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Space-ing Otherness. Cultural Images of Space, Contact Zones in Contemporary Hungarian and Romanian Film and Literature

Hajnal Király and Teri Szűcs

Safe Zones?

If one needs to point at a central topic that connects the papers in the current issue of the Contact Zones journal, it is certainly the experience of strangeness or otherness. The concept of retreating to a safe zone, be it a geographical or mental territory, is discussed in two papers. Both essays coin the term of the 'retreat' and they offer it as a helpful tool to understand new tendencies of Hungarian cinema to represent practices that go against the pressing existential frustration and torment of feeling strange or different from a non-authentic social, ethnic or geographic environment they are constrained to live in. The authors of the two texts, both senior members of our research group, engage in a fruitful dialogue in mapping up the different types of retreat and interpreting them from the point of view of their outcome in terms of psychological development. In this respect, starting from György Kalmár's assumptions and categories of retreat in contemporary Hungarian cinema, Miklós Sághy argues convincingly that in the films under analysis retreat and isolation is depicted as a solution to an existential crisis only if it is paired with the need and acts of (self)understanding. Strangeness becomes an existential torment when the concept of having a home or feeling at home is deconstructed, when it becomes apparent that the place one calls their home is rather the space where our strangeness and otherness can painfully be recognised and experienced. The paper in our volume dealing with the recently published novel of Gergely Péterfy is focusing on the process of this recognition – how the "the uncanny, phantom-like otherness" of a visibly strange character mirrors the inherent estrangement of a society and an era. As the author of this essay, Judit Pieldner argues, the story of the novel set in the era of Hungarian Enlightenment, becomes a plastic allegory of our present-day situations and experiences of otherness.

Finally, as a new initiative, we would like to introduce a new section in our journal, in which the members of our research group as well as our colleagues and friends discuss socio-cultural and political issues that we find nowadays especially pressing. In this dialogical Q and A form we share our thoughts and personal experiences related to the categories of 'East' and 'West'. Do we consider either of them as our home, do we feel strange when we need to pick one of these binaries as our own? Is there a "retreat" from this geo-political and geo-cultural opposition? In the following issues of the journal we wish to carry on with this thought-provoking debate. The following five answers represent personal approaches filtered through research interests and resulting conceptual, theoretical difficulties. While trying to answer the question, they raise new ones. The contribution of László

Strausz and Hajnal Király refers to contemporary Romanian Cinema as resisting to post-colonial projections, while that of Bence Kránicz views the sensuality of contemporary Hungarian art as a means of expression of difference and specificity. The more argumentative pieces of Zsolt Gyenge and Zsolt Győri are calling for a reconsideration of existing terms and categories responsible for a schizophrenic Eastern European identity.

'Eastern European' – a Changing Label/Term in a Changing Context?[1]
Q and A Dialogue of the Members of the Contact Zones Research Group

Teri Szűcs
szucs.teri1@gmail.com

Part 1

Q:

'East' and 'West' are dynamically changing geo-political and geo-cultural categories that undergo constant redefinition and re-contextualization. One recent shift in the current geopolitical discourse involving these terms can well be illustrated with the so called 'Eastern Opening' – the political and economic program of the Hungarian government that promises in its name to supplement the Western orientation of the country – or, in the light of the current political rhetoric: to replace it with an outreach towards territories beyond the Eastern borders of Europe.

How does the usage of the term 'Eastern European' reflect these attempts of rewriting the relational terms of 'East' and 'West'? How do we understand nowadays the category of 'Eastern European art'? Does this term convey certain (new or enduring) values? Do we use the label 'Eastern European' (as in Eastern European individual / researcher / intellectual / artist etc.) to define a category of intersecting identities? In the current geopolitical-geocultural context, what are the implications of this term?

A:

László Strausz
Postcolonial, as a Remedy for Cold War Narratives

As a researcher with an interest in the screen media texts that construct and simultaneously document the social transformations in Eastern Europe, the significance of the postcolonial paradigm for me mostly consists in the unwillingness to accept the limiting binaries of the still circulating Cold War

narratives. In this context, I refer to Cold War narratives as discursive technologies that maintain the fundamental bipolarity (as the division of *us* and them) in the political arena for imminent benefit. The rhetoric is rooted, among other sources, in the divisive tradition employed globally during the Cold War era, and picked up by postsocialist political elites. It is probably the familiarity of this rhetoric for still large segments of the Eastern European population that allows current political elites to deploy it for easy identity-constructing purposes. The generally hollow categories of the party-political left and the party-political right live on through these discourses, which also activate mnemonic processes to validate their own *raison d'être*.

My immediate interest in these processes stems from the ways in which contemporary Romanian cinema refuses to accept these depictions of state socialism by critically relating to these simplifying commemorative processes. The mono-logic of the Romanian, but more generally the Eastern European canon of the past in this sense continues Cold War narratives by reversing them. While during the post-war era the state socialist regimes depicted Western capitalism as exploitative and socially backward and the state socialist countries as the forces of progression, the post-1989 era simply turned this binary around: "instead of being debated, understood, and accepted, the past was simply recodified. The unintended result of this reading is the persistence of a collective representation of the past that is hardly able to absorb the multifarious memories of Romanian communism" (Petrescu, Cristina, and Dragoș Petrescu: 2014. "The Canon of Remembering Romanian Communism." Remembering Communism. Edited by Maria Todorova. Budapest: CEU Press, 68). Among many other possible ways of deconstructing the monolithic image of the past, one can point at various in-between roles that lay beyond the oversimplified oppressor–oppressed binary (tactics such as pragmatic avoidance of the political, or utilitarian collaboration) or the heterogeneity of the phases within the history of the Ceaușescu regime, during which the standards of living and the level of political repression fluctuated significantly (Petrescu, Dragoș: "Selective Memories of Communism: Remembering Ceaușescu's "Socialism" in post-1989 Romania." Gebrochene Kontinuitäten: Transnationalität in den Erinnerungskulturen Ostmitteleuropas in 20. Jahrhundert. Edited by Agnieszka Gasior, Agnieszka Halemba, and Stephan Troebst. 305–321. Vienna: Böhlau., 305). In my monograph (Strausz, László: 2017. *Hesitant Histories on the Romanian Screen*. London: Palgrave-Macmillan) I argue that new Romanian Cinema's imaginations of the past do exactly this: they challenge and complicate the monolithic account of the past. One of the fundamental texts of postcolonial theory, Homi K. Bhabha's *The Commitment to Theory* describes the hybridity of voices in the production of meaning. He says that "[i]t is only when we understand that all cultural statements and systems are constructed in this contradictory and ambivalent space of enunciation, that we begin

to understand why hierarchical claims to the inherent originality or 'purity' of cultures are untenable, even before we resort to empirical historical instances that demonstrate their hybridity" (Bhabha, Homi K.: 1994. "The Commitment to Theory." In. *The Location of Culture*. 19–39. London: Routledge, 37).

This articulation *before the empirical* holds central significance. It shows that even prior to our considerations of the above mentioned historical strategies of avoidance and utilitarian collaboration, or the levelling blanket statements on state socialism's homogenously repressive nature, the enunciative speaking position that construct these narratives need to be mapped as acts that cause changes in the world. Once the mobility of these positions is confronted, we start to discern a space where hybrid, ambiguous and often contradictory accounts of social change will have the capacity to complicate the reductive, populist and reactionary narratives that threaten to overtake the contemporary political arena globally.

Hajnal Király
What Lies Beyond the Hills?

During a 2013 conference in the UK, I came across a rather simplifying promotional image of Cristian Mungiu's then newest film, *Beyond the Hills*, freshly released in that country. Partly due to the one of the most mediatised stills of the film, the "bed scene" between the two, showing Voichita giving a massage to Alina, in the otherwise acclaiming critiques, the relationship between the two was too hastily labelled as lesbian. As the critic of *The Guardian* formulated: "It transpires that the two women, now in their mid-20s, were room-mates in an orphanage and had a lesbian relationship." While admitting that there is a latent sexualised "body memory" at work in the case of Alina, I found surprising the attitude of the Western laic and professional public evidently blind at the complexity and figurative value of that very relationship. Intriguingly, the same West European media, that after the fall of the communist regime in Romania widely mediatised the shocking state of the orphanages in that country, failed to recognise the elementary, desperate need for intimacy of those ridden of family and any supporting relationships, represented by Mungiu's story. The work-related massive migration starting from the 90s and intensifying after the adherence of the country to the EU has initiated a new wave of the cinematic trope "the orphans of the East", analysed by Constantin Pârvulescu in a post-war context in his book with the same title. There is a whole series of Romanian films dealing with the catastrophic effects of emotional deprivation on the generation growing up

without a mother, a father or an entire family. As it often happens, art is ahead of scientific or sociological research or statistics in modelling a striking social phenomenon, thematised, for example, in Bogdan Apetri's *Periferic* (2010), Cătălin Mitulescu's *Loverboy* (2011) and Florin Șerban's *If I Want to Whistle I Whistle* (2011).

It is perhaps not a coincidence that the conference I attended, entitled *The Body in Eastern European and Russian Cinema*, organised in Greenwich, UK, was one of the first efforts to decipher the troubled East European body and the signification of its cinematic representations. One of the main revelations of that conference was, for me, that the well-known western concepts and theories on the political, sexual body are not fully applicable to Eastern European films. In my research activity that followed this conference, I found myself "adjusting" these categories to resisting Romanian and Hungarian examples. One of my main findings is that in these films gender issues and sexual identities can never be viewed alone, but they are strongly and figuratively related to ethnic and national identities. The use of language in *Beyond the Hills*, for example – an Eastern Romanian, more archaic dialect – cannot be separated of its submissive, feminine aspects when facing a shabby, but still powerful patriarchal authority. The same connection between sexual and ethnic identity, related to power or its absence, respectively, can be identified in contemporary Hungarian films of Szabolcs Hajdu or Kornél Mundruczó, for example. But while Romanian films seem to balance successfully between a Western expectation and Eastern need for expression, fulfilling the stylistic and thematic standards of well ranked festivals, while developing an original, distinctive style, Hungarian films appear as more compromising with a rigorous modernist style and generalizing topics. This implies, from my part as a researcher, a complex analysis involving not only a comparison between the two cinemas, but also an examination of their relationship to the Western paradigms, separately and together, as it appears in co-productions. I contend that taking this insider-outsider's position remains the only authentic way to reveal what *really happens beyond the hills*.

Zsolt Gyenge

Eastern Europe as a Self-Promotion Label in Intellectual Marketing

What interests me regarding this issue is not related to the political rhetoric of the Hungarian government, as in that case we are dealing with an autocratic leadership using the most blatant means of propaganda to distort any meaning tied to some concepts, and thus there is no theoretically or conceptually grounded base behind their use of terms.

So I will tackle the last part of the question, which in my interpretation interrogates the

intellectual/academic/cultural use of the label Eastern European. What I see here is a strange struggle for finding an identity between the local and the global level of the discourse, a struggle that is not so much concerned with a real quest for identity, but much more with a need to find a relevant, more or less exclusive, and if possible, lucrative space within the cultural or/and academic field.

In my view the use of this label is on the one hand connected to the self-exoticising strategy of "small" nations (cf. the label "small cinemas" for example), who – in order to be observed and considered interesting on a global scale – need to emphasise their specificity, their difference. This approach presents the person coming from such a country or culture as being an expert on it only thanks to his or her origin, field-knowledge and linguistic proficiency, and thus – in the case of academics, artists or professionals – makes him or her a valid representative of the issues related to that cultural sphere. Being Czech, Hungarian, Malaysian or Columbian immediately makes you a specialist of these countries the minute you step outside of their borders.

However, and this is the other side of the issue, in the case of some really small nations, like in the case of most Eastern European countries, the national label refers to a too small entity to be efficiently marketable within a global discourse. So this is where Eastern Europe as a label comes in: it still emphasises the difference (this is what the adjective stands for), but it refers to a much greater entity that may seem more attractive to global audiences. Instead of talking of Romanian specificities for example, one can become the exponent of a region of around 10 to 15 countries (depending on definition), a region which due to its political status in the second half of the 20th century is capable to raise the interest of a wider set of people. What makes this discourse really schizophrenic is the need for its representative to simultaneously present a rhetoric of specificity and similarity: the specificity of the "East" compared to the "West", and the similarity of different cultures, countries and nations within Eastern Europe.

I think the criticism of the heightened focus on the (almost documentary) representation of roots in the works of artists originating from exotic regions, exposed by Nicolas Bourriaud in his book *The Radicant*, refers to the same phenomenon. This is how self-promotion within the artistic and intellectual milieu works when the "Eastern European" label is at work. And this is in a certain sense also the ground upon which our research project is based.

Bence Kránicz

Apocalyptic Sensuality

Not long ago I talked to Zoltán Németh, a Hungarian poet and academic, who was born in Slovakia,

and lives in Warsaw. I asked him what the term 'Central Europe' means in 2017 – does it mean anything at all? I think his answer tells more about Eastern Europe than Central Europe, which seems like a historic, almost anachronistic term to me. But Eastern Europe is very much an existing place, social context and, ultimately, a state of mind. It might be the geographical equivalent of being in-between: societies between dictatorship and democracy, hesitating between the two without fully understanding either of them.

This gave me the idea to focus on contemporary Hungarian works of art which try to comprehend the 'Eastern European experience' in a sensual way instead of theorizing it. Regarding spatial relations, sensuality goes both ways: creating empty spaces, voids might lead to a similar sensual experience as populating the narrative space with characters, colours, smells and tastes. One points to the destruction of space, the other points to the destruction of perception. Both might reflect an authentic, if indeed apocalyptic, experience of being Eastern European in 2017. So far I was reading contemporary Hungarian authors of the 'new posthumanism' through this lens, mainly Imre Bartók, Márió Nemes Z., the aforementioned Zoltán Németh or Zoltán Komor, and tried to place certain Hungarian films in this framework, notably *Frozen May* by Péter Lichter or *Jupiter's Moon* by Kornél Mundruczó. This train of thought is closer to groping than to research, but a new representation of Eastern Europe might be waiting at the end of the line.

Zsolt Győri
Ambiguous Usages

"Eastern European" is commonly used to refer to the region formerly known as the Soviet Block. As a marker of identity it alludes to shared social-political experience and legacy: a synonym of post-communist. As a spatial entity Eastern European in scholarship usually excludes Russia (and member states of the former Soviet Union under strong Russian influence), which is a separate geopolitical entity, despite recent attempts to extend its influence and assert its economic dominance (its possession of highly valued natural resources) over former E-Block countries, the Baltic states, and Ukraine. The Hungarian government's geopolitical doctrine of the "Eastern Opening" also assumes the separateness of Eastern Europe from both Russia and Western Europe. In fact, it hopes to disturb what it perceives as a hegemonic relationship with historical Western Europe and the institutions of the European Union

In the present and especially in Hungary the term "Eastern European" carries connotations

beyond the spatial designation and acknowledges changing geopolitical orientations, the questioning of the paradigm established in the wake of the collapse of state-socialist systems, that perceived of Eastern Europe as a contact zone, an intermediary region between East and West, between past and present. I believe the benefits and the shortcomings of this paradigm are the result of a multi-stage economic convergence, a type of unequal development and advancement as a consequence of which some countries and regions have attracted more investment and funding than others. The anti-European rhetoric of the "Eastern Opening" is premised on the assumption that the convergence process is achieved to the advantage of neoliberal economic interest groups. While this political argument might be valid to a certain extent, it is hardly more than propagandistic strategy and fails to address core issues. In my view factors that contribute to these inequalities are both historical (a legacy of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, territorial accessions, Soviet influence, socialist industrialization, just to name a few) and the results of natural social phenomena (e.g. urbanization, unemployment, inland migration, depopulation). The scapegoating of EU principles and institutions arises from the ambiguities multi-stage social modernization poses and, at the same time, is a deviation from the complex and painful task of addressing these challenges.

"Eastern European" also refers to a region populated by different nationalities, religious and ethnic groups. As such the term is somewhat blind to these identity markers, yet ascribes a unique quality to its inhabitants. These qualities are not easily identified by populations in their local environment, nevertheless become more apparent in a foreign environment. In addition, the term is also used in a derogative sense, in the stereotyping and stigmatizing discourses of Western popular imaginations, often fuelled by the tabloid media. The colonial past of countries like Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and – to a lesser extent – Germany served as a fertile ground to construct under this term the image of the thrifty, parasitic, uncultured, unskilled person who is aggressive when drinking. In this anti-immigration discourse, reminiscent of previous colonial attitudes, "Eastern European" designates inferiority and hopes to generate shame in people who should think of themselves as bad copies of citizens native to Western Europe. Often such scapegoating generates solidarity among members of diasporas and citizens of Eastern European countries; more often, however, it gives rise to nationalism.

In view of the above, "Eastern European" is an inconclusive term with rich and often contradictory meanings. Interestingly, it is those (like myself) who have nothing against being identified as Eastern European that largely contribute to the ambiguity of the term. In order not to use it as a label, these people invest into it personal readings and adopt it to befit individual identity politics. The ambiguity of "Eastern European", thus, arises from being a highly reflexive term,

moulded through use.

Rites of Retreat in Contemporary Hungarian Cinema[2]

György Kalmár
gykalmar@hotmail.com

Abstract: On the basis of three Hungarian films of the last decade, the present paper investigates a special sub-category of so-called "return films" (Gott and Herzog 2015, 13), one that I will hypothetically call *retreat films*. In these films returns become ritualistic retreats with masculinities on "regressive journeys" (Király 2015, 170; see laso Sághy 2016; Sághy 2017). Their spatial trajectories may typically lead from Western cultural centres to Eastern homelands, from cities to the countryside, from the public sphere to the private, sometimes symbolically from the future to the past, and often from the realm of desire to that of Thanatos. The men of these films tend to struggle to find places of their own on the margins of society, *away* from public spaces: what they seem to have in mind is a place to hide, somewhere to retreat, that is, *a closet of their own.*

Keywords: Hungarian films, return, retreat, masculinity, crisis

Introduction: Shifting Trajectories

One revealing aspect of recent Eastern European gender politics (and Eastern European history in general, for that matter) is that "return films" have become an important group of post-1989 Eastern European cinema (see: Gott and Herzog 2015, 13). Apparently, many male protagonists of post-communist Hungarian cinema tend to return from their westbound journeys, often so as to withdraw from the open, public (traditionally masculine), usually urban spaces of self-liberation, from the possibilities of establishing more authentic, publicly accepted identities, thus creating unusual spatial patterns and peculiar masculinities. As Hajnal Király argues in a recent paper that my present research is much indebted to:

> In Hungarian and Romanian films of the last decade, the central dilemma frequently revolves around mobility, that is, whether to stay or move on, whether or not to leave (the country, the family, a traumatic situation, a beloved person, or ultimately life), which frequently escalates to a deep existential crisis and which signals the ultimate impossibility of either staying or moving on/leaving. Places and spaces performed by bodies in distress become sites of a dysfunctional society, often revealed in the narrative of an aborted, circular, interrupted or regressive journey. … Additionally, many Hungarian and Romanian films feature characters who return from Western Europe, only to realize that home is not an 'authentic' place anymore... (Király 2015, 170)

The present paper investigates a special sub-category of these "return films," one that I will

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hypothetically call *retreat films.* I am going to focus on three Hungarian films of the last decade: *Taxidermia* (György Pálfi, 2006)*, Delta* (Kornél Mundruczó, 2008)*,* and *Land of Storms* (*Viharsarok,* Ádám Császi 2014). In these films returns become ritualistic retreats with masculinities on "regressive journeys." Significantly for the purposes of the present study, all three films present male protagonists in some kind of crisis, and the drama of these crises are played out in spatial terms. The spatial arrangements and movements found in these films may be analysed as ritualistic retreats, where (usually as a result of some kind of frustration or trauma) characters turn their backs on mainstream identity-formations and the associated desires, and withdraw into secluded places so as to hide, heal, find their way back to their roots, or simply die. Their spatial trajectories may typically lead from Western cultural centres to Eastern homelands, from cities to the countryside, from the public sphere to the private, sometimes symbolically from the future to the past, and often from the realm of desire to that of Thanatos. The men of these films tend to struggle to find places of their own on the margins of society, *away* from public spaces: what they seem to have in mind is a place to hide, somewhere to retreat.

Clearly, these films and the spatial movements of their male protagonists cannot be fully understood without the "profound disillusionment" (Shaviro 2012, 25) experienced in Hungary not long after the fall of communism, without "the problematic and largely unfulfilled fantasies of integration and redemption that have accompanied Hungary's so-called 'return to Europe'" (Jobbit 2008, 4). Today, twenty-five years after the fall of communism, it is clear that Eastern Europeans had much distorted, idealised views of the West, that is, of consumerist liberal democracies, as well as of their chances of turning into such a society from one day to the other. They (or rather we) were wrong about both issues: transforming a society (together with people's attitudes) takes a long time, (totalitarian) history is not so easy to leave behind, and even if we do manage to change, consumerist liberal democracies are not necessarily the "culmination of all human effort and hope" (Shaviro 2012, 26). As Gáspár Miklós Tamás argues, the regime change in Eastern Europe led to "an inhuman, unjust, unfair, inefficient, anti-egalitarian, fraudulent, and hypocritical system that is in no way at all superior to its predecessor, which was awful enough" (Szeman and Tamás 24). I would argue that this "atmosphere of disillusionment and demoralization" that Shaviro also considers to be a key background to the film *Taxidermia* (26) has shaped Eastern-European masculinities and the spatial journeys they take (see also: Sághy 2016; Sághy 2017).

Apparently, the history of gender has unpredictable turns in Eastern Europe, ones leading away from the Western liberal narrative of gradual liberation and self-fulfilment in a consumerist democracy. For men of the third millennia to find themselves in Virginia Woolf's 1929 shoes must

come as a shocking surprise. Yet, apparently, some room (or place) of one's own was not only important for women in 1929: the films under analysis imply that being a woman is not the only form of marginalised subjectivity, and the 2000s are not as much fun as we thought they would be. In these Hungarian films men as well – all sorts of them, white and coloured, straight and gay, bastards and orphans, artists and sportsmen, migrants and catatonic – may find themselves homeless in the "new Europe". The dream people had under state-socialism, the dream of freedom, happiness and self-realization is over: these men have seen democracy and consumerist capitalism, many of them have even tried their luck in the West, yet they have all turned back, bitter and disillusioned, towards the past, their (real or imaginary) roots, the local Eastern home(less)land, or plainly death, the ultimate goal of such regressive journeys. Their narratives are typically not victorious stories of liberation and acceptance (coming *out* of the closet), but rather those of retreat, hiding, escape and exile. They are all defeated in their own ways, usually even before the film's narrative begins. What we see is already plan B (or C or Z), the last resort, the last try to be someone, someplace.

The protagonists of the above mentioned films are clearly and markedly different from the privileged types of contemporary Hungarian society. Their masculinities are reactionary and regressive, based on the rejection rather than the legitimization of the dominant patriarchal culture. In the context of the films' narratives the pale, anorexic taxidermist Lajoska of the last episode of *Taxidermia* (which I will analyse), Mihail, the silent, mysterious hero of *Delta,* who comes home from abroad so as to build a log-house in the Danube Delta with the help of his sister-lover, or the gay failed footballer of *Land of Storms* returning from Germany to conservative rural Hungary, are all cinematic examples of non-hegemonic masculinities (see: Connell 2005, 76). The difference or distance from hegemonic, normative gendered and racial identities often appears in these films through spatial arrangements, as distance from human communities and settlements. These male characters try to establish a room or place of their own, a habitat, a home, where their dishevelled embodied identities can *take place*.

What we see in these films can be read as spatial renegotiations of selfhood, or desperate relocations of embodied identity, where such issues are at stake as national belonging, personal dignity, relating to one's roots, finding spaces in which one's preferred sexuality can be practised, establishing an accepting, caring relationship with others, feeling at home in the world, creating a habitable place where one is accepted and loved, escaping fields of defeat and frustration, or at times simply survival. Cultural geography's Lefebvrean-Foucaldian axiom that "geography matters, not for the simplistic and overly used reason that everything happens in space, but because *where* things happen is critical to knowing *how* and *why* they happen" (Warf and Arias 2009, 1) goes at least as

much for cinema as for ordinary social phenomena. In other words, "the geographies become vital: far from being incidental outcomes of power, they become regarded, in their ever-changing specifics, as absolutely central to the constitution of power relations" (Sharp et. al. 2000, 25).

In what follows I am going to analyse the three films one by one from the above outlined perspective, following a chronological order of their making.

Taxidermia

Taxidermia is the art of mounting, turning once living, now dead bodies into mummies, artworks or bodily memorials. Taxidermia can be an allegory of the film itself: not only *á la* Bazin, who thought that filmmaking in general is driven by the urge to mummify the living and preserve it in dead, celluloid form, but also because Pálfi's film tells the story of three generations of Hungarian men, all defeated and dead by the time of the act of storytelling (see: Bazin 2005, 9-10).

All three generations are characterised by the spatialised mechanisms of defeat and retreat. "Each part juxtaposes the private and the public: a body horror case study in imploding masculinity is joined with a parody of the spectacles of power and privilege" (Shaviro 2012, 26). The grandfather Morosgoványi, the halfwit orderly living a debased, subhuman life at an army outpost during World War 2 is clearly a loser, who is trained, ordered around and humiliated on a regular basis by the lieutenant he serves. He is also isolated and confined (see: Shaviro 2012, 26-27, Strausz 2011, 2): not only to the outpost in the middle of nowhere (the whole episode takes place on a few hundred square meters), but also to the little wooden shack next to the pig-sty and the loo, outside the house. The father's life is not much better: he is a fast-eating almost-champion, living and competing (in this imaginary sport) in state-socialist Hungary. His story is another failure narrative: first we see him fail at a competition (his jaw gets locked in the final moments of the competition – a meaningful bodily metaphor in the present context – after which he faints), then we see him being cheated on at his wedding night, not having the money to make the operation that helps sportsmen of other nations, and not making it to the West where he thinks he could be a star. By the time of Lajoska's story he is confined to a small apartment. He is so grotesquely overweight that he cannot even move: it is Lajoska who changes the pot under him and brings the enormous amount of food that he and his huge, trained cats consume. Now he is not simply locked up behind the iron curtain, but also in his huge body and in this small apartment that smells of urine and excrement.

Both Morosgoványi and Kálmán have lost the most important battles of their lives, and are forced into exile. As László Strausz argues in the context of embodied memory practices, "Morosgoványi is repressed and he creates a secular bodily mythology and retreats into a private

world. Eating for Balatoni is a sport that allows him to escape the repressive bounds of the system, although his body becomes seriously disfigured in the process" (Strausz 2011, 3). Moreover, both the little shack and the apartment in Budapest seem small, dirty, and confining, spaces for sub-human existences without dignity or love. Both characters' solitude and frustration are expressed through visual and spatial symbols. Morosgoványi's main hobby and passion is to peep at the officer's daughters, two young and beautiful women living in the house. He watches them through the window of the house or through the holes in the wooden planks that separate him from "proper" human beings (see: [Fig.1.]), while often masturbating (see: Strausz 2011, 2). Kálmán's confinement is also emphasised by a poster of a seaside resort behind him on the wall (a common and ironic phenomenon of state-socialist building block apartments). In his case it is the TV that fills the function that the window and the holes in the walls did in case of the Morosgoványi part: during his son's daily visit (when he brings the food, and empties the pot), Kálmán usually watches a video recording of an American fast-eating competition. While he is boasting to his son how better he would do than these "losers" and "arseholes", we notice his ex-wife, Gizi in the video, supporting or coaching one of the competitors. The motif of the first episode is clearly repeated: Kálmán watches Gizi and images of sports success similarly as his father Morosgoványi watched the unreachable young women through the window and the plank wall. Both are separated from their dreams, and both fail when they try to surpass their limitations. One telling, spatially arranged and highly symbolic representation of this situation is the scene when Morosgoványi watches the two young, joyful women's snowball fight outside his shack. He gets aroused at the sight and starts masturbating: he finds a hole in the wall, coats it with lard, pushes his penis through it, "thrusting it frantically in and out" (Shaviro 2012, 27). His sexual practice can be seen as an attempt to exceed the limitations of his life, to go past the borders that separate him from his objects of desire. Significantly, the scene ends before he could reach orgasm, when a rooster (a markedly gendered agent of power) notices his penis on the other side and pecks at it...

[Fig.1.] Morosgoványi peeping at his objects of desire from inside – *Taxidermia*

This pattern changes somewhat when the film gets to the story of the Lajoska. The genre of the family novel already ascribes him, as the member of the third generation, a position of degradation: in the novelistic tradition this is a time of the fall of the family with the appearance of artist figures to record the stories of the past generations. *Taxidermia* seems to follow this pattern: Lajoska's story starts with the picture of a pigeon's back side, from which shit falls to the pavement in front of the taxidermist's entrance. The camera moves from the white stain through the door, into the house, through the claustrophobic corridors of the workshop decorated with hundreds of furs and stuffed animals, till it finds him, pale and thin, working on a huge bear. From the beginning, Lajoska is associated with white: the baby's clothes in the hospital before the camera goes through the window to the pigeon, the bird's excrement, the tiles in the workshop, and his almost albino-like skin. However, in *Taxidermia* white is not the colour of purity, but rather that of a bloodless, lifeless body, a meaningless life, a traumatised subjectivity and death. Lajoska lacks the sexual passion of his grandfather (he does not have a partner, he fancies a pretty cashier woman in the supermarket whom he ineffectively courts by shyly handing over a lollipop each time he pays for his father's supplies), but he also lacks the superhuman appetite of his father (he is skinny as an anorexic, and we never see him eat during the film). I would argue that Lajoska's obsession with dead things, as well as his lack of sexual desire and appetite can be read as physical forms of resistance to the paternal order, a practice of self in defiance of the qualities, ideologies and identity-formations of his fathers.

From the three generations of men Lajoska is the most emblematic figure of the motifs of retreat, confinement and escape, as there is no outside power forcing him into exile. No visible "outside" factor destines Lajoska to live his life surrounded by dead things in his cold, literally lifeless labyrinthian den. The film suggests that his miserable existence is only due to opaque psychological reasons, or the weight of the family history on his shoulders (see [Fig.2.]).
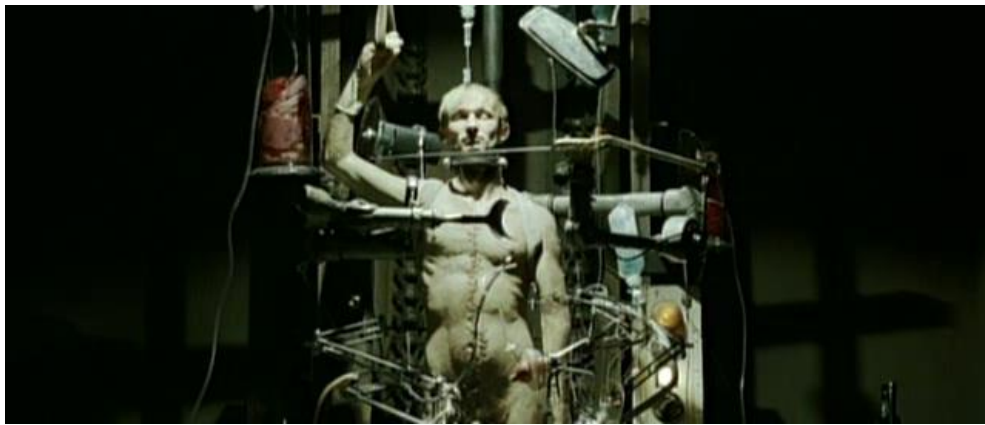
[Fig.2.] Lajoska's place of final retreat is death and self-mounting – *Taxidermia*

The spaces of his life and his bodily practices are most informative: each day he goes through the same routine: he works in his taxidermist workshop (apparently he also lives there, though we never see any furniture hinting at that), he buys food for his father (always the same quantities of margarine and chocolate), hands over the lollipop to the cashier girl, has a coffee alone in the hall outside the supermarket, and visits his father to clean and feed him and his cats. All these spaces appear empty, cold and lifeless, and all these activities seem joyless repetitions. His life is without passion, his body is pale as that of dead people. He never laughs, eats or has sex, his work is the art of death and mummification, so when the spectator glimpses at his suicidal self-mounting machine, one is not very surprised. His regressive journey through his den of death towards self-mounting is foreshadowed by his last work, the tiny human embryo he mounts for the narrator. I would argue that this small object may be interpreted as a visual metaphor standing for his regressive subjectivity. This figuration could entail seeing his place of retreat, the partly subterranean den of death as a womb, as the non-place of the pre-Oedipal mother, where Oedipal subjectivity is dissolved in something greater and more primordial.

As we have seen, none of the three men in *Taxidermia* manage to overcome the confining difficulties of their lives, all escape into meaningless bodily activities (Strausz 2011, 3), such as sex without a partner or reproduction, eating for the sake of eating, stuffing and collecting dead animals only to eventually become one of them. Marosgoványi and Kálmán had a view of what they wished for, only they could never reach it. Lajoska, on the other hand, lacks any view of happiness, he has been lost all along and does not even seriously try to escape these spaces of retreat and exile.

Delta

The regressive movement towards death may be less apparent in Kornél Mundruczó's *Delta* (2008) than in Lajoska's story in *Taxidermia*, but it is just as essential for the coherence of the plot and the

motivation of the main character. The film tells the story of the homecoming of a prodigal son, Mihail (Félix Lajkó). He does not collect dead animals as Lajoska, nor is he pale and anorexic-looking: he would simply like to build a log-house on the river in the astonishingly beautiful and untamed wetlands of the Danube Delta (where his father used to have a fishing hut), so as to hide away from the world. "Mihail looks fragile, shy and stylish in his cord velvet jacket, a trademark of the Western bohemian. Significantly, his character is played by Félix Lajkó, an ethnic Hungarian violin virtuoso from Serbia" (Király 2015, 179). Mihail has been to the West, as his banknotes also reveal, he has travelled the world and is back now. Yet, in this Eastern European version of the prodigal son, there is no loving father to welcome him. The remains of his family, his mother (Lili Monori), sister (Orsolya Tóth) and his mother's tyrannical, bad-tempered lover (Sándor Gáspár) live in a nearby village, in physical and emotional deprivation. They run the local pub, a run-down place for faces well-known from Tarr's films. When his mother asks him how long he wants to stay, he does not answer. Apparently, he has come back for good.

We do not learn the reason of either his leave or his return: these details of the story (as many others) are left in mystery. What matters in Mundruczó's poetic and almost mythical piece is beyond or beneath such practical or rational details. His return is simply inevitable, just as his leave was. His slightly disturbed, traumatised look and silences, his need for solitude and pálinka (home made, strong brandy) all talk about a troubled past, but that is taken for granted in this tradition of Eastern European art-house cinema reminiscent of Béla Tarr's works. Return and repetition – as Freud so famously theorised apropos of war neurosis (what we call PTSD today) in *Beyond the Pleasure Principle* – are intimately connected to trauma and death (Freud 1961). The revisiting of the traumatic site, as well as the symbolic gesture of abandoning the search for a better future so as to turn back towards the past may very easily lead outside the realm of what Freud called the pleasure principle, the world of desire and satisfaction, towards the inorganic. In that sense the time of the film is as important as the place: similarly to Lajoska's story, it is set after the time of desire, action, adventure and conquest, when all these have been tried and all have failed. Time as a measurable, calculated forward movement (towards objects of desire) has stopped. So it is time to return.

[Fig.3.] In the dead father's hut – *Delta*

In the Hungarian context, however, the inevitability of return to the (ambiguous) roots and homeland is a long established poetical figure. Let me only refer to one of the most well-known poems of Endre Ady, arguably the greatest Hungarian poet of the first half of the 20th century, *A föl-földobott kő* / *The Tossed Stone*, a key work of the Hungarian literary canon, a poem still many students have to learn by heart in secondary schools. By comparing himself to a stone thrown up again and again only to fall back to the ground, the poem addresses precisely the desire to go away and the inevitability of coming home. Significantly in the context of *Delta*, it also speaks about a certain sadness (that Ady saw as a national characteristic), which cannot be left behind wherever one goes, moreover it also formulates the intimate connection between returning and death. Ady also rephrases a 19th century figuration of the motherland (well known from such canonical texts of the Hungarian Romantic movement as Mihály Vörösmarty's *Szózat* / *Appeal*, or Sándor Petőfi's *Nemzeti dal / National Song*) in ways that prefigure the connection between incest, the homeland and death in Mundruczó's film: whereas in the 19th century paradigm the motherland is usually holy and pure, something deserving sacrifice, at Ady it appears simultaneously as a mother-figure and a lover of a passionate love-hate relationship. Perhaps this cultural background is one of the reasons why the (Hungarian) spectator is not surprised at all when Mihail and his newly found sister, Fauna, who follows him to live in the Delta, fall in love and form a strange, incestuous couple on the frontier between nature and culture, life and death, soil and water. Incest is yet another marker of this *outside* of culture and desire: their "return" to each other is inevitable, without words, outside language, concepts and culture, also lacking the usual dynamism and (cinematic) clichés of desire.

As often in contemporary Hungarian films of return, the characters' motivations are mostly told by evocative, sensuous images of highly metaphorical spaces (see Király 2015, 179). The most

important spaces, in this respect, are the village and the river. The village is mostly represented by the pub, a place of cruel, worn-out faces, human degradation, alcoholism, and the industrial wastelands of the river bank next to the village (where the escaping Fauna is raped by her foster-father). These are the spaces of a cruel, patriarchal order, where – in a twisted folk-tale-like fashion – the "good father" has been killed and replaced by the "evil step-father." Human order has gone to usurpers, criminals and rapists – the film seems to suggest. The other place, however, is not a harmonic, bucolic Eden, and not even a place of self-fulfilment where one may reach a higher consciousness (as the poets of Romanticism believed): the river in *Delta* is the place of the sublime, beyond human comprehension, beyond good and evil, where life and death flow together inextricably and inexorably.

[Fig.4.] The log-house on the margins of human civilization – *Delta*

Mihail's most important embodied practice in *Delta* is building the house on the water. On the one hand, it can be read as an attempt at creating a new life, close to his roots (the dead father's hut), outside the corrupted human world. Building a new house means finding a new place, and thus a new connection to the world in a new spatial-physical arrangement. However, this new place is on the water, a symbolic element that stands just as much for death as for new life, at least since Ulysses decided to head back to Ithaca. The ambiguity of the project and the place of retreat (as a figure of both life and death) is emphasised by several details. First, Mihail cannot swim, thus choosing the water as a place to escape from the world already signifies the connection between withdrawal and death. Second, the house on the river becomes a place outside, or rather *before* the patriarchal order, a pre-Oedipal, incestuous paradise for traumatised subjects. This is not only indicated by the brother-sister relationship, but also by their "totem" animal, the small turtle, the object of love of his sister,

that was thrown out by their foster-father and lives here. The turtle, in my interpretation, signifies the child-like innocence of their relationship as well as the regressive trajectory of their journeys. After all these metaphorical foreshadowing elements, when the drunk villagers finally come to the log-house and kill the couple, it seems as inevitable to the spectator as Lajoska's self-mounting or Ady's returns from Paris to the Hungarian wasteland. Horror, trauma and death are "natural" destinations on these regressive itineraries.

Land of Storms

Szabolcs's story in *Land of Storms* is deeply linked with post-regime-change Hungarian dreams of success in the west. He is a footballer in Germany, living in an urban setting together with other sportsmen with international background, in a seemingly tolerant and liberal community, equipped with the usual toys of contemporary consumer culture, smartphones and fancy clothes. The boys train and play football together, drink beer and smoke marijuana together, watch porn and masturbate together, thus more or less fulfilling one of the dominant images of happiness in contemporary Western teenager culture. However, Szabolcs does not seem to fit in. He has "attitude problems", has conflicts with the coach as well as the other boys, and finally decides to leave.

Though his motivations are only hinted at, of the three films discussed, it is here in *Land of Storms* that the spectator gets closest to grasping the working of some kind of ideological failure in these films of retreat. The German scenes in the beginning of the film are always without music, and there is always some kind of tension felt by Szabolcs as well as the spectator, which never lets either him or us enjoy these scenes as liberation or joyful self-fulfilment. There seems to be a lack of faith, dissatisfaction or disappointment in the kind of life offered by the West, in cultural connectivity, in the Eastern European subject's satisfactory integration into the great projects of Western culture. Szabolcs's alienation from western dreams is already reflected in the very first scene of the film: while the football coach is reciting a prayer- or mantra-like speech to the young players about the feel and love of football, Szabolcs is lying on his side, playing with the grass, instead of lying on his back and looking high into the sky, at high hopes of success, as the others.

One must note that by the time these films were made, the progress-oriented mythology of modernity had become tainted, corrupted and broken. Ironically from the perspective of the Eastern European citizen, the West that we "got" is no longer that West that we wanted to get to during state-socialism. Not only because it is a "real west" (rather than the "fantasy west" people imagined in state-socialism), but also because the "real west" of the 2000s is also a place of economic and demographic crises, shrinking welfare functions, spreading Islamism and terrorism, less and less

credible political elites, and a quickly growing New Right. Progress and development has given way to crisis, decline, struggle and disillusionment both East and West of the former Iron Curtain. From a liberal, philanthropist slogan expressing progress and emancipation for all, "building better words" (at least in cinema) has turned into the symbol of the hypocrisy of global capitalism and the ruthless exploitation of human beings for the sake of profit and the System.

In the context of characters who give up the mass-produced dreams of contemporary western culture in order to seek a place of retreat, it is quite significant that in much of recent spatial theory space entails forward movement, becoming, leaving behind one's roots and physical constraints, that is, conceptualised in terms of the dominant mythology of modernism, while place is something located, fixed, an object of nostalgia, a home. In other words, the concept of place often had a reactionary edge in theory even before returns and retreats became such common themes in Eastern European cinema (see: Massey 1994, 141).

For Szabolcs, this reactionary place, the closet to hide in is his grandfather's half-ruined house in rural Hungary, in "the land of storms" (*Viharsarok*), traditionally one of the poorest and most conservative regions in the country. His retreat is often emphasised in spatial terms, in a manner similar to that of *Delta*, with long shots of the landscape and the house, standing isolated from any human settlement. Significantly, the first time any music is added to the images of the film is when Szabolcs gets off the train and we can face the huge green landscapes of his homeland. These images, in both films, evoke the beauty of nature, the promise of a more authentic subjectivity, but also the loneliness, deprivation and traumatised state of the protagonists. The concept of wounding (trauma) is literally evoked here: when he gets home, because of a previous fight with other lads after a lost match, Szabolcs is bruised and wounded. Restoring the house with his own hands, mending the roof, installing doors and windows (as the old ones were stolen while the house stood deserted) become the basis of a new practice of the self, a symbolic activity of healing, in which the cracks of an injured self can be patched.

[Fig.5.] Szabolcs at his grandfather's house – *Land of Storms*

In the context of the collapse of the ideology of progress it is quite significant that during their retreats, hidden in these deserted, marginal places, all three protagonists engage in manual activities of great sensuous value. Lajoska's work on the animals' bodies, Mihail's construction of the log-house and Szabolcs's restoration of the house (as well as his work with bees) can be seen as retreats from the shiny digital theme-park of contemporary urban consumer societies to an "analogue" world based on bodily presence and physical activities that engage all of the senses of human perception. Szabolcs has a smartphone, but we never see him surfing on the net or playing games on it, as many teenagers do in their spare time.

Issues of fatherhood are also present in *The Land of Storms*, following a pattern similar to the ones seen in the previous films. Father-son relationships are problematic in all three examples, there is practically no understanding between generations. In *Land of Storms* it is Szabolcs's father who keeps pushing his son to be a footballer, as a compensation for his own misfortunes as a sportsman. There seems to be very little in common between them, apparently Szabolcs cannot discuss with him either the conflicts he faces in his career, or his homosexuality. However, his relationship with his substitute- or symbolic father, the German coach is no better: most of their interactions consist of verbal abuse and physical violence. His interactions with these two father-figures are conspicuously similar: the age and look of the two elder men, their insistence on Szabolcs's pursuing his football career, and even the configuration of bodies while training with them (we see Szabolcs trying to take the ball away from them, without success). These similarities become most telling when it comes to Szabolcs's reaction to the ideological indoctrinations: in his father's house after such a "typical" father-son conversation, at night when they are already in bed, he turns on his side and assumes an embryo position on his left side similar to the one we saw in the first scene. In both scenes an overhead camera records the events, registering Szabolcs's difference from the standard, desiring or forward-looking attitude by this regressive body posture (which is the same position that he dies in at the end of the film).

In these three films fathers represent the dominant patriarchal order with its hegemonic masculinities, that is why their sons turn towards other, deeper roots when their lives reach a crisis. Szabolcs moves into his grandfather's old house, away from his father's (and from mainstream teenager culture's) dreams of stardom. As Mihail in *Delta,* he moves back to the East (something that most people there probably find very stupid and suspicious). In *Delta* it is the dead father and the mean step-father who play the same roles as the grandfather and the father in Szabolcs's case. Mihail's father is long since dead, and the stepfather, his mother's lover embodies the worst kind of tyrannical,

patriarchal masculinity. The first time we see him he is killing a pig behind the house, he is openly hostile towards Mihail, and also rapes his sister, Fauna. In case of *Taxidermia*, as I have noted above, Lajoska is the exact opposite of everything his father and grandfather was: he neither has the sexual vigour of his grandfather, nor the obscenely huge appetite of his father, for which his father keeps reviling him.

Szabolcs's difference is coded mostly in terms of gender, though the exact problems he faces in Germany are unclear. This connects his story with those of Lajoska and Mihail, whose alienation and ritual retreats are never really explained psychologically, thus their misery can easily acquire overtones of a more general, philosophical, existential or cultural critical nature. Having left the West, as a young gay man in rural Hungary, Szabolcs quickly becomes an outcast. The house (the most important symbol of his identity in crisis) never gets completely repaired, though he finds help in Áron, a teenager from the nearby village, with whom they become friends and then lovers. Their story is as much about the failure of connectivity as that of Lajoska or Mihail. None of them can make real contact with their home communities or fathers. Though they perform a ritual "attempt of recapturing the deserted, the lost" (Dánél 2012, 117), they cannot succeed, "home is always elsewhere for them" (Király 2015, 178).

Conclusions

All three retreats have ritualistic aspects. Not only the three men retreat from modern lifestyles into closets of their own, but the films themselves also acquire a ritualistic dimension. All three seem to avoid detailed psychological motivations and explanations, instead they show rituals of death and sacrifice. Lajoska turns his father and himself into memorials of a traumatic family history; Mihail, after inviting the villagers to dinner to share the abundant fish they catch (together with plenty of bread and pálinka) in the newly built house, is murdered together with his sister-lover by the villagers in a scene rich in Christian allusions; and when Szabolcs is killed with a knife by his tormented lover Áron, we hear the musical motif of Agnus Dei (God's Lamb). These deaths follow the age-old logic of ritualistic scapegoating and (self-)sacrifice, and stem logically from the narratives of the films. These Hungarian stories of retreat seem to be exceedingly brutal with their protagonists, they make it clear that one cannot simply turn one's back to the dominant ideologies and masculinities of contemporary societies, one cannot turn one's back to a lost past or a lost childhood, ignoring the imperatives of one's biological and/or symbolic fathers.

I would argue that post-communist cinematic returns and retreats can be interpreted as a reinvention of an old, well-used pattern of behaviour on the part of Eastern-European men. As Maya

Nadkarni argues, "the paternalist regime constructed its citizens, regardless of age, as *childlike*. That is ... the retreat into a private realm of action seemingly free of political concerns was in fact the very condition of political subjectivity" (Nadkarni 2010, 200). After the regime change the euphoria of the end of state-socialist dictatorships may have empowered men to change this much-practised pattern and venture *out* so as to try living more open, active and progress-oriented masculinities. The films of the 2000s, however, show that this empowering myth of emancipation, connectivity, modernisation and progress has been seriously shaken and discredited in the countries of the former Soviet Bloc. Men (in films as well as in life) often choose tactics of retreat, turn back towards their roots, and seek simpler lives in the private realms far from the public battles they have given up on winning.

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Retreat into the Spaces of Consciousness[1]
Miklós Sághy
saghy.miklos@gmail.com

Abstract: A distinct tendency can be detected in contemporary Hungarian film, namely the presentation of protagonists who leave public spaces and retreat to the "safe haven" provided by the private sphere. The term *retreat* can be applied to these kinds of movies which depict primarily the process of retreat as a real spatial movement, since the protagonists literary retreat from society, from public communal spaces, from the city, from the world of specific human interactions. As far as I can see, contemporary Hungarian films display yet another form of retreat, which can be interpreted not as a real but as a mental movement, as a retreat into mental spaces. From that perspective I analyze three Hungarian films: *Liza, the Fox Fairy* (2015), *The Investigator* (2008) and *Adrienn Pál* (2010). In my interpretation I show that the (male and female) protagonists live withdrawn into their body and mind. This state appears as a substantial closing down, and as a retreat to inner, mental spaces. Eventually, all three main characters will be able to step out of their mental and psychological isolation into the larger spaces of social (inter)action. However, the precondition of these stepping outs is facing their traumatic past.

Keywords: retreat, post-communism, post-socialism, contemporary Hungarian film, consciousness-film, traumatic past, *Taxidermia*, *Delta*, *Liza, the Fox Fairy*

Retreat into the private sphere

It has been observed and described several times that films directed by Hungarian directors starting their careers in the 2000s display a tendency in which films do not focus on specific social problems, they cannot be related directly to contemporary Hungarian reality, they do not put on themselves the presentation of topical social debates.[3] (Gelencsér 2014, 323; Gelencsér 2017, 238–242; Király 2015, 186; Király 2016, 71.) Their heroes do not fight for a community, do not represent a social group, but are a lot more likely to be standing in front of us as lonely, marginalised human beings struggling with personal problems. The disappearance of a specific reference obviously brought about a change towards the more abstract both in terms of the form of expression and that of the world depicted. Interestingly enough, Hungarian film (and literature) in the 1980s displayed a similar artistic predilection for more abstract expressions, and, similarly to contemporary films, it was also accompanied by a distinct turn away from social reality. As Ernő Kulcsár Szabó wrote about the 1980s: the difficulties of narration (e.g. the masterful creation of the text itself, reflection, wordplays) had become more important than the actual topic of the literary text. (Kulcsár Szabó 1993, 144–160)

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[3] Or if they refer to tragic and traumatic Hungarian past after all, they do it in symbolic or metaphoric way. (cf. Kalmár 2013; Strausz 2011)

This tendency could be very easily explained in the 80s, when individuals had no possibility to exert any influence on public affairs during state socialism, especially if they held differing views from the principles of Communist ideology. So, as influencing public affairs and being actively involved in the political arena had become partially impossible and partially dangerous in Hungary, finding refuge in the private space after having retreated from the public sphere became a compelling strategy. As Jacqui True argues when writing mainly about the Czechoslovak state-socialism during the 1970s and 1980s because "possibilities of exercising influence in an outward direction – in the public sphere – no longer existed, people diverted more of their energy in the direction of the least resistance, that is, into the private sphere". (True 2003, 34)

I argue that the cinematographic (and literary) alienation from social reality and social problems in the 1980s can be compared to the abovementioned tendency in film in the 2000s. The euphoria after the change of the political regime was soon followed by a period of disappointment and the recognition that the transformation of the mentality of people which was fashioned under a totalitarian rule, was a difficult and lengthy process. No wonder that the change of the regime in Hungary led to "an inhuman, unjust, unfair, inefficient, anti-egalitarian, fraudulent, and hypocritical system that is in no way at all superior to its predecessor, which was awful enough". (Szeman and Tamás 2009 – quoted by Kalmár 2017, 11) Even then, the majority of people couldn't feel as if they had a real say in public affairs, politics, or that they could have equal access to public goods in terms of their merits. In short, citizens of post-communist states had to face the fact that the change of regime (the accession to the EU) did not bring about fundamental social changes and that dealing with public affairs and running administrative errands still mimicked state-socialist patterns. In the light of this, it seems that retreating, turning away, or backing away from public affairs in the 2000s, after the 1980s, was a current strategy in Hungary and in post-communist states in general.

György Kalmár in his essay *Rites of Retreat in Contemporary Hungarian Cinema* analyzed thoroughly and persuasively the modes in which the different (social) strategies of turning away and retreating are present in contemporary Hungarian films. According to him, similar cinematic phenomena from before the change of regime are straightforward predecessors of these: "I would argue that post-communist cinematic returns and retreats can be interpreted as a reinvention of an old, well-used pattern of behaviour on the part of Eastern-European men." (Kalmár 2017, 23) In the 2000s, Kalmár argues, Hungarian society was characterised by a disillusionment and demoralization similar to that of the decade before the change of regime. The impossibility of fair and sensible public activity inspires protagonists in films to leave public spaces and to retreat to the safe haven provided by the private sphere. Or, as Kalmár puts it "many male protagonists of post-communist Hungarian cinema

tend to return from their westbound journeys, often so as to withdraw from the open, public (traditionally masculine), usually urban spaces of self-liberation, from the possibilities of establishing more authentic, publicly accepted identities, thus creating unusual spatial patterns and peculiar masculinities." (Kalmár 2017, 10) Kalmár uses the term *retreat film* to designate movies which depict such movements and retreats and describes the path taken by protagonists as follows: "Their spatial trajectories may typically lead from Western cultural centres to Eastern homelands, from cities to the countryside, from the public sphere to the private, sometimes symbolically from the future to the past, and often from the realm of desire to that of Thanatos. The men of these films tend to struggle to find places of their own on the margins of society, *away* from public spaces: what they seem to have in mind is a place to hide, somewhere to retreat." (Kalmár 2017, 11)

Kalmár, therefore, 1) primarily describes the process of retreat as a real spatial movement, which, at the same time, 2) is also used to determine the creation of a new masculine (counter) identity. Or, in short, spatial movement, as described by him, embodies the possibility of the creation of a new male identity.

György Pálfi's *Taxidermia* (2006) and Kornél Mundruczó's *Delta* (2008) figure in Kalmár's analysis, among others. The protagonist of the latter, Mihail returns to his homeland, the estuary of the Danube, after having spent a longer period of time working in Western Europe and "he would simply like to build a log-house on the river in the astonishingly beautiful and untamed wetlands of the Danube Delta (where his father used to have a fishing hut), so as to hide away from the world." (Kalmár 2017, 16) [Fig.1.] The last progeny of the family whose story is depicted in *Taxidermia* is called Lajoska, who works as a taxidermist. He retreats into the sterile world of his own workshop, or, in other words, he exiles himself to the midst of prepared, stuffed animals even though he does not disclose the external reason for his exile. [Fig.2.] Kalmár supposes there are nebulous psychological reasons behind his exile, and, partially, some family history: "there is no outside power forcing him into exile. No visible »outside« factor destines Lajoska to live his life surrounded by dead things in his cold, literally lifeless labyrinthian den. The film suggests that his miserable existence is only due to opaque psychological reasons, or the weight of the family history on his shoulders." (Kalmár 2017, 15)

[Fig.1.] Danube Delta as a retreat – *Delta*

[Fig.2.] Lajoska, the taxidermist – *Taxidermia*

Kalmár's excellent analyses focus primarily on real spatial movements, as the protagonists in the films he chose for analysis literally retreated from society, from public communal spaces, i.e. from the city, the village, from the world of specific human interactions.

As far as I can see, contemporary Hungarian films display yet another form of retreating, which can be interpreted not as a real but as a mental movement, as retreating into mental spaces. Obviously, Kalmár always connects movements in real spaces with the process of identity formation, so in that respect, he also speaks about metaphorical, symbolic spaces; however, in the cinematographic examples he cites, the spatial/physical markers of retreat can also be observed and identified (which, accidentally, are/can be experienced by the other characters in the movies, so they are part of the (common) reality). In what follows, I will focus on the representation of this mental retreat in some Hungarian films.

Retreating into the mental sphere

But what does exactly this mental, non-real, non-spatial retreat mean? To illustrate, let me introduce Károly Mészáros Újj's movie, *Liza, the Fox Fairy* (*Liza, a rókatündér*) released in 2015 in Hungary.

The protagonist of the film is Liza who leads a lonely and withdrawn life. The film, however, does not provide a logical explanation for her loneliness (it rather uses a fairytale-like one: Liza was cursed just like a Japanese lady called the fox fairy, who accidentally killed every man who became close to her). In the film Liza's loneliness, however, is not depicted as a depressive, desolate, bleak state, but as a colorful, musical, fabulous world, populated by Liza's dreams and fantasies. The most important character there is Tony Tani, a long-dead Japanese pop singer. [Fig.3.] Liza escapes from a scary and cryptic world into one created by her own imagination, a beautiful, romantic one; in short, her retreat from her (crippling) loneliness is her imagination. In the case of *Liza, the Fox Fairy* a mental, subconscious space serves as shelter from loneliness, from where only another lonely hero, blessed with similar (musical) fancies, Zoltán, can save her. According to Hajnal Király, the film offers a "playful alternative to the narratives of disenchantment and escapism pervasive in contemporary Hungarian cinema." (Király 2017) The plot lines of retreat and escapism appear in this movie, but Liza, the protagonist escapes into mental spaces instead of *real* external spaces. I would like to emphasise again that Liza is capable of stepping out, eventually, of the state of retreat and loneliness with the help of Zoltán.

[Fig.3.] Liza and Toni Tany – *Liza, the Fox Fairy*

In the following analyses I will focus on two films which, on the one hand, represent the way from isolation and retreat towards some kind of a way out (just like in *Liza, the Fox Fairy*), and, on the other hand, in which the state of isolation and retreat figures as a mental state; however, the mental

states of the protagonists do have spatial poetical aspects. The two cinematographic examples are Attila Gigor's *The Investigator* (A nyomozó, 2008) and Ágnes Kocsis' *Adrienn Pál* (*Pál Adrienn*, 2010).

Retreat from the world of the living (*The Investigator*)

Tibor Malkáv, the medical examiner protagonist in *The Investigator* is depicted, even at the very beginning of the story, in complete isolation. He has closed most communication channels towards the outside world: he rudely turns down his colleague's regular invitation to parties, and his verbal utterances are limited to a bare minimum. The character shuts himself down and the most spectacular way of showing this is his blank, expressionless face, as no joy, no sorrow, and no emotion can be detected on Tibor's face. [Fig.4.] The lack of communicative needs and the extent of his isolation is clearly shown by his limited language usage. In several scenes in the film it turns out that he is incapable of reading between the lines or understanding indirect speech acts, as if he hadn't studied his mother tongue among people but from a book (alone).

[Fig.4.] Tibor's expressionless face – *The Investigator*

The fact that he works as a pathologist, amongst the dead, clearly marks his retreat from the world of the living. He spends his days among dead bodies, in the border realm between life and death.[4] (The

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[4] Cf. Kalmár localizes the space of exile on the border of life and death. Mihail, returning to the Danube Delta positions his shelter on the water as a non-place, which belongs to the realm of both life and death. He writes "However, this new place is on the water, a symbolic element that stands just as much for death as for new life at least since Ulysses decided to head back to Ithaca. The ambiguity of the project and the place of retreat (as a figure of both life and death) is emphasised by several details." (Kalmár 2017, 19)

vacant, unflappable face of the protagonist resembles considerably the lifeless face of the dead.) Tibor is (still) alive but he has withdrawn himself completely to the confines of his body without sending hardly any communication signals. Even though there are tale-like, fantastic scenes in the film which allow a peephole into Tibor's inner world, similarly to *Liza, the Fox Fairy*, these "products" of his imagination are invisible to the other characters in the movie (because they cannot see inside the investigator's head), so for them, Tibor's dull, expressionless face is the "real" experience. [Fig.5.]

[Fig.5.] Scene of Tibor's inner world – *The Investigator*

The film does not inform its audience about the reason for Tibor, the investigator's isolation. There is a short allusion though to the notion that his past and his upbringing is to blame for how he is now: once when he touches his old, unconscious, sickly mother, she starts to bawl desperately as if human contact caused her physical pain, an allusion to the idea that in her family the expression and display of emotions was never allowed.

There are two sources of inspiration which force Tibor to leave his mental and real seclusion. On the one hand, he is coerced into committing a murder to save her mother (to raise money for the expensive medical treatments). On the other hand, he realises that the murder was an ambush so he starts his own investigation to uncover who set the trap for him. During the investigation it turns out that his victim is his half-brother, Ferenc, a son his father had in a previous marriage, and Ágnes, who commissioned him for the task also turns out to be a half-sibling who wants the considerable inheritance for herself. As the plot lines around and details of the murder uncover unfamiliar relationships and ties for Tibor, the process of the investigation serves as the mapping and understanding of his own past. The fundamental question of Tibor's investigation, therefore, does not

focus exclusively on who set the trap for him but equally importantly also on the family secrets buried deeply by his mother. Facing his personal past and the transgenerational silences allows Tibor, the medical examiner to step out of his isolation and to move over the borders of his claustrophobic world.

It is important to mention that a female character provides great help for him during the course of the investigation of his past, and simultaneously assists him when stepping out of his isolation. She is a waitress who maintains throughout the movie her belief that Tibor's expressionless face, his "death mask" hides a living and feeling human being. There is a lovely scene at the end of the film when the investigator is making up the waitress' face. After all, he does have sufficient experience with applying make-up on dead bodies when preparing them for funerals, but this time, the face being made up springs to life: the eyes open and stare at him. [Fig.6–7.] This first frightens Tibor, then, after a couple of seconds of hesitation, he continues his work, accepting, in this symbolic scene, the fact that from now on he will be working with the living, not only with the dead.

[Fig.6–7.] From realm of dead to living: working with dead and working with living – *The Investigator*

Retreat into an obese body (*Adrienn Pál*)

The protagonist of the film titled *Adrienn Pál*, Piroska is in a way the female counterpart of Tibor, the investigator. Her face shows no emotions, and she leads a lonely life exiled into an obese body. [Fig.8.] She has a fiancé but she is not attached too much to him: she listens to his monologues with a blank expression on her face. So, not surprisingly, one day he packs his suitcases, leaves a short telephone message and leaves Piroska's life for good. Piroska resembles the investigator in terms of her job too: she also spends her (work)days among the dead and the half-dead, as she works in a hospital, in a ward where the terminally ill patients are treated. These patients are unconscious bodies, mainly "sentenced to death" and her job includes taking care of them, washing them, and eventually transporting them to the morgue.

[Fig.8.] Piroska's face shows no emotions – *Adrienn Pál*

In the movie we can see Piroska several times (both at her workplace and at home) withdrawn into the bathroom which she doesn't use but where she hides, retreats from the others. In one scene she is at home, sitting on the toilet, and she is going through a suitcase of photographs and mementos of the past. We get to know that her fiancé doesn't even know this suitcase exists because he has an angry outburst when its existence comes to light. In this sense, the toilet is the real space of complete retreat and retirement, her "own space".

The film does not explain what compels Piroska to such a mental withdrawal and isolation, but as no obvious external reasons seem to play a role in this, psychological problems are more likely. This suspicion is reinforced by Piroska's eating disorders: we see her several times gorging and vomiting.

Another commonality between the stories of Piroska and the investigator is that they are both driven to step out of their own mental isolation by an unexpected, personal event in connection with their (traumatic) past: there is a new terminal elderly patient named Adrienn Pál in the ward where Piroska works, who shares the name of Piroska's best friend in primary school. This coincidence pushes Piroska to look for her former friend but her efforts are fruitless. Piroska visits several former classmates and teachers in vain as she cannot find any clues to Adrienn Pál's whereabouts. Moreover, during the course of this "investigation" into the past Piroska constantly gets confused with Adrienn, as if Adrienn and Piroska were one person. It is no accident that Piroska speaks about the "mysterious" Adrienn as her twin sister and the other part of her soul. Therefore, the investigation into Adrienn Pál can be interpreted as Piroska's quest for her childhood self in order to understand how she ended up as an adult in a state of physical and mental isolation (and quasi-clinical death).
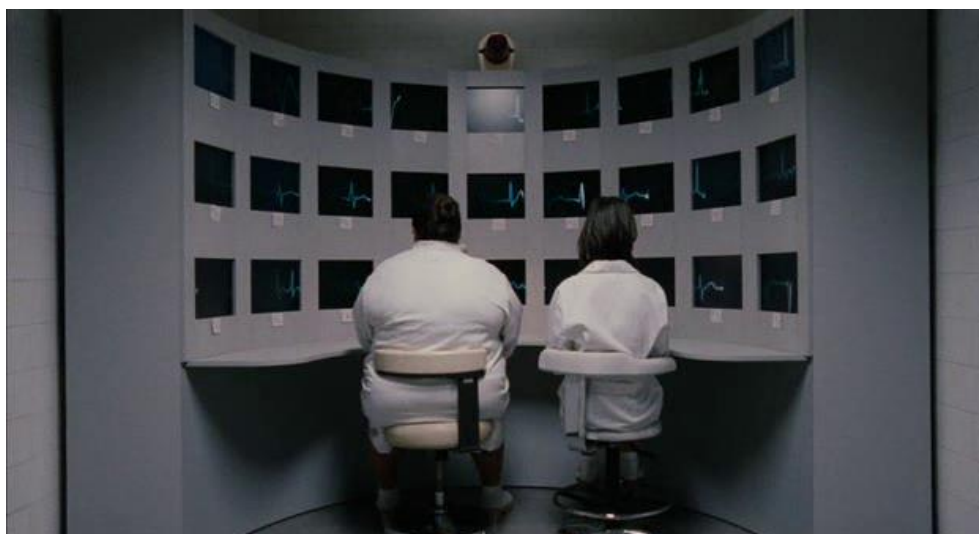
[Fig.9.] Staring at the EKG monitors – *Adrienn Pál*

There are no real results of the investigation of the past (there are no traces of Adrienn), but walking in the spaces of her past and facing her past resuscitates Piroska. The final scene of the film suggests this. First we see as Piroska and her young colleague are staring at the EKG monitors in the observation room, without saying one word. [Fig.9.] We hear several heart monitors beeping accompanying the EKG graphs on the monitors. The cacophony of heart beats is gradually replaced by the sound of a single pulsating heart as the camera closes up on Piroska's face. The linking of the lonely heartbeat with the close up can mean that we hear the sound of Piroska's "reviving" heart, or the story comes to a close with her "awakening" from her "coma" and leaving her prison of loneliness. [Fig.10–11.]

[Figs.10–11.] Resuscitation of Piroska: close up on Piroska's face and picture of her heart beat –
Adrienn Pál

Conclusion

In the beginning of the films *The Investigator* and *Adrienn Pál*, both the male and the female protagonists live withdrawn into their own body and mind. This state can be characterised towards the exterior as a substantial closing down, and as retreating towards the inner, mental spaces. Both films imply that the isolation is the result of some past (not necessarily conscious) trauma or injury because facing the past, investigating the past makes the protagonists step out of their mental retreats eventually, or, at least start on the path. In other words, they leave the dead of the morgue and the half-dead of the terminal ward for the world of the living.

If György Kalmár describes the plot line of the retreat films as withdrawing into narrower and more personal spaces, I argue that the protagonists of *The Investigator* and *Adrienn Pál* walk an inverse path: they are capable of stepping out of their mental and psychological isolation into the larger spaces of (social) action, eventually.

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Figurations of Foreignness in Gergely Péterfy's *The Stuffed Barbarian*[5]

Judit Pieldner
juditpieldner@gmail.com

Abstract. The present study approaches Gergely Péterfy's novel entitled *The Stuffed Barbarian* (*Kitömött barbár*, 2014) from the point of view of foreignness, starting from the hypothesis that the novel's true core whence the different layers of the narrated story unfold is foreignness itself. Focusing on Kazinczy's friendship with Angelo Soliman and the stuffing of the black friend within Kazinczy's life history is the invention of fiction which subverts the Kazinczy-image having existed before in the mind of the public. Instead, it offers a much more personal picture of the unflagging writer, translator and language reformer. The representation of his relationship with Soliman reshapes not only Kazinczy's figure but also the image of the society at the time. In both cases, it is the uncanny, phantom-like otherness of Angelo Soliman that holds up a mirror, showing the contradictions and incompatibilities of the individual fate and of the era. By bequeathing his skin and his story to Kazinczy, Angelo defies the appropriating machinery of power, which can possess the body, the matter, yet, nevertheless, it cannot control this immaterial gesture, it cannot hinder making the story known for posterity. In this way Angelo's stuffed body becomes a memento, a testimony and a complex symbol of otherness in the novel.

Keywords: Kazinczy, identity, foreignness, barbarian, the Other

The present study approaches Gergely Péterfy's novel entitled *The Stuffed Barbarian* (*Kitömött barbár*, 2014) from the point of view of foreignness, starting from the hypothesis that the novel's true core whence the different layers of the narrated story unfold is foreignness itself. The complex story of Ferenc Kazinczy[6] and Angelo Soliman's[7] strange friendship unfolds before the reader's eyes in the light of foreignness. The different forms of foreignness counterpoint each other as one engages in a dialogue with another within the polyphonic structure of the novel.

The novel and the separate episodes of its chapters start from the same thesis sentence formulated by Sophie Török,[8] the primary narrator of the novel: "as I was standing in the storeroom of the Natural

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[6] Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831) Hungarian writer, poet and translator, was the leading figure of language reform in the period of the Enlightenment. As an organizer of literary life he intensely contributed to the advancement of the Hungarian literature, culture and nation. Accused of conspiracy with the Hungarian Jacobite movement, he was imprisoned in 1794 and spent seven years in prison. His account on the years of prison, *Fogságom naplója* (*Diary of My Imprisonment*), is one of his masterpieces, together with *Pályám emlékezete* (*The Memory of My Career*) and his vast literary correspondence.

[7] Angelo Soliman (c. 1721–1796), of African origin, was taken captive as a child and brought to Europe; he became the valet and traveling companion of Prince von Lobkowitz, the imperial governor of Sicily. After Lobkowitz's death, he entered into the possession of Prince of Liechtenstein in Vienna. Later he became a royal tutor, an erudite man and a freemason in Viennese circles.

[8] Zsófia Kazinczyné Török or Sophie Török (1780–1842), Ferenc Kazinczy's wife. She was an educated woman who supported her husband in his literary career and through the difficulties of life, gave birth to eight children the first of whom died in infancy, and took care of Kazinczy's legacy after his death. In the novel she appears as the one to whom Kazinczy passes on Angelo Soliman's story.

History Museum in the attic, with the black body standing in front of me in a red cabinet, I remembered…" (Péterfy 2014, 9).[9] The foreignness felt by Sophie Török standing face to face with the black body and evoking the tragic events of her fate undertaken together with Kazinczy opens up like a prism in the retrospective process of remembering and disassembles into several components which meet again in the concluding statement of the novel: "I realized I was standing before myself" (Péterfy 2014, 448). Thus, the recalled episodes of the narrated story can be regarded as different stages of the process of self-discovery. However, I consider that an even higher importance can be attributed to the role Sophie Török's narrative voice plays in fictionalizing the material on the history of literature and culture.

The writing of this novel was preceded by an extensive research, serving as a basis for a doctoral thesis (Péterfy 2007). The thesis, the novel and Kazinczy's literary activity and correspondence which gave the idea, in the first place, to write the novel build up a special metatextual relation in which the discourses of memoir, research, scientific argumentation and the act of fictionalization meet and create an exciting playground, supporting and counterpointing each other. Gergely Péterfy's research focuses on the relationship between Ferenc Kazinczy and Angelo Soliman, or on their Masonic names, Orpheus and Massinissa, identifying those textual locations in Kazinczy's oeuvre where he makes reference to the black freemason of African origin. Further on, the thesis investigates those contemporary documents which contain passages related to Angelo Soliman, completing them with a survey of stereotypes present in the philosophy and public thinking of the time, related to human races and skin colour. The story of Angelo Soliman is summarised by Kazinczy himself in *The Memory of My Career* (*Pályám emlékezete*), as a diminutive mirror, a *mise en abyme* of the novel: "Upon Angelo's death, the physicians gave order for the body not to be buried but to be brought back to them. They peeled his skin, stuffed it and put it on the back of the elephant standing in the Museum, and announced Vienna in a printed letter that it was Angelo's skin that could be seen on the stuffed elephant. – His rueful daughter thought she owed the respect to his father to go and beg the emperor to have his father taken down. – I hear he was taken down eventually, but after much pressing" (qtd. in Péterfy 2007, 7).

Focusing on Kazinczy's friendship with Angelo Soliman and the stuffing of the black friend within Kazinczy's life history is the invention of fiction which subverts the image of Kazinczy that had previously existed in the mind of the public. Instead, it offers a much more personal picture of the unflagging writer, translator and language reformer. The representation of his relationship with

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[9] The translations of fragments from the novel and quotes from Hungarian specialist literature are mine throughout the paper – J. P.

Soliman reshapes not only Kazinczy's figure but also the image of the society at the time; in both cases, it is the uncanny, phantom-like otherness of Angelo Soliman that holds up a mirror, showing the contradictions and incompatibilities of the individual fate and of the era. Sophie Török's narrative perspective seems to be the most suitable to represent this intimate viewpoint, having access to everything that an (almost) all-knowing first-person narrator needs to know. At the same time, the female perception can 'get under the skin' of the patriarchal society, revealing fine nuances within. In the story Sophie Török is the one for whom the opportunity rises to enter the "walled-in room" of Kazinczy's trauma (Péterfy 2014, 54), to be initiated into the story of the stuffing, partaking of the scandal and being 'stuffed' herself by this inexpressible story. The gesture of transmitting the story to the next generation follows the logic of bequeathing as the only way that can be opposed to the scandal: "[t]his is the reason why this story becomes a heritage which I cannot keep to myself – says Kazinczy as an intermediary, secondary narrator – for otherwise it loses its worth, all the suffering which befell upon us becoming useless, endured in vain" (Péterfy 2014, 361).

The parallel stories of Kazinczy's and Angelo Soliman's foreignness unfold in this narrative frame. In line with the Cartesian dualism, to make the spirit of the age perceivable, the novel is constructed along several oppositional pairs. Spirit and matter, word and reality, soul and body strain against each other as Sophie Török's alchemist father tries to strike spirit from matter, as the master of words gets confronted with the dejecting reality, as the vast spiritual heritage of Ferenc Kazinczy is at odds with the fallibility of the body, with the destruction of the epidemic. The stuffed body of Angelo Soliman stands in the centre throughout the story. "This body, the story of this body is the organizing force of the narrative; the state of being enclosed in the body is what makes Kazinczy's figure tragic" – says József Keresztesi in his review on the novel (2014).

In the first few chapters of the novel we meet the two protagonists as apparently embodying two completely different forms of foreignness. Angelo Soliman, being a black among the white, seems to be the representation of corporeal exoticism, while Kazinczy, a Hungarian among the 'labanc',[10] bears the stigma of cultural barbarism. Angelo's stuffed skin exhibited in the Natural History Museum in Vienna, classified in a scientific manner – "according to the brass plate on the platform, he was a male belonging to the Galla type of the African race, having been part of the collection since 1796" (Péterfy 2014, 18) – testifies, as a grotesque caricature, the scandal of the scientific conception of the Enlightenment based on identification and classification. Contrary to this objectifying categorization, Kazinczy's figure turns up in the novel as a linguistically unclassifiable,

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[10] The word 'labanc' is used in opposition with 'kuruc', the two terms referring to opposing parts of several battles for independence in Royal Hungary between the anti-Habsburg rebels (*kuruc*) and the loyalist supporters of the Habsburg Empire (*labanc*) in the 17–18th centuries.

indescribable stranger who does not comply with the categorizing and standardizing constraints of the peasantry surrounding the Széphalom[11] estate: "He was different from anything their eyes were used to and though they had seen him several times they could not get accustomed to him. They could not find a word in their vocabulary which would unequivocally describe this phenomenon. Such a word should have simultaneously expressed a multitude of traits such as lord, scarecrow, wandering charlatan, tax-collector, revolutionist, travelling actor and scientist conspiring with the devil. However, as there was no such word in their vocabulary, they would rather laugh at him; the only sensible way for them to express this multitude of characteristics was to think of him as being ridiculously foreign" (Péterfy 2014, 30–31). "He who dares to be different exposes himself to mortal danger" – says Sophie Török (Péterfy 2014, 46) as she recalls all the efforts invested into the implementation of foreign culture among the Hungarians and into the development of Hungarian society. There seems to be one single word in the vocabulary of the peasants suitable for defining that manifold strangeness that Kazinczy's innovating and modernizing spirit represented in an environment lagging behind, reminiscent of the Middle Ages: "we were *like that*. *Like that*: we were most often described in this way. We were like that because they could not say what we were like" (Péterfy 2014, 31– emphasis in the original). The phrasing *like that* tries to fill the void created by the unfathomability of otherness, at the same time it signifies the distance, the impassive rejection, the discrimination of foreignness. "Let us not seek to solidify, to turn the otherness of the foreigner into a thing. Let us merely touch it, brush by it, without giving it a permanent structure" – Julia Kristeva writes (1991, 3). The power mechanisms of language fail at the boundary of otherness, when the act of denomination can no longer harness, exert power over the denominated.

Angelo Soliman gets to Europe, then to the circles of the court in Vienna as a slave. He is the foreigner coming from afar who assimilates to the European culture, acquires high standard erudition.[12] However, the black skin, or as Kazinczy formulates, the "cordovan-coloured face" (qtd. in Péterfy 2007, 6) remains an eternal stigma, and the distorted attitudes to it lay bare the concept of man, the system of knowledge and ideas of the Enlightenment. Tímea N. Kovács writes that in the formation process of the self-image of European culture "the foreigners, the 'savages' constituted an important means and element of the self-definition of the Europeans, as the ideas related to the superiority and exclusiveness of their own culture and lifestyle became interpretable only in correlation with the inferiority of exotic, 'primitive' cultures" (N. Kovács 2007, 23). In his essay

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[11] Széphalom, situated in the north-east of Hungary, where Kazinczy moved to in 1806 and had a mansion built for himself (the name of the settlement was also given by him), became the centre of Hungarian language reform movement.
[12] "Soliman was an amiable and erudite man, he possessed a great knowledge, especially in histories. He enjoyed free access to the houses of the aristocracy, and he was also welcome among the middle class. He knew Francis I and enjoyed his favour." (Kazinczy qtd. in Péterfy 2007, 8)

entitled *The "Other" in Philosophy*, Zoltán Gyenge points out that the notion of the race becomes the subject of culture-philosophical reflection in the 18th century; Kant distinguishes the fundamental races based on skin colour: "the first visible sign of the 'other' – if I simply restrict it to the 'not yet seen' and I do not regard it in the cultural sense yet – is colour" (Gyenge 2015, 44). The black face becomes part of society as a reflecting surface, confusing the conceptual boundaries between the familiar and the foreign, the own and the other. The black skin turns out to be a contact surface – a contact zone – which, in its palpable sensoriality, carries the abstract, invisible contents that get filtered through its pores, facing the society with its own structural antagonisms, with the nature of power relations. "It is not the difference that makes one a foreigner but rather the institutionalization of the foreigner leading to the perception and dramatization of the difference" – Gabriella Hima writes in one of her studies (2003, 366).

As an erudite black Angelo Soliman is deviant and uncategorizable to the same extent as Kazinczy. It is the impossibility of his categorization that reinforces the schemes of stereotypical thinking aimed at his denomination, possession and oppression. According to the mentality of the age, "[t]he black is ultimately a white whose skin has turned black due to some kind of disease, his hair has curled and his nose was pushed in in infancy, but with a long treatment he can be cured from all his deficiencies" (Péterfy 2007, 48). Ágnes Heller writes that the negative views referring to the foreigner turned into prejudices in the age of the Enlightenment, as a result of the formation of the value concept of the universal Man (cf. Heller 2015, 12). Angelo Soliman "is himself the enemy, the animal, the foreigner" (Péterfy 2014, 169), he personifies the demonised image of the enemy, the subhuman level in the system of races as well as the visible, thus undeniable foreignness. Upon his arrival in the Habsburg capital, Angelo Soliman is forced to endure the widest range of attitudes to black skin, from incomprehension, exoticization and contempt, through the desire of touching, physical violence and prostitution, to being viewed as a spectacle, an icon, then to the final and definitive objectification being stuffed and exhibited in the museum: "he was stuffed like a monkey" (Péterfy 2014, 287).

Kazinczy's foreignness gradually and irreversibly deepens after his release from prison; the story of his life related by Sophie Török traverses the stages of decline from the Great Plan formulated in the spirit of the ideal of classical erudition and the system of masonic ideas to its step-by-step failure, from the spoilt measure at building the Széphalom home, through rejection, impoverishment, family feuds and trials, loss of his role as a leading literary figure, to the final tragedy caused by the fatal cholera epidemic.

Kazinczy's and Angelo Soliman's fates, characterised, as Kazinczy says, by "the strange

symmetry of our converse situations" (Péterfy 2014, 100), interlock on account of their very differences, or rather, singularities, their peculiar but converging alterities. "In that moment, I could not yet know, he [Ferenc] said, I could not know because I had not yet realized that we were both so peculiar and foreign to each other and to Vienna, our encounter so unique and extraordinary, our curiosity for each other so unusual in an environment where cool distance was the norm to be followed, that there was not a single event in the Habsburg Empire that could be more special than our conversation" (Péterfy 2014, 93). Angelo plays a key role in Kazinczy's self-understanding; for Angelo Kazinczy is the closest friend to whom he can bequeath, together with his skin, the story of his humiliation. This friendship implies for both of them the identity-shaping role of otherness, the relationship with the Other in a sensory-ethical dimension. As Katalin Vermes writes, interpreting Lévinas, in a phenomenological approach: "[i]ntersubjectivity forms not only the universal, objective space but also the externality of sensoriality and practice – of pottering around. The relationship with the Other is not perceptual or practical but sensorial-ethical. The Other is not the primordial experience, not an empirical contact as if the Other were the first object of perception or the first means that we have access to. Not only the I is the origo, the centre of perception. I 'position' myself in relation with the other already before any phase of thinking. The I takes shape in the Other, through the Other" (Vermes 2006, 149).

It is in this context, in the sense of the fulfilment of the self in the Other, through the Other, that the concept of friendship, polished on classical, Platonic ideas, should be conceived. In the age of Enlightenment the antiquity's notion of friendship implying spiritual – or even physical – attraction deepens in the direction of erudite contact and cultural transmission, one form of which is literary correspondence also pursued by Kazinczy. Kazinczy's relationship with Angelo Soliman unfolds along scholarly interests and masonic ideas, but most of all, along their almost equal share of foreignness. The extension of the Self through the Other, the recognition of the sameness of the Self and the Other already belongs to the conceptual sphere of the *alter ego*. As we can read in the novel about this most noble human relationship conveyed by Kazinczy's words: "I realized slowly and gradually what my feelings actually meant and what was the deeper, more serious, or if you like, more virile, reading of these significations. Then I still was years from the final account with myself and from understanding the moral in the fact that I discovered in him *the alter ego of friendship, the other I identical with myself*" (Péterfy 2014, 92 – emphasis mine, J. P.). The alter ego status, the carriedness of the Self by the Other manifests in the way in which Angelo's foreignness becomes the signifier of a more profound experience of strangeness, discovered within the self.

The walk together in the Graben in Vienna is an emblematic moment of their friendship; they

both demonstrate their foreignness with their flagrant clothes: Kazinczy arrives at the scene of encounter in a *kuruc* high fur hat and with a sword inherited from his father, while Angelo is wearing a caftan, turban and holds an ostrich feather fan; "so were we walking, he among the whites, I among the *labanc*" (Péterfy 2014, 354). In the lines inspiring the novel, Kazinczy relates the event as follows: "One day, wearing Hungarian clothes, I came across him in the Graben, and many eyes were staring at us. – Look, he said, how they are looking at you in your short fur-lined coat and boots, and at me in my striped robe. Don't they think that you are also the child of Africa?" (qtd. in Péterfy 2007, 8). The joint public demonstration takes place not only for the sake of lark; in the mirror of Angelo's foreignness Kazinczy discovers his own homelessness. For the remembering Kazinczy the scene highlights the paradox of his own fate: he, who became a laughing stock once walking together with his father in the Graben, also wearing a kuruc coat and hat, and for whom the "*Barbarious Hungarians!*" stigmatization was the most painful childhood memory, was struggling throughout his life against barbarism in the spirit of education adjusted to foreign examples and a superior ideal of culture and beauty, and tried to root the foreign elements of Western culture in the Hungarian soil. In the mirror held by Angelo he realises the disquieting foreignness of his struggle that can never turn into a domestic comfort. The fact that his imprisonment and almost being sentenced to death together with the leaders of the Hungarian Jacobite movement by the very German language culture whose Goethe and Schiller he appreciates above all is the most painful for him. Kazinczy himself emphasised the "barbarism" of Hungarian language and culture as compared to the German; thus, barbarism is not only an external stigma but also an interiorised consciousness of otherness.

Both Angelo and Kazinczy try to rise above the cultural power relations by means of erudition and language. Angelo speaks several languages, he acquires the forms of erudite conversation, as a freemason he pursues scientific activity in the Natural History Museum from Vienna, where after his death, as an irony of fate, he will be stuffed, turning from the former scholar into an exhibited object. Kazinczy attempts personal revenge for the suffered wrongs through his language reform. Derrida writes about the Foreigner of Plato's *Sophist*: "someone who doesn't speak like the rest, someone who speaks an odd sort of language" (Derrida 2000, 5). In Gergely Péterfy's novel Kazinczy's separation through language, the intent of creating "an odd sort of language" acquires a secret signification. As a counter gesture of power manifesting through language, in his invented words the neologist Kazinczy deprives the things of their names, cuts the ground from under the feet of language users, with this immaterial gesture turning all those who exert power over him into barbarians without a language: "so there was one single revenge left for him: to take away the language from those who rose above him, who deprived him of his freedom, goods and body; to take away their language and

to leave them as stammering barbarians in the swamp of their vulgarity" (Péterfy 2014, 65). The notion of the (Western, spiritual) *emember*[13] is set against the (Eastern, physical) barbarian; this is Kazinczy's word invention for the ideal of the superior man that he has also set himself as a goal: "[t]he *emember* is the cultured man, the erudite man, the Western man, the *emember* is Ulysses and Faust and Don Giovanni. The *emember* is the reduplicated man who doubled himself, who did everything to become better, to become more – the *emember* is the freemason, the adept; the *emember* is the artist, the *emember* is the philosopher, the scientist, the poet" (Péterfy 2014, 135). The *emember* remains a utopia, just like the ideal of pluralism, which is formulated from an ironical worm's-eye view, adapted to the child Josephina's (Angelo's daughter's) perspective: "It is not possible to recolour the one who is born black, just as it is not possible to recolour the white to be, let's say, green or blue. It would be probably funny to live in a world which is as colourful as the glass windows of the Stephansdom, in which the red, green, yellow and purple people would walk side by side" (Péterfy 2014, 331).

Who is the foreigner and who is the barbarian? Or, asking with Derrida: "Isn't the question of the foreigner [*l'etranger*] the foreigner's question?" (Derrida 2000, 11). What does Angelo's stuffed body ask? The act of "discipline" carried out by stuffing his body, in Foucault's sense of the term, acquires the signification of the power's demonstration against enlightened ideas in an attempt to eliminate free thought: "On the part of the court the matter is obvious arrogance, luxuriating in the flush of power: their purpose is no other than humiliating, through Angelo's person, everybody who have ever connected their lives with enlightened ideas, and exultantly demonstrating their power over our body" (Péterfy 2014, 431). By bequeathing his skin and his story to Kazinczy, Angelo defies the appropriating machinery of power, which can possess the body, the matter, yet, nevertheless, it cannot control this immaterial gesture, it cannot hinder making the story known for posterity. In this way Angelo's stuffed body becomes a memento, a testimony and a complex symbol of otherness in the novel.

By the end of the novel the meanings of the words barbarian and foreigner are relativised, they fold upon each other. In the closure of the unspeakable story built into the multilayered narrative it is solidarity and interdependence that link the two and make them transgressable on a deeper, hermeneutical level: "It is perhaps only the barbarian that understands the foreigner and the foreigner that understands the barbarian" (Péterfy 2014, 435). The twofold story is in fact the story of parallel – and interwoven – failures. Nevertheless, the assumed solidarity, "something within each of us – our

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[13] Word created by the duplication of the initial syllable inserted in the Hungarian word *ember* 'man'. Unlike many other linguistic inventions, this word created by Kazinczy has not become part of Hungarian language.

essential humanity – which resonates to the presence of this same thing in other human beings" (Rorty 1989, 189) carries the value, the dignity that can be opposed, beyond corporeal and material constraints, timelessly, through ages, to the – also timeless – barbarity and inhumanity of the world.

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Zsuzsanna Ajtony
ajtonyzsuzsa@uni.sapientia.ro

Imagology – National Images and Stereotypes in Literature and Culture
(Manfred Beller, Joep Leerssen (eds.) *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary*
Representation of National Characters. **Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007)**

Stereotyping is a natural ordering function of the human and social mind. Stereotypes make reality easier to deal with because they simplify the complexities that make people unique, and this simplification reflects important beliefs and values as well. People have a rich variety of beliefs about typical members of groups including beliefs about traits, behaviours and values of a typical group member. Social identity theory (Tajfel 1978) considers that our relation to the different social or ethnic categories is inherently asymmetrical. Categorizing people according to their ethnic or national affiliation affects the judgment of their features. The ethnic group we belong to is experienced to be "ingroup biased", continuously being overestimated as opposed to the outgroup. This asymmetrical relation leads to the emergence of national or ethnic stereotypes. As a result, it is an old and widespread tendency that different societies, races or "nations" are endowed with certain features or even characters. It seems that different people's relationship to other cultures is characterised by ethnocentrism, i.e. anything that is different from one's own patterns, is considered to be "other", strange, anomalous or unique.

In several languages, the critical analysis of national stereotypes that appear in literature and in other forms of cultural representation is called imagology or image studies. This technical neologism indicates a relatively novel domain of science that studies the national stereotypes as presented in literature and culture. A specialism originally developed in the discipline of comparative literature, imagology studies how certain temperamental characteristics are stereotypically imputed to certain nationalities. As it is an interdisciplinary area of study, it borders on and interacts with several other domains: literary theory, literary history, history of arts, comparative literature, anthropology, history, etc. The Department of Comparative Literature at the University of Amsterdam gives home to a research centre that – for several years now – has dedicated its work to the study of imagology. One of the most outstanding and widely acclaimed results of this research is the encyclopaedic volume entitled *Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters*. The volume was edited by two well established researchers of the field, Professor Manfred Beller and Professor Joep Leerssen. Ever since its publication, this volume has become one of the most credited handbooks on the literary articulation of stereotypes of national characters.

The volume contains both a theoretical overview of this field of research and a vast practical part in which the contributors to this volume define the most essential concepts related to imagology. The volume is divided into three parts. The first part contains five comprehensive theoretical studies outlining the main interest areas of the field, reflecting the nature of cultural representations and "images of national identity," a survey of the history and method of the critical study of national images, critical studies on pre-modern ethnic and national categories in classical antiquity and the Middle Ages, as well as a study on the modern ideology of the myth on "national character".

The second part of the volume examines, in alphabetical order, the literary, narrative and rhetorical cross-cultural representations/images of nearly all European nations or ethnic groups, starting with the Austrians and ending with the Turks, but also some major regions on the other continents (such as Africa, America, more specifically Native North Americans and Native South Americans, Australia, Central Asia, Indonesia, etc.), as they are represented in European culture and literature. This chapter presents how these nations see themselves (cf. the concept of auto-image or self-image) and other nations (cf. hetero-image) and how this image is reflected in literature. Each entry describes the "national character" of the given nation from a historical perspective, coloured with the stereotypical traits ascribed to it. The descriptions are completed with a rich list of references for further reading.

Part three of the volume gives an insight into the conceptual system of imagology, enlisting the working concepts and their approaches from different academic fields. These concepts, also arranged in alphabetical order, comprising such terms like anthropology, discourse, stereotype and prejudice, the images of North and South, East and West, ethnocentrism, Eurocentrism, Foreigner, Identity, alterity and hybridity, cliché, topos – just to mention a few.

These introductory, foregrounding studies, followed by the chapters on national images and on the concepts related to and employed by imagology, give a clear, transparent structure to the volume, which is easy to handle as well, due to the cross-references indicated by the arrows in the running text. The theoretical grounding is well-prepared and the discussion of the concepts is both comprehensive and accurate. In spite of the fact that the volume claims to be just "a critical survey", it has an encyclopaedic nature in which both specialists and non-specialist readers can find the entry they are looking for.

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As image studies have no such tradition in Hungarian culture, there was a need for a translation of some of the theoretical studies mentioned above, of images of certain European nations and ethnic groups as well as a list of relevant concepts. This selection was published in the volume *Imagológia.*

A nemzeti karakterek kulturális konstrukciói és irodalmi reprezentációi (translated by Zsuzsanna Ajtony), by Scientia Publishing House, Kolozsvár, in 2014. As it is a selective volume, in concordance with the source volume, it reflects the ethnocentric and Eurocentric view of the translator: it enlists the image of exclusively European nations, especially restricted to those nations and ethnic groups which – based on historical, cultural, linguistic resemblance, or simply on similar historical fate – might be of interest and relevance for the Hungarian reader. . For instance, the entry on Hungarians claims that "the Western image and stereotypes of the (Magyar) Hungarians and the Hungarian self-image oscillate between two poles: the negative variant, [describing them] as inferior, backward, plundering Asiatic, barbarian intruders in Europe and the positive variant (…) heroically fighting for the defence of Christian Europe and European liberal values" (p.174), the activation of one pole or the other depending on political circumstances. Representations of both extremes do exist in Hungarian culture and in the culture of neighbouring nations, but today we also witness several self-ironic images of Hungarians shading both poles.

On the other hand, according to Sorin Mitu, the Romanian self-image is characterised by self-denigration deeply rooted in their national culture, the idea originating from Emil Cioran's 1936 essay, *The Transfiguration of Romania*, which states that "Romanian qualities are negative ones: their wisdom is an indulgence, their tolerance comes from their good-natured lack of the spirit of contradiction, while their celebrated *dor* (expressing longing, 'a mixture of nostalgia, sadness, pain, happiness and love') is merely laziness." (p. 224) Due to the fact that this essay was not translated into any modern language at the time, this Romanian self-image could not make way towards western mentality. However, the image of Romanians created in Jules Verne's *Les château des Carpathes* and Bram Stoker's famous *Dracula* had an enduring impact on the Western mind about Transylvania at the end of the 19th century and this has become the strongest reference point about Romania ever since. The entry on the Romanian image could be completed with some further details related to an ever stronger tendency for objective self-reflection that can be currently traced in contemporary Romanian culture (especially literature and film). This tendency dissociates itself from the above mentioned commonly accepted stereotypical images, guiding the reader/viewer towards a more objective, consequently a less romantic, and less gothic image of Romania and the Romanians.

One more word about the Hungarian translation of the volume: since this is the first Hungarian textbook on imagology, its main aim was to break ground. As there is hardly any imagological terminology in Hungarian, the translation had to rely on the specialised jargon and language use of several sister disciplines imagology is related to. The terminology was taken over from the domains of cultural studies, postcolonial studies, social psychology, anthropology and history of art, which

already have a well-established Hungarian specialised language. Some terms were transliterated (e.g. term "hetero-image" was sometimes translated as "hetero-imágó", but also as "másokról alkotott kép" (image created about others), depending on the context; on the other hand, however, the term "positive affordance" was taken over as a calque word, borrowing the term from English and translated into Hungarian as "pozitív affordancia").

The main drawback in the translation process was the nature of the source text: a heavily theoretical English text consisting of complex phrases and long, elaborate sentences. For the sake of easier reading in Hungarian, these complex English sentences were, in most cases, split into smaller clauses, still pursuing to keep the scientific language of the original. Besides, English and Hungarian are "unfriendly language pairs" (Kinga Klaudy) in the sense that it is much less difficult to translate an English text into another Germanic language with a similar rigid word order than into Hungarian, a Finno-Ugric language with a more flexible word order.

The volume *Imagology. The cultural construction and literary representation of national characters* can be used as a fundamental work in the domain of its own, both theoretically and methodologically. It emphasises the "perspectival situatedness of national images" (Leerssen), i.e. in the case of each ethnotype or national character one has to ask the question: "yes, but from whose perspective?", and this could be considered the most fascinating point of the book. Further research in the domain can be followed on the website imagologica.eu, or by clicking on the online *Encyclopedia of Romantic Nationalism in Europe* (ernie.uva.nl).

The volumes *Imagology/Imagológia*, both in English and in Hungarian, are dedicated to those students and scholars who would like to get acquainted with the historical developments, typology and poetics of national stereotypes but also to those who would like to deepen their understanding and analytical perspective of this fast developing domain of research.

Magdalena Garbacik-Balakowicz
magdagarbacik@gmail.com

Report on the International Conference
IDEGEN – STRĂINUL – STRANGER

The Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania housed an international interdisciplinary conference entitled *IDEGEN – STRĂINUL – STRANGER* at its Miercurea Ciuc, Romania campus on 21-24 April 2017. The event was organised jointly by the Department of Humanities, the Department of Social Sciences, and the Workshop for the Study of Modern Mythologies of Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, in cooperation with the Society of Cultural Anthropology, the Romanian Association of General and Comparative Literature and the International Society of Hungarian Studies. The conference hosted the presentations by 115 scholars from different academic backgrounds (mainly European – Bulgarian, Czech, Dutch, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Romanian, Swedish, Serbian, Slovak – but also American and Japanese). The presentations were delivered in three languages (Hungarian, Romanian and English).

The opening plenary lecture was given by Joep Leerssen, an established scholar affiliated with the University of Amsterdam (European Studies, Chair of Modern European Literature). The presentation, titled "The Campfire and the Hearth: Stranger vs Domesticity", dealt with mapping cultural ethnotypes and discussed particular sociotypes as playing a crucial, formative role in developing stereotypes. Prof. Leerssen listed and discussed four stages of forming cultural stereotypes in Europe from the past until today: first there was the "Herodotus to Constantine" phase, when the Other meant Persians and barbarians; this was followed by the European Christendom phase, when the Muslims were perceived as the Other; the third phase, "Europe as Civilisation", saw the Other as the Savage, and finally the phase of self-interrogation referring to Europe in the 20th century. In this latter phase the interest in national characters has shifted to the direction of a more critical approach in analyses of self–other dynamics, proposing studies based on identification as a central concept in the characterization of social and cultural nationalities. The lecture was a great introduction both to the theory of imagology, as a critical analysis of stereotypes existing in particular cultures, as well as to the topic of the conference, which in the intention of the organisers was meant to explore foreigner discourses and their representations in a present-day Europe. On the second day the plenary lecture was delivered by István Povrdák from the University of Szeged (Vallási Kultúra Kutatócsoport) and the Workshop for the Study of Modern Mythologies. His lecture, titled "Mit kezdjünk az idegenekkel,

pláne, ha nem evilágiak?" (What shall we do with the strangers, especially when they are extraterrestrials?) focused on a very specific aspect of the myth of strangers, namely on the aliens, i.e. the extraterrestrial beings, and their symbolic representations in society and media.

The conference topic encouraged to consider the implications of the myth of strangeness in culture, media and politics from many different perspectives. The conference call addressed the narratives of these myths in universal culture, its origins in the light of cultural, economic, political and psychological factors. The main focus included, but was not limited to, considerations of: the (un)known stranger, the picture/image? of stranger in literature, folklore, film and media, the stranger and social stereotypes connected to him/it, the stranger and migration, minorities versus majorities, the stranger as an alien, foreign languages and their strangeness, we as strangers to others etc.

Connected to these questions, the sessions covered a wide spectrum of topics in the following fields: Anthropology, Contemporary Literature, English Literature, Linguistics, Communication Studies, and an Interdisciplinary Session was also included. The speakers addressed the concept and aspects of strangeness, as seen from the perspective of their particular fields. Strangeness and closeness, one of the most vivid antinomies, constitute to a great extent the world of today in the perspective of both politics, as one of the main factors in (re)establishing the new wave of nationalisms in many European countries, and the Humanities, as an interdisciplinary question raised by many research centres as a reflection of today's world. This broad-scale issue found its reflection in the diversity of presentations: from the picture/image? of strangeness in national literatures and folklore, problems of linguistic barriers in communication and religious movements involved in xenophobic agitation, through dialect and minority issues, the issue of economic migration and political refugees, to the symbolic representation of strangeness and the problem of alienation in school education. These topics were analysed on various examples from different regions of Europe, different nationalities, ethnic groups and languages. As an example of such a huge array of thematic diversity, we mention just a few from over a hundred presentations: *Narratives to a stranger under the political influence in Slovakia: Hungarian minority research by an anthropologist who is not "at home"* delivered by Yuko Kambara Yamane (University of Kitakyushu, CEU), *Passive constructions – strangers among L1 speakers of Hungarian?* delivered by Enikő Tankó (Sapientia University), *Az "idegen" fogalmának értelemtartalma a kortárs antropológiaelméletben: kritikai paradigma és a lokális színtér* [The notion of the concept of "stranger" in contemporary anthropology theory: critical paradigm and local scene] delivered by Gábor Biczó (University of Debrecen), *Constructing a Stranger in Ritual Abuse Panic*

delivered by Rafał Smoczyński (Polish Academy of Sciences), *Ki az idegen? A személyég problematikája Grecsó Krisztián* Mellettem elférsz *című regényében* [Who is the stranger? Personality in the novel *Mellettem elférsz* by Krisztián Grecsó] delivered by Andrea Balogh (Partium Christian University).

The conference resulted in a fruitful international debate, which did not only focus on theoretical aspects of the archetype of stranger, but also gave a great opportunity to exchange the scientific and cultural experience of scholars from different cultural backgrounds and *ipso facto* giving them the occasion to reflect on their own "strangeness" and try to overstep it.

The publication of the official volumes is planned for November 2017.

Apart from more traditional sessions, a virtual session also took place, see:

https://stranger2017blog.wordpress.com/

For the full programme of the conference and the abstracts see:

https://stranger2017blog.files.wordpress.com/2017/04/stranger_abstracts.pdf