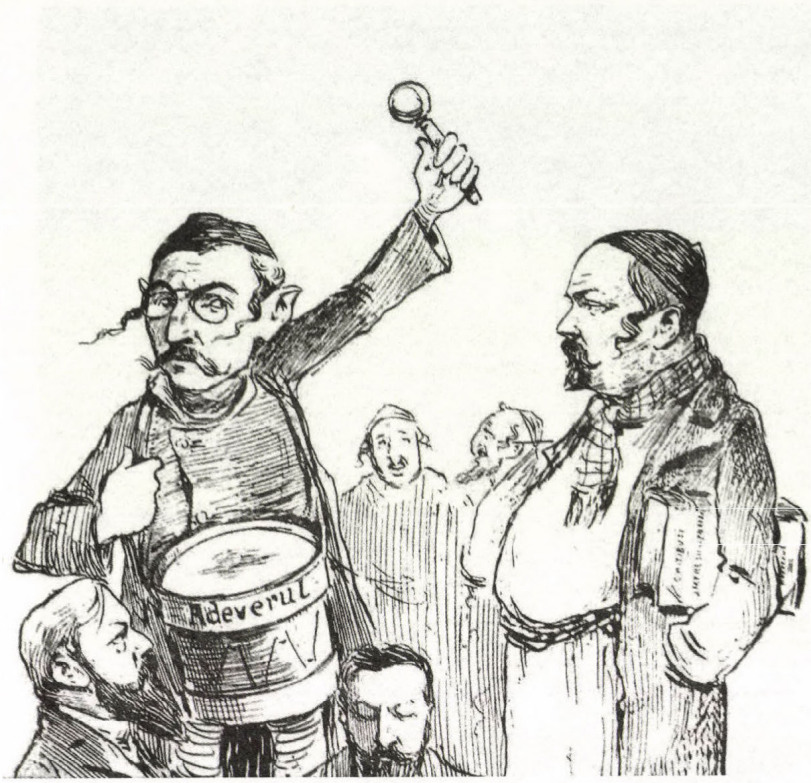
509

A GOOD DEAL

O. Băncilă, 1899, private collection,

220 reproduction from the Artmark Catalogue, *Licitația de Orientalism*, 2011, July, p. 157.

510



THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF *ADEVĂRUL* (DETAIL)

N. Petrescu-Gaina, *Pagini literare*, vol. II, no 14 (39), 1900, January 16.



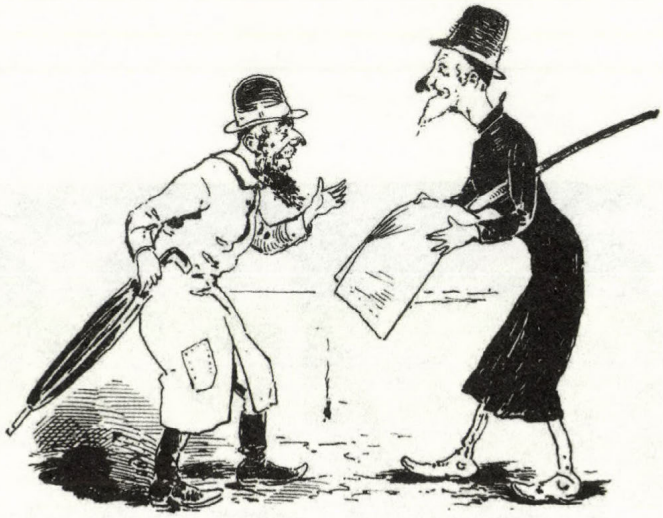
ON THE STREETS OF SIGHET

T. Bilțiu-Dăncuș, reproduction from the catalogue of the Official Salon (Painting and sculpture), 1940.

POLITICS AT PODOLOI 223

Podu-Iloaiei, small Moldavian town.

Şopârla, 1893, no 7.



512



UNTITLED

C. Jiquidi, *Revista Nouă*, 1889, November, no. 10. 224

225 **UNTITLED**

R. Barda, P. Lazăr, 1937, *Iuda*, Bucharest, p. 17.





UNTITLED

226 R. Barda, P. Lazăr, *Iuda*, Bucharest, 1937, p. 59.

514



GEOGRAPHY ON THE BEACH
Unknown author, *Furnica*, 1930, July, no 2.

Katarina Šrimpf

Residents of Lemberg as Other

Joke-telling is one of many widespread social phenomena. According to Christie Davies, jokes that target groups with the label "stupid" and "canny" are the most numerous and widespread (Davies 2011: 20). Jokes and humorous tales that refer to stupid and foolish people are known in many counties including Slovenia. Similar to the countries, Slovenia has villages and towns whose "stupidity" was the basis for many humorous tales and jokes. This article involves a particular Slovenian town called Lemberg. Its inhabitants are known as the Lembergs.

Lemberg is a village situated in southeastern Slovenia. The village and its inhabitants are ridiculed in various humorous folktales. The people of Lemberg are presented as fools involved in ridiculous events from shooting sausages and swimming in linen to lifting a bull on the bell tower. These stories are told principally in the region in which the village is located, although some of them are also known in the Lower Carniola region and in towns in the Styria region. In the neighboring towns, the label "Lemberžan" (inhabitant of Lemberg town) means a fool, a person who is not capable of doing anything right.

Lemberg is not the only town in Slovenia whose inhabitants are butts of humorous tales. Aside from Lemberg, Ribnica, Marburg, and Veržej are most widely known in Slovenia for their ridiculed habitants. In the first half of the twentieth century, Fran Milčinski published a series of stories concerning an imagined town called Butale and its inhabitants, "Butalci" (1949). The majority of stories are taken from the Slovenian and international folk tradition. Contemporarily, humorous stories about Butalci are commonly known. They are so well known that they have replaced the stories from the oral tradition. Humorous stories from towns such as Lemberg or Ribnica, which were during the first half of the twentieth century recognized around the Slovenian region, are now replaced with stories about Butalci. Stories about Lembergs and other inhabitants of foolish towns are currently maintained only in the local environment. There is no visual material that refers directly to stories about Lemberg or any other similar town. For this reason, I will present the caricatures that were published with stories about Butalci. The only author that was dealing with Slovenian humorous tales was Niko Kuret. He published in 1954 a booklet entitled *Humorous Tales of the Lembergs* (Kuret 1954). That was the first and last research dealing with humorous stories from the Slovenian oral tradition. This article is a continuation of the research of those humorous stories.

Presentation of the Settlement

Lemberg is a settlement in the Slovenian Styria region with 136 inhabitants, according to the 2002 census (*Popis* 2002). The settlement is situated in a narrow

valley alongside a road that formerly served as a main arterial road through these parts. In 1244, Lemberg received market town rights[1] accompanied by judicial rights and its own coat-of-arms. The market town judge was even said to have the right to hold "Blood Court." The Pranger (*pillory*) standing next to the town hall (*rotovž*) still bears witness to the power of Lemberg judges (*Krajevni leksikon* 1937: 1139). According to folk tradition, Lemberg was encircled by seven castles, or forts. That information alone provides evidence of the former strength of the town.

The settlement of Lemberg developed at the foothills of a castle bearing the same name. Trade and crafts were well developed in the market town. There were many inns, butchers, and merchants, as well as craft shops owned by nail makers, glassworkers, comb makers, potters, and leather dealers. The latter were organized in a guild under the patronage of St. Nicholas. It is believed that this guild financed the erection of a church named St. Nicholas in the market town (*Krajevni leksikon* 1937: 1140). Apart from crafts and trade, fairs were a principal source of the town's income. The town had the right to hold weekly Thursday market days as well as up to six yearly fairs and two parish fairs on St. Pancracius's day and St. Ulrich's day, respectively. Descriptive of the town's wealth are data on the Šmarje pri Jelšah commune,[2] including Lemberg which collected no commune contributions in 1924, as all of the town's expenses were covered from trade fairs' revenue. Although Lemberg had only one market street, its development peaked in the eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed Lemberg's decay due to the transfer of the parish to Sladka Gora and a shift of street traffic from Lemberg to another town (Lemberg 2012).

After the founding of the market town, the inhabitants of Lemberg were granted exclusive rights to organize fairs and trading. The surrounding inhabitants, consisting mostly of farmers, could trade solely within Lemberg. Because trading outside of the market town was forbidden, the Lembergs introduced trading taxes. Taxes and trading rights made the residents rich and powerful. Some scholars think that "the envy of the neighboring residents gave rise to numerous jokes and raillery at their expense" (*Krajevni leksikon* 1937: 1140).

Humor and the Other

One of prominent joke researchers, Davies developed a theory explaining the formation and transfer of ethnic and other jokes and humorous stories that have

---

[1] In the Middle Ages, a city with market rights could have weekly fairs and up to six annual fairs. In the case of Lemberg market rights included the right to a weekly market days, which was a Thursday, and the right to six annual fairs and two parish fairs: on the day of St. Pankratius and St. Ulrich (*Krajevni leksikon* 1937: 1140).

[2] In 1875 became Šmarje pri Jelšah, the administrative center of the region. So Lemberg was no longer the seat of government, and it became part of a large municipality. Today, Lemberg remains a part of Šmarje pri Jelšah municipality (Šmarje 2012).

certain targets such as "stupid" or "canny" persons, blondes, lawyers, and sex. In Davies's opinion, stupidity jokes were "always told about those on the edge of a country or a linguistic area, with the tellers being at the center" (Davies 2011: 254). This description applies also to Lemberg, which is geographically located at the edge of the Slovenian territory, not far from the border with Croatia and at the edge of Slovenian-speaking territory. Lemberg is situated also at the "economic edge, well away from the important and dynamic economic and administrative centers" (Davies 2011: 256). Ethnic jokes and humorous stories about stupidity mock groups who are "peripheral to the central or dominant group or who are seen by them as ambiguous" (Davies 1982: 384).

It seems that the jokes about stupidity are a part of identity building. Identities are established through relations me/we-others. Observing others and their "otherness" and "our" position with respect to "theirs" gives rise to an understanding of one's own identity. This results in the fact that we interpret ourselves in relation to an Other (Gingrich 2004). In the case of joke-telling, "us" is the society from which derives the teller, and the Other is the group that is mocked. Others are always marked as different, their moral boundaries differ from those held by the insider-group, characterized as "us." The group from which joke narration derives ascribes to the mocking group "traits, which the group telling the jokes does not wish to recognize among its own members" (Davies 1982: 384). There is no doubt that the Lembergs are perceived as different in the eyes of their neighbors. This fact is corroborated by the humorous tales mentioned here, which are being told to this day, if for no other purpose but to annoy the inhabitants of the market town, who are reluctant to listen to them let alone tell them. Their difference and refusal to accept set norms is expressed through every humorous tale connected with the Lemberg settlement. We only have to look at the tale relating a story about the mayor of Lemberg, who is elected by a louse choosing his beard to live in (ATU[3] 1268), to understand that nothing in Lemberg functions along set norms.

Stories of the Lembergs

The most notorious and widely known tale of the Lembergs' adventures relates a story of a bull being dragged inside a bell tower (ATU 1210).

"It so happened that one day the Lembergs noticed grass growing in the gutter under the roof of the bell tower. They were very displeased. But how could they reach the grass and put it away? Cutting it down would be impossible, just leaving

[3] The folktale tale index was first developed by Finnish folklorist Antti Aarne in 1910. His work was then upgraded by American folklorist Stith Thompson. In 2004, Hans-Jörg Uther, published the work entitled *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography* that is now called Aarne-Thompson-Uther index, short ATU (Uther, 2004). This tale-type index organizes folktales into categories like animal tales, fairy tales, religious tales, and also humorous tales. Each folktale type is then further subdivided by motif patterns until individual types, under different numbers, are listed.

it there would be folly. The smartest of the bunch got an idea. The best thing to do would be to have it grazed. At least this way cattle would benefit from it. But who should be the one to do it? They decided on the communal bull. There was not one man among them who would deny the bull this tasty graze. They wasted no time in taking up the necessary arrangements. The first thing they did was push a robust beam through the roof of the church and fix a pulley at the end of the beam. They pulled a rope through the pulley and formed a sling at the end. They slipped the sling around the bull's neck. Strong hands grabbed the other end of the rope and started pulling. The bull was heavy, as it should be, since it was a good breed and had been reared well. Slowly, slowly did the Lembergs pull the heavy animal upwards, shouting loudly all the while. The bull was in much pain and soon started bellowing, as it was running out of breath. "Look, look, he's looking forward to the fatty pasture!" they screamed. Once they had pulled the bull all the way up to the pulley, the rope around its neck was so tight, that its tongue was hanging out. When the Lembergs saw this, there was no end to their joy. "He can smell it now, see! Look, he's sticking his tongue out to reach it!" The bull was at the pulley. All it had to do was bite. But it didn't move. The Lembergs started persuading it nicely. No use. The bull stubbornly stretched its legs and finally settled down. At that point one of the Lembergs climbed up to take a close look at the bull. He poked it again and again, until it seemed to him that the bull must be dead. The Lembergs slowly lowered the bull back to the ground. They had to acknowledge that they had strangled it. The Lembergs let the grass grow freely from then on" (Kuret 1954: 8).

Stories such as this one are well known in and around the area. The first noted mention of Lemberg as a town of fools and idiots dates back to 1858, when the newspaper entitled *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (*News for farmers and craftsmen's*) ran a small article called "Humorous Slovenian Sketches." It featured a short narration of a wedding taking place in Vrbovec (Verbovec). The article ends with: "May God be with you, my dear people of Verbovec, brothers of people from Ribnica and Lemberg! Hey, brothers from Ribnica and Lemberg, would you like to share a story about your fellow countrymen?" (Vicko 1858: 142). The same newspaper ran an article in 1859 with a note proving, in this case indirectly, that humorous tales concerning people from Ribnica (ill. 232) and Lemberg were already in circulation. In the article is said: "Whoever doesn't have a doctorate, is not a member of the Academy of Vienna or Berlin, who doesn't spend his time crouching in a residence or teaching at a university is worth as much as a person from Lemberg or Ribnica" (Vicko 1859: 93).

An article on popular house names in the area of Slovenske Konjice from 1886 mentions the surname Lamberžan with a comment saying that such a surname could be derisive, mocking, or ironical (Napotnik 1886: 290). Based on represented comments, which were published in various newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century, one can conclude that a person from Lemberg or Ribnica, in this epoch, denoted someone without higher education or social status and someone to be ridiculed.

Protagonists in humorous tales of the Lembergs consist of individuals who embody the definition of fools. The behavior of these characters is absurd, inappropriate, stupid, and lacking in judgment, while at the same time their actions appear comical and amusing. One of the most well-known humorous tales relates a story of how the Lembergs stretched the church (ATU 1326) (ill. 230).

"There was a subsidiary of St. Pancracius on a hill over Lemberg and it is still there to this day. The Lembergs realized that the church became too low and too narrow for their needs and decided to enlarge it. How did they go about this? They started at the outside wall. Alongside it, they drew a line pretty high up from the ground. Then they piled manure all around the church and up to the line. They wanted to fertilize it to make it grow. It took a few days for the manure to reduce, leaving the line much higher. 'Look,' said the Lembergs, 'this is how much the church grew since we were wise enough to fertilize it!' They skillfully removed the manure and set about their second task, since the church was not only too low but also too narrow. It needed stretching. This, too, they undertook in their own unique fashion. They agreed to push the church asunder. They gathered around the church and first decided how far it should be pushed out. They took off their fur coats and laid them down alongside the wall to mark the desired width. 'When the wall reaches the fur coats, then we stop!' No sooner said than done, they all went inside
520 the church, arranged themselves along the wall and leaned against it with their backs. They pushed and pushed until sweat poured down their faces and they were almost out of breath. During this time, a vagrant came by and saw the fur coats lying on the ground. Bold as brass, he picked them up and ran away to the forest. Meanwhile, the men inside the church grew tired. One of them stepped out of the church to see how far they managed to push the wall. Because no coats were to be seen, he jumped for joy and screamed, 'Stop, you men, stop, it's enough, there are no coats to be seen!' The Lembergs stepped out of the church and saw with their own eyes that they stretched the church wall well beyond the fur coats" (Kuret 1954: 7).

There are many more such stories, from how the Lembergs built a windowless town hall and then brought in sacks of light (ATU 1245), how they swam in flax because they believed it to be the ocean (ATU 1290 + 1287), how they shot at a sausage because they thought they were facing an alien being (ATU 1339), and many more.

Here are some possible explanations why the Lemberg market town and its inhabitants came to be treated as village idiots and a laughing stock. As research on humorous stories in Slovenia started in the 1950s, Niko Kuret attempted to explain the existence of such stories about Lemberg. He was of the opinion that small towns and town squares became "home to narrow-minded, comfortable, petty and selfish provincial life. Provincials and townsmen with a narrow mind view wanted to live well and become rich fast without sacrificing much effort or risk. For this reason, they tried to make the sovereign give them various prerogatives that they later used for their own profiteering aims. Farmers from the countryside were among the most

exploited" (Kuret 1954: 24). Lemberg was supposed to be no different. Townsmen had spent the last 300 years earning high profits from town fairs, as neighboring farmers were forbidden to either buy or sell anything outside the market town. Despite the railway, which came to the area in 1904 and cut the town off from the main arterial road, Lemberg remained financially independent until 1924, when the town itself was able to cover all of its expenses. Niko Kuret and Pavel Strmšek have identified another reason for the mocking of Lemberg. They reported that the market town was so prosperous as to cause its inhabitants to become very conceited and presumptuous. They were even said to intermarry, which supposedly led to the fact that "every household had at least one idiot" (Kuret 1954: 24). Some researchers thought that the narrow-minded view of Lemberg inhabitants, their comfortable way of living, and their genetic diseases resulting from intermarriage could be the reasons that the neighbors started to look on Lemberg as a town of fools (Kuret 1954; Strmšek 1937).

Niko Kuret saw the reason for the rise of humorous stories in the envy and anger of a people who were submissive to Lemberg. He wrote, "It is no wonder that the market town roused not only envy but also the righteous anger of neighboring farmers. Satirical stories they made up or tailored to their account were therefore not only a sign of our rural inhabitants' witticism, but mainly a debilitated form of revenge" (Kuret 1954: 24). Another author, whose primary concern was the history of the town, was of the opinion that, "neighbors were unable to trick the Lembergs [out] of either their rights or their income, so they had to content themselves with mocking and insulting them" (Strmšek 1937: 21).

Joke researcher Davies has criticized the search for hidden motives and resentments that could have given rise to the jokes, in this case humorous tales, because "everyone enjoys, and always has enjoyed, jokes at the expense of some other group's stupidity, regardless of whether they like, dislike or feel indifferent towards the butt of the jokes" (Davies 1998: 24–25). In Davies's opinion, the key factors that should be researched are how joke tellers categorize the targets of the jokes (Davies 1998: 25). Based on the research of humorous stories and modern ethnic jokes, Davies came to the conclusion that "the joke tellers associate the butts of jokes about stupidity with a relatively static, uncompetitive and un-innovative way of life in which stability is more highly valued than individual success" (Davies 1998: 25). We could say that this is also true in the case of Lemberg.

For jokes and humorous tales about stupidity, it is, in Davies's opinion, essential that the mocking group from the teller's point of view arise from the periphery. Center-periphery opposition results in laughing pairs—"townies laughing at rustic, skilled and white-collar workers laughing at the unskilled, and the established laughing at the greenhorns" (Davies 1998: 25). But in the case of Lemberg and its stories, it appears that the uneducated people from rural surroundings were the tellers of these stories and not vice versa. The first mentions of Lemberg in relation to humorous stories suggest that this assumption is not true. Since publications were

coming from the center of Slovenia, we can conclude that stories about Lemberg also existed in Ljubljana and other towns around Slovenia. Contrary to the stories that could come from the "center," it is entirely possible that a newer story of the Lembergs, that I would like to present, began circulating with the precise intention of undermining the authority of the market town's ruling segment. As Orrin E. Klapp states, "Being made a fool is a type of disgrace. Ascription of the fool role or any status is a descent. The fool is lacking in rights and responsibilities; nothing serious is demanded of him; the bauble of the fool symbolizes his incompetence, and nobody wants to follow him" (Klapp 1949: 161). The jokes can therefore "undermine the legitimacy of the elite members' success by ascribing to them the quality of stupidity, the hall-mark of failure in a rational social order" (Davies 1982: 395). In fact, one of the tales relates a story of how the Lembergs were unable to keep the parish headquarters in their town. In 1754, the construction of a large pilgrimage church in the neighboring settlement of Sladka Gora was completed. This church was erected on the site of a former chapel where miracles were said to have happened in the past. The residents of Sladka Gora wished to have the parish headquarters moved to their town. This story can be seen in terms of an undermining of legitimacy of the Lemberg ruling class since it deals with how Lembergs were incapable of keeping the attribute of ecclesiastical domination. The ruler, from whom the symbol of government is stolen, is not the capable ruler. This is the story:

"The virtuous people of Lemberg could not bring themselves to accept the transfer of the parish. When ecclesiastical and temporal lords sent their consent and the parish priest already moved to Sladka Gora, they guarded the church day and night, convinced that no one could take their parish as long as there was holy bread in the church of St. Nicholas. When the parish priest realized that not much could be achieved by force, he tried to trick them. Back then, the Franciscans from Celje would come to help the local priest at the Assumption and other events of pilgrimage. That year the visiting Franciscan was called Jernej Maček [in English, "cat"]. The local priest requested that he celebrate the Holy Mass in the Lemberg church, which he agreed to do. After the mass, the Franciscan told the parish clerk to get ready, as they were going to see a dying person in Sladka Gora. The Lembergs believed that the priest was taking with him only what he needed to deliver the last rites. But Maček the Franciscan took all of the holy bread and ventured with the parish clerk toward Sladka Gora, where the residents received them with bell-ringing and firing mortars. This made the Lembergs pay attention. They checked the tabernacle and realized they had been swindled. The Lemberg claimed, as they still do, that a Cat stole their Lord" (*Sladka Gora* 1937) in reference to the Franciscan's name.

Due to the friar's surname's association with an animal, the story was reduced to a phrase conveying that "a cat ate the Lord," which refers to the story about the theft of the parish headquarters. Nowadays, Lemberg is merely a small village lacking power or special value (among outsiders), and the stories about them are slipping into oblivion as well. To younger generations, Butalci became a replacement

for Lembergs. And the older generations have ceased to transmit these humorous tales. Stories about Lemberg are now known only in the surrounding rural area and towns, but for how much longer?

Butalci

As I indicated at the beginning of the article, the stories concerning the citizens of Butale are now some of the most widely known humorous tales regarding stupidity. As there is no visual material related to stories about Lemberg, I chose to present visual material bound to literary stories about Butalci. The collection of humorous tales by Fran Milčinski entitled *Butalci* was published in 1949, seventeen years after the author passed away (Milčinski 1949). Before his death, the author published tales featuring the Butalci in various newspapers.

Butale is a fictitious town, and Butalci, the inhabitants of this place. In *Butalci* thirty-five adventures of Butalci were published. The tales achieved such popularity that they entered narrative oral tradition. Nowadays, the humorous stories about Butalci are more widely known than stories about inhabitants of Lemberg or Ribnica. Even the *Dictionary of Slovenian Literary Language* includes the word *butalec* among its lexicographic units, describing it as denoting a very stupid person (Butalec 2000). We could translate the Slovenian word *butalec* as the English word "dimwit." Currently, the word *butalec* is used as an offensive word that denotes that the insulted person is dense, stupid, or thick-headed. The word *butalec* is now a synonym for "fool" just like the residents of Lemberg, Ribnica, Marburg, or Veržej were in the past.

The Butalci are similar to the Lembergs, as they are resented as inhabitants of a market town, with a judge, mayor, and policemen. Some researchers wanted to "identify [a] potential historic core of humorous stories and at least hypothetically indicate where Butale might lie" (Golec 1997: 14), but the existence of a real place and real people and their stories, from which Fran Milčinski could draw his inspiration, is unlikely. More likely is that Milčinski based his tales upon the humorous tales of Ribnica and Lemberg or other tales from the Slovenian narrative tradition or that he found inspiration in internationally known tales such as the Greek Abdera or the German Schilda and others.

Milčinski was a lawyer by profession and served many years as a judge. He collected the material for his writing from his memories, his work in court, and from family and social life (Koblar 2012). His literary works often ridicule the Slovenian market towns and provincial environment. They ridicule erroneous upbringing and bureaucracy as well as the political and cultural circumstances of his time (Koblar 2012; Šoštaršič 1994). His work *Butalci* boasts a distinctive satire and its tales are said to be "a parody of the Slovenian nation, all of the positive and negative traits we possess, especially in a time when public criticism was unacceptable" (Verovnik 2012).

Caricatures of Butalci

The 1949 edition of *Butalci* was supplemented with drawings by the caricaturist Franc Podrekar (ill. 228). His caricatures, which were made specifically for the book, are depictions of fools in Slovenia only until the second half of the twentieth century. Because of the similarity between the tales about Butalci and humorous stories referring to Lemberg, I decided to present this visual material.

The drawings by Franc Podrekar include "analogies, hints, comparisons and motive patterns," which were widely known in the first half of the twentieth century (Globočnik 2007: 151). One of the hints refers to representations of *nemškutar, nemčur*, a person who was a member of the Slovenian nation but has strived for Germanization.[4] The images of *nemškutar, nemčur*, were also one of the first stereotypical representations among Slovenians. The caricature of *nemškutar*, who was also seen as a "renegade," a "national heretic," most likely based on *škric*, denoted a nobleman or a townsman dressed in a tailcoat (Globočnik 2007: 155).

Franc Podrekar depicted the mayor of Butale wearing a top hat and a tailcoat complete with a watch chain and a coin instead of a watch. Like the "nemškutar," the mayor of Butale also boasts of the large belly normally attributed to cooks and innkeepers (Globočnik 2005: 349) (ill. 231). Some of the other depictions of Butalci also portray them in their best clothes, which might be indicative of their high status. In much the same way, tailors on beehive panels represented a higher status, as they were considered "town dandies" (Globočnik 2005: 351–352).

There is no obvious reason why Franc Podrekar depicted the mayor of Butale in such form. Butalci, just like the Lembergs, were not considered as renegades. Humorous stories and the context of their narration do not reveal such a view. Both the Butalci and the Lembergs are seen as narrow-minded and foolish, but not as renegades. The comical quality of a fool can also be expressed through "his ugliness, gracelessness, senselessness, or a possible deformity of body" (Klapp 1949: 157). These qualities can best be seen in depictions of the mayoral election in Butalci (ill. 229). Butalci are portrayed with faces that would be most likely considered more ugly than beautiful. They are shown with big noses, pointy ears, extremely narrow or round faces, and big bellies, all of which are characteristics that make the depicted Butalci grotesque.

Caricatures are essentially an "exaggeration in the best sense of the word" (Prodan 2010: 6); the aim is to shock, prick, move the spectator, and to force him or her to look, as jokes and humorous stories can exaggerate and criticize but, at the same time, entertain. In my opinion, jokes, humorous stories, and caricatures were created in order to entertain people.

---

[4] The Slovenians were more than one thousand years under German or Austrian supremacy. A person called *nemškutar* was a person of Slovenian descent, but he chose to belong to the German social, cultural, and political circles, which made him a renegade in the eyes of fellow citizens (Globočnik 2007: 68).

Conclusion

Due to their social and economic position, the Lembergs became the laughingstock of the neighboring residents, as they continue to be but not to such a degree as before. There is no obvious reason why Lemberg was in the second half of the nineteenth century a laughingstock of the country. It is possible that Lembergs became the center of jokes due to geographical position on the periphery and their high social and economic position. Some researchers thought that the narrow-minded view of Lemberg inhabitants, their standard of living, and their genetic diseases resulting from intermarriage could be the reason for jokes about this town. In humorous stories, Lembergs appeared as stupid and foolish. The behavior of the characters in the humorous tales does not accord with accepted norms of behavior of a majority, for example, stretching the church with manure, shooting sausages, swimming in linen, and lifting a bull on the bell tower. Neighbors most likely took advantage of the reputation of Lemberg in order to undermine the Lembergs' authority and to express disagreement with certain norms and values, such as their way of life based on exploiting neighboring residents.

As with narrative tradition, visual material also serves to create an "Other," the image of someone who is different. Caricatures establish a humorous note by creating images that deviate from commonly accepted aesthetic standards. The caricatures were created to accompany *Butalci* and their primary role was to corroborate and enhance the humorous tales.

References

Butalec 2000, *Butalec* [in:] *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (*The Dictionary of the Slovenian Literary Language*), http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskjtesta &expression=butalec &hs=1 (accessed 03. 04. 2012).

Curk J. 1984, Dr. Ivan Stopar—Gradovi, graščine in dvorci na slovenskem štajerskem, (Castles and Forts in the Slovenian Styria Region), *Časopis za zgodovino in narodopisje (the Newspaper for History and Ethnography)*, vol. 55, pp. 146–155.

Davies Ch. 1982, Ethnic jokes, moral values and social boundaries, *The British Journal of Sociology*, vol. 33, no. 3, pp. 383–403.

—1998, *Jokes and Their Relation to Society*, Berlin–New York.

—2011, *Jokes and Targets*, Bloomington–Indianapolis.

Gingrich A. 2004, *Conceptualising Identities: Anthropological Alternatives to Essentialising Difference and Moralizing About Othering*, [in:] Baumann G., A. Gingrich (eds.), *Grammars of Identity/Alterity: A Structural Approach*, New York.

Globočni D. 2005, Satirični motivi na panjskih končnicah (Satirical Pictures on Beehives Panels), *Etnolog: glasnik Slovenskega etnografskega muzeja*, vol. 15, pp. 345–365.

—2007, "Gosposka škrijcasta suknja in slovenstvo": izbor stereotipnih upodobitev v slovenski karikaturi ("The gentleman's coat and the national awakening in Slovenia": The selection of stereotypical Slovenian caricatures), *Stereotipi v slovenskem jeziku, literaturi in kulturi*, 43. seminar slovenskega jezika, literature in kulture, vol. 43, pp. 151–161.

—2010, "Prvi stereotipi v slovenski karikaturi" ("The first stereotypes in Slovenian caricature"), *Lives Journal*, vol. 2, pp. 68–77.

Golec B. 1997, Butale so vas, pa ji pravijo mesto: Butalstvo spodnjekranjske purgarije v predrazsvetljenski dobi (Butale are Village, but They Call it City: Foolishness in Lower Carniola before the Age of Enlightment), *Zgodovina za vse: vse za zgodovino*, vol. 2, pp. 14–42.

Klapp O. E. 1949, The Fool as a Social Type, *American Journal of Sociology*, pp. 157–162.

Koblar F. 2012, *Fran Milčinski*, http://nl.ijs.si/fedora/get/sbl:1697/VIEW/ (accessed 2. 04. 2012).

Krajevni leksikon 1937, *Krajevni leksikon dravske banovine: krajevni repertorij z uradnimi, topografskimi, zemljepisnimi, zgodovinskimi, kulturnimi, gospodarskimi in tujskoprometnimi podatki vseh krajev dravske banovine*, (*The Encyclopedia of Towns in the Drava Province*), Ljubljana

Kuret N. 1954, *Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih* (*Humourous Stories of the Lemberg People*), Maribor.

Lemberg 2012, *Trg Lemberg* (*Market Town Lemberg*), http://www.smarje-pri-jelsah.si/trg_lemberg/, 2012 (accessed 30. 03. 2012).

Milčinski F. 1919, *Süha roba* (*Woodenware*), Ljubljana.

—1949, *Butalci*, Ljubljana.

Napotnik M. 1886, Imenopis konjiške nadfare (The Histories of the Names of Towns in the Main Parish of the Konjice Region), *Kres*, vol. 6 (4), pp. 199–299.

Nemškutar 2000, Nemškutar: *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika* (*The Dictionary of the Slovenian Literary Language*), http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskj_testa &expression=nem%C5%A1kutar&hs=1 (accessed 05. 04. 2012).

Popis 2010, Popis prebivalstva v občini Šmarje pri Jelšah (Census of the Šmarje pri Jelšah Community), http://www.stat.si/popis2002/si/rezultati/rezultati_red.asp?ter=NAS& sifra=124 (accessed 03. 04. 2012).

Prodan E. 2010, *Politična karikatura na Slovenskem* (*Political Caricatures in Slovenia*), Ljubljana.

Sladka Gora pri Lembergu 1937, Sladka Gora pri Lembergu (Sladka Gora-Near-Lemberg), *Nova doba*, vol. 11 (3), p. 4.

Stopar I. 1993, *Grajske stavbe v vzhodni Sloveniji* (*The Architecture of Castles in East Slovenia*), *Knj. 5, Med Kozjanskim in porečjem Save: občine Brežice, Krško, Sevnica, Šentjur pri Celju, Šmarje pri Jelšah*, Ljubljana.

Strmšek P. 1937, *Lemberg in Sladka Gora* (*Lemberg and Sladka Gora*), Celje.

Škric 2002, *Šric* [in:] *Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezik* (*The Dictionary of the Slovenian Literary Language*), http://bos.zrc-sazu.si/cgi/a03.exe?name=sskj_testa&expression=%C5%A1kric&hs=1 (accessed 15. 04. 2012).

Šmarje 2012, *Šmarje pri Jelšah*, http://www.smarje-pri-jelsah.si/smarje_pri_jelsah/smarje/ (accessed 30. 03. 2012).

Šoštaršič T. 1994, *Beseda o avtorju* (*Biography of the Author*), [in:] Milčinski F., *Butalci*, Ljubljana.

Uther H. J. 2004, *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography, Based on the System of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson* (*ATU*), FF communications 285, Helsinki.

Verovnik S. 2012, Karikiran slovenski narod in nič drugega! (Slovenians Caricatured and Nothing Else!), http://bam.vecer.com/igre2006/bonbon/default.asp?kaj=1&id= 4101071 (accessed 03. 04. 2012).

Vicko 1859, Iz potne bisage (From the Bagage), *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, vol. 12(3), pp. 92–93.

Vicko D. 1858, Slovenske humoreske: Po narodnih pravlicah spisal Vicko Dragan (Slovenian Humorous Tales: By National Fairytales Written by Vicko Dragan), *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, vol. 18 (5), pp. 141–142.



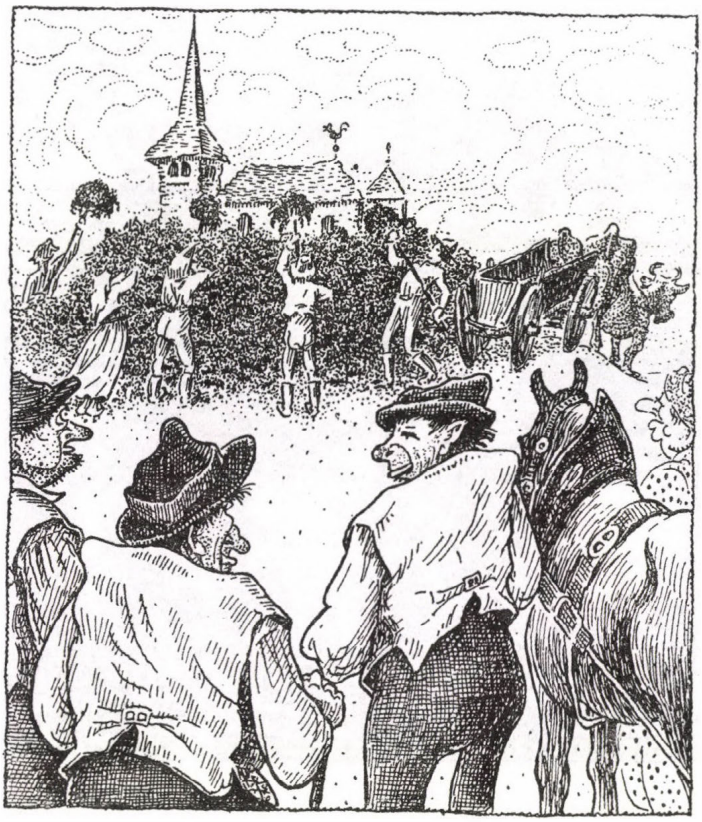
PUMPKIN SOLD AS ASS'S EGG

228 F. Podrekar, 1949, Butalci, p. 25.

528



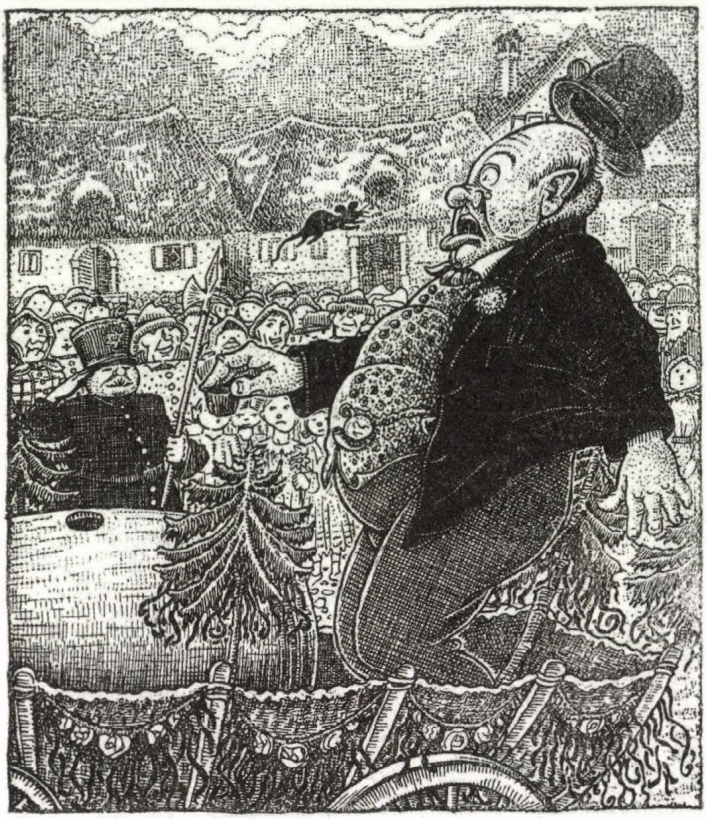
MAYOR ELECTION
F. Podrekar, 1949, Butalci, p. 7.



529

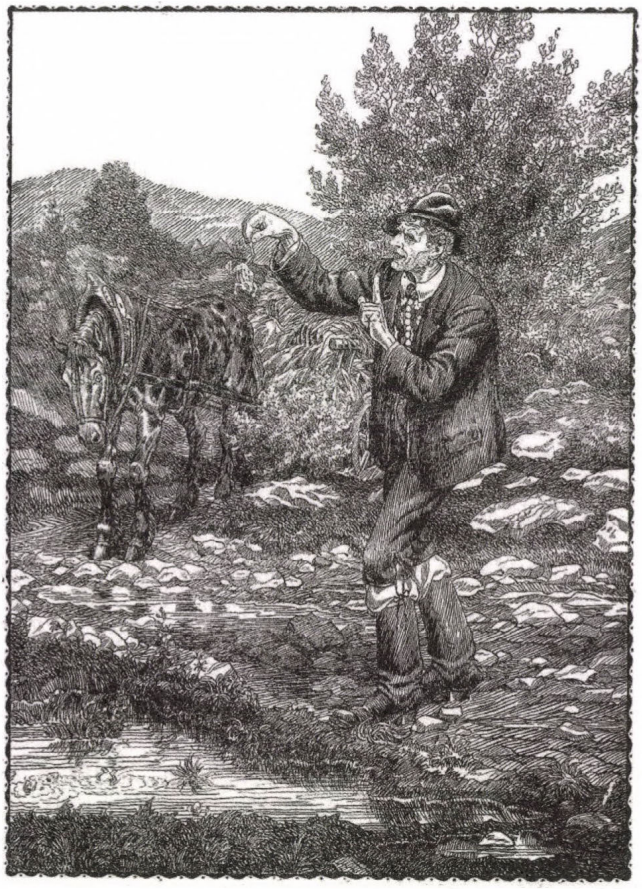
HOW THE BUTALCI STRETCHED THE CHURCH

230 F. Podrekar, 1949, Butalci, p. 8.



530

MAYOR OF BUTALE
F. Podrekar, 1949, Butalci, p. 67.



531

INHABITANT OF RIBNICA

232 H. Smrekar, *Suha roba*, 1920, p. 19.

List of Illustrations

Icon Animorum, by John Barclay, and the Origins of the Characterization of European Nations

1–2. Frontispiece and the title page of *Icon Animorum*, 1675 (engraving by J. P. Thelott)

Domesticating Nature, Appropriating Hierarchy: The Representation of European and Non-European Peoples in an Early-Nineteenth-Century Schoolbook of Natural History

3. Western Europe (silkwormbreeding) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
3a. Western Europe (silkwormbreeding) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1837)
4. The garden (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
5. The (court)yard (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
6. The meadow / cultivated land (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
7. The ocean / whalehunting (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
7a. America (North and Central) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1837)
8. The pasture (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
8a. Asia (China) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1837)
9. Northern Europe (the Lapps) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
10. Eastern Europe (the Poles) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
11. Africa (Hottentots) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
12. Africa (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
13. America (North and Central: an African slave) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)
14. Asia (China and Southeast Asia) (engraving in G. C. Raff 1799)

Playing With Otherness: Within and Beyond Stereotypes in Visual Representations

15. Galician pedagogy (*Liberum Veto* 1903)
16. Army in peacetime (*Liberum Veto* 1903)
17. Carnival in Poznań (*Liberum Veto* 1904)
18. A tattooed man (*Mucha* 1875)
19. Remembrance of the summer holiday-makers (*Mucha* 1880)
20. Somewhere in Africa … (*Mucha* 1890)
21. From the notes/report of a traveler, Mr. Inquisitive (*Mucha* 1896)
22. On the Indo-Chinese border. The Plague (*Mucha* 1911)
23. 150th anniversary of Friedrich Schiller's birth (*Mucha* 1909)
24. On the border of Poland (*Mucha* 1916)
25. In a Polish village (*Mucha* 1913)
26. A German soldier or the best weaponry (*Mucha* 1894)
27. *Mucha* (The Fly) in Kalisz (*Mucha* 1914)
28. The Warsaw street florist (*Mucha* 1898)

Encountering the Hungarian Alterity: An Analysis of a Narrative by a Finnish Traveller

29. Poor boy in a *csárda* (country-pub) (A. Jalava 1883, p. 8)
30. The Hungarian nobleman in his festive attire (A. Jalava 1883, p. 10)
31. Jewish street monger (A. Jalava 1883, p. 11)

Inclusion and Exclusion: The Role of Photography in the Nation-Building Process in Bulgaria From Approximately 1860 to World War I

32. Targovska Street, Sofia (photography 1890)
33. Historical reenactment of the Battle of Shipka Pass (photography 1902)
34. Sanctification of the Russian-Orthodox Cathedral "Christus Birth" (photography 1902)
35. Wedding table (photography 1909)
36. Wedding rite (photography 1909)
37. *Zadruga* (extended family) (photography 1909)

38. Memorial place of T. Kableshkov (photography 1902)
39. Studio portrait of a group in folk costumes (photography 1880–1885)
40. Studio portrait of a man and three women in folk costumes (photography 1880–1886)
41. Studio portrait of Nikola Deshev (photography 1862–1877)
42. Studio portrait of two women in folk costumes (photography 1879-1886)
43. Portrait of Stefan (Asen) Stambolov (photography not before 1900)
44. "Living Picture" of the initiative of Clémentine of Orléans (1817–1907) (photography 1890)
45. Group portrait of girls in folk costumes (photography 1938–1943)
46. Princess Maria Louise, daughter of King Boris III, Tsar of Bulgaria 1918–1943 (photography 1918)
47. The First Bulgarian International Agricultural and Industrial Fair in Plovdiv (photography 1892)
48. Street market (photography not after 1922)

Social Differentiation and Construction of Elites in Belgrade Studio Photography at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

49. Studio portrait of Zora Horstig (photography 1900–1902)
50. Group portrait of Darinka Sirotanović and her daughters Bosiljka and Branka (photography 1911)
51. Studio portrait of a young woman wearing a *zubun* (photography 1900–1902)
52. Studio portrait of a woman in folk dress from Požarevac (photography 1887–1890)
53. Studio portrait of a man in Vlach folk dress (photography 1887–1890)
54. Studio portrait of Ljubica Avakumović, (photography 1893)
55. Wedding portrait of Zora and Kosta Horstig (photography 1900–1902)
56. Studio portrait of Sofija Nenadović (photography 1906)
57. Studio portrait of Pantelija Ž. Jurišić (photography 1896–1897)
58. Studio portrait of Sojka Garašanin (photography 1887–1890)
59. Studio portrait of Dušan Jovanović (photography not after 1893)
60. Group portrait of two men and a boy (photography after 1865)

Role of "Mother Latvia" in Constructing Self and Other: A Case of Latvian Caricature From the Nineteenth Century to 1920

61. Mother Latvia (monument by K.Zāle 1935)
62. Motley line or In Latvian mountains (*Zibens* 1906)
63. Memorial wreath from the flowers of the last summer (*Austrums* 1904)
64. Motherland in danger! (postcard from Riga 1916)
65. Sleep, sleep, girl, all the work is done (*Dadzis* 1912)
66. At the breast of Latvia (*Vārdotājs* 1906)
67. Ship (*Jaunie Dunduri* 1875)
68. Engagement I (*Svari* 1906)
69. Waiting for the reforms (*Austrums* 1905)

From Figure to Pattern: The Changing Role of Folk Tradition in Hungarian Representations at Universal Exhibitions (1867–1911)

70. An episode in the history of war between the Amazons and the Argonauts (in J. Tallis 1851)
71. The Hungarian *Csárda* at the Vienna Universal Exhibition in 1873 (*Allgemeine Illustrierte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* 1873)
72. The Szekler House at the Vienna Universal Exhibition in 1873 (Allgemeine *Illustrierte Weltausstellungs-Zeitung* 1873)
73. Croatian, Serbian, Moravian, Tyrolean costumes (drawing in F. Ducuing 1867)
74. Two Hungarian, Slovak, Moldavian costumes (drawing in F. Ducuing 1867)
75. Austrian Porcelain (drawing in J. B. Waring, W. R. Tymms 1862)
76. Ornamental Leather Work (drawing in J. B. Waring, W. R. Tymms 1862)

77. The Pavilions of Austria, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Hungary, and Great Britain in the Rue des Nations, Universal Exhibition in Paris in 1900 (photography 1900)
78. Detail from the Hungarian Decorative Art Exhibition in Paris in 1900 (photography 1900)
79. Detail of the Hungarian Home Industry Exhibition, Universal Exhibition in Milan in 1906 (photography 1906)
80. István Medgyaszay-Sándor Nagy: Artist's Home, detail (photography 1906)
81. Detail of the Hungarian Pavilion at the Turin Universal Exhibition in 1911 (photography 1911)

Invasion of "Judeo-Magyars"? The Hungarian "Millennium"of 1896 in the Anti-Semitic Caricature

82. Brother Hungarian *(Kikeriki!* 1896)
83. Millennium Sketches (*Herkó Páter* 1896; Budapest, German version)
84. The Siege of Panamagyaria in 1896 (*Černokňažník* 1896)
85. Pannonia was once a fragrant garden (*Herkó Páter* 1896; Budapest, German version)
86. New Magyars in the desert *(Černokňažník* 1893)
87. Poor Hungaria (*Kikeriki!* 1896)
88. Life is turning sour for the Germans and the Slavs (*Kikeriki!* 1896)
89. Nationalities and the People's Party (*Herkó Páter* 1896; Budapest, German version)
90. New Landtaking on the Eve of the Second Millennium (*Herkó Páter* 1896; Budapest, German)
91. King Stephen, the Apostle of Hungary, at the Millennium Exhibition (*Kikeriki!* 1896)

"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

92. An ethnographic exhibition of Pokuttya in Kolomea (*Kłosy* 1881)
93. A Hutsul woman with a pipe (photography around 1880)
94. A Hutsul with a pipe (photography around 1880)
95. Hutsuls' type "Legin" (postcard, around 1925)
96. A Hutsul from the Żabie Region (watercolor painting by T. Rybkowski, 1881)
97. The Hutsuls (drawing by J. Kossak, engraving by T. Walter 1863)
98. The Hutsuls (drawing based on lithography by J. N. Lewicki, 1841)
99. Hutsuls from Chornohora marching to Kossov to the Pokuttya marketplace (*Kłosy* 1881)
100. A Hutsul woman with a pipe on horseback (painting by S. Obst, 1883)

Representing the Other in British, French, and German Cartoons of the Crimean War

101. Bullying is wrong! (*Kladderadatsch*1853)
102. Mad dog! (*Punch* 1854)
103. Method of training the Cossacks (*Le Charivari* 1854)
104. Te Deum! (*Punch* 1854)
105. The North web (G. Doré 1854)
106. Lovers of light in the Danube principalities (*Kladderadatsch* 1853)
107. You do muddle it, answered the cruel beast (G. Doré 1854)
108. Turkey in danger (*Punch* 1853)
109. David and Goliath (*Le Charivari* 1854)
110. A consultation about the state of Turkey (*Punch* 1853)
111. And so will it be: either so or so (*Kladderadatsch* 1854)
112. Bear, crescent, eagle, lion and unicorn (C. Reinhardt 1854)
113. An oriental question: will he invite us? (*Kladderadatsch* 1854)
114. A frustrated bear (*Le Charivari* 1854)
115. A domestic scene (*Kladderadatsch* 1854)
116. Look out! (*Kladderadatsch* 1855)

117. How Jack made the Turk useful at Balaclava (*Punch* 1855)
118. Image of the day (*Kladderadatsch* 1855)
119. Turkey, John Bull & Monsieur Frog-Eater in a bad fix (Maurice, Cooper 1904)
120. "Bertrand, these are the brave fellows" (*Le Charivari* 1854)

From Allies to Enemies: The Two Balkan Wars (1912–1913) in Caricatures

121. His Majesty, Cholera is the most victorious conqueror of the Balkans (*Borsszem Jankó* 1912)
122. Pulse (*Vrač Pogađač* 1912)
123. Family practitioners (*Borsszem Jankó* 1912)
124. A fair "change over"! (*Vrač Pogađač* 1913)
125. My one and only! (*Vrač Pogađač* 1912)
126. Under the aegis of the conference of Bucharest (*Vrač Pogađač* 1913)
127. When the bear is making somebody dance (*Borsszem Jankó* 1913)
128. New Year: Please, who is next? (*Vrač Pogađač* 1913)
129. Happy New Year (*Brka* 1913)
130. ...and over the blood flood appears the dove of the truce (*Borsszem Jankó* 1912)
131. The Balkans' angel of peace (*Der Wahre Jacob* 1913)
132. Miracle on the map! (*Vrač Pogađač* 1913)

The Bear and His Protégés: Life in the Balkan Kettle According to the German-Language Caricatures of the *Belle Époque*

133. European home (*Kladderadatsch* 1876)
134. Glove of discord or Knight Delorges is wanted (*Kladderadatsch* 1878)
135. We weave for you the bridal wreath (*Nebelspalter* 1900)
136. The Wizard (*Nebelspalter* 1876)
137. Fine it would be, were this the case! (*Nebelspalter* 1902)
138. What makes someone happy (*Nebelspalter* 1908)
139. Two souls and one thought (*Nebelspalter* 1908)
140. The watch-maker (*Nebelspalter* 1889)
141. Serbs' customs and traditions (*Simplicissimus* 1908)
142. Married people lead a very happy family life blessed with many children (*Simplicissimus* 1908)
143. Coronation in Serbia (*Simplicissimus* 1903)
144. A fairy tale about the giant (*Kladderadatsch* 1876)

Us and them: Cartoons of the Sudeten German Satirical Magazine *Der Igel* at the End of the First Czechoslovakian Republic (1935–1938)

145. Unexpected influence of the press (*Der Igel* (Praha/Prague) 1938)
146. Equal among equals (*Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935)
147. Awkward scene changes (*Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935)
148. The emigrants (*Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935)
149. Leader of the German Agrarian Party, Franz Spina (*Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935)
150. The coachman or the moaner? This is the question (*Der Igel* (Praha/Prag) 1936)
151. And this is the end! You were only blabbing all the sixteen years. We're gonna act now! (*Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935)
152. Litvinov's protective veneer for the Communist party of Czechoslovakia (*Der Igel* (Praha/Prague) 1935
153. Fat friendship (*Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935)
154. Racial issues on the other side of the Rhine river (*Der Igel* (Praha/Prague) 1936)
155. Marx's shrine. One more high column shows that disappearing splendor (*Der Igel* (Aš/Asch) 1935)

Reinterpreting the Distant Other in Nineteenth-Century Hungarian Political Cartoons

156. Death of Prince Napoléon (*Vasárnapi Ujság* 1879)
157. From Stanley's African journey (*Vasárnapi Ujság* 1873)
158. Cannibal naïveté (*Az Üstökös* 1859
159. Capturing of slave owner (*Az Üstökös* 1865)
160. Cetshwayo the King of Zulu-Kaffirs (*Vasárnapi Ujság* 1879)
161. 2 forints for a quarter year. Cape of Good Hope (*Borsszem Jankó* 1879)
162. Parliament picture (*Bolond Miska* 1861)
163. The Zulu (*Bolond Istók* 1879)
164. Album of *Mamelu*ks. Ferencz Krajcsik (*Bolond Istók* 1879)
165. The English Lion and the Italian Goat (*Borsszem Jankó* 1885)

Constructions of Otherness: The Establishment of Studio Photography and the (Non-)Visibility of Muslim Women in Sarajevo until World War I

166. Studio portrait of Mira Jeftanović (photography around 1900)
167. Studio portrait of the merchant Jakov Marić (photography around 1900)
168. Street scene in the District Alifakovac (photography around 1910)
169. St. Augustine school and seminar church (photography before 1904)
170. Town hall (photography around 1925)
171. Man and woman in clothing *à la turca* (Souvenir card from Sarajevo 1879–1895)

The Image of the Jewish Street Seller in Nineteenth Century London

172. The Razor Seller (by J. Jenkins 1826)
173. One of the Benefits of Jewish Emancipation (by L. Marks 1847)
174. Clo' Clo' Clo' (unknown author 1861)
175. A View in Rosemary Lane (by H. Mayhew 1861)
176. The New Christo-Judean Creed (by T. McLean 1844)
177. Benjamin Disraeli (by C. Pellegrini, *Vanity Fair* 1869)
178. The Modern Moses (by G. Hutchinson 1891)
179. The Aliens Act at Work (unknown author 1906)
180. Our Alien Immigrants. How the New Alien Act Operates (unknown author 1906)
181. Jew-venal (by W. Heath 1823 or 1835)

Bulgarians Gazing at the Balkans: Neighboring People in Bulgarian Political Caricature at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

182. Serbian cultural activities in Macedonia (*Smyah* 1911/12)
183. At which military theatre will you undertake an offensive (*Bălgaran* 1916/17)
184. The pimp (*Bălgaran* 1916/17)
185. Domnule Colonel, there is something heavy in my trousers (*Bălgaran* 1916/17)
186. Theatre Dobrudzha (*Bălgaran* 1916/17)
187. At the Bessarabian border (*Bălgaran* 1920)
188. The glorious hour of Kirios Venizelos (*Bălgaran* 1920)
189. I do not know why these Mürzsteg eagels are flying to me (*Bălgaran* 1908)

Otherness in First Republic Czechoslovak Representations of Women

190. Eva's garments from prehistory to our day (*Eva* 1930)
191. A cozy nook (Ženský svět 1928)
192. German proletariat! (*Žena: Tydeník komunistických žen* 1924)
193. Residential democracy in Ružomberok, Slovakia (*Reflektor* 1925)
194. Rozsévačka (*The Female Sower*) (section of *Žena: Tydeník komunistických žen* 1924)

195. Josephine Baker (*Gentleman* 1927)
196. Hugo Boettinger (*Světozor* 1928)
197. Ad for Hellada's Šotka soap (*Světozor* 1928)
198. Jesus-Mary! Our little miss fell into the barrel (*Vesna* 1928)
199. *Slovak Family*, Josef Mánes (*Vesna* 1927)
200. Rusyn women (*Vesna* 1927)
201. Cover (*Moderní dívka* 1925)

Visual Representations of "Self" and "Others": Images of the Traitor and the Enemy in Slovak Political Cartoons, 1861–1910

202. Hotovosť, nýpfelkelýš, or lanšturm (a reserve army...) (*Černokňažník* 1886)
203. The cause of decline (*Černokňažník* 1876)
204. Let the Jew distill liquor (*Černokňažník* 1861)
205. Jewish patriotism (*Černokňažník* 1887)
206. A situation comedy in Hungary *(Černokňažník* 1885)
207. A picture of the new house of magnates after Tisza's (*Černokňažník* 1885)
208. Another little piece of Hungarian love (*Černokňažník* 1885)
209. Two fighters for freedom and national independence (*Černokňažník* 1886)
210. A civil wedding in Hungaria (*Černokňažník* 1895)
211. A Hungarian, a Slovak, a Székely, and a Romanian flee (*Černokňažník* 1902)
212. A successful son (*Černokňažník* 1863)
213. Femka at work (*Černokňažník* 1893)
214. Baron Béla Radvánszky as the raftsman (*Černokňažník* 1885)
215. István Rakovszky as the wire tinker "Štefan Rakovský" (*Černokňažník* 1885)
216. Béla Grünwald as a poor Slovak panhandler (*Černokňažník* 1885)
217. Gábor Baross as a peddler of "Slovak-Hungarian axle grease" (*Černokňažník* 1885)

When Ytzig Met Shtrul: On Schmoozing and Jewish Conspiracy in Romanian Art

218. Two Jews (N. Grigorescu, reproduction from the exhibition catalogue *Grigorescu înperpetuare*, 2007)
219. Two Jews (C. Petrescu, The National Art Museum of Romania, Bucharest year)
220. A good deal (1899, private collection, reproduction from the Artmark Catalogue, *Licitația de Orientalism*, July 2011)
221. The editorial office of *Adevărul* (detail), (*Pagini literare* 1900)
222. On the streets of Sighet, (T. Bilțiu-Dăncuș, reproduction from the catalogue of the Official Salon [Painting and sculpture], 1940)
223. Politics at Podoloi (*Șopârla* 1893)
224. Untitled C. Jiquidi (*Revista Nouă* 1889)
225. Untitled R. Barda, P. Lazar (*Iuda* 1937)
226. Untitled R. Barda, P. Lazar (*Iuda* 1937)
227. Geography on the beach (*Furnica* 1937)

Residents of Lemberg as Other

228. Pumpkin sold as ass's egg (F. Podrekar 1949)
229. Mayor election (F. Podrekar 1949)
230. How the Butalci stretched the church (F. Podrekar 1949)
231. Mayor of Butalec (F. Podrekar 1949)
232. Inhabitant of Ribnica (*Suha roba* 1926)

Contributors

Kamila Baraniecka-Olszewska kamila.baraniecka@gmail.com
Anthropologist, PhD, working in the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology of the Polish Academy of Sciences. She has conducted research on Polish Passion Plays. Currently she is investigating the historical reenactment movement. Her scientific interests focus on the anthropology of religion and on the visual aspects of culture representation. She has published several articles concerning Polish religiosity, participation in Catholic events, and Passion Plays. She authored a book on Easter Plays: *Ukrzyżowani. Współczesne misteria męki Pańskiej w Polsce* (*Crucified. Contemporary Polish Passion Plays*) (2013).

Joanna Bartuszek kipczatka@poczta.onet.pl
Ethnologist, graduate of the Institute of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology of Warsaw University, lecturer, assistant manager at the Department of Archives, Film and Photographic Documentation of the State Ethnographical Museum in Warsaw (SEM). Author of the book *Between Representation and "Lifeless" Paper. The Significance and Function of Peasant Family Photograph* (2005) and several articles on related topics; the latest examines the problem of identification of photographic collections in museums (*The New Ethnography* [2012]). She was a creator of an exhibition of the SEM in 2006, which focused on the image of the Hutsuls and their region in the archival and photographic collection of the SEM. Her academic and professional interests center around visual anthropology, especially the role of photography and other iconographic materials in ethnology and museology.

Dagnosław Demski d.demski2@gmail.com
Ethnologist, PhD, professor at the Institute of Archaeology and Ethnology, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, and at the Nikolaus Copernicus University in Toruń. Research areas include ethnicity, border studies, folk religion and ritual studies, visual culture, and humor. Two larger field areas are eastern and central Europe (Baltic states, Belarus, Ukraine, Hungary, Slovakia, Balkan states) and South Asia (India, Pakistan). He wrote the book titled *Obrazy hinduizmu. Kultura i religia radżputow i pasterzy* (*Images of Hinduism. Culture and Religion Through the Eyes of Rajputs and Shepherds*), published in 2007. He organizes a cycle of conferences and cooperates in editing publications on visual representations of the Other.

Barbara Derler barbara.derler@uni-graz.at
Researcher at the Institute of History, Southeast European History and Anthropology, at the University of Graz, Austria. She studied history, philosophy, education science, and psychology at the universities of Vienna and Graz. Currently she is working on a project that examines the visualization of the Bosnian people in photography and on picture postcards before WW II, which is also the focus of her doctoral studies. Her research interests focus on the modern and contemporary history of the countries of the former Yugoslavia and include the visual culture, the history of photography, gender, ethnicity, and migration.

Ana Djordjević ana.djordjevic@uni-graz.at
Graduated in Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Vienna, Austria (2007). She is currently finishing her PhD on the topic of "Studio Photography and Social Change in Belgrade at the Turn of the 20th Century" as part of the Austrian Science Fund funded project "Visualizing Family, Gender Relations, and the Body. The Balkans approx. 1860–1950 (2010–2013)" at the University of Graz. Before joining the University of Graz's project team, she gained work experience in international companies and organizations such as the Institute for International Research (IIR) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Her current research interests center on visual studies, with a particular focus on representations, othering, and identity building. Since November 2010 she has been the editorial assistant of the academic journal Nationalities Papers.

Gailīte Gundega rdmvgundega@inbox.lv
MA, Riga School of Design and Art. She is an art history teacher working of her PhD dissertation at the Latvian Academy of Arts. The topic of her research is the history of Latvian caricatures from the beginning up to 1920. She has published several articles on the subject of caricature, includ-

ing *«Русский медведь» в истории латышской карикатуры* (*"Russian" bear in Latvian caricatures*), *Przegląd Rusycystyczny* (2012); *«Русский медведь» в карикатуре современной Латвии* (*"Russian bear" in the contemporary Latvian caricature*), [in:] *Научно-исследовательский электронный журнал* (2012) *Latviešu karikatūra XIX gs. beigās XX gs. sākumā kā nacionālās identitātes veidošanās un attīstības faktors* (*Latvian caricature at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century as a factor of the formation and development of national identity*) (2012); *Смех и слезы: образ России и русских в латышской карикатуре (эскиз проблемы)* (Laughter and tears: the image of Russia and Russian in Latvian cartoon [sketch of problem] in: *Europe-Russia: Contexts, Discourses, Images,* I. Novikova (ed.) (2011). Fields of interest: caricatures, Baltic studies, nationalism studies.

Anssi Halmesvirta anssi.halmesvirta@jyu.fi
Professor of general history, Department of History and Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Research areas/interests: history of ideas and ideologies, British Edwardian era, Hungarian modern history. Main publications: Monographs (11 total) include *British Conception of the Finnish "Race," Nation and Culture 1780–1918* (1990); *Turanilaisia ja herrasneekereitä* (*Turanians and Negro Gentlemen*) (1993); *Vaivojensa vangit* (*History of Public Health Debate in Finland*) (1996); *Co-operation Across the Iron Curtain: Hungarian-Finnish Scientific Relations, c. 1960–1990* (2005); *Unkarin kansannousu 1956* (*The Hungarian Uprising 1956*) (2006); *Ideology and Argument* (2006); *Rakkaat heimoveljet: Unkari ja Suomi 1920–1945* (*Dear Kinship Brothers: Hungary and Finland 1920–1945*) (2010); *The Practice of History of Ideas* (2012).

Karla Huebner karla.huebner@wright.edu
PhD in the history of art and architecture from the University of Pittsburgh, PA, USA, and MA from American University, Washington, DC, USA. She is currently an assistant professor of art history and women's studies at Wright State University in Dayton, OH, USA. Dr. Huebner's research areas include the history of gender and sexuality, surrealism, women artists, and Czech modernism 1890–1950. Recent publications include In Pursuit of Toyen: Feminist Biography in an Art-Historical Context, *Journal of Women's History,* 25 (2013); Girl, Trampka, or Žába? The Czechoslovak New Woman in *The New Woman International* (2011); *Fire Smoulders in the Veins: Toyen's Queer Desire and Its Roots in Prague Surrealism, Papers of Surrealism* (2010); and The Whole World Revolves Around It: Sex Education and Sex Reform in First Republic Czech Print Media, *Aspasia* 4 (2010).

Petr Karlíček kpt.karlicek@gmail.com
Historian, archives inspector at the State Regional Archives of Litomerice—State District Archives Decin (Czech Republic), PhD candidate in the department of philosophy of the J. E. Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem, Czech Republic, with a dissertation titled *Politická karikatura na území Československa v letech 1933–1948* (*Political caricature in the Czechoslovakian territory in the years 1938–1948*). He is a cultural-historical guide to the Sudetenland. His research fields include the history of Nazism and Communism in central Europe and their administration, Czech and German relationships, the history of the Czech borderlands, caricatures, humor and satire in central Europe, oral history of the contemporary witnesses of the Nazi and Communist regimes. Coauthor (with Jan Němec) of *Děčín 1989* (2009). Author of numerous scientific articles. Creator of the website www.vernyzustanu.cz (www.faithfuliremain.com).

Anelia Kassabova anelia.kasabova@abv.bg
Assoc. Professor at the Institute for Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. Studied history and ethnology at the Sofia University "St. Kliment Ohridski," and social and economic history and European ethnology at the University of Vienna. She completed her studies with a PhD dissertation on magic beliefs in Bulgaria at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS) in 1994 and with a second dissertation titled *Family and Migration: Migration Studies and Politics* at the University of Vienna in 2001. From August 2010 to August 2013 she is working in the FWF Project, *Visualizing Family, Gender Relations, and the Body: The Balkans, approx. 1860–1950,* at the University of Graz/Center for Southeast European History and Anthropology. She has been teaching and doing research on the history of ethnology, gender, migration, and family and

the history of social politics at the universities of Sofia, Vienna, Graz, and Siegen. Her research interests are gender, family politics, and the history of social politics in Bulgaria, and historical and visual anthropology. She has authored numerous publications.

Edina Kicsindi kicsindi.edina@pte.hu
Graduated in history and ethnography at the University of Pécs, Hungary. She is currently finishing her PhD studies in European ethnology and cultural anthropology at the same university. Her research interest is in 19th-century historical anthropology especially the history of mentalities. She has authored several publications that focus on the interpretation of western European colonization in Africa and its integration into the Hungarian worldview of the Habsburgian era.

Alexander Kozintsev agkozintsev@gmail.com
Doctor of history, Senior Researcher Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Saint-Petersburg, and Professor at Saint-Petersburg University (Smolny/Bard College of Liberal Arts and Sciences). Research interests are anthropology (physical and cultural) and the theory of humor. He has authored 260 publications including the monographs *The Mirror of Laughter* (2010); (with S. Vasilyev and Yu. Berezkin) *Siberia and the First Americans* (2009); *Ethnic Cranioscopy,* Leningrad 1988; and *Origins of the Tagar Population* (1977).

Eva Krekovičová kreko@chello.sk
PhD, research professor (DSc). Ethnologist and ethnomusicologist at the Institute of Ethnology, Slovak Academy of Sciences, Bratislava. Fields of research: theory, folklore research, political anthropology. From 2002 to 2006 she served as executive director of the Interdisciplinary Center of Excellency, which focused on collective identities in modern societies. She regularly teaches at Comenius University, Bratislava. Selected books: *Zwischen Toleranz und Barrieren. Das Bild der Zigeuner und Juden in der slowakischen Folklore* (1998); *Mentálne obrazy, stereotypy a mýty vo folklóre a v politike* (*Mental Images, Stereotypes, and Myths in Folklore and in Policy*) (2005); and (in cooperation with G. Kiliánová and E. Kowalská) *My a tí druhí. Kolektívne identity v modernej spoločnosti* (*Us and the Others. Collective Identities in Modern Societies*) (2009).

Ildikó Sz. Kristóf ildiko.szkristof@gmail.com
Senior research fellow at the Institute of Ethnology, Centre for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest. She holds a CSc degree from the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and teaches history and anthropology in the universities of Budapest and Szeged, Hungary. Her research interests include the history of cultural anthropology (the reception and appropriation of non-European indigenous peoples, especially American Indians in eastern Europe/Hungary), the history of early modern books and communication, and the history of witch-hunting. She is the author of the book *"I Have Not Done Any Diabolic Deed:" The Social and Cultural Foundation of Witch-Hunting in the City of Debrecen and Bihar County Between the 16th and the 18th Centuries* (1998). Her articles include The Uses of Demonology. European Missionaries and Native Americans in the American Southwest (17th–18th Centuries), [in:] G. E. Szőnyi, C. Maczelka (eds.), *Centers and Peripheries in European Renaissance Culture. Essays by East-Central European Mellon Fellows* (2012); Missionaries, Monsters, and the Demon Show. Diabolized Representations of American Indians in Jesuit Libraries of 17th and 18th Century of Upper Hungary, [in:] A. Kérchy and A. Zittlau (eds.), *Exploring the Cultural History of Continental European Freak Shows and "Enfreakment"* (2012).

Florin Pădurean take_hd@yahoo.com
Graduated as valedictorian from the Faculty of History and Art-History at the Babes-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca in 2005. His final paper was an analysis of the mechanisms of political cartooning. In 2006, he received a master's degree in cultural anthropology, with a study dedicated to ethnic stereotypes in Romanian caricature. He has published several articles on the subject of caricature and he is also an active cartoonist, with presences in national and international saloons over the last ten years. In 2011, he earned a PhD in history from the Babes-Bolyai University. The title of his dissertation is *Ethnic Stereotypes in Romanian Art (1848–1947).*

Zuzana Panczová zuzana.panczova@savba.sk
PhD research fellow at the Institute of Ethnology, Slovak Academy of Sciences in Bratislava (Slovak Republic). Research area: study of traditional and contemporary narratives (legends, rumors, conspiracy theories). Her main publications: *Súčasné povesti a fámy vo svetle folkloristických výskumov* (*Contemporary Legends and Rumors in Light of Folklore Research*), [in:] E. Krekovičová (ed.) *Folklór a komunikácia v procesoch globalizácie* (2005); Difficulties With the Genre Classification of "New Genres": Contemporary Legends and Rumour in Slovak Folk Prose, [in:] Z. Profantová (ed.), *Traditional Culture as a Part of the Cultural Heritage of Europe. The Presence and Perspective of Folklore and Folkloristics* (2003); A Man at Risk and the Internet: Political Conflicts in "Online" Rumour and Conspiracies, [in:] Z. Profantová (ed.), *The Small History of Great Events in Czechoslovakia After 1948, 1968 and 1989* (2006).

Dobrinka Parusheva clio_dp@yahoo.co.uk
PhD, associate professor in the theory and history of culture at the University of Plovdiv, Department of Ethnology, and a senior research associate at the Institute of Balkan Studies in Sofia. Her research interests center on the social history and history of everyday life in the Balkans, 19th and 20th centuries, and on the relationship between politics and culture during the 20th century.

Anna M. Rosner annarosner@wp.pl
MA (2007) in history from the Warsaw University history department, MA (2008) in Jewish studies from the University of Southampton Parkes Institute. Currently a PhD student in the history department at Warsaw University. Affiliated with the Mordechai Anielewicz Center for the Study and Teaching of the History and Culture of Jews in Poland. Main interests: Jewish history and culture, history and culture of Great Britain, Jewish–non-Jewish relations. She published *Utracona tożsamość? Żydzi przybywający do Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 1933–1939* (*Lost Identity: Jews Coming to Great Britain in 1933–1939*), *Studia Judaica* 15 (2012).

Katarina Šrimpf katarina.srimpf@zrc-sazu.si
Born in 1985 in Celje. In 2010 she graduated from the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at Ljubljana's Faculty of Arts. Since November 2010 she has been working as a research assistant at the Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology. She is preparing a doctoral dissertation on oral tradition, folk stories, and urban legends in Obsotelje and Croatian Zagorje. Research interests: ethnology, folk narrative, contemporary legends, folk tales, incantations, folk beliefs.

Miloslav Szabó miloslav.szabo@gmail.com
Born in 1974 in Zvolen, Slovak Republic. Research fellow of the Jewish Museum in Prague, Czech Republic. Topic of his research: nationalism and antisemitism, intellectual history. Among his recent publications are *„Von Worten zu Taten". Die slowakische Nationalbewegung und der Antisemitismus 1875–1922* (forthcoming); *Vertraute Feindbilder. Die transnationalen Bezüge des slowakischen Antisemitismus um 1900*, *Bohemia* 51/2 (2011); National Conflict and Anti-Semitism at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century. The Case of the Czech Slovakophiles Karel Kálal and Eduard Lederer, *Judaica Bohemiae* 44/1 (2009).

Miklós Székely szekely.miklos@gmail.com
Worked from 2008 to 2012 as a member of the collections department in the Ludwig Museum, Museum of Contemporary Art, Budapest. Besides his position as collection manager, he is curator of the Archives of Tibor Hajas (1946–1980), poet, and performance artist. Since 2012 he has been working as a research fellow in the Institute of Art History, Research Center for the Humanities, Hungarian Academy of Sciences. His main areas of interest are 19th century Hungarian art and museum studies. Between 2005 and 2008 he was enrolled as a PhD student at the Eötvös Loránd University, Institute of Art History, studying the cultural representation of Hungary; his dissertation was entitled *Hungarian Art and Architecture at Universal Exhibitions Between 1896–1918*. Author of *The Mirrors of the Country: Hungarian Art and Architecture in the Service of National Representation at World Fairs in the Time of the Austro-Hungarian Empire* (in Hungarian, 2012).

Ágnes Tamás tagnes83@yahoo.com
PhD. Research interests: national stereotypes and identities in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy; the representation of the conflicts of Hungarians with non-Hungarian national groups and those of Austrians with national groups of the monarchy; national conflicts in the press; comic papers. She has published articles on national stereotypes and on the "nationality question," e.g., *Serbs, Croatians and Rumanians from Hungarian and Austrian Perspectives. Analysis of Caricatures from Hungarian and Austrian Comic Papers*, [in:] D. Demski, K. Baraniecka-Olszewska (eds.), *Images of the Other in Ethnic Caricatures of Central and Eastern Europe* (2010); *Changing Stereotypes of* National Minority Groups, [in:] T. Litovkina et al. (eds.), *Hungarian Humour. Humor and Culture 3* (2012); *Die ungarische Tausendjahrfeier in Karikaturen (1896)*, [in:] K. Brišová, J. Knejp (eds.), *Changes of Central Europe Since the Middle of the 18th Century to Present* (2012).

Vilmos Voigt voigtbudapest@gmail.com
Born January 17, 1940, Szeged. Prof. dr. habil. and professor emeritus at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Philosophy, Budapest. Studied Hungarian philology and ethnography (folklore) in Budapest at the same university. Chair of the department of folklore of the Institute of Ethnography from 1963 to 2010. Doctor sub auspiciis at the same university. Doctor at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences; Honorary Professor of Bucharest University; Doctor honoris causa of Tartu University; and Honorary Member of the Finnish Literary Society, International Society of Folk Narrative Research, and Estonian Society of Semiotics. Studied comparative philology, comparative religion, Finno-Ugric and Baltic studies, semiotics. Earned several awards, teaching at several universities in Europe and in the United States. Board member or chairman of several scholarly associations. For his bibliography, see the book *Voigt Vilmos könyvészete* (2010).

Magdalena Żakowska magdazakowska@hotmail.com
PhD and assistant professor in the Faculty of International and Political Studies of the University of Lodz. She obtained her doctoral degree in the field of history and works as a specialist in the field of international relations. She participated in the projects Poles and Russians' Mutual Prejudices, Ideas in Russia, Russian-Polish-English Lexicon, The Image of Russia-the-Bear in European Cultures, and The Russian Bear Metaphor in 19th Century Swiss Press Discourse. She coauthored *Russland i Polen-deutsche. Zaprogramowanie kulturowe niemieckich "późnych przesiedleńców" z Rosji i z Polski* (*Russia and Polish German. Cultural Programming of the German "Late Out-Settlers" from Russia and Poland*) (2011) and coedited (with Andrzej de Lazari and Olga Nadskakuła) *Zaprogramowanie kulturowe narodów Europy* (*European Nations' Cultural Programming*) (2007).

Visegrad Fund

INSTITUTE OF ETHNOLOGY RESEARCH CENTRE FOR THE HUMANITIES HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

INSTITUTE
OF ARCHAEOLOGY
AND ETHNOLOGY
Polish Academy of Sciences

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.

ISBN 978-963-236-706-4

9 789632 367064 >