SOCIOCULTURAL CONTEXTS AND IDENTITIES

Editors:
Ana Piedade and
Szilárd Kmeczkó

IPBeja
Instituto Politécnico de Beja

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PREFACE

The volume represents the result of the longstanding cooperation between partner institutions within the ERASMUS+ program and contains the research findings of the scholars and researchers of these institutions: the Instituto Politécnico de Beja (Portugal), the Debrecen Reformed Theological University (Hungary), Universidad de Huelva, the Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Spain). As three working languages are used in the collaborations – English, Spanish, and Portuguese – the trilingual volume presents research in these languages.

The Polytechnic Institute of Beja (IPBeja) was somehow the meeting point for most authors – through the ERASMUS+ Mobility program, the organization of international events with the authors present, or through partners in research projects that are expected to move forward soon.

While the volume – *Sociocultural Contexts and Identities* – takes us on a journey through different fields of scholarship, all the articles examine aspects and challenges of identity construction, which serves as the connecting link between them. Regardless of whether the particular research is situated in the realm of migration, tourism, social memory studies, Gerontology, bereavement research, literary studies, history, philosophy, or religion, each explores cultural and identity issues. The contexts are varied across space and time: they extend from Hungarian to Spanish and Portuguese, from the Alentejo to old Portuguese colonial territories beyond the Atlantic Ocean, and span from the 16th century until the present day.

The volume will thus allow the reader to gain insight into various fields, representing the complexity, richness, and the plethora of ways of cooperation between the partners and colleagues of the institutions.

The Editors

Cultural Space in Joseph Roth's *Radetzky March**

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Abstract: In this paper, it has been analyzed how the social space and the consensus on masculinity affect the socio-cultural constructedness of masculine identity in Joseph Roth's *Radetzky March*. The interaction between social space and masculine identity has been analyzed from a phenomenological point of view. Roth's novel, which demonstrates how the protagonists acquire dominant masculinity, is a significant literary document also for men's studies. The built environment imbued with relations, memories, histories, sensations and the omnipresent symbols of "Kaisermythos" facilitates the development of masculine identity, just like the family, the boarding-school or the military. The present paper demonstrates the route to total adjustment. It will be the topic of a next paper to show the route to total disintegration which leads through a phase of distancing.

Keywords: cultural space, masculinity, Austro-Hungarian Empire, space and place

The essay investigates how the cultural space in Joseph Roth's *Radetzky March* influences the development/disintegration of the protagonists' gender identity. The protagonists are embedded in an authentic cultural space that comprises the period between the battle of Solferino in 1859 and the death of the Emperor Franz Joseph I. of Habsburg in 1916. Roth writes about three subsequent male members of a family embedded in masculine places within the cultural space of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Reading the novel from

* A version of this paper entitled "Die Auswirkung des Raumes auf den Identitätsverlust und die Identitätsstiftung" was published in 2009 in German in K Berzeviczy, Zs Bognár, P Lőkös, (eds), *Gelebte Milieus und virtuelle Räume. Der Raum in der Literatur- und Kulturwissenschaft*, Kulturwissenschaften, Band 8, pp. 131–147. Frank & Timme, Berlin.

a cultural-spatial point of view, it comes to light how he creates a hegemonic masculine space and how he describes the process of gender-identity development.

A Phenomenological Approach to Space

In brief, phenomenology postulates that space centers around the subject with the subject constructing it by its *Sein*. Gaston Bachelard demonstrates that there is no empty space as space is filled with meaning. Similarly to Heidegger, also he postulates that the subject lies in the center of the world and it perceives the world in accordance with its temporal and spatial history. Heidegger understands *Sein* as *Dasein* (Being-there). He establishes a philosophy of space in that he considers the subject embedded in a certain space and in a certain time: "*Space is neither in the subject, nor is the world in space. Rather, space is 'in' the world since the being-in-the-world constitutive for Dasein has disclosed space*" (Heidegger 2010, p. 108). The subject is in a certain place, under certain circumstances s/he has not chosen, and Dasein means being thrown into the world. So it can be stated that Heidegger describes Dasein as a spatial category (Heidegger 1993, p. 111). Dasein is 'in' the world in the sense of a caring-confident contact with the inner-worldly *Seiende*. For it to be spatial can only be possible because of this *In-Sein* (being in), or as Peter Gaál-Szabó emphasizes, "*Dasein* is also embedded in this space, while it shapes space as space's center" (2011b). The terms "directing" and "distancing" refer to the fact that Dasein is continually in motion. "Distancing" means that Dasein is aware of itself, on the other hand, it perceives the world around itself which calls the stability for Dasein in space and in time into being. The interpretation of the world is influenced by past experiences, the permanent perception of things and their placement in Dasein. This dynamics determines the perception of space. However, man is not on his own in the world, as he lives together with others who exert their power through social relations (Mitsein).

Consequently, there are social interactions in space: "The everyday possibilities of Being of Dasein are at the disposal of the whims of others. These others are not definite others. On the contrary, any other can represent them. What is decisive is only the inconspicuous domination by others that Dasein as being-with has taken over unawares. One belongs to the others oneself and entrenches their power" (Heidegger 2010, p. 126). Bachelard postulates that space is loaded with qualities. He states in *The Poetics of Space* that the individual is influenced by the house where he was brought up:

"[. . .] the house we were born in has engraved within us the hierarchy of the various functions of inhabiting. We are the diagram of the functions of inhabiting that particular house, and all the other houses are but variations on a fundamental theme" (1969, p. 15).[1] This statement can be understood in two ways: "either there is a house the subject is initially positioned in, which leaves lasting, unwanted imprints on the subject; or the inhabitation of the first house provides the subject with a directionality, which is responsible for the subject's intentionality" (Gaál-Szabó 2012, p. 475). As a result, the subject experiences certain conditioning which later on impairs the opportunities at the subject's disposal, even if the "enabling character of place" as an always already "fissure in abstract space" (Gaál-Szabó 2011a, p. 29) remains a fact. Martina Löw is of the opinion that space does not only connect things with each other but it also represents human relationships, opinions, memories, and perceptions which constitute space: "Spaces come into being if they are connected by people in the first place. Meanwhile, people connect not only things with each other but also other people or groups of people (who intervene in the happening). Thus, secondly, placements attend the emergence of space" (2001, p. 158). She understands "placement" as "establishing, constructing or positioning" (Löw 2007, p. 64). What one perceives depends on "milieus, ethnicity, gender and class relations" (Löw 2007, p. 10).

Phenomenologists state that space is produced by the subject. According to Bachelard, space is filled with meaning and he refers to the effect of the house where the individual is brought up. The outer appearance of the house is related to its owner's social position. The owner belongs to a social class and wants to meet its requirements. This situation controls the meaning. He claims that the interpretation of the world and the perception of space are influenced by past experiences, the permanent perception of things and their placement in the Dasein. Löw ascertains that, like human relationships which one perceives, also things transmit meanings which influence perception.

Phenomenologists state that even the perception of the subject is regulated. Lefebvre deals with this topic in his work *The Production of Space*, in which he puts forward his idea that space is a social product based on a system of values and it influences so everyday practices as perceptions. In his opinion, social space is a human-historical production of space. The socially constructed space is produced under the rule of the dominant classes (1991, p. 10), and, from a gender point of view, it denotes "transparent space", which in

1 All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

Gaál-Szabó's evaluation represents hegemonic, heterosexual, and regulatory masculine space and which "internalizes in the male subject" values connected to masculinity (2007). Thus, space does not only contain the subject which perceives space but also social relationships between the subjects.

Effects of Social/Cultural Spaces

The Built Environment

As it has already been postulated identity develops in the space where the subject lives. At the same time, the relation between space and subject inspires remodeling of space. According to Yi-Fu Tuan, this interaction originates from *Topophilia*, i.e., from an emotional relationship between people and space (Easthope 2004): "Topophilia is an affective response to place, but it is also "a practice that can actively produce places for people" (Duncan 2001, p. 41) – and in that, it must be noted, "the multiplicity of spaces and places" can lead to "multivocal contestation" (Gaál-Szabó 2004, p. 187–188). Nevertheless, Bachelard argues that the space where one lives shapes one's thoughts, memories and feelings. That is why the self can be revealed through, what he calls, topoanalysis. For Bachelard inner space, i.e., the intellect becomes outer space, i.e., the world, and the other way round (1969, p. 8). Consequently, one internalizes space and, at the same time, one projects one's inner life in the space where one lives. Topoanalysis does not only see the dwelling place, the room, and the wardrobe as Bachelard puts it, but also larger spaces like towns which can also be thematized in the relation of subject and space.

The Trottas live in a multicultural space, in the milieu of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The public and private atmospheres are in interaction with each other. The ambition towards creating a uniform Austrian consciousness materializes, among other things, in the layout of the environment. This consciousness becomes part of the identity of the protagonists. The omnipresence of the portray of the emperor, the barracks with their black-yellow colors, the music played by the military orchestra, the Corpus Christi procession, the uniforms all contribute to the situation which creates an imperial atmosphere. Both Franz and Carl Joseph von Trotta contribute to this atmosphere as district captain and officer, respectively. In his short story, "The Bust of the Emperor", Roth gives a detailed description of the social environment:

> [. . .] what he (Count Morstin) responded to most were certain specific and unmistakable manifestations that recurred, in their unvarying and still colorful fashion, on every railway station, every kiosk, every public building, every school and church in all the Crown Lands of the Empire. All over, the policemen wore the same feathered hats or ocher helmets with golden pompons and glittering Habsburg double eagles; all over the wooden doors of the k. and k. trafik stores were painted in black and yellow diagonals; all over tax inspectors wore the same green (burgeoning almost) sword-knot on their spotless sabers; in every garrison town, there were the same blue uniform tunics and black saloon pants of infantry officers strolling on the corso, the same red trousers of cavalrymen, the same coffee-colored jackets of the artillery; all over this big and colorful Empire, when the church clocks struck nine, the same retreat was sounded, made up of cheerfully sounding questions and mournful replies. All over, there were the same coffee houses, with vaulted, smoky ceilings, with dark niches where chess players sat hunkered like alert fowls, with bars full of multicolored bottles and sparkling glasses, presided over by bosomy, blonde barmaids. Almost all over, in all the coffee houses of the Empire, padded a waiter with Dundreary wipers, a little shaky at the knee, his toes turned up, a napkin over his forearm, like a remote, humble version of the ancient servitors of His Majesty the great whiskered lord over all the Crown Lands [. . .]. (1935, p. 236–237)

All these symbols materialize power practices, i.e., the social environment is created in such a way that the people who live in this social-cultural space have the feeling of belongingness, that of being at home. The social environment, in which the Trottas live, looks like that.

For both Franz and Carl Joseph von Trotta the place, where they feel at home, is a quiet, well-to-do, orderly but masculine, military space. Although they do not verbalize this idea, they are controlled by it. They feel at home in the bourgeois milieu, however, they find the circumstances in Galicia inconvenient and disappointing.

The individual shapes his direct surroundings and his environment that transmit information about him. It is not by chance how one shapes his surroundings. The most important official buildings, the churches and the houses of well-to-do citizens are located in the center of the town and they have an impressive appearance like the house of the district captain. Although they could live also under humbler circumstances, their social position would not allow them to do so. At the same time, the behavior of the individual is influenced by his surroundings. This can be illustrated by the example of all three Trottas; though, in the first place, the fate of Carl Joseph von Trotta unfolds in detail. He behaves, namely, in a different way in the urban environment and on the frontiers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, respectively. What is it that elicits the varying experiences of life and the varying patterns of behavior?

In the first part of the analysis, I concentrate on the discourse of the urban space, i.e., towns within the frontiers of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A part of the plot takes place namely in small towns in Moravia and in Vienna.

Joseph von Trotta is the son of a Slovenian peasant who became a sergeant at the end of his military career. The space where he grew up was poverty-stricken. In spite of this, an emotional relationship bound him to the space where he got socialized. That is why it was so difficult for him to adapt to the new situation which issued following his great deed, namely, he had saved the life of the emperor in the battle of Solferino. For his heroism the emperor ennobled him and he became known as the Hero of Solferino.

His elevation to nobility and his promotion to be a lieutenant almost ruin him since he is not able to live up to the horizon of requirements of the new position for a long time. In his heart and soul there are the imprints of his former life, he still feels that he belongs to the lower social class where he was brought up. As time is going on, he identifies himself more and more with the layer of officers. The new circumstances make a deep impression on him and he feels more and more that he belongs to the officers. He even denies and is ashamed of his origins, he does not dare to mention them even to his wife. When he discovers the hypocrisy of the civil servants and loses his faith in the emperor, he discharges from the army and returns to his homeland, Slovenia. He becomes a Slovenian peasant taking care of his farmland. One would say that he returns to his roots. However, he seems to have a double identity. He feels ashamed of this situation and craves after the army.

In the course of the 19th century, the military started through the introduction of compulsory military service which exerted a significant effect on the society. The militarization of men was accomplished as the army became an institution which transformed the recruits into "a people in arms" (Frevert 1997, p. 146). Masculinity was connected to self-sacrifice for the fatherland. Consequently, the army was considered the school of manliness (Schmale 2003, p. 196). The years in the army shaped also the posture which the soldiers could not deny even if they were not wearing their uniform. It separated them from other men. „True masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies [. . .]" (2005, p. 45), writes Connell in her book *Masculinities*, further postulating that the body is imprinted by social symbolism (2005, p. 46). Undoubtedly the middle classes were open to military education. Frevert describes the military as "the school of masculinity" (1997, p. 146), emphasizing its relevance in the construction of bourgeois masculinity in 19th century Germany.

The ascending bourgeoisie articulated itself against the aristocracy and they considered the members of the educated bourgeoisie and the aristocracy softies. They wanted their sons to be strong and sporty; consequently, great importance was attached to bodily training at all-boys schools. In the army, the soldiers learnt the necessary military knowledge and they were trained to develop characteristics like "order, obedience, faithfulness, courage, contempt for death and bravery" (Frevert 1997, p. 149). They were also trained to have a sense of belonging together.

> The goal of their education is to become "the son of the fatherland" who is self-confident, energetic, identifies himself with his designation: loyal, docile, trusts the emperor, refuses all anarchic ideas, patriotic, conservative, authority-conscious, industrious and disciplined, a devoted father, strict as the educator of his children. It is the man who takes his allegiance seriously, who places the love to the fatherland and the faithfulness to the emperor above all and who follows the call to sacrifice his life "for God, the king, and the fatherland" without hesitation. (Frevert 1997, p. 162)

The army facilitated the development of this masculine model which exerted a significant influence on society. To be a soldier means to be a man.

Joseph von Trotta, his son and his grandson have been trained according to the above principles. However, the story of Joseph von Trotta is somewhat different from that of the others as he used to be a sergeant and he descended from a low social class. The young men who came from the parts of the empire where it was difficult to make an existence imagined a soldier's career for themselves. In the army, there were young men who came from different ethnic, religious and economic backgrounds and with different ideas concerning manliness. In the army their training began to make them uniform: "At that age the compulsory military service was connected with the hint to masculine citizenship" (Hämmerle 2005, p. 108).

Thus, it is easy to understand why Joseph von Trotta becomes bitter when he returns to his homeland. He has identified himself with the dominant ideas of masculinity in masculine spaces, and now he lives among people whom he looks down on. He cannot save his emperor; he cannot sacrifice his life for him and for the fatherland, i.e., the empire.

Roth writes very laconically about Franz von Trotta's childhood. He lives with his parents on a small estate, in a house with a small orchard in Bohemia after his father, Joseph von Trotta leaves the army. Franz grows up under these circumstances except for some years he spends in a boarding school after the death of his mother. Roth makes mention of the boarding-school years but he does not go into details. However, we can suppose that the boy cannot have enjoyed his stay there as he just wants to survive the school years. At that time the sons of higher social classes attended boarding-schools or military schools which were characterized by discipline and hierarchy. The students were controlled all the time; they did not have any private sphere and in the case of indiscipline there were strict punishments (Theweleit 1978, p. 145). Although it had officially been prohibited to use bodily punishment since the reform of military school system (1874), there were beatings, mistreatment, and even torture as it is described in Musil's *The Confusions of Young Törless.* Franz von Trotta would have liked to manage the farm just like his father. Crass as his father might be, he feels in that environment at home. However, the father orders him to be a civil servant. So he studies the law and becomes district commissar in Austrian Silesia.

Being the grandson of the Hero of Solferino he rises quickly in position and soon becomes a district captain who lives in the house described earlier. He lives there until his death. The stately house, which is at the same time also his respectable workplace, strengthens his hegemonic male identity, i.e., he is a district captain, the representative of His Majesty, an exemplary civil servant, laconic, seemingly emotionless, condescending, a subjugating husband, a patriarchal and arrogant father. Roth does not let us know whether it is easy or difficult for Franz von Trotta to get used to the new circumstances. Probably, it is not, as the house where he grew up might have been a humble version of his new dwelling place, the difference between them is not that significant. The description of the first house, where Carl Joseph von Trotta lives, is the paternal house where he was born, i.e., the house of Franz von Trotta which is at the same time the district headquarters in the small town W. Its streets are broad and fringed with shady chestnut trees. Roth makes mention of a church, a hotel, a railway station, a café, and a castle. The house of the Trottas is probably located in the vicinity of the church building: "The church bells started clanging; they tolled all the way into the room as if swinging just beyond the thick blinds" (1989, p. 31). The house stands close-by the church, i.e., it is located in the center of the town, which indicates that it is a significant building. Also, the tax office is agreeable. However, it stands like the constabulary headquarters at the boundary of the town; thus, their respectability is lower than that of the buildings in the center of the town.

What does the headquarters of the district captain look like? Roth does not describe the architecture of the house; still one can come to the conclusion that it is a multi-story building. It is a bigger house with a balcony, the dining room is located in the middle of the first store and there are two other rooms between the dining room and the room of the father. We know that there is also a built-in attic where the portrait of the Hero of Solferino is hanging. Also Frau Hirschwitz, the housekeeper must have had a room. There is a one-room little house in the courtyard, near the big house, where Jacques, the groom lives. The house meets the standard of living of the educated bourgeoisie that includes also civil servants of a higher position (Hausen 1988, p. 106). The house probably has a stately appearance. The significance of the district offices is emphasized also by its location in the center of the town and that the military orchestra plays every Sunday under its balcony. The district offices have a message, namely, that the person who lives in them: "the office building of the district captain represented in this small town no lesser personage than His Majesty the Emperor" (Roth 1989, p. 31). People think when looking at that house that its inhabitants are venerable and well-to-do persons and nobody would think that they might have financial difficulties. Both the placement and the scope of the building embody power, i.e., the district captain who is the representative of the emperor has to live in the town center, in a stately house and when we visualize Franz von Trotta, who looks like the alter ego of the emperor, the construction of the social space is perfect.

Carl Joseph von Trotta is born in this house and grows up in the paternal house even if he as a soldier lad spends only the holidays at home. The house which is a masculine space, as all but one inhabitant are men, exerts an identity-developing effect on him. He feels secure as he experiences a kind of safety, at the same time he can also observe how his father is respected by other people. During the school year, he often thinks about the Sunday lunch in the paternal house which means for him summer, freedom, and home. According to Bachelard, everybody carries the print of the house on themselves, where they are placed, and this print decides their habitus (Bachelard 1969, p. 15). The space to which he gets used to controls his concept of a dwelling place. Thus, it is easy to understand why he cannot get used to the circumstances in the barracks and in Galicia.

Carl Joseph spends a longer time in the barracks of the cavalry in a small town in Czechia. Military service takes place on an institutional place, in barracks where there are rules which everybody has to obey, soldiers are controlled strictly and they are punished in case of deviation. One would think that military service remains static because of strict control. However, reading the novel from a phenomenological point of view one has to discern that also the message of military services alters.

Barracks is the materialized form of military service, expressing the power of the army. The barracks, where Carl Joseph lives, is a red brick building with a black and yellow gate and has a strange placement. It jams up the road which has to evade it. The placement of the barracks represents the strength and impugnability of the Empire. The barracks make the following impression on the observer:

> The barracks looked as if it had been thrust into the Slavic province by the Imperial and Royal Army as an emblem of the Hapsburg might. [. . .] The highway had to yield. [. . .] you could spy, in the distance, the broad, arched, black-and-yellow entrance to the barracks, a gate brandished like a mighty Hapsburg shield against the town: a threat, a protection, and both at once. (Roth 1989, p. 72–73)

The architecture and the placement of the barracks have a message for the people, i.e., the Empire and the Habsburg rule are firm as a rock and defend their subjects. The barracks is the locus of identity-creating discourse namely the soldiers, the sons of His Majesty will always have a place to live in, where they can feel safe. They will always have accommodations and boarding, and they can be proud of the fact that they may live in the barracks of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire. The barracks, which offers the soldiers much better circumstances, make such an imprint in the soldiers who come from poor, rural circumstances. Also, Klarmann reminds the reader of the "dual functions of the barracks as power-symbol" (1975, p. 154). The imprint of the house of birth of Carl Joseph differs a lot from the circumstances in the barracks, and he feels there more threatened than defended, surely he does not feel at home. The barracks and the memories about his home differ from each other totally: "Whenever he returned home to the barracks in the afternoon, and the huge double gate closed behind him, he felt trapped; never again would the gates open before him" (Roth 1989, p. 74). The courtyard and the inside of the building look gloomy; the inside of the barracks is deadly dull and soulless, especially when we compare it with the inside of the paternal house. The floor of the corridors is tarred, the walls are bare and whitewashed, the rooms are half-dark because the lamps are kindled only after the onset of darkness, frugality becomes visible all over the building, the whole place acts depressingly. It is no wonder that Carl Joseph does not feel at home in the barracks as he has been conditioned in a different way, he has been rooted in a totally different milieu. This unintentional rootedness in the space, that means "home" for him, lets him perceive the new space as strange and hostile. He develops a feeling of uneasiness.

From the outside the red brick building irradiates power and respect; from the inside it irradiates insignificance. Here the discrepancy is expressed that is characteristic of the whole Dual Monarchy. The viewer of Vienna and the small towns in the inside of the empire has the impression that the Habsburg Empire is in full force and energy. If they are observed from the edge of the empire the impression is just the contrary, as Roth puts it: "For the vultures were already circling over the two-headed eagle of the Hapsburgs – vultures, the eagle's brotherly foes" (Roth 1989, p. 235*)*.

The casino is also a masculine place as all its guests are men; they are in the first place officers who represent the dominant male identity. It has its own system of opening and closing, thus, it is isolated and penetrable at the same time. The gateway of the building which hosts the casino is brightly lit and is located in a beautiful house on the boulevard which is an esplanade. The saloons of the casino are well lit and light streams to the boulevard through the windows. The saloons are furnished with cute tables and table lamps with red lamp-shades on them. The portrait of the emperor which can be seen at every official place like the military school, the headquarters of Franz von Trotta, the office of the colonel, hangs also here on the wall. The portrait is the sign of the omnipresence of the emperor. It is so to say compulsory to spend the evenings in the casino and it is improper to leave before the colonel leaves it. This is the site of getting together where they can experience the feeling of togetherness and demonstrate their dominant masculinity. The casino is also the site for the production of gender.

Social Interactions

We have already stated that social space and identity are connected and that there is no empty space as space is loaded with social interactions. I am going to bring forward some episodes to demonstrate how social space is constructed through actions which visualize the power of the ruling class, further on, how social space influences identity building, i.e., how it contributes to turning an individual into a subject who is willing to sacrifice his life. Let us remember the description of a Sunday morning in the little town where the military orchestra plays in front of the headquarters of the district captain, i.e., the representative of the emperor, how delighted the listeners are, especially when the Radetzky March is played, how Mr. Winternigg goes in his carriage for a drive. This atmosphere exerts a peculiar effect also on the young Carl Joseph von Trotta. When Carl Joseph is at home and listens to the military orchestra playing:

> He felt slightly related to the Hapsburgs, whose might his father represented and defended here and for whom he himself would some day go off to war and death. He knew the names of all the members of the Imperial Royal House. He loved them all sincerely, with a child's devoted heart – more than anyone else the Kaiser, who was kind and great, sublime and just, infinitely remote and very close, and particularly fond of the officers in the army. It would be best to die for him amid military music, easiest with "The Radetzky March [. . .]. (Roth 1989, p. 31)

In this citation, one can get to know the "learnt thoughts" of Carl Joseph, Werner Hoffmeister states (1975, p. 167). He deifies the emperor and is convinced that the emperor loves his officers in particular. He is ready to sacrifice his life for the emperor. Also, the scene, where Carl Joseph and his father are having lunch within the framework of a "solemn ceremony" in the dining room at the tunes of the music, elicits the feeling of living in peace and being at home:

> The plates had narrow, fading, blue-and-gold stripes. Carl Joseph loved them. He often recalled them throughout the year. They and "The Radetzky March" and the wall portrait of his deceased mother (whom the boy no longer remembered) and the heavy silver ladle and the fish tureen and the scalloped fruit knives and the tiny demitasses and the wee frail spoons as thin as thin silver coins: all these things together meant summer, freedom, home. (Roth 1989, p. 32)

All these events suggest peace, quietness, satisfaction, prosperity, respect and a certain kind of happiness. One has the impression that everything is all right; nobody mentions any wars or foreign conflicts.

The emperor's order of the day suggests that he abstains from ceremonies and leads a modest life. However, he considers public ceremonies very important "to manifest the majesty of the person and the function of the emperor in extrinsic form" (Bled 1988, p. 370). Also Hämmerle states that the role of the emperor as the first soldier of his empire was exposed by a high number of "military parades and military memorials" (2005, p. 117), which strengthened the discourse about the firm Austro-Hungarian Empire, the strong emperor who rules and will rule forever over all peoples of the empire by God's grace. As Ehalt also maintains, "Ceremonies are crucial facilities for strengthening and bequeathing of power-systems" (1981, p. 411).

One of the most important ceremonies is the Corpus Cristi which is celebrated on Thursday after Trinity. Roth goes into details when describing the grandeur of this event and its effect on the viewers and particularly on Carl Joseph von Trotta. The Corpus Cristi procession makes him remember his heroic dreams from his childhood and the tunes of the Radetzky March in his place of birth (Roth 1989, p. 233):

> The full majestic might of the old empire passed before his eyes. The lieutenant thought about his grandfather, the Hero of Solferino, and the unshakable patriotism of a father who was like a small but strong rock amid the towering mountains of Hapsburg power. He thought about his own holy mission to die for the Kaiser […] The oath he had perfunctorily sworn a few times came alive. (Roth 1989, p. 234)

The color-cavalcade of the military uniforms enchants him. Now he does not only understand the oath to be ready to die for the emperor and the fatherland but he also internalizes it and gets identified with it emotionally. The representatives of the two strong columns of the empire appear – the army and the civil servants – as "the control of the administrative machinery and the authority over the army constituted the basis of the imperial power" (Blöchl 1993, p. 70). The bodyguard and the infantry closed the procession. Finally, the anthem "God preserve, God protect, Our Emperor intones and the emperor appears behind a half squadron of dragoons. And the Kaiser comes; eight radiant-white horses draw his carriage [. . .] And the lieutenant's heart stood still yet pounded fiercely [. . .]" (Roth 1989, p. 234). He is accompanied by footmen. In this scene, it becomes obvious that the ceremony brings also the myth of the emperor to expression and that this exerts a strong influence on the protagonist: "No lieutenant in the Imperial and Royal Army could have watched this ceremony apathetically. And Carl Joseph was one of the most impressionable" (Roth 1989, p. 235). The Corpus Cristi procession gives expression to the firmness of the Dual Monarchy, it seems to be strong and eternal. All people are cheerful in the streets. "The entire city was simply a gigantic outer court of his palace" (Roth 1989, p. 236). There are crowds of people in the streets, girls in white dresses, officers and government officials in colorful uniforms, black coaches which stop in front of huge gates with liveried hooves, modestly dressed citizens, flower women, and young couples. Such magnificent scenes do not leave

Carl Joseph unaffected. He is an officer of the emperor, he feels that he belongs to the emperor's "sons" and he is ready for sacrificing himself. At that moment, he believes that the empire will never perish. There are no signs of the approaching tragedy. Space is filled with false reality which captures Carl Joseph's heart and ripens his decision of self-sacrifice. The emperor enters "the church like any normal man" (Roth 1989, p. 235). This scene means for the observers that the emperor is one of them; they can get identified with him. The bells of the Roman-Catholic Church, which is the third column of the empire, greet the Holy Roman Emperor of the German Nation. The Corpus Cristi procession seems to be a manifestation of the contact between the emperor and the Roman Catholic Church. The church plays namely a significant role in the upbringing of the population to faithfulness to the emperor. In the first reader written for Catholic schools – at that period of time only boys were allowed to attend school - we can read: "We have to honor the authorities and have to be obedient because all superiority comes from God" (Roth 1989, p. 112) – a clear reference to Romans 13: 1–5:

> **1** Let everyone be subject to the governing authorities, for there is no authority except that which God has established. The authorities that exist have been established by God. **2** Consequently, whoever rebels against the authority is rebelling against what God has instituted, and those who do so will bring judgment on themselves. [. . .] **4** For the one in authority is God's servant for your good. But if you do wrong, be afraid, for rulers do not bear the sword for no reason. They are God's servants, agents of wrath to bring punishment on the wrongdoer. **5** Therefore, it is necessary to submit to the authorities, not only because of possible punishment but also as a matter of conscience. (NIV)

This means that the believers have to internalize and follow the norms which are formulated in the Bible. These norms are not new as they have existed for hundreds of years and the Christians are reminded that they have to live in the world (Vladár 1993, p. 105). The statement of the apostle, i.e., the emperor rules by God's grace leads to the sacralization of the emperor's position. This conviction is strengthened by the myth of the emperor and through institutions like schools. From a theological point of view, these Bible verses are understood and interpreted adversely. In connection with tax-paying Apostle Paul offers the Christians an attitude that makes living in both social spaces, i.e., in Christian and non-Christian space possible. Apostle Paul suggests the Christians not to revolt against the emperor because they are subjects but because they are Christians and obedience is the manifestation of Christian love (Vladár 1993, p. 106).

Just as for Müller-Funk "Vienna is [in the novel] a town of a universal empire, a cosmopolitan meeting point of its polyglot inhabitants from all quarters of the empire" (1989, p. 60), Johnston also describes the hedonistic experience of life in Vienna at that time: people enjoy the elegant, wonderful town and it does not occur to anybody that the Dual Monarchy is balancing at the edge of decay (1974, p. 46). However, there are others who look into the future and feel uneasy. Let us think about Chojnicki or Carl Joseph von Trotta. But also the protagonists in the novels by Musil feel stressed by forebodings. Ulrich and also other protagonists feel that they have insufficient grounds for existence, they live in despair and are looking for a just life. This ambivalent attitude towards existence does not match the male ideal of the time; it rather contributes to its dissolution.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have analyzed how the social space and the consensus on masculinity affect the socio-cultural constructedness of masculine identity in Joseph Roth's *Radetzky March*. Roth's novel demonstrates how the protagonists acquire dominant masculinity and thus proves a significant literary document for men's studies. The built environment imbued with relations, memories, histories, sensations and the omnipresent symbols of "Kaisermythos" facilitates the development of masculine identity, just like the family, the boarding-school or the military. The protagonists have to acquire certain characteristics to be accepted by the social layer they belong to. However, they despise the men who represent lower social layers and show the traits of marginal masculinity; they consider them inferior. The protagonists live in a social space which is imbued with the myth of the emperor on the one hand, and with the horizon of expectations of masculine identity.

Joseph Roth's *Radetzky March* reveals how the constructedness of masculine identity influences the fate of officers and civil servants in a high position in the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the turn of the century. Roth interprets culture on the basis of his experiences of the age. Shaping, conversion, and disintegration of masculine identity become obvious through the interaction between the individuum and the community. The present paper demonstrates the route to total adjustment. It will be the topic of a next paper to show the route to total disintegration which leads through a phase of distancing.

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Identidades construídas, identidades imaginadas

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RESUMO: O presente texto resulta de um projeto de investigação acerca de memória social e identidades relativamente a famílias que tenham nascido em territórios das ex-colónias, possuam nacionalidade portuguesa e se considerem simultaneamente portugueses e pertença do local onde nasceram e nasceram os seus antepassados. Isto é, portugueses que se sintam e assumam como tendo identidades múltiplas e compósitas. O que se apresenta é apenas uma parte do trabalho desenvolvido que toma como base as narrativas de vida de um casal transformadas em histórias de vida e que, convocam narrativas de vida de antepassados, expressas na terceira pessoa. Constroem-se e expressam-se, assim, formas identitárias imaginadas, inventadas e representadas: construções contingentes e escorregadias, sempre num processo de redefinição. Pretende mostrar-se que a construção identitária pode ser uma escolha – uma escolha consciente.

Palavras-chave: identidade, cultura, memória social, migrações

O presente texto resulta de um projeto de investigação acerca de memória social e identidades relativamente a famílias que tenham nascido em territórios das ex-colónias, possuam nacionalidade portuguesa e se considerem simultaneamente portugueses e pertença do local onde nasceram e nasceram os seus antepassados. Isto é, portugueses que se sintam e assumam como tendo identidades múltiplas e compósitas. Procura-se, no presente caso, compreender as perceções que uma família portuguesa com ascendência goesa e moçambicana tem sobre sua identidade, origem cultural e, finalmente, o que significa, para este grupo, ser-se português, moçambicano e goês. O que se apresenta é apenas uma parte do trabalho desenvolvido, tratado como um estudo de caso, que toma como base as narrativas de vida de um casal âncora (ele descendente de família goesa e nascido em Goa; ela descendente de famílias goesa e moçambicana e nascida em Moçambique), transformadas em histórias de vida e que, que através destas, convocam narrativas de vida de antepassados, expressas na terceira pessoa. Deste modo, as suas representações do espaço e memórias serão cruzadas com memórias sociais, memórias pessoais e memórias "de segunda mão".

Depois de descoberto o caminho marítimo para a Índia, onde Vasco da Gama, chegou em 1498, Goa foi conquistada pelas forças portuguesas, sob o comando de Afonso de Albuquerque, em 1510. A cidade, juntamente com os territórios de Damão e Diu constituiu a Índia portuguesa e tornou-se então a capital do império português no Oriente (Boxer 1969). Comparado com outros estados indianos, Goa é um pequeno território situado na costa ocidental da Índia, a cerca de 400 km a sul de Bombaim que, com a independência da Índia, em 1947, o governo indiano reclamou como parte integrante do novo Estado. Do não atendimento do Estado português a esta reivindicação, resultou em dezembro de 1961, a invasão do território pelas tropas indianas, incorporando pela força, o território de Goa bem como o de Damão e Diu, na Índia, já em 1962. Atualmente, a parte urbana de Goa chama-se Pangim e é a capital deste estado (Brettell 2006). Com aproximadamente um milhão de pessoas, estima-se que 66% dos goeses sejam hindus, 29% serão cristãos e 5%, muçulmanos, com os demais a distribuir-se entre o sikhismo e outras religiões. Os casamentos inter-raciais eram comuns desde o tempo de Albuquerque que insistia nesta prática (Brettell 2006; Boxer 1969) principalmente entre homens portugueses e mulheres indianas.

Durante o século XIX, a política de casamentos inter-raciais foi mantida (Brettell 2006) e com ela a ligação a outros territórios do então império colonial português (Boxer 1969), com elevado número de famílias goesas a migrar para as colónias portuguesas onde ocuparam cargos ligados à atividade comercial e administrativos bem como de quadros da administração pública (Brettell 2006). Encontraram, igualmente, trabalho em navios e em ocupações ligadas aos serviços domésticos, como sejam o de cozinheiros, mordomos, empregados de mesa, alfaiates, amas, mas também como administradores em escalões mais baixos da carreira da função pública (Ferreira 1985; Brettell 1986; 2006; Malheiros 1996). Essa migração era predominantemente católica e havia também uma importante presença missionária goesa em Moçambique, que não será estranha ao fluxo migratório para este território (Brettell 2006, p. 157). No início do século XX, a nova Constituição Portuguesa de 1911 concedia aos indianos portugueses os mesmos direitos constitucionais e liberdades civis que os cidadãos portugueses possuíam, independentemente das suas crenças religiosas (Brettell 2006; Magalhães 2003) e em 1930, foi promulgada uma lei chamada Lei Colonial que "confirmou a existência de um papel histórico e essencial para possuir, civilizar e colonizar os territórios ultramarinos" (Magalhães 2003, p. 34), que resultou na perda de muitos dos direitos que os goeses haviam experimentado sob a Primeira República. A consequência direta desta lei, foi o declínio da população de Goa que migrou para outras partes do mundo com especial destaque para territórios portugueses, entre os quais Moçambique.

Os acontecimentos de dia 18 de dezembro de 1961, quando as forças militares da Índia entraram em Goa é lido segundo dois pontos de vista: o do Estado indiano, que reclama a "libertação" do povo de Goa dos 450 anos de domínio colonial português; e o do Estado português que se refere à invasão do território (Brettell 2006; Kubináková 2010). Na época, a identidade nacional de Portugal não estava confinada ao território continental, nem aos arquipélagos da Madeira e dos Açores. Pelo contrário, a nação portuguesa foi desterritorializada, mas unida pelo mar e Portugal era visto como uma nação com um território do Minho a Timor. Como diz Brettell (2006), a política dos organismos portugueses incluía populações de territórios ultramarinos e incentivava a circulação de corpos dentro de seu espaço nacional / colonial desterritorializado. "A desterritorialização, em geral, é uma das forças centrais do mundo moderno [. . .] Naturalmente, essas pátrias inventadas, que constituem as paisagens mediadas de grupos desterritorializados, muitas vezes podem tornar-se suficientemente fantásticas e unilaterais para fornecer o material para novas paisagens idealizadas (ideoscapes)" (Appadurai 1996, p. 37–38). Do mesmo modo, o goês "diaspórico" do triângulo antigo (Goa, Moçambique e Portugal) constrói uma "paisagem idealizada," replicada nos discursos dos informantes com os quais trabalhámos.

Grande parte do discurso político oficial do período da invasão, concentrou-se na definição de nação e Goa foi, sem dúvida, uma parte importante da nação que se perdeu, anunciando um tempo diferente no que aos impérios dizia respeito. Isso pode ser observado no estatuto especial atribuído a Goa sob a Lei da Nacionalidade Portuguesa – qualquer pessoa nascida no país que declarasse sua intenção de manter sua nacionalidade portuguesa tinha o direito de fazê-lo. Pode considerar-se que, não obstante a perda territorial, a ideia de nação subsiste via nacionalidade dos indivíduos, ao mesmo tempo que representa uma atitude de resistência face ao "outro, invasor." Ainda hoje, a nacionalidade portuguesa está disponível para aqueles que podem provar ter nascido em Goa ou que têm / tiveram pai ou avô nascido na Índia portuguesa antes de 1961 (Chandra e Ghosh 2012; Brettell 2006). Depois de Dezembro de 1961, vários milhares de goeses deixaram Goa e chegaram a Portugal ou a colónias portuguesas, como Moçambique. Eles construíram "novas" identidades, mantendo a de Goa e assumindo uma "visão moçambicana" da vida. De algum modo, encontraram sua identidade e lugar num contexto nacional, definindo-a face a outros (Rosales 2010; 2011).

É difícil estimar o número total de pessoas de origem indiana que vivem em Portugal devido a questões estatísticas relacionadas com a residência moçambicana anterior (Malheiros 1996). No entanto, considera-se que reside em Portugal a maior comunidade goesa do mundo a viver fora de Goa (Brettell 2006, p. 155). Esta população entrou em Portugal em períodos distintos: antes de 1961 e imediatamente após 1961 diretamente de Goa; de Moçambique e outras colónias africanas após a independência das antigas colónias portuguesas em Africa, em 1974–1975 (Malheiros 1996). Apesar do conceito de diáspora e das suas dimensões geográficas e territoriais terem sido objeto de várias interpretações (Braziel e Manur 2003), pode-se considerar que "a África Goesa" forjou a identidade portuguesa da diáspora (Brettell 2006, p. 157; Sardo 2004; Rosales 2010).

O casal que aqui se apresenta, viveu entre Goa e Moçambique, estabeleceu-se em Portugal, e aceitou uma herança indo-portuguesa híbrida, que considera muito importante para a construção da identidade e sentimento de pertença. Como resultado, definem-se como goeses, portugueses e moçambicanos. E esses agregados, identidades e culturas são "históricos", "enraizados", "autênticos" e "tradicionais" (Grillo 2003), na forma como vivem o quotidiano e, sobretudo, o tempo ritual das festas. Passado e presente fundem-se e alimentam-se mutuamente, porque "O passado agora não é uma terra à qual se retorna numa simples estratégia de memória. Tornou-se um depósito sincrónico de cenários culturais, uma espécie de elenco central temporal [. . .]" (Appadurai 1996, p. 30).

Embora existam diferenças de opinião sobre a forma como os goeses se definem, estes informantes acreditam que as suas tradições e cultura devem ser preservadas. Outros acreditam que perderão suas tradições à medida que a diáspora cresce e por causa da globalização. Como Appadurai (1996, p. 42) refere, "a globalização da cultura não é o mesmo que sua homogeneização, mas a globalização envolve o uso de uma variedade de instrumentos de homogeneização que são absorvidos pelas economias políticas e culturais locais." Os informantes, na hibridez e multiplicidade da sua identidade, não manifestam qualquer apreensão a este nível.

M nasceu em Moçambique e veio para Portugal, com o marido, após a independência de Moçambique. Foi para Lisboa em 1976, onde morou com amigos durante um ano, enquanto estudava na Faculdade de Ciências. Mais tarde, foi para uma cidade do Norte e ela e J, que era o seu namorado havia já algum tempo (desde que moravam em Moçambique) casaram-se. O filho mais velho nasceu lá. Mais tarde foram trabalhar, como professores, para o Alentejo, onde o filho mais novo nasceu. M tem um irmão, que nunca saiu de Moçambique e uma irmã. Os pais de M ficaram a viver em Moçambique e aí faleceram. A irmã de M deixou Moçambique em 1977 e foi sozinha para a Espanha. Mais tarde, foi para a Itália, onde ainda reside.

M foi a Goa apenas uma vez, já na década de 2000. No entanto, seu mundo infantil e muitas de suas memórias vêm de lá, por causa da mãe e, acima de tudo, por causa do seu avô (pai da mãe), que era uma referência na sua vida, no que concerne ao universo dos livros, da escrita, da música e da dança (ele era escritor e músico amador), contos e valores. Para ela, falar de Goa é falar de emoções e cultura. A música foi muito importante na vida de J R, o avô, e M afirma que sua necessidade de ouvir música clássica (seu estilo favorito de música) faz parte da herança que o avô lhe deixou. Lembra-se do avô a tocar piano (peças clássicas), mas não se lembra de ouvir música goesa. Esta afirmação, remete-nos para Sardo que refere: "durante o processo de colonização portuguesa, a música constituiu um dos instrumentos mais eficazes na mediação da comunicação. Em alguns contextos, como no caso de Goa (Índia), a música clássica ocidental foi imposta pelo poder colonial durante os dois primeiros séculos de colonização, sendo a única forma permitida de expressão musical" (Sardo 2010, p. 58). Contudo, a música "imposta" é percecionada como elemento de cultura de elites, passada de geração em geração e, de certo modo, apanágio dos goeses por oposição a Moçambique e aos moçambicanos.

J R, avô de M, foi para Moçambique em busca de uma vida melhor. Ele e seus pais eram de Pangim. Como muitos outros goeses cristãos e alfabetizados em português (Ferreira 1985; Malheiros 1996; Rosales 2010; Chandra e Ghosh 2012), ele foi recrutado para trabalhar como administrador por volta de 1900. Em Moçambique, conheceu a sua futura esposa, uma muçulmana (M I), do norte de África, que se tornou cristã pouco antes de se casar. O casal teve uma filha, B R, mãe de M. BR que se casou com um moçambicano (VS), nunca esteve em Goa. No entanto, considerava-se goesa, assim como aos seus filhos e sempre tentou ensinar as filhas e o filho a serem goeses, ao mesmo tempo que lhes referia que ser de Goa era um privilégio e melhor do que serem moçambicanos. Nem os pais de BR nem os de VS aceitaram o casamento que teve um início difícil devido a questões raciais/racistas. Os pais de BR consideravam que o seu marido mulato não era apropriado numa família goesa. Os pais de VS não estavam felizes em ter uma estranha, uma não moçambicana na família. No entanto, o casal ficou junto mais de 50 anos, até ao falecimento de um dos cônjuges. O relacionamento entre as duas famílias não era o melhor. Mesmo já idosas, B e a sogra não tinham um vínculo estreito (VS morreu antes de ambas). Esta "incompatibilidade" estará relacionada com aquilo que Smith (2003) citado por Brettell (2006, p. 148), refere: "os africanos foram classificados como 'não civilizados.' Somente quando aprenderam português e se tornaram cristãos, foram considerados assimilados e garantidos os direitos de um cidadão português. Os 'cabritos' foram considerados 'civilizados' e assimilados." Isso pode explicar um senso de superioridade sentido pela mãe de M em relação à família do marido. Os estatutos especiais de "assimilado" foram eliminados em 1961, como refere Oliveira Marques (Ferreira 1985; Brettell 2006) e todos os habitantes de outras colónias portuguesas passaram a ser considerados "cidadãos portugueses completos".

Na então cidade de Lourenço Marques, a hierarquia dependia de "raça" e cor da pele. Como resultado, pessoas de cores diferentes deviam ser afastadas umas das outras. Até os goeses com presença reconhecida em posições intermediárias e altas na administração, principalmente cristãos, usando nomes em português, como o avô de M, sofreram esta discriminação, já que, não obstante a aparente integração, se "reproduziram as diferenças culturais da pátria" (Zamparoni 2000, p. 211). A discriminação partiu também das elites africanas que consideravam os goeses usurpadores de posições na hierarquia da administração de Moçambique. Como Zamparoni (2000, p. 219) refere, o Jornal "O Brado Africano", considerava os goeses como parasitas que viviam do trabalho de outras pessoas. Este jornal, publicado em 1918, considerava que o modo de vida dos goeses consistia na manutenção da burocracia, pelo que não produziam um tipo de trabalho que merecesse todos os privilégios conquistados. Por isso, e por representarem o colonialista branco nas instituições, deveriam ser considerados como um encargo pesado, mas inútil, para Moçambique. Daí à denominação pejorativa de "monhés"ou "canecos" aos goeses, foi um pequeno passo, legitimando o insulto e a calúnia, relativamente a esta comunidade.

A identidade de M foi forjada como portuguesa / moçambicana / goesa. Hoje ela diz que se considera portuguesa em primeiro lugar. Confrontada com a questão de se sentir indiana, ela ficou surpresa e respondeu: "Claro que não! Porquê ?!" No entanto, ela costuma dizer: "nasci em Moçambique.

Moçambique é diferente", reportando-se à liberdade e a uma maior abertura nos comportamentos, a que o contacto próximo com a cultura anglo-saxónica da então vizinha Rodésia (Zimbabwe), não seria estranho (uso de biquíni, calções, saias curtas, consumo de tabaco por parte das mulheres, . . .). Ela reivindica a identidade goesa no que diz respeito aos valores no que diz respeito aos valores, afirmando que tem os valores familiares do povo goês: solidariedade, apoio; necessidade de estarem juntos em família, assumindo esses valores não como portugueses ou moçambicanos, mas sim francamente goeses – "é diferente . . .", afirma ela. M considera os valores de Goa em relação à família diferentes dos portugueses e moçambicanos, contudo quando questionada acerca desse aspeto, ela é incapaz de encontrar diferenças em relação a atitudes e comportamento no que diz respeito às relações familiares. "Esteja em Moçambique ou em Portugal, a minha família é a minha família. Sentimos sempre o mesmo. As famílias portuguesas (famílias dos meus amigos) também cuidam umas das outras . . . algumas!"

Como e quando M e J se consideram portugueses, goeses ou moçambicanos é bastante difícil de entender. A tabela a seguir representa sua ideia sobre Portugal, Moçambique e Goa em relação a comida, pessoas e família, casa / casa, objetos, valores, alimentação e sentimentos. Esses foram os aspetos mais referidos (principalmente alimentos) no seu discurso. Para eles, não há realmente um antagonismo, mas uma complementaridade entre as suas múltiplas identidades – uma identidade compósita, portanto.

Tabela 1 – ***As multiplas identidades dos principais informantes***

Aspeto Lugar	**Comida**	**Familia**	**Pessoas**	**Casa /lar/ Objectos**	**Sentimentos**	**Valores**
Portugal	Leitão Azeitonas Arroz doce Cozido à Portuguesa Bacalhau Vinho Pão Queijo presunto Peru	Necessidade de estarem juntos Solidariedade Apoio Suporte Insuficiente valorização dos idosos	Mente fechada Amigáveis	Cheiros Organização Tipo Perfume de ervas do Alentejo Presépio de Natal	Amizade Integração Catolicismo Liberdade Cidadania	Patriotismo Democracia Referência cultural „Identidade pública"
Moçambique	Matapa Caril de Amendoim Mousse de manga Caju	Solidariedade Apoio Suporte	Mente aberta Comunicativos Amigáveis	Pinturas/ Quadros Cores	Espaços amplos Liberdade	
Goa	Especiarias Bebinca Chacuti Sarapatel Ambortic Caril	Necessidade de estarem juntos Solidariedade Apoio Suporte Valorização de idosos ‚Global' Tesouro	Pessoas informadas Excelente postura corporal Inteligência Sangue bom Bom património genético Forte background cultural	Cores Cheiros Casa ancestral Perfume de especiarias, Incenso	Catolicismo Português Liberdade Herança Boa vida	União Familiar Respeito Socorro Solidariedade Reuniões familiares Família grande Comida Comportamento exemplar de instrução e educacão Criação de uma casa Serenidade Temperança Integridade Ser respeitoso

Os filhos de M e J nunca estiveram em Goa, mas idealizam-na através da imaginação da mãe e dos olhos do pai e pelas histórias que foram contadas à hora de dormir. O pai deles, nascido em Goa, veio para Portugal com a família, ainda criança (tinha onze anos), após a anexação de Goa à União Indiana, e costumava contar-lhes essas histórias. Eles também falam sobre Goa com as tias, tios e primos com alguma curiosidade, mas ao mesmo tempo, distância emocional – nasceram em Portugal, são portugueses, assim como as suas esposas, filhos e amigos. A ligação com Goa é mantida também através da família alargada. M insiste que lhes transmitiu "os valores de ser goesa" e que, nessas questões (união familiar, respeito, ajuda, solidariedade, reuniões familiares frequentes e a ideia de família extensa), eles se sentem diferentes dos outros portugueses. Como Appadurai se refere, "a imagem, o imaginado, o imaginário – todos esses termos nos levam a algo crítico e novo nos processos culturais globais: 'a imaginação como prática social'" (Appadurai 1996, p. 31).

J, marido de M, tem oito irmãos e irmãs, alguns, entretanto falecidos. Os seus pais eram cristãos goeses e realmente crentes – até os nomes dos filhos eram principalmente nomes de santos ou mártires da Igreja Católica e era suposto ele ter sido padre, completando os estudos no Seminário que frequentou. Nasceu em Goa antes da anexação do território, tendo desde sempre, a nacionalidade portuguesa e, com a sua família, foi para Moçambique, depois de uma breve passagem por Portugal. O pai de J estava integrado na função pública, em Goa e após 1961, em Moçambique. J chegou a Portugal em 1976 e, como professor, trabalhou no Algarve. Um ano depois, foi lecionar para o norte e mudou-se para lá. Naquela época, ele e M moravam juntos. Mais tarde, os dois foram para Beja. Nessa época, ele e M viviam juntos e mais tarde, rumaram ambos a sul, para o Alentejo. Muitos dos seus irmãos e irmãs vivem em Portugal, espalhados por todo o território, bem como algumas tias e tios que vieram para Portugal antes de 1975. Entretanto, a família foi crescendo. Nasceram sobrinhos e sobrinhos netos que migraram dentro de Portugal e para o estrangeiro, dando continuidade à diáspora familiar.

J e M não têm contato com a comunidade goesa em Lisboa, exceto com a família, ainda que frequentem o restaurante da Casa de Goa de vez em quando. Afirmam que não excluem ninguém e não se sentem excluídos, apenas não há contato com a comunidade (fora da família e alguns amigos) ou com a Casa de Goa, onde muitos eventos acontecem às quintas-feiras, véspera de dia de trabalho. Residindo a duzentos quilómetros de Lisboa, simplesmente não podem ir lá para assistir a um espetáculo ou reunião durante os dias úteis e, ademais, têm muitos amigos na cidade onde vivem e divertem-se muito em casa. Têm uma vida social muito intensa e fazem voluntariado, o que implica compromissos e horários aos quais não podem deixar de atender. Também os netos (quatro raparigas e um rapaz), os prendem à agora, sua cidade.

A família de J e M é "global" no que diz respeito à diáspora. De facto, eles têm/tinham pais, avós, irmãos (M) e irmãs (J), tios e primos (M) em Moçambique, Portugal (J), na Inglaterra (J e M) Itália (M); primos em Goa (J) e em todo o mundo. Se a família de J representa a primeira fase da presença goesa do século XX na metrópole – os "repatriados" / "refugiados" que deixaram Goa no período imediatamente após a anexação – M representa a segunda: aqueles que chegaram aqui após a independência do Ultramar, como eram referidas as colónias portuguesas, durante o período do Estado Novo. M faz parte de uma família de opositores ao Estado Novo e de movimentos de resistência, mais tarde do aparelho de poder, pelo que alguns dos membros da família não viram com bons olhos a sua opção de sair de Moçambique após a descolonização.

Não havia um vínculo muito estreito entre a família de M e a comunidade goesa de Lourenço Marques (hoje Maputo). M acredita (na verdade, ela parece ter certeza) que o facto de o pai ser moçambicano e ter pele negra é a principal razão para isso. No entanto, ela graceja acerca desse assunto e também sobre o sistema de castas – M costuma dizer que "é resultado de uma 'casta mista', como o melhor vinho português". Não obstante, M e J faziam parte da mesma comunidade goesa em Moçambique, porque eram vizinhos. Além disso, a irmã de M e um irmão de J, frequentavam o mesmo colégio, pelo que eram visita regular na casa um do outro. M estudava frequentemente num dos cafés locais, assim como um dos irmãos de J e, certo dia, a sua irmã apresentou M ao futuro cunhado que por sua vez a apresentou a J . . . e a história deles começou.

J tem lembranças da Goa da sua infância. Ele recorda-se de jogar futebol com uma bola de pano, de nadar no rio e de brincar com berlindes, da sensação de liberdade durante as férias de Verão, quando ia para a ilha que os avós possuíam e "corria pelos campos e pelos arrozais, ansiando pelas chuvas das monções que tudo inundavam, andar descalço e trepar às árvores". Jogou às escondidas e fingiu ser um herói – como muitas crianças à volta do mundo. Para ele, ainda hoje "o cheiro de Goa é o cheiro de chuva e terra, de frutas tropicais como manga e de comida goesa." A paisagem são os "campos verdes, o mar e o céu, as árvores e a natureza". É assim que ele fala de Goa aos filhos e à esposa, e era exatamente isso que M esperava quando visitou a cidade. Mais uma vez, o lugar lembrado é o lugar imaginado como o "passado é um país estrangeiro" (Lowenthal, 1985). Ele lembra-se de ouvir música e pássaros, além do vento, da tempestade e do clamor das pessoas. J refere que a comida é muito importante para um goês, homem ou mulher. Recorda os sabores do arroz, das frutas tropicais e de todas as cores, sabores e cheiros da culinária típica de Goa e dos pratos picantes. Depois de tantos anos, ele afirma que às vezes não sabe realmente do que se lembra ou o que gostaria de lembrar, entrando na dimensão a que Appadurai chama "mundos imaginados", isto é, "os múltiplos mundos constituídos pela imaginação historicamente situada de pessoas e grupos espalhados pelo mundo" (Appadurai 1996, p. 33).

Tabela 2 – *Memorias de Goa*

Memórias Informante	Tipo de memórias	Significado das Memórias	Natureza das Memórias
J	Real/ Imaginado	Ligação com o território de Goa Herança Laço com as raízes de sua família "Lugar tranquilo para a alma"	Jogos e brincadeiras Fingir ser um herói Cheiros (de chuva, terra, comida e frutas tropicais) Paisagem Campos Verdes Mar Céu Árvores Natureza Ouvir música Chilreio dos pássaros Barulho do vento Tempestade Clamor das pessoas Sabor do arroz Sabor das frutas tropicais Cores Sabor da culinária típica goesa Sabor das sobremesas picantes Cheiro de cozinha típica de Goa Cheiro de sobremesas picantes
M	Imaginado / dito / romantizado	Construção de um grupo Avô Raízes familiares	Contos contados pelo avô Música tocada pelo avô Valores transmitidos pelo avô Emoções Cultura Cheiro de especiarias Cor de especiarias Palácios Casas coloniais enormes Campos de arroz Palmeiras Boa vida Instrução/educação Pessoas com excelente postura corporal Surpreendente Paraíso

J sempre se sentiu português e seus filhos e netos são portugueses. Para ele, "*ser goês é ser português, católico e livre de pensamentos e atitudes*". O sentimento de pertença de J, deriva de uma vida de experiências acumuladas no mundo português desterritorializado, sendo um dos portugueses-goeses que "enfatiza a natureza diaspórica da pertença – algo característico dos colonos que se encontravam situados em muitas partes do mundo lusitano" (Brettell 2006, p. 152). J é um cidadão português que, como a maioria dos goeses católicos, assume e reivindica o seu estatuto de indo-europeu (Malheiros 1996). Ele sente que é goês, moçambicano e português. E explica o porquê: sente-se goês porque viveu em Goa durante a infância, tem lembranças disso e as suas emoções mais antigas estão ligadas a Goa; sente-se moçambicano porque viveu em Moçambique durante a sua juventude e como jovem adulto (nas forças armadas e na universidade) e esse período de tempo moldou-o como homem, aproximando-o da independência do território e da nova bandeira; sente-se português porque Portugal é sem dúvida sua pátria e durante algum tempo esteve integrado no exército português. J lida bem com esta duplicidade de português combatente/ moçambicano independentista, combinando argumentos que lhe fazem sentido, de ambos os lados – consegue manter-se equidistante e sentir-se goês, nesta encruzilhada: "Fui com outro colega buscar a 'Chama da Liberdade' ao norte de Moçambique. Por um lado, fiquei feliz, por outro pensei que tinha também estado do outro lado pertence [. . .] mos aos dois países, não é?!" Levámos uns 28 dias a chegar, para darem início aos festejos da independência de Moçambique. Foi o próprio Machel que nos entregou a chama. Estive lá [. . .] enfim, fui de Goa para Moçambique, Portugal, Moçambique, Portugal!!".

Como Malheiros (1996) refere, esta forma de reagir e interiorizar as identidades múltiplas, é normal, considerando a "mestiçagem" entre portugueses e goeses ao longo dos séculos, que resultou em uma forma particular de cultura (Malheiros 1996). Religião e sentimento de cidadania, definem o sentimento de pertença de J e concederam-lhe um lugar confortável em Portugal, o que faz dele um homem que sabe quem é: português, sem dúvida, com a sua herança goesa. Neste caso, as diferentes identidades territoriais e familiares, fluem e são integradoras (das noras portuguesas e suas famílias e dos amigos (muitos) portugueses e além-fronteiras).

J viveu em diferentes países e lugares, mas, diz ele, a vida é uma jornada. É quase como se ele se visse como um homem que atravessava espaços "intermediários" (Bhabha 1994). "Esses espaços 'intermediários' fornecem o terreno para a elaboração de estratégias de individualidade – singular ou comunitária – que iniciam novos sinais de identidade e locais inovadores de colaboração e contestação no ato de definir a ideia da própria sociedade" (Bhabha 1994, p. 1–2). Como referem Chanda e Ghosh (2010, p. 10), é importante entender como a identidade goesa "foi moldada, pois continua a influenciar a maneira como os goeses que vivem em Portugal se percebem, bem como a maneira como se relacionam com seu país de residência, Portugal e a sua região natal, Goa, e sua identificação com a Índia. Esta influência está presente tanto nos goeses que migraram diretamente para Portugal a partir de Goa, como para os que migraram para Portugal via África". J e M não se identificam com a Índia. Para eles, Goa não faz parte da Índia, mas de Portugal. Na Índia, a casta é importante, no entanto, nem J nem M pensam nisso, enquanto "portugueses, católicos e democratas". Isso nem sequer é um problema para eles ou, sequer, assunto no qual pensem. As identidades de J e M são múltiplas, no sentido de que todos temos identidades múltiplas e complexas (Maalouf, 2000) e estão posicionados entre três "países" (Portugal, Moçambique e Goa) e várias tradições, sendo exatamente isso que define sua identidade (Maalouf, 2000).

Na senda de Jenkins (2008, p. 5) consideramos que "para começar a pensar sobre esse assunto [identidade], precisamos decidir o que queremos dizer com 'identidade'". De um ponto de vista muito básico, a identidade é a capacidade humana – enraizada na linguagem – de saber "quem é quem" (e, portanto, "o que é o quê", o que envolve saber quem somos, saber quem são os outros, saber quem eles pensam que somos e assim por diante: uma classificação ou mapeamento multidimensional do mundo humano e dos nossos lugares nele, como indivíduos e como membros de coletividades (Ashton et al. 2004). Assim, "quem somos, ou como quem somos vistos, pode importar enormemente [. . .] Embora a identificação sempre envolva indivíduos, algo mais – coletividade e história – também pode estar em jogo" (Jenkins 2008, p. 3).

Santos (1997) considera que identidades culturais não são realidades mortas, mas dinâmicas, definidas como fases transitórias de identificação (pessoal e cultural) e que não existem identidades culturais estáticas, nem mesmo aquelas que parecem ser permanentes, o que nos remete para o pensamento de Gurvitch (1977), quanto às linhas temporais em que determinados fenómenos aparentemente imutáveis ocorrem, nomeadamente no tempo da muito longa e da longa duração. A mudança identitária de uns grupos mais do que de outros, tal como as mentalidades, situa-se neste domínio temporal de alterações mais ou menos impercetíveis no tempo da curta e média duração, porém bem notórias quando se faz uma análise diacrónica no tempo da longa ou muito longa duração. Assim, a identidade goesa mudou ao longo do tempo, como é normal, na medida em que as identidades são um processo em construção. Uma transformação gradual ou rápida nos seus conteúdos fundamentais, depende de contextos e estratégias de vida, bem como de visões políticas de grupos e de Estados. "As entidades híbridas encontram a sua voz em uma dialética que não procura a supremacia ou soberania cultural. Elas usam a cultura parcial a partir da qual emergem, para construir visões da comunidade e versões da memória histórica que resultam na narrativa das posições minoritárias que ocupam: o exterior do interior; a parte no todo" (Bhabha 1996, p. 212) e, de facto, "todos temos múltiplas identidades e não há razão para que elas não sejam complementares", refere (Altmann, 2001), citado por Grillo (2003, p. 160), e é, sem dúvida, aqui que se situam J e M.

De acordo com Hobsbawm e Ranger (1983) citados por Grillo (2003), as questões de "tradição" e "autenticidade" são irrelevantes, excluindo o discurso que ocorre em torno da cultura como fator de luta e/ou resistência, ou simplesmente como "invenção". Algumas dessas múltiplas identidades podem ser inventadas, acreditamos, ao longo da vida, a fim de responder às necessidades de identidade própria, quando a memória se torna indistinta, pois "a cultura na qual eles foram educados é, para a maioria dos homens, seu investimento mais precioso, o cerne de sua identidade" (Gellner 1983, p. 111). Embora "a cultura fosse um processo contínuo" (Gellner 1987, p. 68), Bhabha considera que a cultura é um local "inativo", "enunciativo" (Bhabha 1994, p. 178) *"e todas as culturas, portadores de cultura e agentes culturais estão constantemente envolvidos na crioulização. A ênfase coloca-se nas múltiplas identidades ou identificações cuja forma e conteúdo são continuamente negociados*" (Grillo 2003, p. 160). "A cultura não tem essência" (Parekh 2000, p. 175). "É um sistema historicamente criado de significado e significado [. . .] constantemente contestado, sujeito a mudanças" (2000, p. 143; 148). Assim, "a identidade nunca é [. . .] estabelecida, estática e livre de ambiguidade, não uma herança passiva, mas um processo ativo de criação de significado" (2000, p. 152–3).

Segundo Gupta e Ferguson (1992), o conceito de "multiculturalismo" é uma fraca aceitação do facto de que as culturas perderam os seus vínculos em relação a um lugar distinto que ocupam na sociedade, bem como um esforço para considerar a pluralidade de culturas dentro de uma estrutura de uma identidade nacional. M e J, mais do que "produto" de atitudes e "sentimentos multiculturais", são "produto" de um processo intercultural que começou há muitos séculos atrás e atravessou três continentes. A sua identidade composta é resultado de muitas outras identidades compostas que eles adquiriram ao longo das suas vidas e ainda se (des)envolvem, modificam e incorporam. Muitas vezes a identidade aparece representada e percecionada como uma estrutura estável, cujas raízes penetram num tempo mítico, sem um momento temporal determinado. Todos nós, assim como as sociedades, temos identidades múltiplas e compósitas que nos permitem encontrar o nosso lugar no tempo e no espaço para enfrentar o presente e o futuro, o que implica uma dupla tensão "entre o indivíduo e o comunitário e entre sua realidade concreta no tempo e no espaço, e seu conceito universal que se estende além do tempo e do espaço" (Sousa 2000, p. 487). Como o autor refere, a identidade de qualquer comunidade é composta principalmente pelos aspetos que a distinguem relativamente a outras, bem como pelas características territoriais da terra dos ancestrais.

As fronteiras do estado não determinam necessariamente identidades nacionais, pois cada indivíduo além ou aquém estas, é portador de identidades, desterritorializando tanto Estados como a noção de fronteira. Toda e qualquer comunidade corre o risco de interações culturais com outros parceiros históricos e com os seus vizinhos no seu processo de vida quotidiano (Cohen 1994), colocando em causa, inclusive, o processo histórico de criação dessas fronteiras. A sociedade goesa não é uma exceção e as origens da sua identidade remetem para um tempo anterior à chegada dos portugueses, mas quase 500 anos de presença, interação e casamentos deixaram suas marcas. Existem, portanto, variantes entre as diferentes gerações de goeses, entre os indivíduos de diferentes grupos e castas, de género e religião, goeses da diáspora e outros estabelecidos em Goa. Não existe um goês tipo, assim como não há um moçambicano ou um português tipo. Como Sardo refere (2010), espalhados por vários lugares, países e culturas nos cinco continentes, a maioria dos goeses da diáspora faz parte de uma dupla condição de migrante: eles deixaram Goa antes da sua integração política na Índia e quando tentam conciliar essas memórias com a imagem atual do território, estas são inevitavelmente alteradas em resultado da nova condição política que o território de Goa, entretanto adquiriu. O espaço é já outro, portanto, em termos reais, políticos e imagéticos, interpreta-se de uma forma pessoal, politizada e negociada: "a tarefa da reprodução cultural, mesmo nas suas áreas mais íntimas, como as relações marido-esposa e pais-filhos, torna-se politizada e exposta aos traumas da desterritorialização, à medida que os membros da família se reúnem e negociam os seus entendimentos e aspirações mútuas em espaços por vezes fraturados" (Appadurai 1996, p. 44).

Os indivíduos desenham sua identidade durante as performances sociais e culturais (Connerton 1993), portanto, ela não é uma essência imutável. Mitos, rituais e performances atravessam a tradição e a mudança de comunidades e sociedades; fazendo, portanto, com que eles mudem com essas realidades, de forma mais ou menos visível, principalmente no tempo da longa e da muito longa duração. Esta mudança processa-se ao longo de gerações que partilham um tempo perdido e uma comunidade imaginada/imaginária, mas o seu impacto é maior quando a idealização e a memória de grupo (social, já) se confronta com a nova realidade de Goa. Para M que a conhecia pelas palavras e olhos dos seus familiares mais próximos, em tempos diferentes (a sua mãe nunca visitou o território), a mudança chegou, repentina e gerou ondas de choque emocional. Permaneceu durante algum tempo, até ser integrada novamente nas histórias de família e lembrada, não tal como é, mas como outra comunidade imaginada, ligeiramente diferente, até à próxima rutura percetível, entre o real e o construído.

A cultura portuguesa pode ser considerada uma cultura de fronteira (Souza 2000), com alguns contornos específicos, mas sem um conteúdo inequívoco, portanto, a cultura portuguesa não é muito distinta de outras culturas nacionais, embora sempre tenha conservado uma heterogeneidade interna bem construída. O chamado universalismo português pode ter-se constituído como um universo com Portugal como centro, mas, entretanto, essa realidade transformou-se. Outrora virado para dentro e centro das suas colónias, para usar a linguagem então vigente, Portugal, é hoje um país periférico em relação à Europa e aos centros de decisão económica e política, mas simultaneamente e paradoxalmente, mais virado para o exterior e membro da UE. Apesar das mudanças políticas e territoriais ocorridas nas antigas possessões portugueses, que culminaram na independência dos territórios, as pessoas continuaram a atravessar fronteiras e continentes em direção a Portugal, trazendo um cosmopolitismo forjado numa enorme multiplicidade de culturas locais (Brass 1991). Assim, a cultura portuguesa tem vindo desde há muito, a situar-se entre o local e o translocal, o que lhe confere uma singularidade e multiplicidade muito específicas da "cultura nacional portuguesa", conceito mais facilmente inteligível quando se convoca Eriksen (2001), para quem a identidade étnica se refere a um conceito de ancestralidade compartilhada, mas cultura se refere a representações, normas e práticas compartilhadas. É então por isso que apesar de se encontrarem em Portugal (na identidade portuguesa) profundas diferenças étnicas, podem não existir diferenças culturais muito importantes. Esta premissa não é certamente válida em muitos casos, mas faz sentido para a família de M e J. Os ancestrais de J são todos goeses, mas ele é, diz, português – um descendente de goeses. Os ancestrais de M são um quebra-cabeça de culturas: dos muçulmanos do norte da África aos cristãos de Goa; de moçambicanos a ingleses, mas ela é, diz, portuguesa. Ambos construíram as suas narrativas de vida como portugueses e ser português é ao mesmo tempo parte da sua referência cultural, de nacionalidade e a sua "identidade pública".

A existência de variação cultural é possível sem fronteiras étnicas (por exemplo, com relação ao estatuto social), fazendo com que a discrepância interna de um grupo seja ou possa ser, portanto, muito maior do que seria expectável. É aceite a ideia de que uma nação, para ser considerada como tal, deva estar ligada a um estado, independentemente de ser ou não apoiada por uma identidade étnica compartilhada, que se forja num processo de interação social, definidor da perceção grupal dos nacionais de um país em relação a um grupo de pessoas consideradas estrangeiras, bastante semelhantes entre si e diferentes dos nativos (Bastos 1999).

Em consequência das migrações e sobretudo dos processos de globalização, as diásporas, tornam cada vez mais difícil reconhecer quer as diferenças entre as sociedades, quer a eficácia das fronteiras, já desde o final do século XX e mais ainda, agora. Rituais, roupas, comida, cheiros, objetos, outrora relacionados com um contexto geográfico, étnico ou cultural específico, cruzam-se hoje pelo mundo e estão acessíveis a qualquer pessoa e, como se não bastasse, as sociedades mudam mais rapidamente do que antes. De facto, "um tipo distinto de mudança estrutural está a transformar as sociedades modernas no final do séc. XX. Isso está a fragmentar as paisagens culturais em termos de classe, sexualidade, género, etnia, raça e nacionalidade, que nos deram até ao momento, uma posição firme e conhecida, na sociedade, enquanto indivíduos sociais. Essas transformações estão a mudar as nossas identidades pessoais, minando nosso entendimento de nós mesmos, como sujeitos integrados na sociedade. Essa perda de um 'sentido de si' estável, pode ser denominado deslocamento ou descentralização do sujeito. Esse conjunto de deslocamentos duplos – descentralizando os indivíduos, tanto do seu lugar no mundo social e cultural, como de si mesmos – constitui uma 'crise de identidade' para o indivíduo" (Hall et al. 1996b, p. 596–597).

As abordagens culturais e sociais são fundamentais para entender o que é ser português ou moçambicano ou goês ou tudo isso concomitantemente e desempenham um papel muito importante no que diz respeito à construção de processos de identidade. E esses processos não são lineares, é claro, pois nossa identidade é, como sobejamente referido, múltipla e composta. No período entre 1961 e 1974, muitos goeses foram enviados pelo governo português para as colónias africanas portuguesas, como funcionários públicos (Malheiros 2000). Como já foi referido, a família de J veio de Goa para Portugal, rumou a Moçambique e, daí, retornou a Portugal entre 1974 e 1976 inserida no designado movimento de retornados. Com eles veio outro grupo de goeses cujas famílias estavam em Moçambique antes de 1961 e que em alguns casos, faziam parte de famílias "mistas", como resultado de casamentos entre goeses e moçambicanos, como na família de M. Não será, portanto, estranho que Portugal como país e conceito de nação, seja hoje um lugar onde a identidade é forjada para muitas pessoas, numa memória presa ao triângulo antigo constituído por Goa, Moçambique e Portugal.

Do contexto cultural emergem memórias de grupo, relativos à infância e ao quotidiano: jogos, brincadeiras, cuidados com o corpo, vestuário e adornos, gostos, sabores, odores e comida. E a comida é provavelmente o aspeto que a família de M aprecia mais – cozinha habitualmente alguns pratos de Moçambique e de Goa em casa, quotidianamente (e sempre durante as festas, principalmente o Natal), como "bebinca", caril, "chacuti", "sarapatel" e "ambortic". Apesar do consumo de toda essa comida em Moçambique, ela e a sua família a aceitam-na como parte de sua herança e identidade goesa. Da identidade moçambicana, ela e o marido referem mousse de manga, matapa e o caril de amendoim. Pratos como "cozido à portuguesa", bacalhau, arroz-doce e muitos doces conventuais portugueses, são a sua herança portuguesa. A preparação e o consumo de alimentos são dos temas favoritos da família quando se fala sobre suas identidades e experiências goesas, moçambicanas e portuguesas. M, como muitos outros descendentes de goeses, assume uma valorização da comida goesa em relação a qualquer outra tradição culinária (mesmo moçambicana ou portuguesa) e abre um caminho que lhe permite falar sobre sua herança e origem cultural goesa (Rosales 2010*). "Eu cozinho comida goesa e muitas outras pessoas portuguesas não, é claro. E o povo moçambicano cozinha outras coisas. Bem [. . .] eles não são tão diferentes dos outros portugueses que estiveram lá. A maioria dessas pessoas adora caril*" diz M.

Estes aspetos da vida quotidiana e a sua dimensão como marca do processo identitário não são apreendidos pelo povo português / moçambicano / goês, como a família de M, que se consideram portugueses, vendo-se como pessoas pertencentes a uma subcultura, como qualquer outra de/em Portugal, exceto quando confrontados com isso. Para eles, "é tão natural como respirar", porque é quem eles são. Eles comem comida portuguesa-goesa-moçambicana como "alentejanos", comem "migas" ou "gaspacho" ou como os transmontanos comem butelo. As experiências multi-pertencentes emergem durante o calendário ritual familiar de visitar pais, avós, irmãos, irmãs, tias e tios cujas casas, e práticas cotidianas confrontam esses portugueses com sua própria experiência na diáspora (Brass 1991). Nesse momento, eles lembram-se de que as suas memórias vividas se cruzam e as memórias contadas, mais do que individuais, se tornam memórias de grupo.

Todas as formas de identidade são imaginadas, inventadas e representadas: construções contingentes e escorregadias, sempre num processo de redefinição, pelo que construir nossa própria identidade pode ser uma escolha – uma escolha consciente. Mais uma vez M escolheu. Chegando à adolescência e ouvindo falar de Goa, do modo como dela lhe falavam, decidiu a dado momento, estabelecer contacto com a comunidade goesa de Maputo, via irmã e conheceu seu futuro marido e sua família. Apesar da identidade reivindicada, a sua mãe tinha apenas algumas ligações superficiais com membros da comunidade, mas M, a irmã, o irmão, bem como os tios, tornaram-se membros do grupo, num processo de fácil integração. Naquela época em Moçambique, segundo a mãe de M, as pessoas de Goa tinham um estatuto social mais alto do que os moçambicanos, mas M acredita (a mãe continuava a dizer isso até falecer), esse estatuto não tinha uma relação direta com a riqueza, mas com valores, educação, instrução e comportamento.

A família, especialmente os ancestrais, e o lar ancestral são muito importantes para a construção da identidade goesa. Uma casa de família que pode ser entregue às gerações futuras é o bem mais estimado que um goês pode ter, dizem J e M. No caso de J, a casa foi perdida duas vezes: quando ele e a família deixaram Goa e quando ele deixou Moçambique. Depois de chegar a Portugal, teve casa (na verdade várias casas), mas não um lar até se estabelecer na cidade onde reside há já tantos anos, com a sua esposa.

Para M e J, arrendar uma casa não é ter uma casa. Ter uma casa no sentido de lar, significa possuí-lo e transformá-lo de uma maneira que as suas múltiplas identidades possam ser sentidas e expressadas – no seu lar, as paredes são pintadas com azuis fortes, vermelhos e amarelos-escuros. Algumas obras do pintor moçambicano Malagatana "vivem" nas suas paredes, onde também há máscaras de Moçambique; o perfume da sua casa é uma mistura de especiarias, incenso e ervas do Alentejo. Na mesa há sempre vinho, azeitonas, pão, queijo, presunto e caju – a sua casa, como uma extensão deles, é um lugar intercultural e os seus objetos, são objetos de memória e, tal como outros portugueses da diáspora, eles "parecem ser particularmente precisos em relação à materialidade doméstica, pois todas as famílias migrantes usam os objetos em casa para ordenar memórias, relacionar-se com o mundo interno e o exterior. [. . .] o lar como um processo social e cultural pode funcionar como um local significativo para explorar a sua relação no nível das práticas quotidianas, contribuindo para esclarecer a diversidade de expectativas, investimentos e ajustes que todas as experiências de migração acarretam" (Rosales 2011, p. 509).

Moldar vidas e memórias sociais é uma contribuição para a construção da ideia dos ancestrais, espaços, tempos, cheiros, gostos e símbolos reais e imaginário e quando isso acontece, torna-se natural e desejável evocar as memórias do grupo. Para Cohen, não existe uma cultura única, homogénea ou nacional, mas várias culturas diversas, baseadas frequentemente num senso de "situ" ou "pertença" (Cohen 1994) também refletidas pelos objetos que a casa hospeda. A estrutura interna da casa é interpretada como uma entidade simbólica que reproduz a ordem coletiva que incorpora, contribuindo assim para a sua representação cosmológica (Rosales 2011).

A memória permite que J e M construam uma narrativa de vida forjada em numa identidade que mantêm em privado (ser goeses e moçambicanos), compartilhada com a família e amigos. Não é segredo. Não é mais importante do que ser português, apenas algo natural entre as suas famílias, aqueles que são capazes de reforçar e ritualizar a sua herança. Como Hall refere, "a identidade, nessa conceção sociológica, preenche a lacuna entre o' interior 'e o' exterior ' – entre o mundo pessoal e o público. O facto de projetarmos 'nós mesmos' nessas identidades culturais, ao mesmo tempo que internalizamos os seus significados e valores, tornando-os 'parte de nós', ajuda a alinhar os nossos sentimentos subjetivos com os lugares objetivos que ocupamos no mundo social e cultural" (Hall et al. 1996a, p. 597–598).

Nas partes mais baixas da região central de Goa, existem muitas plantações de frutas e nozes de bétele. A região costeira é famosa pelas praias douradas e a economia de Goa é predominantemente agrícola. Arroz, frutas, coco, legumes, castanha de caju e noz de bétele coexistem com especiarias e sal – como no Goa de M. M imaginou que Goa tinha cheiro e cor de especiarias, uma cidade com muitos palácios e enormes casas coloniais e que havia imensos campos de arroz e palmeiras. No entanto, quando lá foi lá (em julho de 2004), Goa real era assim, e não era. A cor e os cheiros de especiarias e palmeiras estavam lá, mas as casas não eram todas palácios ou imensas casas coloniais e, de facto, havia muitas casas pequenas e normais. Havia até pessoas que não viviam muito bem. *"Como poderia ser?!"* A mãe dizia sempre que os goeses tinham uma vida melhor e eram os melhores: mais informados, com uma postura corporal melhor, comportamento irrepreensível, pessoas educadas e inteligentes. Numa palavra: incríveis. A mãe afirmava que o melhor em si mesma (e nos seus filhos) tinha sido a herança goesa (genética / sangue; bem como o contexto cultural) e os fracassos que eles alguma vez viessem a ter, resultariam do facto de serem parcialmente moçambicanos. M, é claro, sempre teve um ponto de vista crítico relativamente à posição defendida pela mãe e discorda obviamente, dela. Assim, do ponto de vista estritamente racional, não a surpreende esta clivagem entre Goa imaginada e Goa real, no entanto, emocionalmente Goa deveria surgir como um paraíso e, mesmo adulta, informada e crítica relativamente a uma posição de certo modo xenófoba, veiculada pela mãe, era o paraíso que esperava encontrar. Menos do que isso é nada ou, pelo menos, não é suficiente.

A única vez que M esteve em Goa, foi a que aqui se refere. J acompanhou-a e reviu a cidade depois de a deixar aos onze anos de idade. Agora, depois lá terem estado juntos, guardam as suas memórias da Goa real misturadas com a Goa imaginada, romantizada (Featherstone 2005) e revisitada no que respeita às memórias de infância. Se a Goa romantizada e imaginada de M remonta às histórias da mãe e do avô, a de J foi construído a partir de fragmentos de sua vida lá, quando criança. M considera a viagem que fez, fascinante e inesquecível e que o território estava além das suas expectativas em termos de paisagem, referindo ainda como pontos fortes, a lua, o sol e a comida. E a comida remete-a para casa – Moçambique – e recorda-a dos mais velos da sua família, de ter aprendido cozinha goesa com a avó (oriunda do Norte de África e que aprendeu a-cozinhar com uma velha mulher goesa), com a mãe e com a sogra. Ir a Goa e ter podido sentir de novo esses sabores, cheirar o odor dessa comida, fê-la voltar atrás no tempo – voltou a ser criança e jovem mulher. Nesta cultura reconfigurada pela diáspora, formas familiares entre "aqui" e "ali" tornam-se vagas. Para alguns descendentes de goeses como M, os lugares (familiares) e ancestrais deixados para trás, regem a natureza do seu relacionamento com um (o) lugar (imaginado) percetivelmente mudado, e uma quimera de uma ligação essencial entre o território e a cultura destruída. Evidencia-se o fenómeno das comunidades imaginadas (Anderson 1991) que se tornam emocionalmente, lugares imaginados, em linha com o que habitualmente se passa com os imigrantes, quando recordam ou imaginam as comunidades, territórios e lugares que deixaram e, entretanto, se transformam, gerando distorções entre o lembrado e o real.

Gupta e Ferguson (1992) consideram que o conjunto de perguntas em torno da construção mental de lugar e pátria de imigrantes bem como de grupos que sentiram as consequências da diáspora, está bastante documentado em estudos antropológicos. Referem que os lugares lembrados ou (re) inventados têm frequentemente servido como âncoras simbólicas da comunidade para quem migra e que, portanto, os filhos e filhas da diáspora podem usar a(s) sua(s) memória(s) do lugar/território para criar e apropriar imaginativamente, a sua nova vida, no novo lugar de residência, (re) encontrando o seu lugar no mundo. M quer revisitar Goa. Está encantada com a sensação de paz e sossego e refere-se às pequenas casas, distantes uma da outra no meio dos campos verdes, como sendo encantadas; aos grupos coloridos de pessoas e às roupas exóticas que homens e mulheres usam, como fantásticas; exalta o artesanato bem como os restaurantes e bares à beira-mar. A Goa de M é a Goa, da sua mãe, mas também a do marido e já a sua, sem as grandes casas coloniais, mas agora com pequenas casas encantadas (as que primeiro desiludiram), num processo de construção de uma memória romantizada à medida que o tempo se distancia da viagem. Segundo J, Goa "é um paraíso e um lugar onde todos gostariam de morar; um lugar tranquilo para a alma". Como fenómeno, a memória social aponta para uma associação complexa entre memórias personificadas, história, espaço e tempo, o que apoia a ideia de que uma identidade cultural é apresentada com base em múltiplos factos em diferentes contextos, oferecendo, portanto, uma posição em que o reconhecimento de identidades pessoais e até a história, são desafiadas, sejam elas (re)inventadas, rejeitadas ou aceites (Hobsbawm e Ranger 1983; 1990).

A experiência pessoal e o discurso de um grupo específico de indivíduos estão ligados a práticas locais que influenciam incidentalmente e são influenciadas por esse desempenho. As práticas sociais permitem ratificar as memórias para misturar elementos entre história e memória, estabelecendo a comunicação entre passado, presente e futuro. No que diz respeito à família de M e J, essa ideia está bastante presente. De facto, os rituais do calendário (especialmente o Natal) são momentos usados para ordenar realidades e experiências caóticas e inseguras – memórias que pertencem mais aos ancestrais do que aos seus parentes mais novos, em particular aos filhos e netos. Durante esses processos de organização da realidade, vai-se criando uma memória social consistente e surgem certos códigos e representações morais, como por exemplo, o que deve ser uma família goesa. O Natal é intensamente vivido por essa família (família extensa e alargada, incluindo a família das noras) e misturam tradições portuguesas, moçambicanas e goesas. Todos jantam juntos e depois vão à Missa do Galo. Têm sempre uma árvore de Natal e um presépio; comem sempre peru, bacalhau e "leitão", além de bebinca, sarapatel, chocuti, chamuças, arroz-doce e bolo inglês. A noite de Consoada é longa e vivida em família, nesse cruzamento de referências e memórias. Outra tradição familiar consiste em comemorar aniversários. Os mais jovens "celebram a vida e o futuro todos os anos; os mais velhos comemoram seu aniversário de década em década, começando com cinquenta anos", diz M. "É importante – começamos a ser sábios aos cinquenta anos! Somos avós em muitos casos, além de pais. Aos sessenta anos, começamos a saber muitas coisas e, aos oitenta, olhamos, sorrimos e realmente sabemos o que está a acontecer [. . .]" e ela ri-se. Os aniversários juntam a família, sobretudo a enorme família de J, apesar de dispersa e os amigos, maioritariamente portugueses, que reconhecem neles a sua filosofia de vida, enunciada por J: "Ser um homem goês é ser sereno, temperado, ter integridade e ser respeitoso e homem de valores".

Este tipo de práticas foi estudado por Banks, em relação aos migrantes: "Os migrantes recentes tendem a reificar e objetivar sua experiência cultural e a olhar para a 'preservação' de artefactos culturais, como itens específicos como alimentos ou roupas. Mas os artefactos reificados não são 'cultura' para o antropólogo; ao invés do processo de materialização das vivências em contexto, que constitui um processo cultural" (Banks 1996, p. 80).

Para J e M, o lar é o lugar onde passado, presente e futuro se reúnem. É um lugar de memórias e identidade, bem como de sonhos e projetos. A presença de objetos materiais é cruzada com as memórias que eles evocam, construindo comunidades e eventos míticos. Como refere Rosales (2011), o primeiro, e provavelmente o mais significativo, denominador comum encontrado nos discursos das famílias sobre seus lares passados e presentes é o retrato deles como locais sociais e culturais complexos. De facto, todos os depoimentos são amplos e multifacetados, fazendo referência a locais, pessoas, relacionamentos, sentimentos, escalas, memórias e, principalmente, a estratégias de posicionamento e políticas de pertença. O lar e seus objetos, parecem assumir uma posição central devido à sua capacidade de assestar, materializar e expressar tópicos e preocupações antigas, diretamente resultantes das deslocações que viveram (Rosales, 2011).

A memória é usada quer por indivíduos, quer por comunidades, para construir a sua identidade e as suas tradições (Lash et al. 2002), numa linha temporal e com recurso a estruturas específicas (Connerton 1993), de maneira consciente umas vezes, e inconscientemente, de outras. As emoções, assim como a conexão emocional com lugares e objetos, são vigorosamente capturadas na construção da memória (Rosales 2011), mas também nas teias do esquecimento enquanto processo ativo e importante – tão importante quanto a lembrança, de acordo com Augé (2001). Assim, em última instância, confluem na produção de identidades, a memória e o esquecimento e, situada algures entre ambos os polos, a idealização da realidade que se constitui como uma escolha.

Esta idealização, non caso em estudo, traduz-se na construção do espaço íntimo da casa, reservado a família e amigos, com as cores e objetos que nos fazem lembrar Goa e Moçambique, transformando pinturas, artefactos e tecidos, em objetos de memória. Até as paredes têm as cores do mar e céu desses lugares distantes, das especiarias e da verdura luxuriante, moldando este espaço íntimo que representa as suas emoções em relação aos locais de nascimento, em direção a uma realidade que é também um constructo da imaginação, através das suas memórias (Fox 2002; Rosale, 2011).

De um modo sintetizado, podem apontar-se quatro aspetos significativos relativamente à identidade múltipla deste casal.

O primeiro aspeto significativo da identidade portuguesa / moçambicana / goesa é a maneira como é percebida e imaginada através das memórias sociais dos antepassados. Crumley (2002) descreve a memória social como o meio pelo qual a informação é transmitida entre indivíduos e grupos e de uma geração para outra. De facto, como já se referiu, depois de tantos anos, as memórias surgem mais vinculadas ao grupo familiar de Goa, do que a uma memória individual. O conceito de memória social é usado para explorar o vínculo entre identidade social e memória histórica – no que diz respeito às origens familiares, pertença territorial, rituais, crenças e condutas, o que implica perguntar de que forma um grupo de pessoas (qualquer um) se pensa e porquê, e, igualmente, de que modo se sentem membros de uma comunidade ou de um movimento diaspórico com um passado compartilhado. Pensar na identidade é também pensar na memória social e nas construções sociais da memória. Os ancestrais de qualquer comunidade são os guardiões das memórias e identidades e, portanto, o seu desaparecimento é por demais importante e implica a necessidade de os manter vivos através dos processos de memória e rememoração do passado, ao mesmo tempo que se constitui como um processo inexorável resultado e resultante das dinâmicas de qualquer comunidade, implicando mudanças. Como último recurso, trata-se de pessoas / sobreviventes em busca de memórias comuns para enfrentar as necessidades atuais (Crumley 2002).

O segundo aspeto, prende-se com as mudanças que acontecem na memória social no decorrer do tempo e de uma para outra geração. Como Crumley (2002) refere, indivíduos e grupos, não necessariamente conscientes do que estão a fazer, transmitem os seus comportamentos e atitudes a outros, em vários contextos, mas principalmente através de laços emocionais e nos relacionamentos pragmáticos entre gerações. Esse fenómeno aconteceu entre M, o seu avô e a sua mãe. Aconteceu entre J, os seus pais e os seus irmãos mais velhos. Também aconteceu com J e M em relação aos filhos e netos. No entanto, o contexto foi e é já diferente: os filhos de M e J nasceram em Portugal, são portugueses e nunca deixaram Portugal para se estabelecerem noutro lugar. Assim, as histórias que o pai costumava contar-lhes foram assumidas como provenientes de um tempo e local imaginados como uma terra maravilhosa e mágica, pertencente aos seus antepassados, mas não a si embora através de uma herança que não negam, lhes permita situar-se na família. Os filhos de M e J sempre mantiveram uma distância emocional importante de Goa e não adquiriram a identidade goesa-portuguesa de seus pais. Portanto, a ideia de ser um goês-português, está a perder vigor de uma geração para outra. Os mundos da memória das comunidades migrantes de primeira, segunda e terceira gerações (como J e M) e conjeturas sobre as memórias contadas além das esferas familiares através, por exemplo, de fotografias, filmes e histórias dessas experiências, revelam-se particularmente importantes, ainda, alimentando e construindo verdadeiras topografias de memória (Fortier 2000) e uma âncora que permite forjar identidades familiares. Os dois filhos de M e J casaram-se com mulheres portuguesas e, provavelmente, os seus filhos nem sequer estarão fortemente conscientes de sua herança goesa e moçambicana. As suas memórias e identidades serão forjadas num contexto diferente, atendendo a diferentes necessidades.

O terceiro aspeto significativo da identidade portuguesa / moçambicana / goesa prende-se com o facto de (no presente caso, é claro) a identidade goesa não se sobrepor à identidade portuguesa, sobretudo no caso de J: ser goês é ser português porque Goa fez parte de Portugal e porque antes de 1961, os goeses tinham nacionalidade portuguesa. Não consideram a anexação de Goa à União Indiana como uma libertação, ao contrário do que ocorreu com a independência de Moçambique.

M e J são entendidos e assumidos pelos familiares e conhecidos, como portugueses (ou também como moçambicanos, eventualmente como goeses). Para quem os conhece, não são menos portugueses do que quem aqui nasceu, pois como como Kubináková (2010, p. 29) nos diz, o conceito de identidade refere-se a várias "representações criadas dentro da própria perceção de um indivíduo em relação às regras cumpridas (em virtude do estatuto, e posição social, género, etc.), à inclusão ou exclusão de alguém nos contextos sociais (cultura, nação, religião) e no modo como as outras pessoas apreendem o comportamento de alguém, interpretam e definem quem e o que é".

A última nota significativa é a relação estabelecida entre identidade e contextos pós-coloniais. Devido à anexação à União Indiana, após 1961, Goa agora é uma terra estrangeira. A Goa deles desapareceu há muitos anos e o que resta é uma memória, portanto, eles identificam-se não com o lugar real existente agora, mas com o território goês-português que já não existe. No presente contexto, o desaparecimento de fronteiras em relação ao território indiano, forneceu uma moldura particularmente reveladora para a análise do "eu" e "outro", (Donnan e Wilson 1999), tanto em termos comunitários como familiares e pessoais.

J e M assumem que suas identidades não são portuguesas e moçambicanas, nem goesas ou portuguesas. Eles são o rosto humano do triângulo antigo: afinal, são goeses, moçambicanos e portugueses. Todos os membros da família estão completamente integrados. De facto, como muitos goeses que vieram para Portugal, integraram-se no sistema educacional português (em Moçambique e em Portugal) e assumiram valores culturais e sociais portugueses. A religião constituiu outro fator de integração na sociedade portuguesa, bem como os hábitos alimentares híbridos (semelhantes aos hábitos alimentares das famílias portuguesas que viveram em Moçambique), o código de vestuário e as preferências musicais da família, que também tendiam a ser ocidentalizados / portugueses. Considerando a esfera pública da família de M e J, no que diz respeito à sua herança goesa, ela é quase invisível, pois como muitos outros goeses, esta família escolheu um modelo perfeito de integração e assunção de valores locais, sem, na esfera privada, perder estas múltiplas identidades e memórias.

A memória de grupo é forjada numa sequência às vezes duvidosa e complexa de lembrança e esquecimento, ou seja, "é preciso esquecer para estar presente; esquecer para enganar a morte; esquecer para permanecer fiel" (Augé 2001, p. 106). Não há dúvida de que a memória é uma das principais causas da criação e reprodução de identidades e, nesse contexto, as pessoas fazem os lugares e escolhem os lugares, eventos passados e histórias que os ajudam a construir sua memória pessoal, o que se revela muito importante para entender como a memória e também como uma variedade de formas de memória ratificadora surgem até como uma questão moral, através da qual se discute a experiência da diáspora, mas também a lealdade a uma comunidade de pertença, real e imaginada.

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The Experiments of a 20th-Century European Intellectual with Complex Identity

Michael Polanyi as a Defender of the West

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Abstract: Michael Polanyi was born in 1891 in Budapest as the fourth born child of a middle-class Jewish family. He studied to become a doctor in Budapest but he never practiced medicine, except serving as a military doctor during WWI. He studied Chemistry in Karlsruhe and later in 1919 he left Hungary. Being an associate researcher of the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut in Berlin, he represented the frontline of contemporary science from the beginning of the 20th century to 1933 when he had to flee Germany. He worked as a Chemist at the Victoria University of Manchester until 1948 when he decided to become a social science researcher and he relocated to the Department of Social Science. He worked here until his retirement. He held different positions as a researcher and visiting professor until the end of his life. He attempted to raise the profile of his philosophical ideas, which were shaped in a bipolar world. His fundamental aspiration was to give an ideological foundation to the defense of freedom against different varieties of totalitarianism, especially Marxism that was taking hold at that time. He was convinced that we should accept our own beliefs underlying our culture since this is the only way to find protection against totalitarian ideas either appearing in scientific disguise or as rigorous moral demands. He found himself in a similarly complex situation of having Jewish and Central-European roots and elaborating topics familiar to continental philosophy in an Anglo-Saxon philosophical environment. He argued for believing with an open mind. He accepted the Christian tradition, which, even in its secularized form, he considered as one of the fundamental pillars of western civilization. The examination of the roots of our convictions is inevitably connected to the influences shaping our identity, which sometimes conflict with each other.

Keywords: Jewish assimilation, migration, Central Europe, post-critical thinking, cultural criticism

Michael Polanyi was born in Budapest in 1891 as the fourth child of an assimilated middle-class Jewish family. At the turn of the century, Hungary (as a part of the Austria-Hungarian Monarchy) and especially its capital underwent profound changes. Polanyi was raised and schooled in Budapest which became a modern European city during that time. He studied medicine, but, except for a short period in World War I when he acted as a military doctor, he never pursued his profession. He later studied chemistry in Karlsruhe and left Hungary in 1919. It could only be suspected then that he will never return for a longer period to the scene of his childhood and young adulthood. From the beginning of the 1920s, he joined the Kaiser Wilhelm Institut in Berlin to research there until 1933 when he had to flee Germany (James, Steinhauser, Hoffmann, Friedrich 2011). He settled in England and joined the Victoria University in Manchester to research chemistry until 1948, then he decided to become a philosopher and moved to the Social Studies department where he worked until his retirement. From this point on he became a researcher and visiting professor to create publicity for his own philosophical tenets formed during the period of the two-pole world view, and based on his experience before World War I (Vezér 1986; Palló 1992; Mitchell 2006; Scott and Moleski 2005).

The changing Hungary of Michael Polanyi's youth carried severe contradictions, which were also pointed out by the first essay in the volume celebrating the 70th birthday of the philosopher (Ignotus 1961). However, this period was the age of absolute freedom. He evokes this world in his philosophical texts when he had already experienced the totalitarian movements of the 20th century. We read in his "Perils of Inconsistency" published in *The Logic of Liberty* (1951) that

> It remained an axiom among progressive people on the Continent that to achieve light and liberty, you had first to break the power of the clergy and eliminate the influence of religious dogma. […] I well remember this triumphant sentiment. We looked back on earlier times as on a period of darkness, and with Lucretius, we cried in horror: 'Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum'; what evils religion had inspired! So we rejoiced at the superior knowledge of our age and its assured liberties. The promises of peace and freedom given to the world by French Enlightenment had indeed been wonderfully fulfilled toward the end of the nineteenth century. You could travel all over Europe and America without a passport and settle down wherever you pleased. With the exception of Russia, you could print throughout Europe anything without previous censorship, and could sharply oppose any government or creed, with impunity. In Germany – much criticized at the time

> for being authoritarian – biting caricatures of the Emperor were published freely. Even in Russia, whose regime was most oppressive, Marx's Kapital appeared in translation immediately after its first publication and received favorable reviews throughout the press. In the whole of Europe, not more than a few hundred people were forced into political exile. Throughout the planet, all men of European race were living in free intellectual and personal communication. (Polanyi 1951, p. 96)

The turn of the century Budapest was part of this world, and Polanyi's exceptional talent was shaped by this milieu. If we strive to understand intellectual achievement not solely from itself, we need to take a look at how it was affected by its environment.

Budapest underwent profound architectural and social changes in a few decades to become a Central European world metropolis. Modern big industry appeared, but Budapest was a center for art and science, and the city saw a constant influx of different ethnic groups. Birth privileges were replaced by social success based on personal achievement. All these combined meant an unprecedented amount of changes. Budapest was made great in an economic, scientific and artistic sense by the immigrants, thanks to the fact that all of these groups of different social status, culture and set of norms wanted to prevail here. The assimilation process acted as a frame to these attempts. Just like in the Polanyi family until the sudden death of the father in 1904, the parents of Hungarians who were born at the turn of the century and went on establish an exceptional career abroad, have already ensured financial stability and safety to permit these thinkers to achieve permanent scientific and cultural accomplishments. Many of the Hungarians who became famous abroad are the descendants of Jewish immigrants, who could have played a more significant role in high culture if there was a place for them to prevail in post-Trianon Hungary. The exceptional talents growing up at the turn of the century created significant cultural achievement by any standards. Taking a look at their later stages of life, they can be clearly distinguished from the creators of empty and noisy big city culture determined by business aspects, who were criticized by such figures as the celebrated modern poet of the turn of the century, Endre Ady, who was idolized by many young radicals.

Until World War I perspectives of progress seemed to open up for many. It was a period for new beginnings, significant achievements, daring enterprises, and risk-taking. The appearance of novelty became part of everyday experience, and it inspired respect (Frank 2012). The appearance of the radically new was a question dealt with by science, and it is in this heuristic tradition that we can situate the achievements of the mathematician György Pólya and the philosophy of Michael Polanyi.

One of the important aspects of Polanyi's science-philosophy is that it establishes a lively, practical relationship with its object. This comes as no surprise as he spent almost three decades as a leading chemistry researcher. He knew the atmosphere of the laboratories well, and he was aware of the decisions that researchers have to make while pursuing their leads into the unknown. The core of the science-philosophy framed by more general cultural criticism is comprised of the passages analyzing the appearance of novelty. He analyzes scientific discovery as problem-solving and illuminates those points of contact that join his thoughts to the history of philosophy. In this case, the problem is what is phrased in Plato's *Meno*, that is, how can we do research if we do not know what we are looking for. But if we know, then there is no reason to research. Polanyi interprets Plato's solution and reframes the question:

> The task of solving a problem must indeed appear self-contradictory unless we admit that we can possess true intimations of the unknown. This is what Plato's argument proves, namely, that every advance in understanding is moved and guided by our power for seeing the presence of some hidden comprehensive entity behind yet incomprehensible clues pointing increasingly toward this yet unknown entity. (Polanyi 1974, p. 124)

Polanyi establishes his epistemology by following the achievements of German Gestalt psychology – especially Köhler's thoughts – and differentiates between two types of awareness: focal and subsidiary awareness. The discovery that he regards as a new way of subsidiary awareness is the integration of clues not in the focus of our attention. Understanding novelty means that we learn to see differently, we have to be ready to radically change our thinking. Such ways of seeing and thinking could open up which were unimaginable at an earlier moment. A limitless horizon of thinking is conjured up in these lines, similar to how the turn of the century Budapest dynamically allowed previously unimaginable possibilities – at least that was the impression of many with their turn of the century perspectives. This development was later broken by World War I and the peace treaties that followed. In this period Hungary was hard to navigate by the old maps, and new maps have not been published yet. Polanyi's philosophy declares the conclusion of rationalism, a centuries-old intellectual period that destroyed the basis of morality, and delineates the new, reflexive and personal thinking of the post-critical age that accepts the frail basis of liberty.

This epistemological aspiration was motivated by the experience of the two totalitarian movements of the 20th century (Prosch 1986). The history of the Polanyi family contains a chapter about their ties to a Russian type of communist movement – especially because of the function played by Adolf Polanyi in the Hungarian Soviet Republic in 1919 – and the results of the national socialists coming to power. Because of this political turn, Michael Polanyi had to flee Germany in 1933, and his elder sister Zsófia together with his son became the victim of the Holocaust in 1942. Polanyi kept his distance from totalitarian movements throughout his long life. It follows from his thinking that the success of any of these sides would have meant the destruction of Europe. Still, the argumentation of his lecture *Jewish Problems* held in 1942 at the Manchester Branch of the Trades Advisory Council of the Board of Deputies of British Jews might come as a surprise (Polanyi 1943). Before dealing with this text extensively, we need to mention a few aspects of the history of assimilation in Hungary.

Assimilation in Hungary opened up the way to joining the bourgeoisie, climbing up the social ladder, and participating in common affairs. The legal frame of this was established by the emancipatory statute (1867, statute XVII). Assimilation and becoming Hungarian, the abandonment of Jewish religion opened the gates in front of practical and higher aims. For many whose family history included memories of exclusion, this meant a break away from the inward world of the past. The darker side of quick assimilation, the loss of solidarity towards each other has been apparent to many, but the scales seemed positive still. The later failure and tragedy could not be foreseen, at least not for Michael Polanyi who was familiar with both Hungarian and German culture, and who in his 1942 Manchester lecture analyzed the possibilities of assimilation in the light of his new experience. Polanyi was not naïve when he opted for assimilation and refused the prospect of becoming a modern nation (Zionism). This gesture of universalist argumentation, which was not put forward from the perspective of Jewish survival, resulted in non-understanding and dislike during the Holocaust. The later Nobel Prize winner Eugene Wigner, who was Polanyi's doctoral student in his Berlin years, criticized Polanyi's universalist argumentation in one of his letters written in Hungarian in 1938 September, claiming that this way of opposing the national socialist dictatorship is insufficient. The relevant part of Wigner's letter is quoted by Jha:

> But I see that it does not make sense to take a position on such lofty moral plane that no one else assumes. People will believe we are mad and will misinterpret what we do. [. . .] Yes, our interests are just as important as those of others, and we have the same right and obligation to defend them as others do. If we could live in a place where the interests of our environment can be harmonized with our interests, so much the better. But if not, we must not stifle our interests just because these are not altogether general interests. It is the essence of democracy that all groups fight for their own interests. To silence this makes the same impression as if someone were not to identify himself as a Jew. (1998, p. 105)

The question that Wigner emphasizes is whether someone who argues like this at the end of the 1930s and – we could add – at the beginning of the 1940s can regard himself as a Jew and whether he disavows solidarity with the troubled. The accusation is serious, and we could hardly argue against it if we disregarded that branch of Polanyi's argument where he elaborates on in what context he can accept assimilation. He rules out the possibility of assimilation to certain nations that proved successful at the beginning of the century, just like he rules out secession, that is Zionism. The question of assimilation appears as the conflict of joining universal aims, participating in the big causes of mankind versus particularity and closure. Taking into account Polanyi's suggestion about assimilation, this still appears to be the hierarchic relationship between participating in the causes of the secularized Christian world or the separate Jewish national community. In spite of the failure of the assimilation program Polanyi still talks about the need for assimilation, but this time the individual would need to find its place within the bigger community of the assimilating European nations. In this respect, the Jews could find themselves in a special situation because with their significant experience in assimilation, they could become the yeast of the unified Europe. In this case, it is not a group assimilating to another group, but everyone needs to conform to others, creating such a unity that had no pre-existing patterns. The thought of a unified Europe already appeared in his early paper published in 1917 (Polanyi 1991), and here he ponders the possibility of peace in Europe and concludes that the conditions of lasting peace are not given if we leave the existing national frames untouched.

Due to the fact that liberty, development, and growth he knew from his youth cannot be restored within national frames, he rethinks this possibility from the perspective of the greater unit, the integration of European nations. The option of a unified Europe necessitates slower assimilation encompassing many generations, during which the traditions – Jewish traditions among them – of different national communities would lose their privileged status, though they would still be respected. He tries to offer a solution for the loss of solidarity within this intellectual frame.

Michael Polanyi regarded the secular Western societies as Christian communities whose morals are based on Christ's example regardless of the religious practices and tenets created through the acceptance of moral perfectionism. Polanyi linked the exaggerated moral sentiment with the two great totalitarian movements of the 20th century, which defined themselves as absolute beginnings and thus they were against traditions. The existence of specific liberties which are never absolute but always conditional could only be ensured if we learn to live peacefully with our traditions. This means that we would have to trust in unproven claims and knowledge contents. He contrastively labeled this faith as "belief with our open eyes" as opposed to blind beliefs. The practice of this earlier belief is not evident, as our thinking is thoroughly determined by another tradition that originates from Descartes that claims that the road to truth leads through skepticism: we only accept the truth of claims if we ran into a self-contradiction if we doubted them. Polanyi's post-critical thinking processes the experience and the results of totalitarian movements parallel to science fanatism (scientism) and nihilism, and instead of rejecting European enlightenment, his philosophy becomes the initiator of a new wave of enlightenment.

As opposed to the young Polanyi, the old Polanyi saw that the new can only be born from the old, and there is no chance for creating an absolute, that is, rational beginning. Analyzing and understanding the roots of our thinking, its ties to different intellectual traditions, and by creating new relationships to these traditions we can bring about post-critical thinking. There is no guarantee, though, as it still remains a question whether with our rationalist convictions we could create a trustful relationship to the uncertain elements of knowledge: can we accept what could be false (Polanyi 1958).

Michael Polanyi was raised with Jewish traditions until he was thirteen years old. As a young man, he got acquainted with the radical movements of the turn of the century Budapest which wanted to make the world a better place. As his early writings testify, and his later memoirs confirm, these ideas had an influence on him. Together with many, he was certain that using science could solve the problems tormenting mankind. The ethical anticipations connected to the development of science show that people expected the humanizing of life from the scientific achievements waiting to be discovered. Traditions only appear at the edges of such thinking. Michael Polanyi was not carried away by radical ideas like so many of his contemporaries who became communists. He did not oppose religion either. Even though he became a Catholic at the fall of 1918, he distanced himself from the Catholic church. He did not disclose much about his private religious beliefs. The only thing we know is that in his older years he visited the services of a Methodist congregation in England, and he took questions of faith very seriously. Accepting Catholicism as a Jew meant for him a sense of assimilation, not closure, but an acceptance of a much wider cultural and civilizational perspective. He did not want to integrate, he wanted to assimilate.

He did not live long enough to see the second golden age delineated on the last page of "Jewish Problems" (Polanyi 1943), the freedom brought about by the empire of the united Europe, which he likened to the Rome of Constantine's period. This world-to-come he identified with the rule of laws, the idea of civic equality, and the acceptance of a religion which would come about from the mutual influence of Greek philosophy and early Christianity. With this suggestion today he would find himself in the midst of the most serious debates dividing the European Union.

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The Burdens of Rebirth
Post-World War II Ethical Dilemmas in Connection with the Fate of German Archival Documents

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Abstract: It has always been a fact of military history that the victor humiliated the loser by stealing their material possessions. Archival documents belong to this category and the question of what happens to them later is not only a professional issue but it also has some political significance, since the power of interpretation lies in the possession of information.

At the end of WWII, The Allied Powers were systematically searching for the documents of German archives, which, by that time, had already been hidden at various places. The Allies captured several tons of documents and transferred a part of them from Germany. After the birth of the Federal Republic of Germany, German politicians, public administrators, historians, and archivists – all having different motives – soon started demanding that the archival documents be returned to their legal owner. They referred to German cultural heritage and historical self-esteem as the basis of their claim. This paper attempts to give a brief overview of the history of these archival documents and explore the effects they have made on the political reorganization of the country and the shaping of German memory culture.

Keywords: the Federal Republic of Germany, postwar conditions, archival sources, denazifying, cultural memory, reconciliation

The audience was disappointed to watch Roberto Rossellini's *Germania Anno Zero* (*Germany Year Zero*) at the Locarno Film Festival in June 1948, complaining that this is not what they were expecting. The film that was shot in Berlin with German characters and language lacked all touches of sentimentalism. The director did not put forward a verdict against the German nation but showed from the very first shot on how an unimaginable misery and suffering becomes a natural way to live for more than three million people in a nearly totally destroyed city. The dry inventory of facts did not inspire the audience. The title could have referred to the possibility of a new beginning, but this meant much more. To start anew, in this case, meant that the German people had to turn away from their previous value choices, to renounce them and face an unknown future.

The phrase "Zero-Hour for Germany"[1] has been coined in 1944, before the end of the war (Földényi 1995, p.169). The winning powers did not treat 8 May 1945 and the following few years as a tabula rasa. The new era did not start from zero because the occupying powers chose the way for the Germans to go. The burden of the "difficult homeland" (Lindemann 1978, p. 243) were on their shoulders when they had to face the events of the near past. But did this facing of the past really happen right after the end of the world war, or when the Federal Republic of Germany was founded?

Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich claimed in their book in 1967 that German people did not face the horrible things they committed. Instead, they chose denial and repression as a defense mechanism. They did not mourn the victims, nor their own dead, but without any work of mourning, they started to rebuild the country in an economic sense. The "apolitical conservative nations" (Mitscherlich 2004, p. 18) displaced the sense of guilt and created a new political regime parallel to demonstrating great economic achievements.

The political system of the Federal Republic of Germany established in 1949 had democratic foundations. One of the most important aims was to integrate within the Western European political context. For the citizens of the new state, the acceptance of the fast social and political changes was only possible if they received help from the new government. People had to be acquitted, that is, they had to be trusted to become honored and useful citizens of the new state. They had to believe that where someone was going was more important than where they had arrived from. This pragmatic view was shared by most of the German society, and they claimed that the basis of accepting this new system is conformity rather than moral purification (Lübbe 2007, p. 79). They saw what established a common future with reconciliation as a core value.

In the speeches delivered during the acts of remembering the serious historical events, we often find the notion of the imperative of remembering lest the events do not happen again. However, the historian of antiquity Christian Meier thinks that it is forgetting that is a more original cultural

1 Hour Zero and Year Zero were used as synonyms.

phenomenon, and he gives numerous examples to back that claim up. The citizens of Athens created the amnesty-decree after the Peloponnesian War, which laid the foundations for peace. The word amnesty itself is of Greek origin, it means non-remembering. After the death of Caesar, Cicero urged the members of the senate to follow the Greek example and forget; Louis XVIII created a constitutional charter to forbid remembering the horrible things that happened during the French Revolution; and Churchill's speech delivered on 19 September 1946 in Zürich spoke about the reconciliation of the former opponents, and the necessity to forget (Meier 2010, p. 9–11).[2] Forgetting as a medicine is present not only in European culture as the lines above could also be amended with further examples from Native American, Asian and African cultures as well. Even though the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany at the beginning of the 1950s did not know the work of Meier, they would have answered the question of remembering or forgetting the same way: they chose forgetting instead of Elias Canetti's notion of "what has come to pass is not past yet" (Assmann 2016, p. 275).

It has always been a part of the history of wars that the winners also humiliated the loser by taking their material wealth. This is also true for archive documents, the later fate of which was not only a professional question but also had political significance, as possessing this information gives the power of interpretation. At the end of World War II, the Allied powers were systematically looking for the materials of German archives and seized tons of documents, and parts of these were taken away from Germany. After the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany, German politicians, economic professionals, historians, archivists demanded – for all their different reasons – the return of the archive documents in order to preserve German cultural memory and historical self-esteem.

Until the spring of 1942, the German state institutions did not issue special decrees, thus their day to day work followed normal procedure. The only exception was the case when in the fall of 1939 the materials in the archives near the French border were transported near Koblenz. The explanation for this could have been to ensure the safety of the documents even in the case of an attack that came from the West. In 1942 the Allied Forces started to bomb German cities, so it was inevitable to create a committee that would prepare the moving of the archives. The speed of the moving was moderate as the reports stated that the damage from the bombings was lower than the damage a moving would have done. The hectically changing military

2 Meier in this piece emphasizes that this rule does not apply to the events of Auschwitz.

situation made the circumstances of the moving even more chaotic (Henke 1982).

The effort was great, but the documents still suffered severe damage during the moving. A significant amount was lost, many of the documents were destroyed by the Germans, the trucks were sometimes robbed or bombed, and most of the time the weather was not favorable; sometimes human mistake also dwindled the amount of documents that arrived at mines and other locations considered safe (Rohr 1955). Most of the time the committee could not persuade the military leaders to accept their plans, or the military did not have the capacity to help them as offensive operations were given priority. After all, it can be said that much data survived the war thanks to the committee's actions. Their plans acted as the basis of the inventories after the war. The committee worked until 21 April 1945 and dissolved itself after that, because they saw that they could no longer do anything (Henke 1982).

Among the Allied Forces, the USA had the most elaborate plans to procure German archive documents in order to use these in the trials for war crimes (Boberach 1969). The Americans cooperated with the English in this operation, but not without conflicts. The French also showed interest, but their role was marginal as opposed to the other Allied Powers. The Soviet Union also seized many archive documents in the areas it occupied.

The Americans relied on the plans of the history professor Ernst Posner, who worked as a Chief Archivist at the Prussian State Archive until 1935. He was forcefully retired when he was 43 years old, because of his Jewish origin, and he was deported to a concentration camp. After he was let go in 1939, he left Germany, and first went to Sweden, then settled in the United States. He got a university professor position in Washington and played a key role in establishing the American National Archive. Posner knew very well how the German archive system worked, its classification system, and also the professional past and the political ties of the German archivists. With the help of this knowledge, he wrote a report about 72 lead archivists for the USA. Posner's analysis revealed that the German archivists were highly educated professionals, they formed a homogeneous community of thinkers mostly unaffected by newer intellectual movements. 1933 was a turning point in their history, as they did not have strong ties to the Weimar Republic. Posner thought that most of the archivists would have opposed national socialist ideology, but they proved weak against the pressure of Ernst Zipfel and his closest colleagues (Eckert 2004, p. 129). Zipfer implemented the archive centralization after 1935, and he became the leader of the national civilian network of archives. This is somewhat contradicted by what Albert

Brackmann, the director for Prussian archives said at the annual congress of archivists in 1934, where he claimed that leading archivists understood the call of the era, and were ready to conform to the new establishment (Eckert 2004, p. 121). We now know that this conformity also meant that archivists took part in the sacking of the archives in the areas occupied by the Wehrmacht (Eichenwede-Hartung 1998).

The proclamation issued on 20 September 1945 by the Allied Supervising Committee allowed the operation of local archives throughout Germany. In the beginning, they were supervised by the Allied Forces, then they were gradually transferred to the German authorities. This process has got nothing to do with the handing back of the older archive materials, it was necessary for the public administration to work. In the Western zones, the local archives were not centralized. In 1945 the leading archivists faced a serious dilemma. They held many discussion among themselves about their role during the war. The process of denazification, because of which many of them were prohibited from pursuing their job, divided the archivists. Who were they, is there any connection between their activities during the war and their fates after the war?

The first task of the archivists was to review personal and material losses. Out of the leading archivists, 35 were killed on the front lines, 2 died during a bomb attack, 9 died in military imprisonment (Musial 1996, p. 175). They reorganized their professional associations and started looking for the materials that belonged to the former state archives. They published their results in the periodical titled *Der Archivar*. They suggested to the German political leadership and the representatives of the occupying forces that an institution should be established to contain the documents procured by the Allied Forces. They thought that these documents should be returned to Germany (Vollmer 1947). Together with the systematic search, talks began within the professional community to restart the operation of the central archives, too.

The fate of the surviving lead archivists only had partial correlation to their function during the war. The most prominent figure before 1945 was Ernst Zipfel, who joined the NSDAP in 1932 and was a member of the SS from 1939. His roles in the party and the national socialist organizations helped his professional career as well. From 1935 he coordinated the reorganization of the German archives and got more and more significant positions after that. In 1936 he was elected as the chair of the restructured Prussian State Archive, and in two years he was directing the education for archivists, too. After the beginning of the war he was supervising the takeover of the archives in the Western, then the Eastern fronts. In his professional and political career, he was a devoted representative of the national socialist ideology. He was the living example of how archivists became part of the occupying power, and how the lines blurred between preserving and robbing the archive materials. He was sent into retirement during the last days of the war, but after the founding of the Federal Republic of Germany, he wanted to work again. His return to the profession was thwarted by the denazification process, and he was considered a persona non grata even after 1949. His reputation among his colleagues was uneven. His closest colleague claimed in the obituary about Zipfel that he was convinced that he was doing the right thing, and only after the war did he realize how much of a burden his person and the system he built was (Klee 2005, p. 697).

The author of the previously mentioned obituary, Wilhelm Rohr, spent ten months in the Darmstadt detention camp before returning to Berlin, where he worked as a mason due to a prohibition to work in his profession. The rules gradually softened so he could work as an archivist from the fall of 1948, and he could cooperate in the establishment of the Federal Archive (Bundesarchiv). The fate of Karl Bruchmann was similar: he fulfilled various important party political positions in the occupied Eastern areas, and he supervised the evaluation of the seized Jewish heritage of the Silesian archives. In 1946 he was detained by the Americans, but after his release, he could return to his profession. In 1961 he was appointed as the chair of the Federal Archive. The fate of Wolfgang Arthur Mommsen was even luckier. Mommsen entered the NSDAP in 1937, and worked in archives in Berlin, then acted as a leading archivist in the commando led by Alfred Rosenberg, which classified and transported to Germany the cultural goods seized in the Baltic region and Russia. After the war, the Soviet Union convicted him as a war criminal, but they could not arrest him. Mommsen fled to Bavaria, where he organized Prince Hohenlohe's archives (Eckert 2004, p. 126). With the permission of the Americans, he worked in the Nuremberg archive, from where he moved to the Federal Archive in 1952 and became the chair of the institution in 1967.[3]

There were others whose lives were not that fortunate. Martin Granzin also served in the Eastern territories in the unit led by Rosenberg. The Russians detained him as a war criminal for five years in the Sachsenhausen

3 Mommsen's appointment was not popular with the Americans, their mistrust of the German government increased and that could have affected the negotiations about handing the archive materials back to the German state.

camp, but after his release, he was convicted again in a charade that barely looked like a trial (for example there were no witnesses, and the trial only lasted 20 minutes), and he was only set free in 1952 (Eckert 2004, p. 126). Later he started to work as an archivist in Lower Saxony. Georg Schnath entered the NSDAP in 1933, and after the occupation of France, he led the German military government's archive in Paris, so he participated in the seizing of French archive materials. After the war, he was captured by the Americans, who transported him to Dachau, then turned him over to the French authorities. Later he was convicted in a court trial. After his release, he returned to Lower Saxony where he worked as an archivist. He retained his positions as a chair of many cultural institutions, and also got new appointments, and he could even continue his university teaching career. He served time even for his colleagues who participated in the sacking of local archives and other cultural goods in the Western territories (Eckert 2004, p. 127).

The process of denazification (Entnazifizierung) was an attempt by the Allied Powers to demilitarize German public life and to cleanse it from national socialist ideology. After lengthy preparations, the Potsdam conference accepted the decision to disband all the party organizations; they arrested, or issued an arrest warrant against the leaders of the Nazi party, they removed the operators of the system from the state government and the most important economic institutions. These decrees were implemented differently in various zones. The purification of public life in the Soviet zone was subordinated to workers movement ideology, so in these areas, the Germans also took part in the procedure. In the French and British zones, the purification primarily affected the civil administration, while in the American zone it also affected the economic sphere.

In the American occupation zone, from the summer of 1945 onwards, certain people had to fill in an inquiry form with 131 questions about their political past. Based on the answers, they set up five categories. People in the first category were immediately sacked from their jobs while dismissing people in the second and the third category was only recommended. They raised no objection to employing the fourth category while giving work to people in the fifth category (who were, with few exceptions, members of the resistance during the war) was highly recommended. From March 1946 the responsibility for determining who belonged to which category was given to German authorities. From this moment on all people above 18 years of age, more than one and a half million people had to fill in a survey. The inquiry asked for a detailed account of the functions of the filler in Nazi organizations. The assessment employed five categories here as well: 1. main offenders, 2. accused, 3. accused of lesser crimes, 4. collaborators, 5. acquitted. For each category, there was a punishment ranging from a money penalty to ten years in labor service. The German courts leaned towards more lenient verdicts, because of which they often clashed with American authorities. One of the characteristics of the process was that the burden of proof was reversed, that is, the defendants needed to prove their innocence, instead of the authorities proving that they are guilty. This led to the situation that relatives, friends, neighbors, colleagues gave each other letters of probity (Fischer-Lorenz 2009, p. 18). This was commonly referred to as "Persilschein" (denazification certificate).[4]

The behavior of the American authorities changed radically in 1948, which was due to the deteriorating relationship with the Soviet Union, thus Germany's fate was not in the hands of Germans, but it was dependent on the American-Russian relationship. The USA needed Germany as an ally, thus they shut their eyes to the practice of German courts. This also meant that part of the previous elite could return to the government, civil administration, the economy, and jurisdiction. The process of denazification was thus derailed.

When in September 1949 the Bundestag, the lower house of parliament was formed in West-Germany, the various fractions all bid for an extension of the amnesty. The law passed on the last day of the year were followed by others, and in the middle of the 1950s, nobody had to be afraid of having to answer the courts for their Nazi past (Frei 1997, p. 129).

Historians soon joined the demand of archivists to hand back the seized archive materials. The historians who spoke at the conference on 12 September 1949 were anxious about the fact that they had so little information about the fate of German archive materials. They did not know what documents remained in Germany, nor did they know what materials were stored in the Berlin Document Center raised by the Americans. They resented the fact that the intact materials are not accessible for Germans because research

4 The denazification did not mean that the Americans refused to cooperate with anyone who had a nazi past, it is enough to refer to von Braun's curious case. The process was too bureaucratic, so it was less effective, and the American authorities were often too rigid. There were people who did not cooperate with the Nazis before 1945, because they did not think them conservative enough – and they were left out of the denazification. The example of Albert Brackmann also points out the backwards nature of the situation: Brackmann reached retirement age in 1936, and he was forced to retirement, which labeled him a resistance member. As a result he played an important role in handing out Persilscheins after 1945.

could not be conducted without sources (Henke 1982). The professional institutions of archivists and historians urged the federal government to take firm steps towards the return of German archive materials.

The Bundestag first discussed the case on 10 November 1949, Ludwig Bergsträßer[5] suggested that a Federal Archive should be founded, and – due to the historical situation – it should have a department that would work on locating the sources. Bergsträßer also found it important that the leaders of the archive could guarantee the critical research of the events of the recent past. The representatives decided to entrust one of the committees of the Bundestag to collect information about the fate of the archive materials (Henke 1982).

The federal government issued a government edict in 1950 about the establishment of the Federal Archive, which began its work only in 1952. Between 1950 and 1952 there were disputes about what to put on the empty shelves and who should get appointed as leaders. Bergsträßer found it unimaginable to appoint such people for the new institution who played a role in upholding the Nazi regime. This could have adversely affected the return of the seized archive materials. He also raised doubts about these people as they could hinder the research of these materials, and they could destroy part of them as well (Eckert 2004, p. 152).

Bergsträßer's fears were not unfounded. The leading archivists of the pre-1945 period, who could hardly wait for the Persilschein or already had it, started to move on the news of the government edict. Ernst Zipfel was among the first to view the newly founded archive as their workplace. He visited his former colleagues trying to amass supporters. His attempt failed as many protested in open letters against his appointment as chair.

Georg Winter was a serious candidate for the post. Winter never entered the NSDAP or any other Nazi organizations, thus formally he was not burdened. It was common knowledge that Winter was also part of the Rosenberg Commando, so, like his colleagues, he actively participated in the sacking of the occupied territories (Golczewski 2013). The backward nature of the situation also showed how Winter with his past could give his former colleagues a statement of impeccability. In 1950 Winter unexpectedly withdrew his application for the position of the chair of the new Federal

5 Ludwig Bergsträßer, historian, archivist, university teacher was a Reichstag representative of a liberal party (DDP) between 1924 and 1928, then joined the social democrats in 1930, but lost his job in 1933 because of political reasons. He restarted his political career after 1945 and was a member of the Bundestag between 1949 and 1953.

Archive. It has become known that Winter in 1944 wrote a note about a schoolgirl who did not follow the usual Nazi greeting procedure (Booms 2000, p. 260). The opening of the Archive was postponed, as there was nobody to head the institution, nor were there any unburdened leading colleagues. The months-long discussion coordinated by the ministry of the interior did not result in a new candidate, so Winter's name surfaced again in January 1952.[6] Winter's appointment as chair meant that many of the old guards got leading posts at the Federal Archive, for example, Mommsen and Rohr. Winter had a definite vision of who he wanted to work with, and he did not let anyone intervene. He disregarded Bergsträßer's criticism, who resented Winter's decisions many times as he found it unacceptable that many of the old archivists with a Nazi past were still actively working in the Federal Archive. Their relationship deteriorated because of the Rogge-case. Helmuth Rogge was a captain at the SS cavalry and entered the NSDAP in 1937. In 1938 Rogge became an employee of the Prussian Archive and worked in the department of Jewish heritage. His superiors recognized his professional knowledge, his political trustworthiness, and saw him as a devoted supporter of national socialism. Winter insisted on employing Rogge and wanted to appoint him as vice chair. When Winter's intention became known many cases from Rogge's untenable past surfaced. These former cases and Bergsträßer's influence had a considerable role in preventing the employment of Rogge in the Federal Archive,[7] but even Bergsträßer could not stop Winter giving Rogge unlimited access to the documents in the Federal Archive.

When in 1952 the Federal Archive opened its gates in Koblenz, the archive was nearly empty. The archive regarded as its primary task to reclaim the documents seized by the Allied Powers and give them proper treatment. The return of the documents could not have been imaginable without the support of the federal government. The Bundestag kept the case in mind and supported the aims of the Federal Archive. German politics first regarded the fate of the archive materials as a logistical problem, and only realized its mistake during the negotiations. For Germany, the return of the documents meant the reclaiming of lost sovereignty, which was necessary for establishing national self-confidence and to steer the courses of historical debates. After

6 Meanwhile there were changes in the ministry of interior, and this made Winter's re-nomination easier.

7 Rogge ended up on the press department of the federal government from where he retired in 1956. He got into a scandal later, as he voiced his anti-Semitic views in a reading room of an archive, for which he was banned from the institution.

long and intensive discussions, the return of the documents slowly began. Bigger and bigger items were returned after 1956 from Western as well as other countries. The Federal Archive had an important role to play in this process.

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Sustentabilidade, turismo, cultura e ruralidade
Eestratégias de cooperação para a preservação e valorização da identidade dos territórios rurais (Caso do Alentejo)

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Resumo: O turismo deverá ser visto para além da sua dimensão económica, agregando outras dimensões (social, cultural, ambiental, institucional) podendo tornar-se numa estratégia alternativa para um desenvolvimento mais sustentável, preservando e valorizando aspetos determinantes como as tradições e as relações sociais e permitindo racionalizar o uso dos recursos naturais e também gerando renda e aproveitando as capacidades humanas locais (Sampaio 2003, cit por Pellin 2005; Silva e Perna 2002). O objetivo deste artigo é o de compreender o impacto positivo do desenvolvimento turístico sustentável num contexto de meio rural que é perspetivado como uma via para a valorização do património assente na tentativa de permitir a um povo a preservação da sua identidade e memória. A cooperação entre os agentes da região será um fator relevante nesta preservação de identidade do povo com o potencial de revitalização e valorização dos recursos locais. Tal processo poderá ser um meio claro de construção da marca identificadora de uma dada região. A proposta está associada à região Alentejo, uma região em franco crescimento em termos de desenvolvimento e promoção turística.

Palavras-chave: desenvolvimento, turismo, sustentabilidade, cooperação, património

Introdução

Aceitando o turismo como um setor que proporciona o desenvolvimento endógeno e local, e num quadro de grandes mudanças que vêm marcando a estrutura económica e social de inúmeras regiões, as oportunidades de desenvolvimento das atividades turísticas aparecem como denominador comum de diversas estratégias de desenvolvimento (Silva e Silva 2003).

Especialmente nas áreas rurais, que são mais frágeis e sensíveis, deve-se promover o desenvolvimento turístico sustentável, bem planeado e integrador das necessidades da população local, dos agentes económicos e de todos os atores do destino, assim como dos recursos, que constituem um fator de atração e diferenciação desses territórios. Pelos impactos (positivos e negativos) que pode produzir, *"é fundamental a integração do turismo numa base económica e sociocultural saudável"* (Keane 1992; Lane, 2009 cit por Breda, Kastenholz e Cubaci 2011, p. 498).

Num contexto de grande urbanização, com uma elevada concentração das populações e das atividades económicas, tem havido tendencialmente uma disseminação geográfica das áreas rurais. Apesar destas áreas apresentarem uma grande diversidade, a maior parte é caraterizada pelo êxodo, o envelhecimento e o abandono progressivo das atividades tradicionais relacionadas com o setor primário (Dinis 2011). Nesse sentido, a promoção do desenvolvimento rural e das áreas periféricas desperta o interesse no rejuvenescimento desses territórios, tendo por meio o turismo. O turismo é reconhecido como um setor dinâmico e ativo no ambiente rural (Ciupagea 2006 cit por Mioara e Teodora 2015). O turismo em meio rural é, deste modo, considerado como uma ferramenta útil para o desenvolvimento, apesar de não ser realmente fácil equilibrar a procura e a otimização dos benefícios tanto para os turistas, como para as áreas rurais que eles visitam (Fotiadis 2009). A realidade da atividade turística revela a preocupação em associar o turismo com o desenvolvimento, em particular nas regiões periféricas, rurais ou em vias de desenvolvimento, e justifica os vários recursos envolvidos e os investimentos efetuados pelas comunidades, governos, e associações de desenvolvimento, por todo o mundo.

Fica evidenciada a relação vital entre o turismo rural e a cultura que o espaço rural detém (Mioara e Teodora 2015), porque este o turismo é visto como um agente importante para a regeneração e o redesenvolvimento económico de determinadas regiões rurais e isoladas graças aos elementos de atração que estas apresentam, constituindo um meio de sustento e diversificação das economias rurais e das sociedades (Jackson e Murphy 2006; Sharpley 2002; Fotiadis 2009). Neste sentido, todos os esforços deverão ter como princípio o desenvolvimento de produtos inovadores e diferenciados, para o reforço das parcerias estratégicas e para a preservação do equilíbrio ambiental e a valorização do património cultural. Portanto, o sucesso da atividade turística assenta, claramente, nos recursos locais, quantitativos e qualitativos (Ribeiro e Vareiro 2007).

Num quadro de grandes transformações sociais de caráter global, várias organizações e indivíduos, com forte interesse no setor turístico, têm feito um esforço para entender essas mudanças no mundo e as suas implicações no setor. E é neste contexto que se exige, cada vez mais, que os formuladores de políticas e o setor turístico alterem a forma como se desenvolvem e operam e também apostem num desenvolvimento cooperativo que seja pleno de estratégias que revitalizem, valorizem, dinamizem e promovam o património cultural material e imaterial, reforçando a identidade dos territórios. Isto é, particularmente importante nos meios rurais, que constituem territórios com muitas fragilidades (em parte porque as políticas de desenvolvimento ainda são muito centralizadas nos meios urbanos/litoral), mas muito ricos em recursos que dinamizados poderão constituir recursos turísticos e que se estruturados poderão constituir-se como produtos turísticos prontos a serem comercializados.

1. Sustentabilidade, turismo, cultura

A relação turismo e cultura é inequívoca e benéfica. Apesar de haver ainda perspetivas contraditórias relativamente a esta relação, destaca-se na literatura que a grande maioria dos modelos de planeamento turístico existentes (ex. modelo PASOLP - *Product's Analysis for Outdoor Leisure Planning*; "modelo sistémico", desenvolvido por Donald Getz, 1986; modelo de Mill e de Morrison, 1985), defende que as vertentes socioculturais e patrimoniais assumem uma importância central no processo de planeamento (Costa 1996 cit. por Costa 2005).

A questão que é frequentemente alvo de reflexão por parte dos agentes do turismo, em especial do setor público, é a de saber se o Turismo, e os negócios turísticos em particular, pode ser compatível com a promoção dos valores culturais e patrimoniais das regiões recetoras de fluxos de visitantes (Costa 2005).

Na realidade, as vantagens da interligação entre o Turismo e a Cultura, têm sido defendidas em duas principais óticas: por um lado, o turismo pode ser considerado um dos condutores primordiais nas trocas culturais; ou pode contribuir para a consolidação de uma competitividade duradoura, cujos pilares sejam a qualidade, a sustentabilidade, a diferenciação, a autenticidade, uma conjunção coerente de produtos tradicionais e de produtos modernos (Carvalho et al 2010, p. 246).

> *Uma das questões centrais que se colocam a investigadores e aos representantes governamentais da área do turismo, e que muita discussão tem gerado, é a de se saber se a atividade, em particular a empresarial, do turismo se pode articular, e é compatível, com a promoção dos valores culturais e patrimoniais das regiões recetoras de fluxos de visitantes.* (Costa 2005, p. 287)

A partir da década de 1960 o fenómeno do turismo de massas começa a generalizar-se trazendo consigo um conjunto de impactos significativos ao nível dos recursos dos territórios por consequência do aumento rápido dos movimentos de turistas. Neste cenário, e entre 1970 e 1980, o número de estudos que alertavam para o limite da capacidade de carga do planeta aumentou consideravelmente e apresentavam-se alternativas de forma a "desmaterializar" isto é, diminuir o consumo excessivo de recursos (Clavé et al 2005, cit. por Amaral 2013, p. 114). Multiplicaram-se as preocupações ambientais e começou-se a defender que um inadequado modelo de crescimento e de planeamento territorial explica a decadência de alguns destinos turísticos tradicionais (Amaral 2013).

Porém, partir da década de 1990, e com a consolidação do pensamento verde entre os amplos setores da sociedade, apareceram as verdadeiras formas de turismo alternativo assentes numa maior consciencialização e preocupação da procura face à problemática ambiental e, deste modo, a indústria turística tenta ir de encontro a estas necessidades (Clavé et al 2005 e Swarbrooke, 1999 cit. por Amaral 2013). É também nesta altura que surgem alguns documentos fundamentais (Carta do Turismo Sustentável – 1995; Agenda 21 – 1996; Declaração de Berlim – 1997; Declaração de Manila – 1997; Código Ético Mundial para o Turismo – 1999; Carta Rimini – 2001) elaborados por organismos internacionais (Nações Unidas, OMT, UE, UNESCO, WTTC), de forma a pôr na prática os novos princípios do turismo sustentável. Destaca-se a relevância da Declaração do Rio sobre o Ambiente e Desenvolvimento e o Relatório Bruntland. A partir desta última declaração (em 1995), a World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC) debruçou-se em 12 princípios dos quais se podem distinguir cinco principais: o turismo deve proporcionar às pessoas uma vida saudável, produtiva e em equilíbrio com a natureza; o ecossistema do Planeta deve ser conservado e restaurado com o contributo do turismo; o turismo deve assentar num modelo de sustentabilidade ao nível da produção e do consumo; o desenvolvimento do turismo implica a proteção do ambiente; e a participação da população recetora é importante no planeamento das atividades dos destinos turísticos (Firmino 2007, p. 192). Os princípios apresentados giram em torno das preocupações com o ambiente e a natureza, com a contenção ou equilíbrio do consumo face aos recursos e o envolvimento da comunidade.

A abordagem do planeamento do turismo na perspetiva do turismo sustentável deverá cumprir uma série de princípios e de linhas orientadoras do turismo sustentável e se estes princípios forem cumpridos na sua generalidade, há uma maior probabilidade das várias fases seguirem em direção a um estádio de desenvolvimento muito mais holístico (Pender e Sharpley 2005). As preocupações com a sustentabilidade dos territórios subjacentes às práticas de turismo sustentável são sistematizadas numa série de princípios e de linhas orientadoras (Telfler e Sharpley 2008, p. 43; OMT, 1993 cit por Moniz 2006, p. 104):

- Conservação e utilização sustentável dos recursos naturais, sociais e culturais. O turismo deverá ser planeado e gerido dentro dos limites ambientais e com uma atenção a longo prazo no uso dos recursos naturais e humanos.
- O turismo deve promover a equidade de modo que haja uma distribuição justa de benefícios e também dos custos entre os promotores e as populações e áreas recetoras.
- O planeamento e o desenvolvimento turísticos devem estar integrados nas estratégias de desenvolvimento sustentável ao nível nacional e local. Deve-se considerar os diferentes tipos de desenvolvimento turístico e nas formas como os mesmos se relacionam com o espaço existente, o uso de recursos e os fatores socioculturais.
- O planeamento, desenvolvimento e exploração do turismo devem assumir um caráter trans-setorial e integrado, envolvendo organismos governamentais, empresas privadas, grupos de cidadãos e indivíduos, a fim de proporcionarem o máximo de benefícios.
- O turismo deve financiar uma grande variedade de atividades económicas locais, tendo em consideração os custos e os benefícios, mas não se deverá permitir que a atividade domine a base económica da área.
- As comunidades locais deverão ser incentivadas a participar no planeamento, desenvolvimento e controlo do turismo com o apoio do governo e da indústria. Isto inclui também uma preocupação acrescida com as minorias (indígenas, mulheres, e outros grupos minoritários).
- Todas as organizações e os indivíduos particularmente, devem respeitar a cultura, economia, estilo de vida, ambiente e estruturas políticas da área de destino.
- Todos os agentes do turismo deverão ter em consideração a necessidade de desenvolver mais formas de turismo sustentável. E isto inclui, formação

de uma perceção mais realista, através de educação e uma responsabilidade no marketing turístico, relativamente aos aspetos que se relacionam com a comunidade recetora e os próprios turistas.

– A investigação deve ser considerada através dos vários estágios do desenvolvimento turístico e deve haver uma monitoria dos impactos, resolver problemas, e dar condições à população local e outros para responder às mudanças e tirarem vantagens das oportunidades.

– Todas as agências, organizações, empresários e os indivíduos deverão cooperar e trabalhar em conjunto de forma a evitar o conflito e para otimizar os benefícios para todos os envolvidos no desenvolvimento e gestão do turismo.

– Deve ser disponibilizada a informação, pesquisa e comunicação adequadas sobre a natureza do turismo e os seus impactos sobre o ambiente natural e humano antes e durante o desenvolvimento da atividade, de modo especial para a população local, para que possam participar e influenciar o mais possível, o desenvolvimento e os seus efeitos, no interesse individual e coletivo.

Aspetos como a preservação dos vários recursos, intersetoralidade, integração de setores, envolvimento de vários *stakeholders*, equidade e distribuição justa tanto dos benefícios como dos custos, são fulcrais nas considerações associadas ao turismo sustentável. Pode-se ainda acrescentar o sentimento de espaço e de identidade, a diminuição da pobreza, a boa governação, a formulação do planeamento e da estratégia de modo holístico, a preservação dos processos ecológicos, a proteção da herança cultural, e o desenvolvimento em que a produtividade pode ser sustentada a longo prazo (Bramwell e Lane 1993).

Os critérios da sustentabilidade do turismo impõem uma visão mais holística dos vários efeitos da atividade turística que não são, de longe, só os ambientais. O planeamento turístico revela-se, assim, indispensável para o desenvolvimento turístico equilibrado e em harmonia com os recursos físicos, culturais e sociais das regiões recetoras (Ruschmann 2008). Como afirma Moniz (2006, p. 121), *"[os] impactes sociais, culturais e ecológicos do turismo podem ser tanto positivos, como negativos, pelo que há necessidade de reafirmar a sinergia existente entre as boas práticas turísticas e a conservação e gestão do património natural e cultural"*.

Enquadrado também nas grandes reflexões sobre a sustentabilidade nas décadas de 80 e 90 (século XX), o crescimento do turismo passou a ser questionado por conta dos impactos que pode ocasionar nos espaços do destino. Esses impactos são ainda percebidos às várias escalas (local, regional, nacional e internacional) e o seu grau de intensidade, sejam positivos ou negativos, pode variar em diferentes níveis. Em determinados casos, "*[. . .] os impactos não são relevantes e, em outros, comprometem condições de vida ou a atratividade das localidades turísticas*" (Ruschmann 2008, p. 34–37). Começa-se a perceber que o turismo não é só portador de benefícios e vantagens, sendo que também pode causar uma série de danos às regiões recetoras.

O estudo científico sobre os impactos do turismo nos territórios tem sido alvo de um grande debate e de alguma controvérsia. Nesta abordagem da relação entre o turismo e o desenvolvimento que começa a ganhar mais força com o eclodir do turismo de massas, existem aqueles autores que defendem, essencialmente, os impactos positivos, e uma outra corrente que argumenta que o turismo traz consigo só impactos negativos generalizados a todo o território. Os estudos sobre os impactos do turismo e a sua importância têm estado sempre ligados a alguns dos paradigmas do desenvolvimento turístico, o que não é de surpreender que, num determinado período, se valorize mais os impactos económicos (paradigma da modernização e neoliberal), ou os impactos socioculturais (em especial no domínio da relação turista e comunidade recetora) e ambientais assumindo-se, claramente, uma perspetiva sustentável do turismo (paradigma alternativo).

Todas estas mudanças na investigação teórica foram agregadas por Jafar Jafari (2005 cit por Amaral 2013) nas quatro famosas plataformas de conhecimento do turismo: de defesa ou apologética; advertência ou de precaução; adaptação ou adaptativa; e baseada no conhecimento ou científico-cêntrica.

Nos primórdios do turismo de massas, os impactos económicos eram os mais valorizados, como aliás ficou bem patente na apreciação feita por Jafari (2005 cit por Amaral 2013) através da plataforma de defesa (ex. origina renda, consumo, e desenvolvem-se os mercados). Mas claro que o turismo não tem só efeitos económicos positivos, como é seriamente "levantado" pela plataforma de advertência, trazendo consigo inúmeros custos económicos (ex. aumento da inflação, aumento das importações supérfluas para satisfazer as necessidades da procura, desemprego devido à sazonalidade, e as flutuações económicas).

Os estudos sobre os impactos ambientais do turismo seguem uma perspetiva pós fenómeno turismo de massas, e enquadram-se sempre numa argumentação que defende que (Amaral 2013, p. 124): a preservação do ambiente deverá constituir uma parte fundamental das estratégias de desenvolvimento (e.g. Butler 1999; OMT 2003; Johnston e Tyrrell 2005;

Jamal et al 2002; Formica e Kothari 2008), dando destaque às teorias do desenvolvimento turístico sustentável e às formas alternativas de turismo como, por exemplo, o turismo em espaço rural (e.g. Wilson et al 2001), e o ecoturismo e produtos como o golfe (e.g. Woodside 2009), o desenvolvimento em parques naturais e áreas protegidas (e.g. Larsen e Valentine 2007), ou o turismo urbano sustentável (e.g. Gindl e Wukovitsch 2002).

Mas considerando o objetivo deste artigo, destacam-se os impactos socioculturais do turismo de massas. Os impactos socioculturais, começaram a ser identificados com os estudos antropológicos e sociológicos de Valene Smith nos anos 1980 ("*Hosts and Guests*" em 1989), quando realizou a sua análise das relações entre o turista e a comunidade recetora. Também já Nuñez nos anos 1960 se tinha dedicado aos aspetos socioculturais do turismo, ao analisar os efeitos dos turistas nas comunidades locais da América central ("*Tourism, tradition and acculturation: weekendismo in a mexican village*" em 1963). Cohen nos anos 1970 também ficou conhecido por ter proposto um conjunto de tipologias dos turistas em função dos seus comportamentos e papéis desempenhados ("*Toward a Sociology of International Tourism*" em 1972). Conclui-se que os estudos dos impactos socioculturais (e económicos) versavam sobre quatro aspetos (Amaral 2013, p. 125–126): estudos sobre o impacto do turismo, a interação entre visitantes e moradores locais (ex. Butler 1980; Doxey 1975; Smith 1989), sistemas turísticos e turistas e os seus comportamentos (ex. Cohen 1984). A visão que se tem dos impactos socioculturais, às vezes, ainda é um pouco limitada, resultante de algumas diferenças de abordagem do próprio fenómeno. Mas é certo que também estes impactos podem ser positivos (Amaral 2013, p. 126) quando, por exemplo, preserva ou revitaliza as habilidades artesanais de uma comunidade, incentiva o intercâmbio cultural entre duas populações diferentes, valoriza a herança cultural e o orgulho étnico, o património e o artesanato (Holloway 1994; Ruschmann 1999; Ignarra 1999; Cooper et al 2005; Ferreira 2005; Wahab 1974, como citado por Wahab & Pigram 2005; McIntosh et al 2004.).

Muita da literatura e investigação científica das décadas de 1970 e 1980 debruçou-se sobre os impactos socioculturais negativos do turismo e o perfil dos turistas de massas, destacando-se por exemplo, autores como MacCannell (1973), De Kadt (1979), Krippendorf (1989), Amaral (2013). Os impactos negativos usualmente enunciados assentam na comercialização e a degeneração das artes e do artesanato; na comercialização de cerimónias e rituais dos grupos locais ("pseudoeventos", "autenticidade encenada", "mercantilização da cultura"); os danos culturais em particular em áreas com sítios históricos; a disputa entre negócios locais e turísticos em relação aos recursos naturais e culturais; a perda de diversidade cultural (padronização); "choque" cultural devido aos hábitos distintos, valores, tradições heterogéneas e diferentes mentalidades; novas formas de "colonialismo".

Diante os vários impactos identificados, ficou patente que a atividade turística, se não for bem conduzida e planeada, pode produzir efeitos muito negativos. É exatamente esse o argumento de Bezerra (2003) que diz que a falta de planeamento leva ao crescimento sem orientação, à descaraterização do destino, à falta de autenticidade, e à existência de ações e medidas pontuais, sem interligação, não dando uma visão de conjunto do fenómeno. Mas se os agentes conduzirem o desenvolvimento turístico do seu território cumprindo os princípios da sustentabilidade, pode-se admitir que a oferta turística (nomeadamente do Turismo em Espaço Rural) pode tornar-se muito mais competitiva e diferenciada se for enriquecida com o desenvolvimento das tradições e da oferta cultural de uma região para além de contribuir para recuperação e preservação do património cultural (Batista e Ferreira 2010 cit por Rodrigues 2016; MacDonald e Jolliffe 2003).

2. Motivações turísticas – turismo cultural e turismo rural

O desenvolvimento turístico é conduzido tanto pela oferta como pela procura. A disponibilidade de serviços turísticos permite responder mais eficazmente ao aumento da procura, ou até estimular essa procura, mas fica claro que o desenvolvimento bem sucedido a longo prazo necessita de um equilíbrio entre a oferta e a procura em termos de amplitude, quantidade, qualidade e preço (Liu 2003). Levando em linha de conta a importância de considerar as motivações dos turistas pode-se concluir que o "*[. . .] desenvolvimento turístico é um processo dinâmico em que se procura adequar os recursos turísticos com as necessidades e preferências dos atuais e potenciais turistas*" (Liu 1994, p. 21).

Não é só a oferta que é importante no sistema turístico. Como afirma Costa et al (2006, p. 80),

> Para que o produto turístico assuma um nível de qualidade e sustentabilidade aceitável, exige-se, [. . .], a integração e a qualificação das diferentes componentes da oferta turística. Se, por um lado, temos a oferta como uma componente fundamental do sistema turístico, importa, também, analisar a outra face do sistema - a procura.

Portanto, o lado da procura é também primordial no turismo. O desenvolvimento da atividade turística implica que existam pessoas com vontade e capacidade de viajar e, por esse facto, o planeamento deve atender às suas preferências, às atividades que exercem regularmente, onde vivem e como efetuam as suas despesas (Gunn 1988). Sendo assim, a análise das motivações da procura e do grau de satisfação perante a oferta atual, a estimação da evolução provável dos fluxos turísticos, constituem os pontos de partida de qualquer processo de planeamento integrado do turismo (Bull 1992).

As preocupações com o lado da procura turística têm sido muitas, constituindo uma área complexa. Usualmente, os estudos dentro desta vertente do sistema turístico estão mais focalizados no consumidor de turismo e, sobretudo, nos aspetos comportamentais relacionados com a viagem e com o turismo. Estes estudos procuram explicar porque as pessoas viajam e as opções relacionadas com a escolha dos destinos. Todas estas perspetivas têm uma forte componente psicológica ou psicossocial, associando-se aos denominados fatores "*pull*" e "*push*" e a outros fatores motivacionais relacionados com as caraterísticas pessoais (ex. indivíduos que precisam de fazer turismo para elevar a sua autoestima, ou por estatuto social), as mudanças na capacidade económica das pessoas (mais rendimento) e o aumento do tempo livre (Cornelissen 2005).

Os turistas são diferentes, têm preferências diferentes, comportamentos distintos e estabelecem diferentes interações com o destino e os seus recursos (Wall e Mathieson 2006). Conhecendo as motivações está-se em melhores condições para também conhecer melhor o turista, existente ou potencial, no desencadear de um processo de desenvolvimento turístico.

As motivações turísticas são variadas, complexas e, por isso, é usual surgirem várias classificações para as mesmas. As motivações da procura podem ser, primeiramente, físicas ou psicológicas e relacionam-se com a necessidade de relaxamento, de saúde, de desporto, e de atividades de desafio/aventura. De seguida, consideram-se as motivações culturais (ex. ler sobre lugares desconhecidos), as sociais (visitar amigos e familiares, ou por razões de status e prestígio), e pessoais ou de fantasia procurando fazer um "escape" da realidade atual (Mathieson e Wall 1982, cit por Costa et al 2006). Beni (1997) acrescenta ainda à proposta de classificação, um outro critério ao defender que as motivações também podem ser gerais e particulares, situando-se as primeiras em torno da evasão e as particulares giram em torno da diversão e do entretenimento.

Os fatores de motivação turística refletem uma forte incidência no património cultural, que é a base do turismo cultural e tanto o conceito internacional como o português retratam uma interligação profunda entre o turismo em espaço rural e o património cultural da região visitada, a qual tem sido tem sido igualmente defendida em estudos recentes sobre o turismo em espaço rural (Rodrigues 2016, p. 71).

Desde a Antiguidade que as visitas culturais têm constituído umas das principais motivações dos viajantes e essa relação tornou-se mais evidente a partir do Renascimento e sobretudo com o *Grand Tour*[1]. Estas últimas viagens são citadas usualmente como o antecedente do turismo cultural.

Hoje em dia, o turismo cultural está muito relacionado com o Património e o significado dos bens culturais. Em concreto, com a criação da Convenção de 1972 da UNESCO, criou-se o Património Mundial, o que veio a favorecer a sua proteção e incorporando também a função de gerar o conhecimento.

A primeira grande definição de Turismo Cultural surgia em 1976 pela Unesco que considerou esta forma de turismo tendo como objetivo, entre outros fins, o conhecimento de monumentos e sítios histórico-artísticos. Acresce ainda que esta forma de turismo justifica todos os esforços que a manutenção e proteção exigem da comunidade humana, tendo em conta todos os benefícios socioculturais e económicos que comporta para toda a população envolvida (Carta de ICOMOS adotada em Bruxelas em 1976 cit por Molinero e Oliver 2013, p. 20).

A abordagem sobre as motivações não se revela tarefa fácil, isto porque o próprio conceito de "cultura" traz consigo uma multiplicidade de definições de turismo cultural, assentes numa panóplia de diferentes abordagens e pontos de vista (Maurer 2015 cit por Rodrigues 2016). Quando falamos em turismo cultural, as motivações do indivíduo apresentam uma "figura triangular" em que inclui os aspetos culturais do património, a fruição de valores patrimoniais culturais e um conjunto de atividades relacionadas com a prática do turismo (ex. eventos) (Reis 2013 cit por Rodrigues 2016).

E apesar do perfil do turista ter mudado muito nas últimas décadas, não se pense que o turista de massas, muito direcionado para o turismo de "sol e mar" deixou de existir. O interessante é que este turista tem também mais preocupações ambientais e culturais. É possível perceber esse facto

1 O *Grand Tour* engloba uma prática usual entre os jovens aristocratas e mais tarde burgueses britânicos que viajavam pelas principais capitais da Europa (séc. XVIII e XIX) como parte da sua educação. Estas viagens são referenciadas como a origem do Turismo, pela melhoria dos transportes e a inclusão da burguesia na atividade.

com o trabalho de Ferreira (2003) que ao analisar a capacidade do turismo em promover a regeneração dos centros históricos do Algarve (Portugal) constatou que, para além das vantagens enormes que a associação entre o turismo e a cultura e património traz, também os turistas procuram e "consomem" manifestações culturais e patrimoniais do destino balnear que visitam. Portanto, ao contrário das décadas de 1950 a 1970 em que os turistas queriam apenas usufruir, de forma inativa, os recursos do território[2] e apresentando um conhecimento de base cultural (histórico e patrimonial) antecipado na altura da compra do pacote turístico junto das agências de viagens e através da leitura das brochuras comerciais.

O atual turista (de massas) é mais qualificado, tem melhores condições de vida e do lado da oferta turística, há um maior leque de comercialização de produtos turísticos que tornam a experiência turística mais ativa e que são baseados em áreas do ambiente, cultura e património.

Segundo Ferreira (2003 cit por Costa, 2015) os turistas de massas atuais são "consumidores" de cultura e património, porque os mesmos são, na sua esmagadora maioria, oriundos de países com níveis educacionais (pelo menos comparativamente) elevados (Inglaterra, França, Alemanha, Holanda, Espanha). Mais ainda, os turistas residem, habitualmente, em áreas urbanas onde as manifestações e ofertas culturais são relativamente abundantes. Assim sendo, seria bizarro pensar-se, e assumir – se, que os mesmos, quando se deslocam em lazer e recreio, "esqueçam" e "abandonem" os seus hábitos na área da cultura e do património.

De acordo com a definição da OMT, "o conceito de turismo rural inclui um número de elementos constitutivos, no centro dos quais se encontra a comunidade de turismo rural. O turismo rural depende daquilo que o meio rural tem para oferecer: património, cultura, atividades rurais e estilo de vida rural" (WTO 2004, p. 13).

Considerado as motivações relacionadas com o Turismo Rural, pode-se afirmar que aquilo que motiva os turistas para os meios rurais está relacionado com um conjunto crescente de indivíduos ávidos de alienar-se do seu quotidiano citadino, de pressão diária procurando encontrar neste espaço rural uma experiência que permita retemperar as suas energias.

2 Segundo Machín (1997), os recursos podem ser agrupados em três áreas: naturais que são todos aqueles que se relacionam com a água (mar, praias, rios, lagos, etc.) e com a terra e seu ecossistema (paisagens, vales, montanhas, etc.); históricos, que se referem a todos os vestígios históricos e património cultural (igrejas, pontes, museus, obras de arte, etc.); culturais que se identificam pela vivência e manifestações de um povo (formas de vida, tradições, festas, romarias, gastronomia, etc.).

O Turismo em geral tem como objetivo primordial, essa recuperação de energia. As exigências atuais dos centros urbanos, fazem com os indivíduos, potenciais consumidores de turismo, procurem obter uma experiência revigorante, numa procura constante pelo singular, "autêntico", "simbólico". Na sua essência o Turismo em Espaço Rural satisfaz as necessidades de um grupo crescente de consumidores citadinos que procura romper com o quotidiano e obter uma experiência revigorante, através da procura do "autêntico", a nostalgia pelo passado, em perfeita integração com a natureza, atividades ao ar livre em contextos naturais, relaxamento num ambiente calmo e tranquilo, atributos que não encontram no meio urbano ao mesmo tempo que constituem um fator de valorização do meio rural e de reequilíbrio económico-social (Fernandes 2016, p. 4).

De acordo com Kastenholz, Davis e Paul 1999 (cit por Kastenholz et al 2008, p. 3), num contexto de uma grande diversidade de motivações no mercado de turistas em espaço rural, na base da procura por este tipo de turismo estão razões de ordem social e psicológica e como já referido, muito relacionadas com a realidade social ou imaginária do indivíduo "*quebrar a rotina*" e/ou "*escapar da vida quotidiana*" em busca de algo que não existe no local onde ele vive e trabalha. O indivíduo que se descreve e potencial turista é, fundamentalmente, proveniente dos grandes centros urbanos (Silva 2007, p. 144 cit por Kastenholz et al 2008, p. 3), "*tem frequentemente uma forte consciência ambiental, possui experiência em termos de viagem, estando mais apto a fazer comparações, apresenta um nível cultural mais elevado, procura a autenticidade, o primitivo, a tradição, 'as origens' mas também qualidade e um bom nível de serviços*" (Moniz 2006 cit Kastenholz et al 2008, p. 3).

O turismo rural é utilizado sobretudo quando a "cultura rural" é a componente chave do produto turístico oferecido por essa região. O que diferencia os restantes produtos turísticos do turismo em espaço rural "é o desejo de oferecer aos visitantes um contacto personalizado, a experiência da envolvente física e humana do meio rural e sempre que possível, facultar a participação ativa nas atividades, tradições e estilos de vida das populações locais" (WTO 2004, p. 9).

3. Desenvolvimento turístico, valorização do património cultural e preservação da identidade dos territórios rurais

Aceitando o turismo como um setor que proporciona o desenvolvimento endógeno e local, e num quadro de grandes mudanças que vêm marcando a estrutura económica e social de inúmeras regiões, as oportunidades de desenvolvimento das atividades turísticas aparecem como denominador comum de diversas estratégias de desenvolvimento (Silva e Silva 2003). Importa, por esse facto, tecer algumas considerações sobre esta relação, sobretudo no contexto do desenvolvimento de destinos em regiões rurais.

O papel que o património cultural teve e tem tido nos processos de desenvolvimento turístico (e rural) tem sido representativo na Europa sobretudo após os anos 1970 e apesar do mesmo se ter ativado também em contexto urbanos, é no meio rural onde se tem promovido mais as microintervenções (Peréz 2003).

O património cultural, também denominado de "bem cultural" material ou imaterial, tenta representar a identidade de um grupo humano. O mesmo património pode converter-se num símbolo de dada cultura, com potencial para rentabilizar o seu poder de atração sobre um turismo/turista cultural. Este procura, consome, ou sente curiosidade por conhecer ou usufruir e contactar com o património cultural no seu contexto de ativação (Pérez 2003, p. 242).

A crescente valorização do património é fruto de uma questão de quase sobrevivência humana, com o objetivo de permitir com que um povo possa preservar a sua identidade e memória (Pereira 2009 cit por Rodrigues 2016) e assemelha-se a um imenso espelho onde a humanidade pode contemplar a sua própria imagem percecionada como uma espécie de refúgio das sociedades contemporâneas face a um conjunto de transformações que não dominam e que parece colocar em causa a identidade (Choay 2008 cit por Rodrigues, 2016, p. 72).

Nesta realidade, na conceção dos planos de desenvolvimento turístico deve ter cabimento não só aspetos económicos, mas também os culturais, espaciais e humanos, pois a falta de adequação entre as atividades económicas e o território está na origem de efeitos negativos, que se traduzem em desequilíbrios regionais. Se o objetivo da atividade é satisfazer a procura turística, numa nação, numa região ou numa comunidade, todas têm de ter a capacidade de fornecer uma variedade de serviços (lado da oferta) e quanto mais a oferta se adequar ao mercado (procura) mais facilmente se atinge um correto desenvolvimento turístico (Gunn 2002).

A promoção do desenvolvimento rural e das áreas periféricas desperta o interesse no rejuvenescimento desses territórios, tendo por meio o turismo. O turismo rural é, deste modo, considerado como uma ferramenta útil para o desenvolvimento, apesar de não ser realmente fácil equilibrar a procura e a otimização dos benefícios tanto para os turistas, como para as áreas rurais que eles visitam (Fotiadis 2009).

A ligação entre o turismo e o desenvolvimento é poderosa e o incentivo ao turismo deverá cumprir um conjunto de condições prévias corretas, numa combinação de atrações naturais e paisagísticas; históricas, arqueológicas, culturais; e climáticas (McIntosh *et al,* 2004), que constituem um «trunfo» dos meios rurais.

O turismo é visto como um agente importante para a regeneração e o redesenvolvimento económico de determinadas regiões rurais e isoladas graças aos elementos de atração que estas apresentam, constituindo um meio de sustento e diversificação das economias rurais e das sociedades (Jackson e Murphy 2006; Sharpley 2002; Fotiadis 2009). De facto, o património cultural de uma região, enquanto elemento identificador de um povo inclui componentes, com dimensões tangíveis e intangíveis cuja importância é cada vez maior no desenvolvimento das políticas regionais do turismo (Pérez 2003, p. 241; Rodrigues 2016, p. 71). Pode-se inclusive afirmar, de acordo com as grandes organizações mundiais, que o turismo desempenha um papel essencial na valorização e salvaguarda da cultura (UNESCO 2015) e que o património imaterial numa perspetiva local, inclui elementos essenciais para um melhor entendimento por parte do visitante sobre o estilo de vida e a cultura da comunidade visitada (WTO 2006 cit por Rodrigues 2016).

Neste sentido, todos os esforços deverão ter como princípio o desenvolvimento de produtos inovadores e diferenciados, para o reforço das parcerias estratégicas e para a preservação do equilíbrio ambiental e a valorização do património cultural. Portanto, o sucesso da atividade turística assenta, claramente, nos recursos locais, quantitativos e qualitativos (Ribeiro e Vareiro 2007).

A atividade turística tem ganho maior dimensão nas políticas de desenvolvimento ao nível local, fruto das preocupações relacionadas com o esgotamento dos modelos de localização espacial de diversas atividades produtivas (ex. agricultura e indústria extrativa). Mas esta não é a única razão. Acresce ainda o próprio dinamismo da procura turística, quer do ponto de vista quantitativo, quer do ponto de vista de uma permanente diversificação dos seus perfis e ainda a valorização por parte da mesma relativamente a produtos turísticos diferenciados especialmente aqueles que estão associados às caraterísticas ambientais e culturais de base territorial (Silva e Silva 2003). Portanto, o turismo pode tornar-se numa estratégia alternativa para um desenvolvimento mais sustentável, preservando e valorizando aspetos determinantes como as tradições e as relações sociais e permitindo racionalizar o uso dos recursos naturais e também gerando renda e aproveitando as capacidades humanas locais (Sampaio 2003, como citado por Pellin 2005; Silva e Perna 2002).

As formas de turismo que surgem num contexto de desenvolvimento do meio rural estão associadas a algumas mudanças na própria sociedade, nomeadamente pelo aumento dos níveis de educação, pelo maior interesse pelo património natural e artificial e pelo desenvolvimento dos transportes e comunicação. Nestas circunstâncias, as áreas rurais dificilmente podem já ser consideradas totalmente remotas e isoladas e constituem meios privilegiados para a satisfação de necessidades cada vez mais prementes inclusive em termos de saúde, estética e bem estar (OECD 1994).

4. Cooperação entre atores e a valorização cultural e preservação da identidade nos meios rurais

A realidade da atividade turística revela a preocupação em associar o turismo com o desenvolvimento, em particular naquelas áreas, e justifica os vários recursos envolvidos e os investimentos efetuados pelas comunidades, governos, e associações de desenvolvimento, por todo o mundo.

Em muitos países, o desenvolvimento do turismo no meio rural tem vindo a ser alvo de uma grande preocupação o que se revela em termos de assistência financeira direta por parte do setor público e do setor privado. A relação entre o turismo e o desenvolvimento local é notória, pois quando desenvolvido em espaços rurais o turismo é uma alternativa importante para fortalecer o território rural e, principalmente, para interiorizar a atividade turística, hoje ainda muito concentrada no litoral e sobretudo na época do verão (Pellin 2005). Neste contexto, é fulcral que "*[. . .] as decisões sejam tomadas no âmbito local, que haja controlo dos processos de desenvolvimento por actores sociais locais, e que as comunidades locais se apropriem dos benefícios gerados*" (Pellin 2005, p. 41).

A reflexão sistémica e funcional sobre o turismo tem sentido num contexto da necessidade e quase exigência de cooperação entre atores sociais e que é subjacente ao processo de desenvolvimento turístico. Esta perspetiva sistémica pressupõe que todas as partes envolvidas (os *stakeholders*) e interessadas ou afetadas pela atividade dentro de um determinado mercado ou comunidade deverão, conjuntamente, gerir as componentes desse sistema (Sautter & Leisen 1999).[3] Esta abordagem enquadra-se nos paradigmas do desenvolvimento endógeno que surgiu na década de 70 e 80 do século passado e que tinha como princípio uma orientação de "baixo para cima" procurando essencialmente ultrapassar muitas das fragilidades regionais através dos recursos próprios dos territórios (Ribeiro e Vareiro 2007). Neste contexto, o empreendedorismo partilhado é fundamental (Rodrigues 2000 cit por Pellin, 2005), ou seja, um agir cooperativo, muitas das vezes em rede, associando agentes privados, o poder público e a própria comunidade local.

A área rural é uma espécie de "marca corporativa" e, por esse facto, é fulcral que certas condições sejam cumpridas em matéria da cooperação entre todos. Se essa cooperação não for bem conduzida, também o desenvolvimento será ineficaz. Mas nem todas as regiões oferecem as mesmas condições para o desenvolvimento do turismo, considerando as imensas fragilidades dos territórios rurais e do interior e, portanto, uma região com potencial de desenvolvimento deve, de facto, possuir algumas caraterísticas no domínio cultural, fisico-natural e social que definam a sua identidade regional (Cunha & Cunha 2005 cit por Amaral 2013). Por exemplo, nem todas as áreas rurais são atrativas para os turistas rurais por serem muito remotas, ou por não terem fontes de atração cénica e/ou de património (OECD 1994) e o facto de disponibilizarem condições ao nível de alojamento também não garantem a captação da procura. O pacote tem de ser suficiente para atrair e manter os turistas, oferecendo condições para a despesa (Gannon 1994). Também é fulcral considerar que o desenvolvimento e a organização do turismo rural impõem um investimento significativo, que nem sempre está disponível (Fleisher e Felenstein 2000). Para além disso, por vezes as próprias comunidades locais e os empresários podem considerar difícil a adaptação ao novo papel de "servilismo" (Fleischer e Piozam 1997). Para além dos aspetos referidos, os territórios que promovem o turismo rural deverão ter produtos e serviços de qualidade que vão de encontro às exigências e expetativas dos turistas. Por fim, contudo, as empresas de turismo rurais muitas das vezes continuam a não ter competências nem recursos para um efetivo marketing (Sharpley 2004).

3 Esta abordagem cooperante do próprio sistema do turismo é alvo de algumas críticas que recaem, em grande parte, na falta de preparação da comunidade e no mau aproveitamento dos recursos (Firmino 2007).

Fica claro que o desenvolvimento do turismo não constitui sempre a "tábua de salvação" de territórios rurais que, por si, já têm uma economia rural muito fragilizada (Butler e Clark 1992 cit por Hall e Page 2006).

A atividade turística é uma indústria fragmentada, baseada em pequenas unidades de negócio, claramente notório nos meios rurais, o que torna difícil os dirigentes dessas unidades controlarem todos as componentes do sistema turístico, ou de todos os elementos e etapas do processo de decisão. Ao trabalharem de forma cooperante e em conjunto, os elementos poderão ultrapassar as dificuldades que surgem no desenvolvimento do setor turístico, o que pode ser positivo quando se pretende abrir a novos mercados (Keller 2008).

O associativismo e as redes entre empresas e organizações e os territórios constituem as formas mais correntes de colaboração e cooperação. As relações surgem dentro das regiões de forma estável e os esforços conjuntos são bem sucedidos. Isto permite realizar transações entre agentes públicos e privados com base em acordos (mais ou menos formais), trabalhando os parceiros em conjunto no desenvolvimento de problemas e partilhando uma espécie de equidade nas suas relações. Nos países desenvolvidos em particular, a grande parte dos organismos de desenvolvimento utiliza este processo, o que no fundo representa as organizações assentes na confiança entre as partes e orientadas para objetivos muito concretos (Vázquez-Barquero 1995 cit por Amaral 2013). Por exemplo, e no âmbito do turismo cultural já se identificam, desde os anos 1980 e 1990, algumas parcerias com o objetivo de desenvolverem o turismo nos centros históricos (e.g. Grã-Bretanha; estâncias balneares no Sul da Europa). Neste contexto há claramente um envolvimento intersetorial para apoiar o desenvolvimento de atividades culturais e apostar na proteção e valorização do património (Ferreira 2004), de forma a complementar as outras componentes da oferta (ex. balnear) que se encontravam em declínio.

A política de turismo deverá nortear-se por três condicionantes, isto é, a cultural, a social e a económica, independentemente dos objetivos, ambições, dimensões das áreas ou motivações que estão por detrás dos programas, projetos ou atividades a desenvolver. Todos os programas deverão condicionar-se, em primeiro lugar, "*[. . .] à política de preservação do património cultural, artístico, histórico, documental e paisagístico natural do país*" e os órgãos e entidades ligados ao turismo deverão articular-se "*[. . .] com as organizações público e privadas na conservação dos recursos culturais e naturais renováveis e dos valores culturais nacionais*" (Beni 1997, p. 103 cit por Amaral e Figueira 2016, p. 136). Relacionada com a primeira condicionante (a cultural) surge a segunda (a social) que sugere a forte presença da dimensão social em todas as suas manifestações. Quanto mais significativo for o conteúdo social dos programas (democratização do acesso e abrangência dos valores), mais profundos e duradouros serão os resultados atingidos e, portanto, este condicionalismo deverá fazer com que o turismo "*[. . .] constitua incentivo à criatividade, às artes e às manifestações sociais, artesanais e folclóricas e que sejam crescentes o número de pessoas atingidas por essa Política e as áreas por ela interessadas ou beneficiadas*" (Beni 1997, p. 103–104 cit por Amaral e Figueira 2016, p. 136). A última condicionante é a económica sendo de grande relevância que os programas e projetos ativem e dinamizem "*[. . .] os empreendimentos que actuam no sector, com amplo apoio do comércio, à hotelaria, à produção especializada e artesanal, aos transportadores, às agências de viagens e a quaisquer outras iniciativas válidas no sector*" (Beni 1997, p. 104 cit por Amaral e Figueira 2016, p. 136), sejam elas privadas ou públicas. Nesta abordagem considera-se que as relações intersetoriais contribuem para a melhoria da qualidade de aspetos socioculturais (ex. património histórico, teatros, parques e áreas de lazer) (Zrilic e Peric 2001 cit por Amaral e Figueira, p. 2016).

5. Estratégias turísticas nacionais e regionais – valorização de património e identidade do Alentejo

Na última década já foram publicados vários documentos estratégicos para o desenvolvimento turístico nacional e regional.

O mais recente documento nacional – "Estratégia Turismo 2027"[4] – assume como principal missão a expressão "Liderar o Turismo do Futuro", constitui um referencial estratégico para o turismo em Portugal no horizonte 2017–2027 em que se pretende dar seguimento à necessidade de "*investir num planeamento participado da atividade turística, através de um Plano Estratégico Nacional do Turismo*" (Turismo de Portugal 2017, p. 2). Segundo o documento, liderar o turismo do futuro implica "a colaboração e envolvimento da sociedade e de todos os atores, públicos e privados" (Turismo de Portugal, 2017, p. 2).

Um dos ativos considerados diferenciadores neste plano é exatamente a História, Cultura e Identidade. O Plano 2020–2027 destaca, no seu

4 http://estrategia.turismodeportugal.pt/sites/default/files/Estrategia_Turismo_Portugal_ET27.pdf

documento, que Portugal e as suas várias regiões apresentam **ativos diferenciadores** ao nível da História (com mais de 900 anos); o Património Cultural, Militar e Religioso; Património Mundial material e imaterial ao longo de todo o território reconhecido pela UNESCO; legado de tradições, lendas, usos e costumes; arquitetura e cultura contemporânea (protagonizada por personalidades que se destacam da música ao desporto) e a identidade própria dos territórios e comunidades locais (Estratégia Turismo 2027 2017, p. 47).

O Plano apresenta também aquilo que denomina de **ativos qualificadores** e que também são considerados recursos culturais, como é o caso da gastronomia e vinho e os eventos artístico-culturais, desportivos e negócios. Relativamente ao primeiro,

> *Portugal está entre os países com o melhor peixe do mundo; dispõe de chefs internacionalmente reconhecidos e de vários restaurantes agraciados com estrelas Michelin. Os prémios alcançados pelo vinhos portugueses colocam o país entre os melhores do mundo, sendo um cartão de visita para potenciar o Enoturismo*". (Estratégia Turismo 2027 2017, p. 48)

Em relação ao segundo ativo qualificador, Portugal possui uma,

> *rede de eventos de expressão artístico–cultural, musicais, desportivos e de negócios, que alcançam diferentes públicos, com cobertura ao longo de todo o país, nomeadamente em territórios onde a procura é menos expressiva; [. . .] e dispõe de eventos que já hoje demonstram um inequívoco contributo para a sua projeção internacional e que, em alguns casos, contribuem, simultaneamente, para dinamizar economias locais em territórios de baixa densidade, concorrendo para alargar o turismo todo o ano e em todo o território* (Estratégia Turismo 2027 2017, p. 48).

Nas principais linhas de atuação, a estratégia 2020–2027 para o turismo e assumindo a sua importância em termos da preservação da cultura e da identidade (também nos meios rurais), destaca-se em particular a "valorização do território e as comunidades", com a particularidade da atuação estar aqui direcionada para a necessidade de Conservar, valorizar e usufruir o património histórico-cultural e identitário; Valorizar e preservar a autenticidade do País e a vivência das comunidades locais; Potenciar economicamente o património natural e rural e assegurar a sua conservação; Promover a regeneração urbana das cidades, regiões e o desenvolvimento turístico sustentável dos territórios/destinos (Estratégia Turismo 2027 2017, p. 51).

Considerando as linhas e eixos de atuação, e de forma a operacionalizar os mesmos, sistematizam-se alguns dos projetos prioritários propostos para valorizar o território e as comunidades (Estratégia Turismo 2027 2017, p. 57):

a) Conservar, valorizar e usufruir o património histórico-cultural e identitário:
   - Programa Revive - Projetos de conservação e valorização económica do património edificado de reconhecido valor histórico-cultural, tornando-o acessível e aberto à prestação de serviços de interesse público-turístico;
   - Produção e disponibilização de conteúdos e de elementos info-promocionais, incluindo de natureza tecnológica, sobre o património histórico-cultural;
   - Ações de valorização dos produtos endógenos regionais, nomeadamente, no âmbito do ativo estratégico Gastronomia & Vinhos;
   - Projetos de valorização e divulgação da identidade local, envolvendo as próprias comunidades

b) Valorizar e preservar a autenticidade do País e a vivência das comunidades locais:
   - Iniciativas de valorização e ativação turística do património cultural imaterial português. Ex. Cante Alentejano.
   - Dinamização do comércio tradicional e das suas «lojas com história», promovendo a identidade e autenticidade de Portugal. – ex. comercialização de souvenirs com símbolos do azulejo ou da sardinha.
   - Projetos de valorização dos espaços de vivência das comunidades locais, estimulando a contribuição do turismo para a melhoria da qualidade de vida e para a fixação de residentes.

c) Potenciar economicamente o património natural e rural e assegurar a sua conservação:
   - Desenvolvimento do turismo de natureza e em espaço rural através de projetos de valorização económica e de uma gestão ativa do património natural e rural, onde se inclui a rede de nacional de áreas protegidas, as reservas da biosfera e os Geoparques reconhecidos pela UNESCO, nomeadamente, no contexto da promoção da marca Natural.PT;
   - Operações de revitalização e dinamização económica de aldeias e centros rurais com vocação turística, nomeadamente em torno

de redes temáticas e/ou de recursos endógenos dos territórios, como sendo as Aldeias de Xisto, as Aldeias Históricas e as Aldeias Vinhateiras.

d) Estruturar e promover ofertas que respondam à procura turística:
   - Ações de estruturação da oferta turística em torno de roteiros/itinerários temáticos com forte vocação turística de âmbito histórico-cultural e/ou natural, tendo subjacente os ativos turísticos estratégicos nacionais; nomeadamente, através da implementação de projetos como, *Portuguese Trails* (alargar a todo o país o projeto piloto *Cycling and Walking* da região do Algarve); Caminhos de Fátima; Caminhos de Santiago e -Rede de turismo militar.

Segundo o documento Laboratório Estratégico para o Alentejo (2016)[5], a região do Alentejo:

- representava 2,9% das dormidas na hotelaria em Portugal (2016);
- contabilizava 1,4 milhões de dormidas (2016);
- 62% da oferta hoteleira da Região concentra-se no Alentejo Litoral (37%) e Central (25%) (2015);
- Alentejo Central e Litoral representam mais de 60% das dormidas (2015);
- Évora é o concelho com maior procura na região (23%), o que faz do Alentejo Central a subregião com maior procura (2015);
- Em 10 anos as dormidas cresceram 52% no Alentejo (2015);
- Tem apresentado uma tendência de crescimento da sua estada média ao longo dos últimos 10 anos (em 2015, tempo de estada médio 1,79.

O Programa Operacional Regional do Alentejo (PORA – 2014–2020[6]) ainda em vigor, é um dos documentos regionais com importância no desenvolvimento do turismo no Alentejo. De acordo com este documento, a região apresenta um conjunto variado e diferenciado de recursos que incluem elementos do património cultural, destacando-se o património histórico (urbano-monumental), o património de arte sacra, o património etnográfico e de arte popular (PORA 2014–2020, p. 16).

O Alentejo possui 15 museus integrados na Rede Portuguesa de Museus e os bens culturais incluem 214 monumentos nacionais, 351 imóveis de interesse público e 54 imóveis de interesse municipal, todos classificados

5 http://estrategia.turismodeportugal.pt/sites/default/files/LET_Alentejo_ET27.pdf

6 https://www.portugal2020.pt/Portal2020/Media/Default/Docs/Programas%20Operacionais/BROCHURAS%20PO/Brochura_Alentejo%202020.pdf

como bens imóveis culturais (PORA 2014–2020, p. 16). Esta oferta constitui, de facto, uma mais-valia considerável para estruturar atividades económicas e sobretudo, para conceber programa de atração de visitantes e turistas que procuram destinos com uma forte identidade. Contudo, a região apresenta um conjunto de fragilidades no domínio da sua inventariação, classificação e valorização, o que se reflete na insuficiente disponibilização do património para fruição pública (PORA 2014–2020, p. 16).

O documento Plano Operacional de Suporte ao Desenvolvimento e Dinamização do Produto (POSDDP) "Património da Humanidade no Alentejo"[7], documento que alia as ações propostas e a estratégia da Entidade Regional de Turismo para o período 2014–2020, apresenta um plano de ação de forte que aposta num produto turístico em torno do Património da Humanidade do Alentejo, com objetivos claros de tornar a oferta turística da região mais integradora, coesa e atrativa (POSDDP 2015, p. 3).

Atualmente, os bens patrimoniais do Alentejo que estão inscritos na lista da UNESCO como Património da Humanidade são o centro histórico de Évora, a cidade fronteiriça e de guarnição de Elvas e as suas fortificações e o cante alentejano como património cultural imaterial da humanidade. Também a arte chocalheira de Alcáçovas foi recentemente elevado a este estatuto. Existe, ainda, um conjunto de outros processos a decorrer como por exemplo, os tapetes de Arraiolos e as festas do povo de Campo Maior.

6. Conclusão

O turismo constitui um instrumento com elevado potencial para o crescimento económico e o desenvolvimento regional, e as estratégias adotar em áreas rurais devem assentar num trabalho conjunto elaborado por equipas multidisciplinares, com a participação de todos *stakeholders* que devem participar ativamente na definição e implementação dessas estratégias, num horizonte temporal de longo prazo (Eusébio et al 2013).

O turismo tem um papel fulcral nas regiões em vias de desenvolvimento em que a falta de "civilização moderna" pode constituir um fator de atração (Kastenholz 2002). No meio rural este setor traz oportunidades ao nível da criação de empregos e empreendimentos e pode ser visto como uma

7 https://www.visitalentejo.pt/fotos/editor2/Quem%20somos/plano_operacional_pha_relatorio_final.pdf

possibilidade de sustento económico e uma alternativa às economias das regiões onde as atividades tradicionais foram perdendo importância sem capacidade de satisfazer as populações delas dependentes (Sousa 2006; Sharpley 2004). Por fim, mas não menos importante, é uma excelente forma de recuperação e valorização do território pois, ao depender da gestão do espaço local e rural para o seu sucesso, também contribui para a proteção do meio ambiente e para a conservação do património natural, histórico e cultural desse meio, estimulando a gestão e o uso sustentável do espaço local, beneficiando, prioritariamente, a população local, direta e indiretamente, envolvida nas atividades turísticas (Campanhola e Silva 1999).

O turismo desempenha, de facto, um papel essencial na valorização e salvaguarda da cultura. Há aqui uma relação indissociável com o meio rural e com aquilo que ele tem para oferecer: património, cultura, atividades rurais e estilo de vida rural. Assim, o turismo rural surge com uma excelente oportunidade de dinamizar económico e socialmente os territórios rurais e uma forma de valorizar os recursos históricos e culturais, já que permite oferecer um contacto próximo, personalizado com a envolvente física e humana do meio rural e faculta, se possível, a participação ativa nas atividades, tradições e estilos de vida das populações locais.

Perante esta oportunidade que o meio rural proporciona, é preciso que os atores ganhem consciência que trabalhar em rede potenciando os recursos e potencialidades de cada concelho, mas agregando todo esse potencial ao dos concelhos limítrofes, ganhando escala, permite captar, não apenas mais visitantes, mas sobretudo mais investimento no setor. As redes de cooperação, por exemplo, ao nível do turismo em espaço rural, poderão ser transfronteiriças (como é o caso das redes de aldeia), agregando os recursos de vários territórios (regionais, nacionais e transnacionais). Essas redes também podem passar por uma aposta na recuperação de algumas localidades (vilas e aldeias) da sub-região, constituindo-as como uma excelente atração turística. No país já existem alguns exemplos de programas de revitalização de vilas e aldeias (ex. Programa de Recuperação das Aldeias Históricas) que são coordenadas pelas CCDR e que têm ambicionam revitalizar e dinamizar os espaços ricos em património, cultura e tradição e que têm um impacto ao retardar as tendências de envelhecimento das populações e o abandono das povoações (Nascimento et al 2008, p. 2072 cit por Amaral e Figueira 2016), dando resposta aos problemas do mundo rural do interior do país. Para além disso, estes programas têm na sua essência uma prática de cooperação intersetorial, reunindo dimensões como a animação socioeconómica, envolvendo atores locais através, por exemplo, de associações de desenvolvimento local existentes, e a promoção turística no mercado nacional e internacional.

O património cultural de uma região encerra componentes, com dimensões tangíveis e intangíveis cuja importância é cada vez maior no desenvolvimento das políticas regionais do turismo. O caso do Alentejo enquadra-se precisamente nesta situação. Esta região constituiu uma área com uma oferta e procura turísticas em franco crescimento, com um elevado potencial turístico fruto da singularidade dos seus recursos naturais e culturais. O desenvolvimento desta sub-região deverá pressupor um conjunto de estratégias e políticas que envolvam todos os atores sociais locais, regionais, nacionais e transfronteiriços, na perspetiva de um planeamento integrado e interativo.

Os dirigentes do setor público e empresários estão de acordo na necessidade de se cooperar numa aposta na valorização dos recursos culturais locais e regionais, já que o Alentejo possui excelentes recursos desta qualidade que bem dinamizados, podem constituir um excelente fator de diferenciação relativamente a outras regiões do país. Os atores valorizam ainda a necessidade de as entidades encetarem esforços conjuntos para se "construa" um conjunto de produtos turísticos mais fortes para a região, em grande medida baseados nos recursos culturais (materiais e imateriais). Ficou ainda evidenciada as estratégias nacionais de apostar no mercado de eventos, o que é corroborado com o estudo de Amaral (2013) em que os agentes (sobretudo empresários) opinam que é fulcral também apostar no desenvolvimento do turismo de eventos e convenções. Os eventos (ex. festivais medievais, feiras gastronómicas e do vinho, feiras de negócios e conferências) podem consistir numa forte aposta do turismo no Alentejo, de forma a minimizar os efeitos da sazonalidade típica da atividade turística permitindo "garantir" uma maior taxa de ocupação na hotelaria sobretudo nas épocas baixas, e um aumento que já é tendência do tempo médio de permanência, dando a possibilidade de determinados destinos poderem manter os bons níveis de rentabilidade (Ansarah 2000). Os dirigentes do setor privado veem este tipo de turismo como um gerador de procura turística para o destino trazendo mais dinâmica aos territórios, e às principais aglomerações populacionais, assim como um incentivo ao investimento com retorno, enquadrando-se em ofertas de turismo cultural e de negócios.

Considerando os atributos que na perceção dos vários atores do turismo podem atrair mais os visitantes à região (Amaral 2013), há uma forte valorização da gastronomia, singularidade do destino (ao nível dos recursos naturais e culturais), do próprio património histórico e cultural e da disponibilidade e qualidade dos serviços turísticos. Muitos dos turistas que visitam a região procuram aspetos muito característicos da mesma como é o caso dos pratos típicos, do vinho e do património edificado.

O desafio passa por preservar e valorizar o património natural e cultural, como um recurso identitário, social e de desenvolvimento, integrando os processos produtivos e os processos naturais, diferenciando e valorizando os produtos que contribuam para a conservação dos ecossistemas (PORA). Apesar de toda esta consciência e relevância atribuída pelos atores à necessidade de valorizar a cultura existente na região, e apesar de, até nos últimos anos, ter havido um investimento na renovação e restauração de muito do património cultural e religioso da sub-região (entretanto parado com a recessão), existem ainda muitas dificuldades pelo facto dos processos, ainda que financiados, serem bastante morosos, em grande parte pela dificuldade de concertação entre o grande número de entidades envolvidas. Nesse sentido, conclui-se que é importante agilizar os processos de forma a apostar na renovação do património e, posteriormente, dinamizá-lo incluindo-o nos itinerários.

A Entidade Regional de turismo do Alentejo e Ribatejo tem feito uma forte aposta no desenho e comercialização de vários produtos e roteiros com uma forte base cultural. Sob o slogan "O Alentejo é Charme, é História, é Cultura" destacando-se, por exemplo, a Rota do Fresco enquadrado no *Touring* Cultural e que já associa ao património imaterial UNESCO, como o cante alentejano e a arte do chocalho; Rota dos Mármores; Rota do Vinho a Rota do Azulejo, que constitui um projeto de divulgação cultural e turística que tem por objetivo dar a conhecer o património azulejar da região. Alguns municípios também já têm uma preocupação de fazer a articulação das atividades culturais das câmaras municipais com os operadores locais, através da definição de um programa organizado, que inclui a estada numa unidade de TER, um itinerário histórico, uma prova de vinho, uma refeição típica e uma noite de cante, articulando entidades e espaços diferenciados (ex. município de Serpa).

Ao nível da informação turística destaca-se também um forte investimento na componente cultural e histórica, em especial no website *Visit Alentejo*[8]. Destaca-se informação sobre Roma no Alentejo, Atmosferas Árabes, Passeios com Castelos; Ambientes Conventuais; Évora Património da Humanidade; Elvas e as suas fortificações – património Mundial; Fabrico de Chocalhos – UNESCO, colocando "a nu" todos os recursos culturais que constituem a identidade do Alentejo.

8 https://www.visitalentejo.pt/pt/

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Abstract: The aim of this historiographical survey is to illustrate what realm of interpretation various scientific fields, genres of offline and online media or thematizations in everyday speech are allocated for the visualization of the notion and topos of the battle of Mohács (1526) in connection with the death of the king. At first, I clarify the notion of Mohács, and then I give a compact survey of the viewpoints of the writings, which deal with the death of King Lewis II. Namely, I want to exemplify which viewpoints of the narrative, composition, conception-making and even conspiracy-theory-making the death of King Lewis II visualizes. Because of the 500-year history of this topos, I can only refer to trends and characteristic viewpoints. I am going to make an exception only in the case of the historical painting of the reform period, namely I am going to give a short analysis to illustrate the multiple interpretation field. I have chosen the painting of Soma Orlai Petrics (1851) from a huge number of artworks to demonstrate how easy it is to develop new theories especially if the basic text (here: the symbolism of the painting) allows it. The connotation of this historiographical survey is to demonstrate where today's Mohács-controversy can be situated in this 500-year communication field (Farkas, Szebelédi & Varga 2016).

Keywords: historiography, allegorical painting, debate on reading, narrative as fiction, conspiracy theory, alternative history

Hungarian people have some idea about football. Hungarian people are hospitable. If they are not, even so, who would dare to question such elementary experiences of the nation's conscience like football or hospitality? Everybody from the market-woman to the millionaire, from the factory hand to the university professor can put a word in it. We like to consider the score of the football match of the century (6:3) to be a basic factor of our nation's conscience and the national memory (Varga, Száraz & Takács 2013), we sing it to the melody of the Kossuth-song and we have a real football literature from Iván Mándy[1] through Péter Esterházy[2] to the blogger of 4x4. A Hungarian person (and a real Hungarian writer) cannot be imagined to be a refuter or by any chance a neglecter of this basic value. A person who is just a little bit self-respecting has got a confidential recipe of his own cake, fish soup, or his own "pálinka", i.e., spirit making procedure. And of course, you cannot find a Hungarian writer who has not written about a field of gastronomy, thus, giving a sensual experience even if we just read about it, be it the laudation of meat soup, chocolate, or tripe (Cserna–Szabó 2015).

On the other hand, there is a Hungarian national tradition of woes, curses and ill fortune besides joys and positive Hungarian characteristics. The literature of the 16th to the 18th centuries demonstrates characteristics of dissension in the context of a "handful" of the Hungarian nation. The 19th century echoed Herder's prophecy about the threat of the death of nations (the so-called Herderian prophecy influenced the poets from Kölcsey to Vörösmarty). The 20th century, in turn, placed Isonso, the Don-hook,[3] and the Corvin passage[4] in the pantheon of our national catastrophes. These visions of devastation and tragic falls are also parts of Hungarian collective memory, "dynamiciz[ed] through repetition as well as actualize[d] through content adjustment" (Gaál-Szabó 2017, p.78). They are described embedded in humor or in the genre of folk song-inspired world music, but mostly bitterly and only very rarely satirically. ("We got used to celebrating our defeated big battles we had survived on our own" – wrote Géza Ottlik.[5]) If we visualize all these as part of a historical conspectus, at least a symbolic beginning, a root cause, the "Mohács catastrophy", or else a conspiracy-theory – in fact,

1 Hungarian writer (1928–1995), holder of the Kossuth Prize.

2 Hungarian writer (1950–2016), publicist, holder of the Kossuth Prize.

3 The Hungarian Second Army raised by the Hungarian Kingdom was eliminated in the region of the river Don by overwhelming Soviet force in 1942.

4 The author refers to the battle of the Corvin Passage fought in the Hungarian revolution of 1956.

5 Hungarian writer and translator (1912–1990), holder of the Kossuth and the Attila József Prize.

one of the many – is born in the head of an average person as the historical background of this series. While it "reflect[s] cultural understanding and methodology to deal with trauma" (Gaál-Szabó 2014, p. 120), it offers a possible dramaturgy to the understanding of the inevitable falls and even so the survival of the Hungarian nation. Although collective memory goes back to one or two generations, however, Mohács remains standing like a fixed star. This is not by chance: it is difficult to explain and rework the fact that the independent national existence was over at that time.

More than 540 years ago, on 29 August 1526, the army and the auxiliary troops of the Hungarian Kingdom gave battle against the army of the Osman Empire, which had numerical superiority. The battle which took place in the southern part of the country, in the fields of a little village called Mohács, which was situated on the banks of the river Danube, sealed the fate of the Hungarian Kingdom and set Central-Europe on a difficult path for centuries. The Hungarians suffered a disastrous defeat. King Lewis II and ninety percent of the state and church leaders died, consequently, the possibility of a longer settling in Europe was created for the Turks. The independent Hungarian Kingdom was replaced by two, three and somewhat later by four state configurations. On the one hand, from that time, the country did not have a single monarch of Hungarian origin living on Hungarian soil. On the other hand, Hungary lost its state sovereignty. That is why this battle has been interpreted in several different ways for more than 500 years; the defeat at Mohács has become the symbol of collective trauma and exerts an effect on public opinion even today.

Among others, our relationship to football is banal just like the "we need Mohács" feeling. No special sports knowledge is necessary to criticize football or to use the phrase "worse was lost at Mohács" or "we need Mohács" in everyday speech. A strong emotional approach is much more required. This is basically a paradigm of historical perspective, no matter if a historian, a tourist guide, who guides foreign tourists in Hungary, or just someone in the street quotes it. Conceptualization of Mohács might explain the way we assess our history, explain our present-day fate and exemplify our expedients. Thus, the unique, one-time event, the battle of Mohács, is not important in the first place from a military-political point of view, but rather the context is important from where we view it and the facts and the fiction which have deposited on the notion of Mohács for the past 500 years.

On the basis of all these, it can be stated that there were periods in Hungarian history when the relationship to Mohács became the subject of discussion, and there were times when it generated an increased interest, even controversies. Each situation produced a phrase easy to remember, a cliché characteristic of the field of interpretation of the given age. In this survey, I want to illustrate what scientific fields and what possible approaches have been created in this subject matter referring to the death of King Lewis II. Of course, I cannot take the whole Mohács-reception into consideration as the limited scope of this paper does not allow dealing with it in detail. Thus, I am going to bring the death of King Lewis II in the limelight.

1. Each Period Has Got a Different Image of Mohács

An extended scientific and belletristic literature deals with the Mohács-question, which has up-to-dateness in common talk, too. This topic has found shape in numerous genres and fields of art and it is a real phenomenon of the study of other historical questions and traditions.[6] The Mohács-question was interpreted directly after the battle, and this is done in the inland and abroad even today. At the beginning (in the 16th century), writers with classical erudition, who followed the chronicle tradition told the story of the disastrous battle again. Then the polemising preachers used this allegory to reproach each other with the blame of hostility, which led to the destruction of the country in the 17th century (Bitskey 1999). However, Miklós Istvánffy[7] introduced this topic on the basis of sources. The aristocratic thinkers and Jesuit historians of the age of Enlightenment (György Pray, István Katona) kept the story alive. Later, the reform period embraced this topic indeed: men of letters, politicians, publicists, painters, and historians discussed and visualized what had been lost at Mohács (Debreczeni 2013). Of course, the setting up of statues and memorial tablets could not have failed to come about. These were followed by regional research from the second half of the 19th century. At the beginning of the 20th-century memorial volumes and trilogies of novels (Irén P. Gulácsy and Gyula Krúdy) dedicated to the 400th anniversary of the battle were published. Big political speeches reminded the contemporary audience to draw a lesson about Mohács. In the third quarter of the 20th century, an ardent 30-year dispute started among historians

6 See the text and pictures in the latest anthology, *Mohács. Nemzet és emlékezet* [*Mohács. Nation and Memory*] (2006).

7 A Hungarian politician, Humanist historian and poet, who served as Palatinal Governor of Hungary from January 1582 to November 1608.

which exceeded the professional field and whose details were published both in public papers and scientific periodicals (Erős 2014). In the world of online media, a separate forum and a line of blogs continued writing about this topic (Illik 2015). Getting nearer to the 500th jubilee of the battle it is more and more obvious that there has barely been a period when this topic has not been in the focus of interest. As for its media publicity, a comment did not only find shape as an aphorism of cloistered scholars who locked themselves up in the protecting height of their ivory tower (be it either the commentary by György Pray[8] or the samizdat publication of a layman). Contrary to individual memories, the topic was much more mediatized than in the case of the group of writers which was encouraged by bishop Verancsics, or the historians from Nagyszombat or the cultural politics of the 1920s.

Consequently, we might consider a period that did not have a "Mohács" to be deficient. We can compile a list of a number of memorable military disasters and events having caused national trauma also before (e.g., Muhi 1241, Várna 1444, or the death of relevant kings including Hun King Attila and King Matthew and after 1526, the decade of bereavement of the Protestants, retributions in 1849, the Treaty of Trianon, the devastation of the 2nd Hungarian army near the River Don, the massacre on the Széna-square in 1956). But there are historical twists of fate caused by individual tragedies like the hunting accident of Count Miklós Zrínyi (Zrínyi and the boar), the stumbling of Prince Rákóczi's horse in 1708, and the airplane accident of Horthy Jr. This is only a question of interpretation.

The range of genres handling the topic is so broad that not even a separate volume would be enough to list it. Also, the excellent and beautifully implemented anthology entitled *Mohács* by János B. Szabó (2006) and its collection of texts and pictures could just be a compilation. As for the genres, the battle of Mohács has been the topic of epic[9], lyric[10], and dramatic[11] works and even mixed genres[12] alike. If we took works of art one after the other, we would get from fine arts (Turkish miniatures, German paintings from the

8 Pray (1723–1801) was a Jesuit priest and historian.

9 László Liszti's epos entitled *Magyar Márs* [*Hungarian Mars*] (1653), novels of Irén P. Gulácsy and Gyula Krúdy (1926).

10 Sándor Kisfaludy, *Dobozi Mihály és hitvese* [*Mihály Dobozi and His Wife*] (1822), Károly Kisfaludy's works entitled *Mohács* (1826).

11 E.g., Dezső Szomory *II. Lajos király* [*King Lewis II*], Géza Vojnovich's dramas entitled *Mohács* (1922)

12 E.g., Ballad (Thaly Kálmán, 1860) and essay (Ferenc Kölcsey, *Mohács* (1826); Zsigmond Kemény, *A mohácsi veszedelem okairól* [*About the Causes of the Mohács Peril*] (1840).

18th century, the generation of historical tabloid painters at the reform period like Soma Orlai Petrics, Mór Than, Bertalan Székely) through sculpture and statuette (a design of commemorative column in 1842, commemorative board in Mohács and Szekszárd) to the world of films (like the film of Miklós Jancsó in 2004, or the cartoon of Tamás Baltavári about the battle). There is a vast number of scientific genres dealing with this topic like essays, the publication of philological sources (from the 1840s), historical disputes (Nemeskürty-dispute), monographs, volumes of essays and studies, works of popular science. The media thematized the topic of Mohács using different genres in different epochs: denominational narration (sermons, theological controversies between the 16th and 19th centuries), public political narratives (from Cuspinianus to today's politicians). Formally offline forums represented the background until the end of the 20th century (Nemeskürty[13]-dispute, the volume of the journal *Jelenkor* [*The Present Time*] in 1976). Since then online forums have joined this historical communication at a rapid pace (wiki, index forum 2004, and bloggers). Thus, not only comments (topos, exemplum) and art objects (paintings and commemorative boards) refer to the Mohács-topic but also analyses and speeches, even commemorative programs visualize it on- and offline alike.

2. The Memory of King Lewis II

As far as this unbelievable diversity is concerned, the memory of the death of King Lewis II seems to get lost in the information flow. The interpretations can be brought in connection mainly with more significant anniversaries; however, here I am going to handle them in a loosely thematic arrangement.

2.1) The first "dispute of interpretation" took place at about the time of the king's death/disappearance. As long as the members of the official searching group had not found the corpse of the king and the leader of the group, the commander of the castle of Győr, Ferenc Sárffy did not report that the corpse had been found, all kinds of news were circulating. Besides the pronouncements of Brodarics,[14] Cuspinianus, Ursinus Velius also Turkish,

13 Literary and film historian, university professor, holder of several prizes: István Széchenyi, Attila József, Béla Balázs, and Lajos Kossuth.

14 István Brodarics (1471–1539) was bishop, the chancellor of King Lewis II, chronicler of the battle of Mohács.

German, Italian and Latin chronicles discussed this event. It was not clear for a long time where and how the king died and who buried him. [15] After the kings' coronations the focus of interest changed, the king's death was dropped and the after-world dealt with drawing a historical lesson from this event. In the period before the Turks were driven out among others, the following questions arose: Why did the empire of King Mathew fall apart? What was the cause of the Turkish presence? What historical necessities shape its background? The literary (sermons, theological controversies) and historical texts (chronicles, memoirs) or paintings (Turkish miniature, German paintings) visualized the death and the role of King Lewis II in the context of these questions. One of the elements is the exemplum of the king's precociousness which was divided into four stages: he was a premature infant, his beard started growing earlier than normal, he got married at an earlier age than usual and he died at an early age. The historians from Brodarics to Mihály Cserei used to cite this exemplum. Pázmány and his Protestant debate partners used the notions Turkishness, treason, dissension to evoke the topic of the battles of Várna and Mohács and also the king's walk of life. When the Prince of Transylvania, György Rákóczi II lost his military campaign in Poland, which was doomed to failure, and accordingly Tartar armies broke in upon Transylvania and Partium, the devastation lasted for four years and the spiritual trauma it caused made the historians revive the memory of the battle of Mohács (Csorba 2005).

After the second, this time victorious battle of Mohács (1687), the Turkish era seemed to come to an end. This is very well demonstrated by the fact that on the occasion of the centenary Bishop László Esterházy ordered paintings from István Dorffmaister, Sr. The paintings as each other's parallels visualized the similarities of the two battles, the symbolic beginning, and end of the Turkish regime. Dorffmaister painted both battles and also King Lewis II's likeness in armor. These works of art were placed in the chapel on the battlefield of Mohács, later they were taken to the bishop's palace. Presently, they are situated in the chapel again.[16] It can be stated that the role of writings and assumptions directly after the king's death and that of texts and paintings a long time after the king's death are different. The most obvious difference is that after the burials of King Lewis II and the coronation of the kings, political, denominational judgments and any other context and

15 For its press coverage see Farkas 2000 and Farkas 2001.

16 See Galavics's analysis of Dorffmaister's works (Galavics 2000).

interpretation of the nemesis battle of Mohács were stressed except for the king's death.

2.2) Another significant event may have taken place in the reform period. It was a significant moment from the point of view of cult-history and not that of literature when a mass was celebrated in three languages in Mohács on the day of the decapitation of Saint John the Baptist in 1817 for the victims of the Battle of Mohács in 1526. It was a representative case that Mihály Vörösmarty as a private tutor in those days went with his students, the Péczeli boys, on a local history tour and thus, they did not miss to visit the Mohács plain as an inspiring location near Szigetvár either (Perczel 1954). The place the 300th anniversary of the battle of Mohács takes in our national literature is well known. In these historical essays and literary texts where the romantic glorious past stood in opposition to the degenerate present the death of the young king was referred to, too. The essay *"Mohács"* by Kölcsey[17] and the elegy *"Hős vértől pirosult gyásztér…"* [*"The Burial Place Dyed in Heroic Blood…"*] by Károly Kisfaludy[18] and also a lot of other texts in various genres were written on the occasion of the anniversary. György Szerémi a Buda chaplain of King Lewis II wrote his memoir in Latin, which turned up in manuscript in 1840. Several other texts were published in the new series which were started at that period (EOE, documents/sources from the Turkish period). István Széchenyi proposed in the 1840ies that the great ones of the country would deserve a common cemetery; the idea of a National Pantheon materialized 40 years later (the Fiume Street graveyard). It was not by chance that Mór Than (1846) and then Soma Orlai Petrics (1848) made plans in connection with the Mohács-topic. The latter one used Pál Jászay's interpretation of Szerémi's text (1846) when painting his canvas which made a noise in the world. Though, he did not want to revive its wildest imagination of the murder in Szekszárd. Around the 350th anniversary of the battle, several Hungarian and Serbian researchers and enthusiastic amateurs in Vojvodina rewrote and published these parts of Szerémi's text and they expressed their doubts whether King Lewis II could be found at all? The victim of what a huge conspiracy he might have been! Jenő Gosztonyi[19] and János Mogyoróssy[20] illustrated this through pathetic, rhetorical questions,

17 Hungarian poet (1790–1838), politician and neologist, writer of the national anthem.

18 Poet (1788–1830), dramatist and painter, the main organiser of literary life in the reform period.

19 Catholic priest (1866–).

20 Domanial bursar, historian (1805–1893).

parts of Szerémi's text and the reproduction of Bertalan Székely's painting. The homo fabers from the southern part of the country (Mohács, Gyula, Szekszárd, Dunaszekcső) joined the historical interest of the age and updated the image of the one-time regional heroes through their short writings. The Serbian national conscience, that was coming to life again, found in Szerémi's text the data concerning their own Turkish period and the great ones of their past. They published a selection of texts on the past of the Serbs, the combats of Jován Cserni[21] and also the death of King Lewis II.[22] The disputes of two learned historians, László Erdélyi and Lajos Szádeczky, were published in volume 1892 of the journal *Századok* [*Centuries*]. They argued about the ambiguous parts in the original edition of Szerémi's text and in its edition from 1857. In the meantime, arrangements for the millenary celebrations were in progress, summarising volumes were compiled like *The History of the Hungarian Nation* (ed. Sándor Szilágyi), the volumes of *The Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy in Writing and Painting,* which was also edited by Mór Jókai, or the detailed newspaper article on the burial of Lajos Kossuth. The above scientific dispute and the earlier mentioned alternative historical view seem to have addressed a tighter and tighter audience besides a lot of other representative events.

2.3) The third stage connects with the celebrations of the 400th anniversary of the battle of Mohács, with commemorative speeches and volumes, the dedication of commemorative plaques (in the battlefield in Mohács, at the creek Csele, and in Dunaszekcső). However, all these hardly alluded to the king's death. In the well-known *Mohács-emlékkönyv* [*Mohács Memorial Volume*] (1926) edited by Lukinich, we can read a long essay on military history by Jenő Gyalókay[23] at the end of which he gives a short discussion of the possible death of the king. Also, the short medical-historical analysis by Balázs Kenyeres[24] can be read here, in which he analyses the ambiguous sentences in the sources on the king's death. The commemorative plaque put on the façade of the mayor's office in Dunaszekcső immortalized the king's last path. It was unveiled in 1928. Here the dilemma of the village leaders could be discerned, namely, they did not define the fact, the time and the place of the death, and they focussed just on the being on the go and its

21 Serbian leader of revolters (1492–1527).

22 For the the Vojvodinian and Serbian interpretation of texts see Csorba (2012, p. 27–28).

23 Military officer, military historian (1874–1945).

24 Forensic pathologist (1865–1940).

relation to local history.[25] The narrative between the two world wars and the growing interest in King Lewis II and his age can be interpreted similarly to how the above-mentioned paintings interpreted the putative/real historical events.

The fact is that the effect of Trianon could not be avoided at that age. It is perhaps due to this fact that Mohács was considered the prefiguration of the loss of independence in the shrunken country that emerged after the dissolution of the Dual Monarchy. This idea was expressed in a lot of different texts from lyric poetry (Mohács poems), through commemorative speeches to the most multifarious genres and in the most diverse forms, thus, reviving several elements of the view of history in the reform period. Irén P. Gulácsy's (1926) trilogy *Fekete vőlegények* [*Black Fiancés*] is such a construction, i.e., it is a heroizing narrative with an epic framework where the supporting cast (the queens' combat or the human greatness of bishop Imre Czibak) and the world of faceless masses find themselves face-to-face with each other viewed from a peculiar aspect. Of course, a new edition of Szerémi's book was published in 1941 and also some new conspiracy-theories appeared from the pen of Jenő Neusiedler[26] (1926) and Géza Supka[27] (1943) about the background of a possible murder of the king.

The trilogy *Három király* [*Three Kings*] by Gyula Krúdy is a good example of the creation of romantic myths and linguistic archaization (Kelemen 2005). It was written between 1926 and 1930 and it was based mainly on Szerémi's text and the historical work of Jászay. Krúdy used every characteristic fable to shape his narrative method and the characters in his amorous novel, which was inserted in the framework of a blood-freezer story. According to the script, a guy named Chrudy helped the queen to sneak secretly in the king's burial (this is a story-within-a-story, and this is stressed by the narrator). The sad queen wants to see the corpse that is laid out in the church in Fehérvár because she wants to make sure whether the blood-freezers will prove true. By this time the narrator has already made the reader acquainted with the potential reality of Szerémi's blood-freezers (e.g., the three-parted Czeck saber, etc). When the queen Maria sneaks with a cat's skillfulness from the upper beams of the church to the catafalque and looks under the shroud, she cries out horrified at what she can see. The guards run there and the knight helps the queen to escape. However, we cannot find out why a look

25 See "II. Lajos rejtélyes halála" [The Mysterious Death of Lewis II].

26 Lieutenant (1891–1979).

27 Archeologist, art historian, writer, journalist (1883–1956).

of bewilderment appears on her face (the sight of the corpse, the signs of murder or something else).

2.4) In 1976 the celebration of the 450th anniversary of the battle of Mohács had a bifold result. Besides the above-mentioned genres, The Historical Memorial Place of Mohács with its contextualizing, interpretative role was established. The excavations which had started earlier and the research of a parcel of the mass graves did not bring the expected result. It created less stir than the so-called Mohács debate that was linked with the name of István Nemeskürty or the line of historical scientific and publicistic writings in on- and offline forums, although hardly did they mention the battle in the sense of military science or military politics. However, some propagative articles discussed the king's death to stop conspiracy theories (from Géza Perjés[28] through Gábor Barta,[29] and recently to János B. Szabó[30]).

It was then that the lingual configurations of a different way of thinking about Mohács appeared the most expressed. The narrative turn in liberal arts can be put to this period (the 1970s): in the case of historiography, the new paradigm brought a new way of handling sources and narration. As history that is unique and cannot be repeated can be set against the story, which is described by each scientist and by each age in a different way, it can be stated that the existence of history writing is constructed. It is namely directed by bias (cui prodest?, bias) and the topos, i.e., the discernment of the public spirit. To make it very simple, everything that does not fit in, or is not a national phenomenon can be significant when creating stories: the perspective of an everyday man might be more valuable than the political behavior of a government. The contraposition of the official and the alternative aspect as equivalent historiographies in the writings of thinkers, who think in a different way like András Zakar[31] or Endre Kolozsvári Grandpierre[32], demonstrates that the era of communal medialization seems to be over and the birth of independent forums, publishers and websites[33] are the obvious signs of the change of view. Thus, the six military historical cartoons of Tamás

28 Military historian.

29 Historian.

30 Historian.

31 Historian.

32 Hungarian writer, poet, thinker and researcher of the Hungarians (1916–2003).

33 See *A mohácsi csata* [*The Battle of Mohács*], a website of Tamás Schnell; *A negyedik dimenzió* [*The Fourth Dimension*], a website of Gábor Szabó.

Baltavári[34] and the film by Miklós Jancsó[35] with the main characters Kapa and Pepe (2004);[36] further on, the no-name persons' comments about Mohács on the index-forum (2004) and the conspiracy theory of Endre Kolozsvári Grandpierre about the three possible deaths and the four kinds of burial of the king exist parallelly (Kolozsvári Grandpierre 1991). The philological-bibliographical summary of the historian and librarian Farkas Gábor Farkas (2000) offers the most concise interpretation of the writings, manuscripts, and publications on the death of King Lewis II (Farkas 2000). This moderate essay draws attention to the options concerning the King's death and also to the often comic procedures of cult formation. The several ten thousand writings on Mohács in the digital database of the Széchenyi National Library (OSZK) let us presume that there would be a lot to say about this theme even for a whole group of researchers if anybody wanted to say something in connection with sources and/or interpretations which have been piled up for the past 500 years.

3. Control Example: The Burial of Mihály Apafi, Sr.

Unfortunately, there is not everything in good order in connection with the death and the burials of King Lewis II. This is beyond doubt. The king disappeared in the battle; later on, local people buried him. Then, a troop led by Ulrik Czettritz the one time chamberlain of the king, and Ferenc Sárffy commander of the castle of Győr was sent to Mohács to look for the corpse. They found it, Czettritz identified it and they took it to Fehérvár. Szapolyai[37] and one year later Ferdinand Habsburg[38] could only be enthroned if the previous king had been buried. Poor King Lewis II could hardly be found and then he was buried at least three times. This is an unfortunate case per se. If it is not, it can open a door to a deeper sense or by any chance it might be suspicious of conspiracy. There are examples of mysterious deaths of princes/rulers also in Hungarian history (Prince Imre, King Béla I., King Matthew,

34 Historian.

35 Film director, screen writer.

36 See the animation on the website of *Manda*.

37 Transylvanian voivode, king of Hungary between 1526 and 1540 (1487–1540).

38 Austrian archduke, king of Hungary and Bohemia from 1526, German king from 1531 and Holy Roman Emperor (1503–1564).

The Count Miklós Zrínyi, Archduke Stephan Habsburg, Miklós Horthy Jr., Count Pál Teleki). There are several cases of reburial (Prince Gábor Báthory, Prince Ferenc Rákóczi II., Lajos Kossuth, Miklós Horthy, Imre Nagy). The problem is that few data are at our disposal. However, the death and the burial of Lajos Kossuth was a media event with national coverage.

Few well-documented examples but the funerals of the Prince of Transylvania, Mihály Apafi Sr. can be brought in the limelight from the previous period.[39] Namely, his skeleton exists and the order of the funerary procession (insignias of power and the symbolic order visualized by the ranking of the people invitees) and the funerary speeches (1690–1942) are available. Furthermore, the events concerning the death and the burials (the web of political, family, individual interests and their causes) can be reconstructed. Finally, the opportunity is given to draw the consequences of historical approach: there were four burials where a number of speeches were given from four different ages and four ideological backgrounds, each of which views the prince, the role of Transylvania and, of course, its prospects concerning the present from a different perspective. If the prince were reburied nowadays, that would be the fifth version of the same subject matter. It can be stated that the examination of even one historical event can bring different viewpoints in limelight and normally (i.e., not in an ideologically determined system or in a dictatorship) it is not necessary to reconcile these opinions with each other. The façade of a given age hides in their background.

On the basis of the press coverage of that period (pamphlets, short stories, sermons, orations, and folk ballads) a wide range of opinions and compositions can be detected about the death of King Lewis II. It is understandable that this substance is diffuse and no organic standpoint seems to be outlined until the burial of the king. When the burying of the fallen soldiers on the Mohács plain started, which was supported by Lady Orsolya Kanizsai, "twenty-thousand martyrs" had to be buried according to the Catholic bishop Ferenc Perényi. A bit later Czettrich and Sárffy's searching group, which was working in the vicinity, found a corpse which they identified as the body of the king and paid a last tribute of respect to the king with the surmise of absolute certainty. Subsequent archeological

39 For this see more in Csorba, D & Mikó, Gy, *Apafi Mihály fejedelem temetése* [*Mihály Apafi's Burial*] (2014).

research did not find any further pieces of evidence.[40] The analysis[41] of literary texts (Sárffy's letter, Czettritz's report) has not given a reassuring answer yet and has not opened up a new perspective. In the absence of the corpse, all excogitations are ambiguous whether they want to prove Szerémi–Tatai's version (i.e. the king was murdered with a Czech saber in various ways and on various spots) or something else. In the spirit of impartiality, I would like to add that even the examination of a skeleton in good condition would not be able to give an unambiguous result.

The wedding ring, seal-ring, the heart-medal, the king's clothes, and armor can be handled as grave-goods. Contemporary certificates prove that the people who had found the corpse before the searching group led by Czettritz and Sárffy arrived returned the grave-goods to Queen Maria or someone else. Queen Maria preserved the wedding ring until her death. Before she died she had it melted in and she gave its price to the poor. Márton Horváth, the equerry of the king, arranged the return of the seal ring. This was, by all means, necessary as it might have caused legal complications in case it had got into the hands of unauthorized persons (e.g. in the meantime someone could have conveyed himself property). An armor was kept in Vienna for a long time, however, it turned out later that it had not belonged to King Lewis II. Contemporary international news reports let us know that a bright royal funeral was held, speeches were given. Unfortunately, the texts of these funerary speeches and orations are not available and the literary texts written later on could hardly use anything from this scanty heritage.

As it has already been mentioned, the other texts from the period between the 16th and 20th centuries do not deal with these relics and they feature the king's death from a totally different perspective. The 16th-century media (leaflets, orations, tractates) and the history of that age focussed on *doom,* the 17th-century sermons, polemics, and memoirs focussed on *dissension,* whose relevant arguments were used against the adversaries. The 19th-century belles-lettres, the romanticism and positivist history writing, and then the 20th-century publicism and scientific popularization concentrate on the *memorial place*-character of the story. The research of cult and memorial history established some other constructions at the time of the anniversaries

40 Excavation of mass graves at Mohács (1959–62, led by László Papp; 1976, led by Zsuzsanna K. Zoffmann, Lajos Bartucz; 2012–13, led by Gábor Bertók, Béla Simon); excavation at Dunaszekcső (1840–42); excavation of kings' graves in Fehérvár (between 1848–2002 five times, latest: 1994–2002, led by Kinga Éry). Excavations according to the latest theory have not started yet (kings' graves in Pilis).

41 See 1926, Balázs Kenyeres; 1941, Henrik Salamon; 2014, István Nemes, Balázs Tolvaj.

of the battle of Mohács. Only the trend, that I call alternative, searched for solutions which fit in other conceptions instead of connecting to sources. In case of a situation which is poor at sources (no corpse, no relics, no speeches) concepts can be developed on the basis of something else, though, these are not relevant history-critically and philologically. It is incontestable that belles-lettres creates fiction or by chance parables concerning historical events: just think of *Erdély* [*Transylvania*] by Zsigmond Móricz, which was preceded by intense research of sources. Even so, also the toolbox of allegory played a big part in the characterization of the figures and the creation of parallels.

Sources, factual reports, letters, which are historical-critically relatively unambiguous, testify the death of King Lewis II, the evidences for it (e.g., Czettritz's letter to Queen Maria) and the king's burials (Szapolyai's letter, Sárffy's report), although the best known contemporary text entitled *Igaz történet* [*True History*] by István Brodarics did not say anything definite about the king's death. Sárffy's report to Brodarics survived in the Polish ambassador's manuscript. György Szerémi put down the second-hand blood-freezer 17 years after the battle, which was shocking also because of its tendentiousness. Emma Bartoniek[42] writes about Szerémi highly effectively, i.e., "*In Szerémi's writings no Hungarian nobleman dies a natural death even in peacetime*" (Bartoniek 1975, p. 58). The texts of the chancellor and the captain of the castle of Győr are written, also because of their genre, in elegant Latin, they are well composed, or if you like, constructed narratives with poetic formations, rhetoric arguments. This is easy to understand if we know the frame of mind of the age, the science of writing and other cultural components. If the 21st-century readers arm themselves with the knowledge of the 16th-century readers (like roles according to cultural-anthropology, theological aspects, legal custom, rhetorical argumentations, classical mythology, etc.), they will be able to decode the text. It is only then, that they can find out how the contemporary source describes the king's death. This means that after the authenticity of the text has been cleared, these texts can be understood most of all through their literary perspective.

Consequently, we have got two well-known literary texts. Chancellor Brodarics described the image of the good king and the disastrous battle against malicious rumors, which resulted in the precise logical structure of the text, the presentation of the king, the description of the exact course of the battle, the theological explanations and the narrator's remarks. The

42 Historian and bibliographer.

rhetoric of Captain Ferenc Sárffy's letter described the heuristic finding of the beautiful dead man based on godly annunciation, however, he ignored the exact place and other data (at least according to the extant copy of the letter). The characteristic approach is briefly: the good king was destined for so much more, but destiny decided his unrevealed fate (Brodarics), on the one hand; on the other hand, the existence of a beautiful dead man confirms retrospectively that once he had been a good king (Sárffy). According to the script nothing else can follow but the election of the new king and his inauguration, i.e., "the king died, long live the king!" The correlation between this type of agnosticism and the parable-like life and death cannot be matched with modern rationality built on logic, which has been so fashionable in Europe since the 19th century. In the Middle Ages this approach of belletrist intellectuals, this narrative defined the construction of thought and image of the nation-consciousness most significantly and created the forms of narratability. This seemed to be the case until the 1970s.

Summarising, we can state that archaeology has not been able to offer an effective solution concerning the whereabouts of King Lewis II's bones until now. There are plenty of theories about where he rests (on the flatland of Mohács, in the bed of the creek Csele, in the Angels' Chapel on the Isle in Dunaszekcső, in the royal park with ancient ruins in Székesfehérvár, in the rocky graveyard in Pilis). Literature served as a source and inspiration for this question for a long time ("what got lost in Mohács?"). Different ages offered different solutions using Lewis II's case as an exemplum furnished with confessional, political, publicistic arguments and most of all with the causes and consequences of the battle of Mohács. In the field of fine arts (in the first place painting, but also sculpture and statuettes) Turkish, German and Hungarian graphic artists created numerous artworks on this subject. The paintings in the reform period illustrated the king in armor, the abandoned battlefield, bloodshed in the battlefield and also the finding of the corpse. The narrative of the memorial tablets followed the national canon at every age and visualized the story accordingly. Finally, history closed down the question (long live the king/kings) and the basic philological research, it portrays the age and King Lewis II using current methods and various attitudes to history. On the other hand, alternative schools with a lay background develop conspiracy theories.

4. The Viewpoint of Only One Genre

Now I am going to illustrate on the basis of only one phenomenon how free and how difficult understanding and interpretation even within one genre is. I have chosen art, to put it more precisely one or two from the 19th century Hungarian romantic historical paintings to illustrate my point. I have already mentioned that the 17th-century bishop László Esterházy encharged István Dorffmaister Sr. with painting the two battles at Mohács. The paintings, which are located in the chapel of Mohács (1787), show an organic composition. We can see in both pictures the large battlefield with a broad horizon and a tree of life rising against the sky. In the foreground of the first picture the king's horse is toppling over to the right and the horseman is falling backward; in the second picture, the triumphant soldiers are riding their horses. The two paintings by Mór Than, whose sketches were made in 1846 and the pictures were painted between 1855–56, show the turmoil of the battle. In the red-dominated picture, the archbishop Tomori is looking back from halfway, the central figure is the Lord Chief Justice, János Drágffy, he is riding with the Virgin Mary-flag in his hand. The second picture shows the king's white horse prancing surrounded by a huge number of bayonets. As for the first picture, the rough-and-tumble figure with its limbs in unnatural position disturbed me at first sight as the central figure made me remember the painting on Ferenc Rákóczi, Prince of Transylvania because of their similarity. Also, the battle painting by Bertalan Székely is strange (1866): in the right-hand side corner of the picture the king is sinking in the water and he is followed by his well viewable-size page or chancellor.

The painting by Soma Orlai Petrich (1851), which has aroused the most debates, is the most exciting one.[43] Its title is *II. Lajos király holttestének feltalálása* [*Finding of Lewis II's Corpse*]*;* however, this is the title of another painting by Bertalan Székely (1860), too, which was a rethinking of Orlai's work. The composition is very similar: The picture shows the well-lit corpse lying in the middle surrounded by people in a pyramidal layout. The background is dark. Are they the same persons or are they not? Anyhow, Orlai wrote a review on his colleague's work, in which he congratulated him on his technical skillfulness. (He was namely criticized because of his poor draughtsmanship.) It is obvious that Székely's painting is much brighter, the figures, the shading are beautiful, the proportion of the colors is perfect. This painting has become much better known, it has been cited more often due to its afterlife: It is located at the Hungarian National Galery contrary to

43 For the paintings see Galamb (2011, pp. 27–28).

Orlai's painting which was sold at an auction in Debrecen in 1852. Since that time it has decorated the Bishop's Palace in Debrecen and it has rarely been exhibited in an art exhibition. Luckily, the Mohács-anthology (edited by János B. Szabó in 2006) contains both paintings (Szabó 2006, p. 474–475).

The only cause why I have chosen exactly this painting to explain the death of Lewis II is not only the subject matter itself but even more the diversity of its reception history. I have already mentioned that Orlai met Baron József Eötvös during his studies of painting techniques in Munich. This was a short but decisive meeting in autumn 1847. He got the idea from Eötvös that he should paint grand historical themes like Mohács and also portraits. The sketch of the subject matter Mohács was made in Vienna in 1847. The painting was exhibited at first in Munich, then in the Pesti Műegylet (Artistic Association of Pest) and finally in Debrecen. The painter's friends congratulated him on his choice of the subject matter (*Pesti Napló*, József Eötvös, Ferenc Toldy) (Galamb 2011, p. 13), but they criticized his technique (*Remény*, Ferenc Toldy). Ferenc Toldy, literary historian, reproached him for the lack of historical faithfulness (see the figure holding a crown on the right-hand side of the picture. No 16th-century chronicler mentioned the recovery of the crown.) He was also reproached for the use of Rembrandt's technique when portraying the corpse. (He argued whether the languishing body was an allegory of Christ, Lewis II. or even of Sándor Petőfi?) Orlai's answer is astonishing: He strived after historical faithfulness that is why he relied on Pál Jászay's analysis of György Szerémi's text, which he made in 1846 (Keserű 1984, p. 73). Thus, the figure on the left-hand side of the painting was Czettritz when he recognizes the king by his legs. The soldier at the head of the king was Ferenc Sárffy.

Although Orlai refused that the allegorical interpretation referred to his cousin, Toldy remarked in one of his letters that the artist "liked to use allegories" (Galamb 2011, p. 148). Let us refer to the female figure in a blue dress with a small dagger on her hip; her hands depicted in V-shape. The color of the dress is the same as that of the iconic veil of Jesus' mother, the Virgin Mary. According to the historical context, she must be the widow of Lewis II., Mary whose representation cannot be authentic provided that the figure is taken for an allegory just like the figure in a contorted body posture running with the crown. These three figures i.e. the dead king, the widow with the small dagger who is mourning for him and the figure who has found the crown might symbolize that it is only the king who died but the kingdom has not come to an end as yet, the crown will descend to someone else.

And yet, if it is a latent Petőfi-representation,[44] then it is the representation of the defeated War of Independence, however, there is the hope of resumption. It is not known who bought Orlai's painting 160 years ago, what we know is that this person donated it to the Reformed College of Debrecen. Though, it is also possible that the painting was originally bought for the Reformed College. Orlai painted pictures in Debrecen not only for the Bishop István Szoboszlai Pap but also for other patrons of art. The former one often went to Vienna to discuss the new bill on church affairs that grew into the so-called Protestant chart-struggle after his death. Kossuth's pastor, Mihály Könyves Tóth was imprisoned; the teaching at the Reformed College of Debrecen was transformed. This was a post-war situation, the age of absolutism. Let us interpret this symbolically: The painting by Orlai, which was given to the College as a present, was not bought by the college, however, it was the church, which was struggling for its denominational independence that hid it. Was the painting bought to support the painter who was a relative of Petőfi, or was this action a means of passive resistance? Nobody knows it.

By any chance, can any other symbols analogous to the faithful representation of the epoch be discerned on the basis of some other mitologema? Orlai's teacher, Kaulbach, in Munich liked historical-mythological figures and allegorical interpretation. Thus, figures in strange posture can be seen also in his paintings, just like in numerous paintings of Orlai. Just let us have a look at the central figure in Orlai's painting entitled *Perényiné a mohácsi csata után összeszedi a halottakat* [*Mrs. Perényi is gathering up the corpses at Mohács*]. The unfeminine figure of Dorottya Kanizsai is standing in the middle in shaman-posture, which makes the viewer think that it might have a symbolic reference. As my aim is to demonstrate diversity I have chosen an alternative process of interpretation. Gábor Pap, art historian examined the system of symbols used by the painter Tivadar Csontváry Kosztka and he interpreted the works of the painter, who called himself the painter of the Solar Way, in the framework of astral myth (Pap 1992). This system of codes makes the inexplicable symbols in the painting of Lajos Orlai comprehendible: like the two weeping interwoven female figures or the figure in a contorted body posture with the crown. In the background of the creative process in the course of which the figures are characterized only by one or the other part of the body or by motion and are depicted in a strange composition, there might be hiding astrological allegories. These are ancient, well-known symbols known since the Renaissance, although they started to fade at the

44 Sándor Petőfi was a great poet, he fought in the War of Independence of 1848–49.

end of the 19th century. Their spread is shown by the fact that these signs, e.g., those of the days and months, were used not only in the *cisio*, i.e., the annual calendar that contained forecasts but also in private diaries in the 16th and 17th centuries. The annual calendars were the most popular books and they were read as often as the Bible. According to this interpretation, the corpse of Lewis II is depicted as a pouring stream, he is lying on the lap of a soldier, his legs are covered in a veil, and his parts of the body are not salient. Consequently, he is a person with the characteristics of the Aquarius, he embodies a figure which brings destruction and cataclysm. Each figure and motion can be examined from this point of view. Thus, the death of King Lewis II was fatal and inescapable. This approach resonates with that of Szerémi whose writing was the source Orlai Petrics used; however, it is also consonant with the approach of Pál Jászay who cited Szerémi and with that of Brodarics. I must stress, though, that this hypothetic characterology is not an interpretation in spite of the fact that the cyclic time approach had already been known. No contemporary data are available to support the hypothesis that Soma Orlai Petrics would have depicted his vision and conceptualization on the basis of the above-mentioned approach. This is only a self-evident interpretation.

Finally, we must not forget about the latest interpretation of Orlai's work, which was brought out by the Hungarian State Railways (MÁV): In the 1960s and 1970s, the railway carriages were decorated with a reproduction of pictures which showed Hungarian landscapes, castles, and even paintings. Until the 1990s also a copy of Orlai's *II. Lajos király testének feltalálása* [*Finding of Lewis II's Corpse*] could be seen as a means of hungarological representation (Hungarian past, traveling in space and time). Accordingly, Soma Orlai Petrics's painting can be interpreted as a pageant that strives for historical fidelity on the one hand and as an imperfect historical pageant on the other hand. Or it can be interpreted as an allegory of Petőfi or the allegory of fate of the fallen Hungarian Kingdom. Seeing this freedom of interpretation, the reader may ask the question of whether art always offers an interpretation and elucidates the chosen situation from an interpreted point of view as compared to history writing. In the special literature, we can read about Orlai several times, namely, that he is the first Hungarian painter who consciously strives to use the canvas as space where he depicts his approach of history from his own aspect (Galamb 2011). He wants to send – if you like – an allegorical message showing up a historical concept of his own i.e. exactly the role he intended for his paintings draws the interpreter's attention to its fictionality.

5. Before Discussion

Whatever we will accept from the above outlook of art, it is a fact that we can often get involved in similar situations in connection with the death of King Lewis II. Seemingly, the few available sources were used by a lot of interpreters to visualize different, even conflicting points of view in the course of the past 500 years. If we as readers are not interested in confused interpreting narratives, then it is good to clarify before discussing what we take for sure, what can be supported by data and what we take just for a hypothesis that has not been proved. The question is, on the basis of what scientific preconceptions anything can be asserted.

If we examine a fact we have to apply source-criticism at first: we have to state that Latin, the language of medieval literature has to be learnt especially because of the dialect and cultural register of the authors. Not knowing the history of the culture of the given epoch no step can be taken (e.g. what does the word of honor mean, what did it refer to, what was it used for). So if we read about some high-sounding idea in Szerémi's texts, which cannot be confirmed by any other sources it will not be taken for a fact. If there has been a thesis and another one appears, we get involved in the history of ideas when weighing them. (We elucidate the basic convictions of an epoch, the conceptualization of a social group). We can get involved in a pedagogical situation, too. (Whether the conclusion of a discussion, the certainty of the uncertainty will delete the validity of a historical event in the reader's/listener's head?) What does it exemplify if it was not the king who was buried or if he was not buried in Fehérvár? Very often the explanatory questions and answers seem to exclude each other (especially, when an item is missing), however, this does not necessarily mean that one of them is telling a lie, distorting or falsifying the facts. This case can frequently be encountered in the course of a professional discussion and it can cause disunion. (Who is right in a Nemeskürty-discussion? Does something like "the only truth" exist at all?) This is especially true when the notions of the so-called official and alternative schools are set against each other. Finally, it is not all the same what means the adversaries use to fight against each other e.g. professional criticism or interpretations are confronted against each other. As a consequence, the discussion is either about data, their accuracy, and role or the truth of interpretations. Namely, a historical question whether King Lewis II was murdered or he drowned in a swollen creek because his armor weighed 30 to 50 kgs reflects the mindset or even the characteristics of a folk. (How did they relate to the unburied dead in the course of a discussion?)

In my opinion, it is a key issue in the all-time Mohács-controversy whether we are participating in a historical controversy with historians, if we are not, what discourse provides the framework of discussion? If we are, goodwill or the reading of the person interested in it or, by any chance, the Latin knowledge gained at the secondary school is unfortunately not enough. When speaking we should be aware of the system of arguments of historians and professional competences, i.e. the first task is to interpret the sources (what is at our disposal and what questions do the sources raise?) It is also important to clarify our relationship to the viewpoints of historical schools (what sources and what analyses I want to include in the investigation, in which the views of a minimum of 50 historiographical schools can be integrated at present.) Similarly, we have to decide for a system of rhetorical-logical verification and argumentation (What can be stated? What is considered a fact? What is a supposition? How shall I develop my line of argument?) Then the method and genre of narration can be clarified (publication of data, monograph and scientific discourse for the public). It is only after all these that the personal voice and sensitivity, the incidental model of illustrative analogies can be put across.

The final deductions I have made on the basis of the main body of the text are the following: As the corpus delicti is missing and because of the lack of identification of a Jagello-jaw, archaeology, anthropology, clinical pathology are forcing an open door. For historiography this is an ambiguous situation: it is sure that the king is dead. However, the low number and few genres of sources do not offer an infallible explanation for the confusion about the king's death and funeral. There are only strong suppositions. The royal jewelry, grave goods, ethnographic objects, museological properties existed as it is known from the funeral speeches and decorations, there are sources like certificates, paintings that refer to them. Consequently, some people found and buried the corpse of King Lewis II and transferred the grave goods to the appropriate persons. Today these material proofs are not available and cannot be examined any more. Sárffy's letter is the main evidence, which is a valuable source from the point of view of literature and the history of culture. Rhetoric and panels of world conception let us deduce that the aim of the report/letter is to introduce the dead man in a manner that is appropriate to the king. As there are no other sources available, it is difficult to prove or to deny Szerémi's blood-freezers. However, the three versions of the king's death he put down in writing seem to belong to texts of spiritual folklore (a reflection of an epoch by distortion mirror) rather than to authentic sources. Last but not least: about historiography. The lesson the past 500 years taught us to conclude that the death of poor King Lewis II was not interesting after his burial specifically from the viewpoint of history. Then again, this was not the case in literature and arts provided that narrative was considered an allegory (painting, film or even sci-fi). This field is open for anybody who is interested in the subject matter and has at least as much vision about the death of King Lewis II as about Hungarian football.

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La perspectiva socioeducativa de la muerte y el duelo desde la infancia a la juventud

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Resumen: La muerte es el único destino irrefutable del ser humano a pesar de ello es negada y ha sido despojada de los símbolos y los rituales que la acompañaban. Las consecuencias de ello son muy negativas para nuestra sociedad, ya que conducen a una actitud de indiferencia y frialdad ante la vida donde prima el absurdo comportamiento de rechazar de forma radical lo único que es consustancial a la vida, es decir, los hechos de envejecer y morir. Esta situación también afecta a otro fenómeno relacionado con la muerte como es el duelo. Hoy ya está pasado de moda, con lo que se desvanece una dimensión básica de la vida humana. El duelo social permitía una fase de readaptación no traumática. Los familiares y amigos del difunto, después de pasar por una primera fase de choque ante la pérdida de un ser querido y de una segunda fase de depresión, necesitan volver a integrarse en la cotidianidad de su mundo. Por ello, el duelo desempeña una función esencial. En este capítulo queremos presentar la perspectiva evolutiva del concepto de muerte y duelo desde el nacimiento a la juventud temprana. Ya que queremos aportar el conocimiento necesario para afrontar la muerte y ayudar a quienes están en procesos de pérdida y duelo aportando algunos de los mecanismos que creemos necesarios para afrontar la muerte, tanto propia como ajena, de la mejor manera posible, encarando el hecho de la muerte con serenidad y dignidad, ya que es un hecho "real e inevitable" en nuestra vida.

1. Introducción

Lo que produce temor en la mayoría de seres humanos no es el hecho de la muerte en sí, sino los impredecibles y terribles acontecimientos que a veces suelen precederla. Como afirma Sherwin Nuland, cirujano y profesor de la facultad de medicina de la universidad de Yale, (citado en Bayés 2001, p. 23):

> Cada vida es diferente de las que la han precedido, y lo mismo ocurre con cada muerte. Nuestra singularidad se extiende incluso hasta la manera en que morimos. Aunque la mayoría de las personas sabe que las enfermedades que nos conducen a nuestras horas finales son diversas y diversos sus caminos, solamente unas pocas comprenden la infinita variedad de maneras en las que las últimas fuerzas del espíritu humano pueden abandonar el cuerpo. Cada una de las distintas formas de la muerte es tan singular como la propia cara que cada uno de nosotros muestra al mundo durante los días de su vida. Cada hombre entregará su alma de una manera que el cielo no ha conocido antes y cada mujer recorrerá su último camino a su modo.

Lo que nos afecta a los humanos – y de forma especial a los pacientes en lista de espera de un diagnóstico o tratamiento de una enfermedad grave –, más que las cosas desagradables que nos están sucediendo, es la percepción de la amenaza de las cosas que nos pueden suceder. Es por todo ello que Bayés, (2001, p. 23) ha acuñado el término “muerte psicológica”. Por muerte psicológica entiende “*el conocimiento subjetivamente cierto que se suscita en un momento concreto de la vida de que ‘voy a morir’*”.

La esperanza, sin duda, es subjetiva y cambia en función de las circunstancias de la vida y que a lo largo del día podemos experimentar diferentes esperanzas. El sentido de la vida – afirma el psiquiatra Viktor Frankl (2002) tras su experiencia como prisionero judío en el campo de concentración de Auschwitz – difiere de un hombre a otro, de un día para otro, de una hora a la siguiente. Así pues, lo que importa no es el sentido de la vida en términos generales, sino el *significado concreto de la vida* de cada individuo en un momento dado.

La mayoría de las personas, en un momento u otro de su vida, descubren con certeza que van a morir, lo que nos permite tratar de enfocar el acercamiento a la muerte desde un punto de vista funcional común, aun admitiendo que en muchos enfermos oncológicos en situación terminal, por ejemplo, pueda existir una apreciación diferencial importante entre saberse enfermo incurable y sentir la muerte como algo inminente. Y que el proceso de envejecimiento pueda tener asimismo características peculiares.

Entendemos por tanto, por Psicología de la Muerte el ámbito de conocimiento que investiga y explica, por una parte, cómo se va desarrollando el concepto de muerte y las vivencias de pérdida y duelo, a través de las diferentes edades, y por otra, la capacidad de *saber estar y hacer con* quien muere y la vivencia de la propia muerte.

2. Perspectiva evolutiva: comprensión del concepto "muerte" desde el nacimiento a la juventud

¿Cuándo un niño es capaz de comprender el significado de la muerte? Algunos factores son los que intervienen en una adecuada elaboración comprensiva de la muerte por parte del niño y el adolescente:

a. Por parte de los padres y la familia: las actitudes de sus padres hacia la muerte y capacidad de hablar de ella abiertamente, y la manera en cómo la familia y la sociedad presentan u ocultan la muerte al niño.
b. Por parte de sus características psicológicas: su capacidad para exteriorizar sus sentimientos, dudas y cuestiones condicionada al acogimiento que el entorno proporcione; sus habilidades cognitivas, su consistencia emocional, las experiencias personales previas con la muerte, etc.

Las experiencias y formaciones conceptuales que se forman en edades tempranas son básicas para su vida. El afecto, la comprensión, la información pertinente a su edad y la perspectiva social podrán formar parte de una filosofía de vida que será base y guía de su comportamiento con relación a la muerte.

Kübler-Ross (1992), en su obra *Los niños y la muerte*, nos da los siguientes datos respecto a la evolución del concepto de la muerte:

A la edad de 3 o 4 años, además de temer la separación y la mutilación, los niños y las niñas empiezan a ver la muerte a su alrededor. Quizás han contemplado cómo un coche atropellaba a un perro, o que un gato destrozaba a un pájaro, y entonces asocian la muerte con un cuerpo mutilado y horrible. Después de experimentar este miedo a la separación y a la mutilación, los niños inician sus comentarios sobre la muerte como algo temporal y reversible. Una niña de 4 años le decía a su madre cuando enterraron a un perrito, en otoño, que no estuviese triste, que en primavera, cuando los tulipanes saliesen de la tierra, él también se levantaría y vendría a jugar con ella. A medida que los niños crecen, van captando la muerte como un hecho ya no temporal, sino permanente, y a partir de los 8 o 9 años reconocen, igual que los adultos, la permanencia de la muerte.

Para la mayoría de investigadores, parece que antes de los 3 años no hay ninguna idea sobre la muerte, y a los 4 su concepto es aún bastante limitado. Desde los 5 a los 9 años los niños captan la muerte como un acontecimiento definitivo que les sucede a los demás, pero no a ellos; de los 10 años en adelante la muerte se ve como un acontecimiento inevitable para todo el mundo y se asocia al cese de las actividades físicas.

En Poch (2000), encontramos, entre otras, la referencia al psicólogo Gessell que nos informa de la evolución del concepto de la muerte en el niño desde los 3 hasta los 16 años:

- Hasta los 3 años hay prácticamente una nula idea de la muerte.
- A los 4 años existe un concepto muy limitado de ésta: utiliza la palabra con una noción muy difusa de su significado. No la relaciona con una emoción determinada aunque quizás la asocia a la pena o a la tristeza.
- A los 5 años el concepto se torna más realista. Se da cierto reconocimiento del carácter final de la muerte, aunque quizás hacia los 5 años y medio piense que se trata de un proceso reversible. Parece darse cuenta de que la muerte está relacionada con la edad y que los más viejos son los primeros en morirse.
- A los 6 años conecta con la muerte el acto de matar, la enfermedad, los hospitales, la vejez... tiene cierta preocupación por las tumbas, los funerales y los entierros. No cree que él llegue a morir.
- El pensamiento de la muerte a los 7 años es semejante al de los 6, pero se da de una manera más realista y con más comprensión. Interés por las visitas a cementerios y por las causas ele la muerte: violencia, enfermedad, vejez, etc. Nuevas relaciones de la vejez con la muerte; los más viejos se mueren antes. Sospecha que él también tendrá que morir pero, de hecho, lo niega.
- A los 8 años pasa del interés por las tumbas y los funerales al interés por lo que sucede después de la muerte. Posiblemente ya acepta el hecho de que todo el mundo muere, incluso él mismo; se da cuenta de que comprende mejor el concepto de muerte.
- A los 9 años, para referirse al concepto de muerte alude a fundamentos lógicos o biológicos: falta de vida, cuando ya no se tiene pulso ni temperatura y ya no se puede respirar. Acepta de manera realista el hecho de que morirá algún día, cuando sea mayor. En la mayoría de niños de esta edad, no se da un interés marcado por el tema de la muerte.
- A los 10 años, le caracteriza el comentario espontáneo que espera que sus padres no mueran. Algunos niños de esta edad manifiestan que después de la muerte los buenos van al cielo y entre éstos unos cuantos opinan que también deben de ir los malos. Otros se preguntan cómo será el cielo.

- A los 11 años siguen siendo frecuentes las explicaciones sobre el entierro y la desintegración final, pero ya aumentan los argumentos teóricos sobre lo que pasa después de la muerte. Hace comentarios sobre parientes y amigos que han muerto.
- A los 12 años se observa un acusado escepticismo, aunque a menudo éste puede reflejar una mayor preocupación por los problemas religiosos. No son muchos los que piensan que el difunto va al cielo y hay un gran número de adolescentes que expresan dudas o falta de interés. A esta edad muchos mencionan espontáneamente la reencarnación, mientras que otros imaginan la muerte como un largo sueño, y unos cuantos como el fin de todo.
- A los 13 años sigue la idea de que la muerte es el fin. Se observa una preocupación personal por los demás; mencionan a amigos o parientes difuntos y comentan la tristeza de los que se quedan. Nuevamente están preocupados por la cuestión ele si irán al cielo tanto los buenos como los malos o sólo los buenos, y por primera vez nos hacen el siguiente comentario: "A veces querría estar muerto".
- A los 14 años se muestran más variables en sus respuestas. Muchos creen que irán al ciclo, otros presentan toda una variedad de ideas alternativas, y el grupo que expresa escepticismo es más reducido que antes. Unos cuantos declaran tener miedo a la muerte, pero una de las tendencias más fuertes es la de señalar el carácter inevitable de ésta.
- A los 15 años son pocos los que piensan que uno va al cielo cuando muere. Algunos creen que nuestras almas perduran en el recuerdo de aquellos que nos conocieron, y otros dicen simplemente que no les gusta pensar en el tema. En la gran mayoría de casos dudan de la existencia del cielo o bien se declaran indiferentes. De la misma manera que pasaba a los 14 años, algunos destacan la inevitabilidad ele la muerte y a otros les da miedo esta idea.
- A los 16 años son muchos más que los de 15 los adolescentes que creen en el cielo como lugar o estado ele recompensa para los buenos. La mayor parte de las concepciones del cielo son más complejas que a edades anteriores. Muchos piensan en la muerte seriamente y mencionan su carácter inevitable.

De estos datos se puede deducir que es absolutamente irresponsable por parte de los adultos continuar atrincherándose tras la afirmación de que el niño no se entera de nada. Los niños, a diferencia de muchos adultos, no esconden la muerte. Es nuestro silencio el que a menudo les impide hacer preguntas; emocionalmente, no intelectualmente, su madurez sobre el concepto de muerte es la misma que la de un adulto.

Mèlich (1987, p. 129) afirma que los planteamientos anteriores presentan el inconveniente de las edades. Él considera de más utilidad la división en etapas (prescindiendo de edades) presentada por Cousinet:

1ª etapa: El niño es incapaz de entender el problema de la muerte.

2ª etapa: La muerte es una larga ausencia, una desaparición provisional.

3ª etapa: La muerte queda integrada en el niño a través de elementos sociales concretos: duelos, ceremonias, entierros, etc.

4ª etapa: Aproximadamente antes de la adolescencia aparece la consciencia de su propia finitud.

Mèlich (1989) afirma: *"Hoy en día la psiquiatría no se halla en condiciones de afirmar cuál de estos modelos es el correcto; de hecho, podrían encontrarse otros más"*. Sin embargo, hay un factor que se repite y es una secuencia que consta de tres fases:

a. Desconocimiento absoluto de la muerte.
b. Descubrimiento real de la muerte del otro.
c. Descubrimiento de la propia muerte.

Es muy importante el tema de la información al niño para ayudarle a entender qué significa para él la pérdida de un ser querido. Por esta razón es conveniente comunicarle la verdad de una manera simple evitando los eufemismos y las metáforas que le pueden llevar a engaño. Hay diversos canales de expresión para poder llevar a cabo esta comunicación; algunos de los más adecuados son los cuentos y las narraciones para niños y jóvenes. Se encuentran muchas sobre la muerte de animales o de otros seres de la naturaleza, como flores u hojas, que pueden ayudar a entender lo que ha sucedido con la muerte de la persona amada, ya sea un hermano, un amigo, una abuela.

Las reacciones emotivas del niño ante la muerte de una persona amada son similares a las del adulto, aunque se expresan de otra manera. Las más comunes son: tristeza por lo que ha pasado, rabia por haber sido abandonado, miedo de que le dejen solo, temor a que también pueda morir el progenitor superviviente, sentimiento de culpa por haber provocado la muerte. Tanto el sentimiento de culpa como el miedo a ser abandonado aumentan su inseguridad. Hay tres preguntas que, verbalizadas o no, el niño se hace (Pangrazzi 1995, p. 92–93): ¿He provocado yo la muerte?, ¿Me pasará también a mí?, ¿Quién cuidará de mí, ahora? La muerte provoca en el niño preguntas curiosas sobre los difuntos, e incluso divertidas: "¿Tendrá frío?", "¿Puede comer?", "¿Sufre?". Las respuestas sinceras y adecuadas que le pueda ofrecer una persona adulta y serena le ayudarán a comprender bastante mejor todo lo que supone de misterioso el tema de la muerte y de doloroso la pérdida de una persona querida.

Por otra parte, los y las preadolescentes y adolescentes entienden el ciclo de la vida y descubren conscientemente la obligatoriedad de la muerte, el hecho de que es un proceso irreversible y que uno mismo también morirá llegado el momento. A esta edad empiezan a preguntarse por el sentido de la vida y, si sufren alguna pérdida cercana, a temer por la suerte de los que han sobrevivido. Saben del carácter universal de la muerte pero aun así es la noción más difícil de integrar en su universo conceptual y la más tardía en incorporarse por eso suelen asociarla a la vejez y a actos trágicos como los accidentes y la violencia. Es a partir de los 11/12 años cuando el niño toma conciencia del sentido real de la muerte con sus características de: finitud, universalidad, irreversibilidad e inexorabilidad.

– El adolescente acepta que la muerte es inevitable y el final de todo: no obstante la ve como algo lejano y que a él no le atañe (Grollmann 1987). La relación existente entre la preocupación ante la muerte y la percepción del futuro personal se manifiesta en que aquellos adolescentes que conciben su futuro como lejano tienen poco interés por los temas relacionados con la muerte. Algunos pensadores afirman la importancia que adquiere la muerte para estudiar el resto de los aspectos evolutivos de la adolescencia. La muerte puede significar para el adolescente un escape para situaciones intolerantes, un castigo, una aventura atractiva.

– Durante esta etapa es posible que los jóvenes y las jóvenes mantengan, generalmente, entre ellos mismos significativas conversaciones sobre la muerte, la agonía, los gestos heroicos. De ahí, tal vez, surja el idealismo que permitiera sacrificarse por grandes causas o consagrara la vida a ideales humanitarios. Muchas de estas conversaciones serán intentos experimentales y verbales de adquirir perspectiva acerca de ciertos temas. Gran parte de lo que se dice en ellas tendrá carácter de ensayo y exploración más que de afirmación madura y definitiva.

Estos modos característicos de la infancia de percibir y de pensar la muerte siguen permaneciendo en muchos adultos en este estado preadolescente. De ahí que pueda considerarse de vital importancia una Educación para la Muerte que favorezca una evolución de la idea de la muerte, paralela a la evolución cronológica. En definitiva, existen como puede apreciarse, diferentes puntos de vista al respecto. Nuestra propuesta es adoptarlos como hipótesis para la reflexión de los equipos educativos, para ser capaces de llegar a propuestas propias y falibles, desde la experiencia didáctica enraizada en la observación y la escucha atenta a los niños y adolescentes.

3. Los procesos de duelo en niños y adolescentes

Los niños y adolescentes también sufren el impacto de una pérdida en sus vidas y será un elemento importante que considerar la forma en que los adultos de los que dependen elaboren el proceso de duelo.

3.1. Mitos acerca del duelo en niños y adolescentes

Poch y Herrera (2003) nos indican que suele pensarse que los niños y, de un modo especial, los más pequeños:

a. no se dan cuenta de lo que sucede tras una pérdida,
b. si lo hacen no es con la misma intensidad que los adultos,
c. los adultos debemos protegerles en la medida de lo posible del dolor y del sufrimiento.

Sin embargo, los resultados de investigaciones nos ilustran que esto no es exactamente así. Más bien nos encontramos con el hecho de que tanto niños como adolescentes acostumbran a ser más conscientes de la pérdida y de la muerte (así como de sus consecuencias) de lo que los adultos intuyen.

Podemos afirmar que todos los niños y adolescentes elaboran el duelo tras una pérdida significativa para ellos. Evidentemente, la forma de elaborarlo depende del momento evolutivo en que se encuentra y de cómo su entorno familiar y social responde a la pérdida. Parece que la buena intención de "protegerles" del dolor y de la experiencia de pérdida puede ser vivida como un "abandono" o como una forma de no tomarlos en consideración y alejarles de lo sucedido.

Por ello, es imprescindible que formen parte de los procesos familiares y que no se les excluya con la buena intención de protegerles. Es decir, que se les proporcione suficiente información como para que conozcan la naturaleza de lo sucedido, así como que se les permita expresar sus dudas y emociones y que los adultos no tengan reparos en mostrar sus sentimientos abiertamente ante ellos y con ellos. Parece evidente que también los niños y adolescentes elaboran duelos tras experimentar pérdidas y que deben formar parte de los procesos familiares.

Los rituales, y entre ellos los funerales, permiten experimentar el apoyo social y aceptar la realidad de la pérdida, por lo que resulta generalmente beneficioso que los niños puedan participar de los rituales con los adultos.

Sin embargo, ello requiere que algún adulto cercano al niño pueda pasar un tiempo con él de modo que pueda explicarle qué es un funeral y, en la medida de lo posible, anticiparle lo que sucederá para que esté preparado para la celebración del ritual y tenga una noción lo más detallada posible de aquello con lo que se encontrará.

Por otro lado, la asistencia del niño o del adolescente al funeral facilita que éste pueda expresar sus pensamientos y sentimientos respecto a la pérdida, y que el adulto pueda ayudarle a atribuir significado a lo ocurrido y a compartir sus necesidades y deseos, de modo que no se sienta solo, sino lo más acompañado y acogido posible. Es preciso reiterar de nuevo que, en la medida de lo posible, debemos respetar la decisión del niño o del adolescente acerca de si desea o no asistir al ritual y ayudarle a comprender por qué escoge una opción y no otra.

Es importante destacar la importancia de dialogar con el niño para ayudarle a otorgar un significado no sólo a lo sucedido, sino también a sus consecuencias. Dialogar sobre ello es también una forma de socializar a los niños en unos rituales que forman parte de nuestra cultura y sociedad y en los que se encuentran inmersos de igual modo que los adultos. No prepararlos para ello es contribuir a la sensación de confusión que sufren como consecuencia de un acontecimiento crítico que deja a los propios adultos confusos y "desorganizados" y que desestabiliza el funcionamiento familiar al que los niños y adolescentes están habituados.

Mitos	**Investigación y práctica clínica**
Los niños se dan cuenta de lo que sucede tras una pérdida.	Se dan cuenta de que algo distinto ha sucedido y no hablar con ellos es convertirles en "espías" de algo que quizá ni siquiera alcancen a comprender.
Los niños y adolescentes *no* elaboran el duelo.	*Sí* elaboran el duelo.
Los niños y adolescentes *no* atribuyen significado a los acontecimientos.	No sólo atribuyen significado a los sucesos, sino que además necesitan hacerlo.
Los adultos debemos protegerles en la medida de lo posible del dolor y el sufrimiento, por lo que es mejor no incorporarles en los rituales (La protección entendida como "exclusión" y vivida por el niño como "abandono" y "soledad".)	Les protegemos mejor si les incorporamos en los procesos familiares y les hacemos partícipes en la medida en que su edad se adecue a ellos. (La protección entendida como "inclusión/ incorporación" y vivida por el niño como "formar parte de" y "compañía".)
No comprenden los rituales, por lo que es mejor que no asistan a ellos.	Podemos ayudarles a comprender (al menos mínimamente) los rituales y permitir que participen en ellos en la medida de lo posible.

Tabla 1. Mitos acerca del duelo en niños y adolescentes y resultados de investigaciones y de la práctica clínica. Fuente: Poch y Herrera (2003).

3.2. Las vivencias de pérdida (duelo) de 0 a 16 años

Un adulto que le oculte, le niegue la verdad a un niño puede bloquear el proceso de elaboración del duelo cristalizándole en la negación. Como hemos observado, puede llevar a cerrar su duelo en falso. Ante una vivencia de muerte, el diálogo y la escucha pueden ayudar al niño a elaborar su pérdida y su duelo, y aliviarle significativamente.

Las separaciones por muerte conllevan dolor y cambio profundos y en ocasiones confusión e incluso alegría. Los significados y sus repercusiones dependen en gran medida de la persona, la edad, el vínculo afectivo y la circunstancia o situación de la muerte. Ahora bien, es en los momentos en que muere un ser querido cuando los sentimientos tienden a desbordarse, se exterioricen o no. En esos momentos queda patente que lo que sabemos sobre la muerte es escaso, que muchas veces es sobrepasado por la realidad, y que el conocimiento de ella no es suficiente. En ocasiones, junto al dolor, la tristeza, fa soledad o la angustia conviven el alivio y la distensión, las necesidades biopsicosociales y la culpa del sobreviviente. La ambivalencia existe, y gracias a ella se puede superar la pérdida. Para ello se necesita un tiempo y una elaboración personal, a todo ello es a lo que llamamos duelo.

Entendemos por duelo una experiencia perturbadora pero aceptable y susceptible de posteriores aprendizajes emotivo-cognoscitivos y de posible madurez personal. La elaboración duelo conduce a la aceptación, lo cual requiere tiempo y procesos de actuación psicológica y educativa adecuados. Se deduce de esto que ayudar a elaborar el duelo puede constituirse en una buena finalidad educativa.

Para el psiquiatra Cobo Medina (2004), el duelo es *"una dura regresión psíquica y física, mental, afectiva e intelectual"*. La reacción típica del duelo en los niños de todas las edades es la aflicción, con una más amplia variedad de manifestaciones inespecíficas en ellos que en el adulto. Los síntomas pueden, aparecer como nuevos o acentuar los que ya existían. Nuestras observaciones amplían el repertorio de reacciones típicas, incluyendo, además de la aflicción, la agresividad, el mutismo, la autolesión, la evasión, la indiferencia, la negación, el alivio, la depresión, la regresión, el aislamiento. Digamos que:

a) El duelo no consiste en superar nada, sino en aprender a vivir con la muerte de quien ya no está. Es un tiempo de dolor y aprendizaje.

b) El duelo no es dar vueltas y vueltas a una situación dolorosa, sino o mejor, de suelta paulatina de carga dolorosa y ganancia en formación (equilibrio y crecimiento).

c) El duelo no consiste en sustituir nada, ni a nadie por nadie. No hay que sustituir a la mascota, al abuelo, al padre o al hijo muerto por otras personas y mucho menos si éstas son niños. El duelo es encontrarle su hueco, de modo que de él o ella, que ya no están, queden recuerdos buenos que además ayuden a vivir a todos los que quedan.

Hasta los 6 años

Los bebés hasta los 24 meses buscan durante un tiempo al ser amado que han perdido, mirando alrededor expectantes cuando mamá entra en la habitación sin papá, o contemplando la silla de papá como si esperaran que fuera a sentarse en ella de un momento a otro, pero acaban por dejar de hacerlo. Durante este periodo es posible que muestren poco interés por los juguetes, las actividades y la comida. Además, pueden volver a chuparse el dedo, a acurrucarse en una postura fetal y a retomar otras conductas infantiles como un modo de afrontar su angustia.

Para los niños de 2 a 5 años sienten la pérdida y experimentan otras emociones intensas tras el deceso. Algunas de las respuestas típicas que los niños de estas edades muestran ante la muerte son: perplejidad, regresión, ambivalencia, expresan su dolor a través de los juegos, toman a sus padres como modelo, se inquietan por otra posible pérdida, establecen vínculos, comprueban la realidad.

De 6 a 16 años

Según Kroen (2002) los niños de *6 a 9 años* ya comprenden lo que significa la muerte por completo. La ven como algo permanente y real. No obstante, es posible que no comprendan lo que aquel deceso supondrá para su vida y que se convierta en una fuente de confusión para ellos. Algunas de las respuestas típicas que los niños de estas edades muestran ante la muerte son: negación, idealización, sentimiento de culpabilidad, miedo, vulnerabilidad, se ocupan de los demás, buscan a la persona que ha fallecido.

Los preadolescentes de 10 a 12 años

La preadolescencia es una época de transición llena de complejidades, cambios y confusión. En esta edad se siente la necesidad de desarrollar su propia identidad. Los preadolescentes perciben la muerte de un ser querido, en especial la de uno de los padres como algo que les hace diferentes. Normalmente pueden ocultar sus sentimientos, aunque después de la muerte acaecida sientan una profunda tristeza. Es posible que repriman cualquier señal de aflicción para intentar mantenerse por encima del dolor emocional, y dar la impresión de ser inconmovibles, indiferentes o fríos, pero sienten dolor, y éste acabará aflorando en un momento u otro. A menudo su dolor reprimido surge cuando el resto de la familia ya ha vuelto a la vida normal. Los preadolescentes suelen también sentir miedo tras la muerte de un ser querido. Miedo de su propia mortalidad, de perder al padre o a la madre supervivientes, de ser abandonados al llegar a la adolescencia, o miedo a lo desconocido, así es como pueden reaccionar a una muerte. Y expresar el miedo que sienten enfermando, estando de mal humor, teniendo problemas para dormir o comer, y perdiendo el interés por ir al colegio.

Los adolescentes

El dolor de un adolescente tiene su propia intensidad. Los adolescentes se encuentran ya en un tumultuoso estado de cambio, y la muerte constituye un shock en su sistema de vida. En especial cuando pierden a uno de los padres, el shock toma forma de represión e incredulidad. Un adolescente puede creer que ignorar sus emociones es la mejor forma de capear la tormenta.

Muchos adolescentes adoptan en cierto modo una actitud cínica o pesimista ante la vida en general, y una muerte puede aumentar estos sentimientos. Esta situación hace que den guerra, se peleen, rindan poco en el instituto, ingieran alcohol u otras drogas, y mantengan relaciones inadecuadas o poco sanas.

El sentimiento de culpa adquiere una nueva dimensión durante la adolescencia. Como parte de la etapa de “separación”, los adolescentes suelen enfrentarse con sus padres por temas relacionados con la independencia, la privacidad, los derechos, etcétera. Estas disputas entre padres y adolescentes – presentes en cualquier familia – pueden convertirse, cuando un ser querido muere, en un recuerdo que hace que el adolescente se sienta culpable.

Una recomendación en estos casos es intentar que la familia se mantenga unida y que el hijo adolescente desempeñe un papel importante asumiendo responsabilidades y ayudando a sus hermanos pequeños. Esto le ayudará a mitigar cualquier sentimiento de culpa y le proporcionará una mayor sensación de seguridad tanto dentro de la familia como en sí mismo.

Existen algunas conductas a las que hay que prestar especial atención (Kroen 2002, p. 94) ya que constituyen indicadores que nos informarían de un duelo que pudiera precisar de atención profesional:

1. Llorar en exceso durante largos períodos.
2. Enfados frecuentes y prolongados.
3. Cambios extremos en la conducta.
4. Patentes cambios en el rendimiento escolar y en las notas.
5. Retraerse durante largos períodos de tiempo.
6. Falta de interés por los amigos y por las actividades habituales que le atraían.

7. Frecuentes pesadillas y problemas de sueño.
8. Pérdida de peso.
9. Apatía, insensibilidad y falta de interés general por la vida.
10. Pensar negativamente sobre el futuro durante mucho tiempo.

Cuando los niños manifiestan estas actitudes o conductas, recurre a la ayuda de un profesional, porque pueden indicar la presencia de una depresión o de un sentimiento de dolor sin resolver. Ayudar a los niños a recuperarse de la muerte de un ser querido requiere afecto, un compromiso y tiempo. El trauma de la pérdida debilita su autoestima y la sensación de seguridad que tenían. El futuro se presenta para ellos incierto. Pueden creer que la muerte los ha vuelto "diferentes" de los chicos de su edad y que siempre arrastrarán la carga del pesar y del sentimiento de culpa.

Recuperarse de una muerte no significa eliminar toda la tristeza, añoranza y angustia, ni tampoco es una especie de amnesia optativa en la que uno se olvida de la muerte del ser querido. La persona que ha fallecido era, y siempre debe seguir siéndolo, una parte importante de la vida de los niños, lo cual es uno de los objetivos de una conmemoración, pero debes animar a tus hijos a seguir con su vida, a fijarse y alcanzar metas, y a jugar y a relacionarse con los chicos de su edad. Con el tiempo, acabarán aceptando la muerte como una realidad y los cambios que ha provocado, y se adaptarán internamente para progresar como seres humanos normales, sanos y felices.

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Social Trauma and Collective Memory
The Red Sludge Disaster in Hungary on 4th October 2010

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Abstract: Traumas experienced in different communities all over the world show that they do not vanish from the lives of communities. It remains unclear, however, what constraints (e.g., range of effect or size of population effected) contribute to a traumatic cause to imprint trauma in the memory of a community. Even though some events can prove "more memorable" than others, the diverse cases of traumas collectively experienced show that traumas shape collective identity over generations. The study examines the aftermath of the largest industrial disaster in Hungary, the red sludge disaster on 4th October 2010 hitting three neighboring villages in Kolontár (north-western Hungary): besides the immense economic damage caused, the human loss drew an unprecedented flow of sympathy and support, signifying the depth of the trauma. The event sheds light on ways of collective trauma-formation as well as modes of commemoration.

Keywords: industrial disaster, red sludge spill, social trauma, collective memory, commemoration

Traumas do not seem to vanish from the lives of communities. Out of the wartime German population (69 million in 1939), some seven million people died during the Second World War. Today, more than seventy years after the war there is a movement in Germany that calls itself *Kriegskinder,* whose members are people whose childhood befell at wartime Germany. A renaissance of books dealing with the lives of wartime children is also apparent. Another movement, *Familienaufstellung*, tries to tackle the problem of inherited traumas related to the war that runs in families.

Individual traumas might ignite social change. Mohamed Bouazizi, a Tunisian street vendor set himself afire on 17th December 2010 protesting against the confiscation of his wares and the humiliation inflicted on him by the local authorities. His act inspired protests not just in Tunisia – where ten days after his death the then-president Zine El Abidine Ben Ali had to step down from power after 23 years – but in several other Arabic countries, thus triggering what later came to be known as the Arabic Spring. In one year after Bouazizi's self-immolation, autocratic regimes fell one after the other in the Arabic countries.

What size of a tragedy or loss is needed to get imprinted in the memory of a community? Why is one trauma in the life of a community "more memorable" than another one? Can a trauma help shape collective identity? I found these questions most intriguing while reconsidering the facts and the aftermath of the largest industrial disaster in Hungary so far. On 4th October 2010, the red sludge reservoir of the largest aluminum producing company in Hungary (MAL Zrt) leaked as much as 1 million m^3 red sludge (it is an environmentally hazardous by-product of aluminum production) flooding over 40 km^2. The flood hit three neighboring villages causing ten human deaths and tremendous damages to property and environment. The ensuing clean-up operations cost some 38 bn HUF (appr. 130 m USD). Is this trauma of a small community going to be commemorated by the larger community? How is it going to be commemorated: as a sad event of a huge environmental disaster caused by the profit greed of a dubiously privatized industrial giant? Or as a sad event of a huge environmental disaster that caused an unprecedented flow of sympathy and support from all layers and regions of the entire country?

The Event

On 4th October 2010, the north-western corner walls of the tenth block container of the red sludge reservoir belonging to the Hungarian Aluminium Producing Company (MAL Zrt.) in Kolontár (north-western Hungary) broke and leaked approximately 1 million m^3 red sludge flooding some 40 km^2. The accident happened a few minutes after noon, and the flow of the red sludge hit the deeper parts of three neighboring villages, Kolontár, Devecser, and Somlóvásárhely. The flow of the red sludge, causing the largest industrial disaster in the history of the country, took ten human lives and injured more than 200 people. Hundreds of dwelling places and farm buildings became unusable, thousands of acres of arable and agricultural land of other use became contaminated. The flood – at times two meters in height – hit the brook Torna and destroyed all living creatures in it and those of the River Marcal, whose tributary the Torna is. Thanks only to fast action of environment protection, by the time the flood reached the Danube it was no longer seriously contaminating.

Red sludge is a by-product of aluminum production. During the production of one ton of aluminum three tons of red sludge is produced. Red sludge is a highly alkaline (pH 11–13) industrial slurry comprising of toxic metal compounds. It is composed of 40–45% iron oxide (Fe_2O_3), 10–15% aluminium oxide (Al_2O_3), 10–15% silicon dioxide (SiO_2), 6–10% calcium oxide (CaO), 5–6% of sodium oxide (Na_2O), titanium dioxide (TiO_2), additionally, gallium, vanadium, and rare earth metals in less than 1%. Its radioactivity is 10 to 20 times the average level of the radioactivity in the soil. Being diluted sufficiently it is used to improve the soil: to supplement its iron content (peas), to enhance its ion bonding ability, to refill its sodium content (sugar beet), to withhold the phosphorus content (in sandy soils). Its particle size can affect the texture of the soil (Feigl et al. 2013).

In the year of the disaster, MAL Zrt gave 6% of the world's aluminum production. At the time of the disaster in its Ajka aluminium plant, in the Kolontár red sludge reservoir there was 50 million m^3 of gray and red sludge, which, where the dam walls burst, equaled the height of a nine-story building (the density of red sludge is 3.1–3.8 t / m^3, its bulk density is 1.87 to 2 t/m^3). By the time MAL Zrt. came under the control of the new owners after its privatization in 1997, – after the previous 55 years of aluminum production on the site –, 10 million m^3 of red sludge got stored in the reservoir (Javor & Hargitai 2011).

Two years after the red sludge disaster a documentary was made by OzoneNetwork. It claimed five possible reasons for the disaster. The first one is the location of the reservoir itself since the reservoir was built on the altered flood plain of the brook Torna. The soil found here comprises of a sedimentary layer with a minimum carrying capacity. The subsoil contains impermeable clay layers, which – according to experts of the Technical University of Budapest, hired by the documentary makers – were transformed by the red sludge soda alkali (sodium hydroxide, NaOH) content. This way the clay layers had lost their ability to stick soil particles together, a characteristic feature of clay, which fact may have contributed to the slip of the structure built on it. The idea is supported by the satellite images which prove that the reservoir walls slid an inch a year.

The second reason listed by the documentary makers is the leak that had previously been constantly seen at the base of the reservoir wall, which problem was fixed by pumping the sludge back into the reservoir. This way the process is likely to have developed a circulation that led to the weakening of the wall.

Thirdly, the film mentions that the reservoir walls were made from a byproduct of the nearby power station: gray fly ash, the setting time of which is longer than that of simple concrete. It is possible that this longer setting time had not been kept, and the red sludge soaked the walls before they had fully stabilized. This may have caused the weakening and dissolution of the walls of the reservoir.

The fourth reason as mentioned in the film was the failure of the pump performing the removal of the rainwater accumulating on top of the red sludge. Due to this fault, the rainwater layer on top of the slurry (1.5–4.5 m) of block X was the thickest, and consequently, it exerted the greatest pressure here.

Finally, the fifth reason pointed out by the experts of the film was the fact that the reservoir block no. X was originally planned to be built next to another one, block no. XI. This way walls similar to the walls between the other reservoir blocks would have been raised, “supported” on both sides by the same layers of the sludge of the height of a 9-story building. However, the construction of block no. XI never happened, which may have caused the rupture of the northwest corner of block no. X, due partly to the lack of support from the other side of the wall.

The possible causes of the disaster event of the red sludge spill were presumably correctly presented in the documentary. However, its overall pacifying tone resulted in a false impression of “everything under control” thus marring the tragedy of the victims and belittling the real damage the disaster caused in the social and natural environment.

A Follow-Up Research

The researchers of two universities (Debrecen University [DE] and Debrecen Reformed Theological University [DRHE]) conducted a survey among students of four locations in Hungary other than that of the disaster right after the red sludge spill. It aimed to analyze the communication, the cognitive knowledge, and the emotional responses related to the disaster. What follows here is a short summary of the research.

The research was based on the written answers of 613 interviewees from four different locations (Sopron, Budapest, Debrecen, Nyíregyháza) other than the scene of the disaster. The interviewees were asked structured and open questions in the first month following the event. Eight variables were asked for in the answers to the following questions: how many times interviewees talked to others about the disaster (1), how many times they did it to one person (2), or in a company (3); how many times they thought about the disaster (4); how many times they heard others talking about the disaster in the media (5); how many times they heard their peers talking about the disaster (6); how many times they would have liked to hear news about the disaster (7); how many times they would have liked to talk about the disaster (8). The questions were referring to the previous 24 hours before the interview.

Our hypotheses included that geographical distances and gender differences may turn out to be affecting the responses considerably. Media and internet communication about the disaster were also researched, hypothesizing that media comments and narration concerning the disaster would ebb with time, however, we presumed that patterns and representations of the media would influence the processing of the event in the community. It was also hoped that the results would add to a better understanding of the nature of processing traumatic events.

Our findings indicated a growing frequency of exchange among the interviewees closer to the scene of the disaster. On the frequency of exchanges about the disaster, it was found that – in contrast with our expectations – one month after the disaster there was still a considerably frequent communication and a lively interest relating to the event. Significant differences were shown in four out of the eight variables, and the trend was that – despite the fact that internet and media communication did play a considerable role in orienting and formulating opinions – geographical distances were still strongly affecting interpersonal exchange.

For two of the open questions of our questionnaire, the method of content analysis was applied. Our analysis was based on the Regressive Imagery Dictionary (RID; Martindale 1969). The theory of RID postulates that special changes of consciousness produce special language representations, and we hypothesized significant gender differences which were born out by our findings inasmuch as women applied higher emotional responses. Their answers displayed an overpowering presence of defensive symbols; they used more words of sadness, anxiety, and chaos in their narration of the traumatic event (Pék et al. 2011).

Disaster and Social Vulnerability

Disasters are a major source of human suffering worldwide. Two-thirds of injury-related deaths in the global human population aged 15–4 (in which group violence caused death is the leading cause of death) belong to the non-intentional category. Only the remaining one-third is taken up by wars, terrorism, genocide, homicide, and suicide (Kirmayer et al. 2010, p. 155). In other words, twice as many people die in accidental disasters than in civil wars, ethnic cleansing, terrorist attacks – to mention but the most commonly known causes of intentional killing of human beings.

A disaster – in anthropological research – is considered to be "a process/event involving a combination of a potentially destructive agent(s) from the natural and/or technological environment and a population in a socially and technologically produced condition of environmental vulnerability" (Oliver-Smith 1996, pp. 303). A society thus can be evaluated by measuring against a scale of resilience at the occurrence of a disaster. A disaster, therefore, is believed to be "a formidable test of societal adaptation and sustainability" (Oliver-Smith 1996, pp. 303–305). Consequently, the very fact of the occurrence of a disaster – especially a technology-related disaster – leaves society in the dubious state of self-criticism, or the realization of fundamentally mistaken "agents" that can turn against society and cause a non-sustainable state of affairs.

Are there any more disasters today than a hundred years ago? A question that may not seem appropriate but is definitely supported by the everyday statistics of media news. Anthony Oliver-Smith states that "greater numbers of people are more vulnerable to natural hazards than ever before" and quotes E.L. Quarantelli, who says the increase in disasters in the world is due *more* to the fact that people live in dangerous dwelling places (Oliver-Smith 2013, p. 43).

Or with a more precise observation, as Virginia Garcia-Acosta puts it "if disasters have become more frequent over time, it is not because there are more natural hazards, but rather [that] our communities and societies have become more vulnerable" (Garcia-Acosta 2013, p. 50), however, the question of vulnerability is rather complex. The vulnerability of a society is about the multifaceted interdependency that exists between a society and its environment and covers society's "capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from the impact of a natural hazard" (Blaikie et al. 1994, p. 9). And if we remove the adjective "natural" from the sentence above, the same factors still hold for a technological disaster. However, there are marked differences, too.

For when we speak about a man-made hazard or disaster the issue gets even more complex, namely "disasters that spring from culture itself seemingly debar culture's hale return", that is, a disaster which was caused by the same culture and society that suffered the consequences will "never pass from history to myth, but always stay history" (Hoffman 2013, pp. 136–138). They are never beautified or alleviated as disasters caused by nature sometimes are, they are always considered as culture's attack on culture. How can a disaster which thus has a self-destructive element in its image enter the collective memory of society?

Trauma – Collective Memory – Commemoration

Trauma is generally meant to be the aftermath of an extremely stressful event or repeated events that exceed the capacity of viewers or participants to cope (Giller 1999). Such events are responsible for leaving permanent marks on one's consciousness and thus they may alter the entire future life of the individual (Alexander 2004). Natural and man-made disasters are among the numerous other causes that may leave the individual traumatized through witnessing scenes of violence or terrifying events that threaten the viewer with death, injury or the loss of integrity.

Kai Erikson established the differences between types of trauma as follows:

> By individual trauma I mean a blow to the psyche that breaks through one's defenses so suddenly and with such brutal force that one cannot react to it effectively [. . .] By collective trauma, on the other hand, I mean a blow to the basic tissues of social life that damages the bonds attaching people and impairs the prevailing sense of communality. The collective trauma works its way slowly and even insidiously into the awareness of those who suffer from it, so it does not have the quality of suddenness normally associated with "trauma". (Erikson 1976, p. 153)

That is, collective trauma is a cognitive process in which the community "decides" on having experienced a trauma, or, in other words: "traumatic status [is] attributed to an event" (Alexander 2004, p.10), which in itself, out of its social context, would never count as "traumatic".

Witnessing traumas is stored in the memory since "dealing with trauma involves both suppressing and incorporating it in cultural memory" (Gaál-Szabó 2014, p. 119) and it can thus hardly be removed from the memory of the individual. No matter how different collective memory is from individual memory, social traumas are stored in the collective memory, too. Collective memory, in Paolo Jedlowsky's view, is the social representation of the past constructed, maintained and perpetuated by social groups which render its elements valid through the interaction of members who put the construct in an institutionalized framework and preserve it generation after generation (Jedlowsky 2008, p. 104).

Why do societies commemorate? There are ample reasons from celebrating achievements through remembering outstanding members of the community to mourning losses. More generally speaking commemoration "derives from the desire for orientation in time, for integrating oneself in one's past by appropriating that past" (Frijda 1997, p. 109). As Alon Confino is pondering over the nature of collective memory: "why is it that some pasts triumph while others fail? Why do people prefer one image of the past over another?"; then he gives a very broad answer by saying: "collective memory is an exploration of a shared identity that unites a social group" and he shrewdly adds "the crucial issue in the history of memory is not how a past is represented but why it was received or rejected" (Confino 1997, p. 1390). One aspect of this formulation is that a major issue about a past event which is preserved in social memory is "why this one and not many others"; another one is that whatever is preserved in a collective memory gets built in the collective identity; or as Peter Gaál-Szabó points out concerning African American ritual forms, "through repetition [they] inscribe cultural memory in the identity of African Americans as well as re-enliven it" (2017, p. 78).

Since the appearance of Maurice Halbwachs' seminal work on the nature of memory (*Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, 1925) researchers have been emphasizing the impact of the present on the recollections of the past. Jan Assmann's criterion concerning cultural memory, for example, states that no past event can be preserved by memory – what memory does is that "it always relates its knowledge to an actual and contemporary situation" (Assmann 1995, p. 130). Ever since, we believe, the dominance of the present in recollecting and reconstructing the past, in choosing and discarding its items, in accepting or rejecting its actors has been with us.

Even if the possibilities of approaching the past are not as extreme as Barry Schwartz surmises in one of his studies like this: "we seem to be faced with the choice of adopting either an absolutist theory, which locates the significance of events in the nature of events themselves, or a relativistic theory, which locates the significance of events in the standpoint of the observer" (1982, p. 376), we believe that our stance in time (history) is undeniably bending us to view things in the past one way – and not another.

There are several needs in society to commemorate an event. Approaching the same issue from another angle Nico Frijda comments, “there are emotions on which commemorations can feed” (Frijda 1997, p. 107). In his view, the smallest common denominator in commemorations is emotions that motivate and urge the members of a community to put out banners, deliver speeches, and sing anthems in order to relive an event that has “unfinished business” (Frijda 1997, p. 114) for that community.

*Unfinished business*es of a society vary on a broad scale. Like an unsettled social debate that led to the clash of a civil war like that of the Spanish Civil War whose victims could not have been commemorated even after the Franco-regime was gone, for the consensus of the peaceful regime-change was built on the moratorium of continuing social amnesia (Renshaw 2010). Or like the consequences of a natural disaster (tsunami) that hit the community of fishers in a small village in southeastern India on the coast of the Pacific Ocean, where the leaders of the community decided on the erection of a memorial monument (to commemorate the victims of the tsunami) that locals, even two years after the tsunami, were just not willing to deal with or pay attention to, thus expressing their mental state of not yet being able to commemorate the disaster as part of their past; it was still very much part of their present (Hastrup 2010).

The historical processing of collective memory is sometimes compared to a black box. We can have a clear understanding of the input and that of the output, yet we are left clueless concerning the processes inside. As we hear from Pennebaker and his colleague, from the four recent wars in US history there is no way of saying why one leaves a more lasting print in collective memory than the other. They even point out that “winning versus losing does not appear to affect collective memory” (Pennebaker & Banasik 1997, p. 5).

Similarly, Barry Schwartz, observing the decorations of the US Capitol building in Washington D. C. finds a disproportionate representation of events and persons from American history. Schwartz maintains that the items of collective memory as objectified in the frescoes, paintings, and busts were “bravely” picked from the past by one generation of posterity even if a previous one “bravely” dropped them from memory – acts of reterritorialization signifying “a search for (territorial) identity, and present[ing] reclamation of place” (Gaál-Szabó 2012, p. 311). The example that Schwartz draws is John Cabot, who was commemorated in early colonist times, however, with the arrival of anti-British sentiments, newer generations chose Columbus, who later on became the most commemorated explorer in the history of the USA (Schwartz 1982).

One can continue the list from other histories: the reason why a terrorist attack that caused the destruction of six train carriages taking 22 lives (the Biatorbágy train bombing, Hungary, 1931) bears a more lasting sign than a mine accident that took 55 lives (Csingervölgy-Ajka mine accident, Hungary, 1909) is more or less understandable because of the nature of the two cases. A terrorist attack with a political message was quite exceptional in Hungary in the 1930s, whereas mine accidents did happen, and even if they were not frequent, they were not exceptional either. However, out of two seemingly very similar cases which one will go down into collective memory (and be commemorated) and which one will drop out – is still a process that cannot be defined.

Presumably, there are no such statistics that could indicate, in smaller or greater communities whether the *unfinished business*es of a community tend more to be positive or negative events, however, there is a general impression that societies do tend to deal *more* with *unfinished business*es that caused sufferings and losses to their members. Whether or not it is a basic law of nature – if you cut a branch or a piece of the roots of a tree, you'll see a proliferation of sprouts at the same spot within short – that societies are more likely to commemorate the traumas that hurt their members.

Conclusion

Individuals are not equally prone to suffer the consequences of traumatic events. Yet, there are events that are generally considered as traumatizing for a whole society. The 4th October 2010 red sludge spill and flood, as presented by the national and international media, definitely was a traumatizing event for the whole contemporary society in Hungary. As the student population whose relating exchanges we tried and followed in our research showed, there was an ongoing exchange concerning the disaster, and the intensity of the exchange ebbed only after weeks. Truly the nature of social processing of a traumatizing event, "the ongoing talking and thinking about the event [. . .] is critical to the organization and assimilation of the event in the form of a collective narrative" (Pennebaker & Banasik 1997, p. 4). In this process of the red sludge disaster becoming a collective narrative, our research managed to pick and sample some characteristic features of that narrative (as summed up above).

To what extent the narrative of this social trauma is being translated into a collective narrative of commemoration is not yet known. As Paez and his colleagues say "collective memory rests on events that have an impact on collectivities and have driven them to modify their institutions, beliefs, and values" (Paez et al. 1997, p. 150). We still do not see how the October 2010 red sludge spill transformed or is transforming *institutions* in this country. This process is surely taking place at least on two tracks.

One is the transformation of bauxite mining and the entire aluminum industry in Hungary, *another* is the environment conscious legislation and jurisdiction – both fields are far beyond the boundaries of the present study. Nevertheless, what is clearly visible about the *former* is that the ownership structure of the aluminum industry is going to change following the government intervention immediately after the disaster that resulted in the forced nationalization of the company (MAL Zrt.). This change in the ownership structure might and should mean a step towards an environmentally more conscious attitude of the owners, too. While in the field of the *latter* the disaster will probably serve as a milestone in the learning process of establishing a new legislative practice which will distance itself from a politically dominated legislation with loose standards and very low efficiency in law enforcement practices, which were (at the time of the disaster and *are* even today) part of a lasting, but fallacious and fraudulent legacy of the pre-1989 political regime.

Even if the memorial sites commemorating the victims in Kolontár and Devecser are not going to be national memorial sites in the sense of those of famous historical events (e.g., Eger, a small town in northern Hungary, the symbolic site of the 16th century resistance to the conquest of the Ottoman Empire) they are going to communicate the human and environmental losses in a difficult transitory period of the country.

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Envejecimiento activo
Aprendizaje y calidad de vida*

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Resumen: El adulto mayor toma importancia a todos los niveles por los cambios que está protagonizando a nivel sociodemográfico. En nuestro estudio nos hemos centrado en el alumnado de programas académicos orientados a mayores de 50/55 años, analizando su percepción sobre su propio proceso de aprendizaje, la motivación, el ambiente (social, familiar y académico) y la influencia de la actividad académica en su calidad de vida. La conclusiones más relevantes son que: 1) No perciben dificultades de aprendizaje; 2) Se encuentran motivados y con habilidades sociales suficientes para desenvolverse en el ámbito académico; 3) Los ambientes académico, familiar y social le son favorables; 4) Consideran que su participación académica ha incrementado positivamente su calidad de vida. Señalamos la importancia de la promoción de la educación permanente facilitando el acceso a los diferentes niveles de formación, así como programas que permitan la participación en ámbitos universitarios.

Introducción

Las perspectivas de estudio del último siglo en relación al proceso de envejecimiento poblacional, delatan una gran revolución sociodemográfica a nivel local y mundial. Dicho envejecimiento poblacional es más alarmante en los países desarrollados, siendo descrito de forma gráfica al afirmar que

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"las canas son la norma en una población donde la infancia ha dejado de serlo" (Moreno-Crespo y Cruz-Díaz 2012, p. 1523). De hecho, nos encontramos en el siglo más envejecido de la historia, lo que repercute en todos los niveles de la sociedad.

Según el Instituto Nacional de Estadística (INE) (2016), los datos sobre la población española revelan la esperanza de vida al nacer en el año 2014 es de 80,1 años para los hombres y de 85,6 años para las mujeres. Sin embargo, toma especial relevancia el dato que nos afirma que en 2014 la esperanza de vida para un hombre de 70 años es de 15,3 años y en las mujeres de 18,5 años. Estamos ante una *sobrepoblación* de personas adultas mayores. De igual forma, es destacable que Andalucía se encuentra entre las tres Comunidades Autónomas con un mayor número de personas en edad provecta (Abellán y Ayala 2012). Estos datos afianzan la convicción de mantener la investigación en un sector que está en constante aumento y evolución (Moreno Crespo 2011).

Podemos afirmar que en la actualidad se ha generado una inquietud por vivir más y mejor, motivo por el que las políticas sociales están prestando especial atención a este fenómeno, como se refleja en la publicación de dos libros: el *Libro blanco del Envejecimiento Activo* (Consejería para la Igualdad y Bienestar Social 2010) y el *Libro blanco del Envejecimiento Activo* (IMSERSO 2011), así como en la declaración del año 2012 como Año Europeo del Envejecimiento Activo y la Solidaridad Intergeneracional.

Podemos afirmar que la sociedad cada vez se encuentra más implicada en asumir el proceso de envejecimiento como una etapa más de la vida. Por ello, este proceso debe concebirse como el desarrollo del *envejecimiento activo*, que vaya acompañado por una mayor calidad de vida, siendo, en consecuencia, relevante a todos los niveles.

Por su parte, los adultos mayores se encuentran gradualmente más y más comprometidos con su propio proceso de envejecimiento de forma saludable y se van involucrando en actividades y procesos socioeducativos, que promueven su desarrollo como persona a niveles emocionales, psicológicos, cognitivos, físicos, etc.; lo que favorece la puesta en juego de sus experiencias, biografía e historia de vida (Bermejo 2010; Moreno-Crespo 2011; Moreno-Crespo 2015). Por lo tanto, estamos de acuerdo con Fernández-Lópiz (2011, p. 222), cuando afirma que "el ambiente educativo debe convertirse en una fuente potencial de creciente diversidad de la aptitud del adulto mayor para satisfacer necesidades".

El estudio de autores relevantes en la temática, así como de investigaciones realizadas con personas mayores (Aranguren 1992; Atchley 1989; Baltes y Baltes 1990; Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas 1997; Coleman 1989;

Cumming y Henry 1961; Erikson 2000; Lehr 1995; Moreno-Crespo 2011), denotan que las investigaciones sobre el adulto mayor se encuentran en una fase joven en comparativa con el volumen investigaciones realizadas en otras etapas vitales como la infancia o la juventud.

Dicho lo cual, compartimos el planteamiento de Sáez Carreras (2003, p. 35) al afirmar sobre la investigación con adultos mayores que "pronto tendrán que impulsarse investigaciones de diverso signo sobre y con las personas mayores durante los procesos educativos en los que se implican". Por su parte, Villa (2012, p. 33) destaca las contribuciones que se realizan desde los programas socioeducativos impartidos en las universidades, ya que considera que constituyen "una actividad preventiva ante un envejecimiento dependiente en la dimensión mental, social, física y psicopedagógica". Y por su parte, Moreno-Crespo y Cruz-Díaz (2012, p. 1530) señalan, en relación a las programas universitarios para mayores, que "forman parte de un movimiento ampliamente consolidado a escala nacional, donde más de una cincuentena de universidades españolas distribuidas por todo el territorio desarrollan programas universitarios para mayores".

En el estudio realizado nos centramos en *Programas Universitarios para Personas Mayores*, que las consideramos como instituciones de enseñanza superior accesible para todos, que ofrece programas externos y otorga diplomas universitarios no competitivos, y en las *Fundaciones Educacionales,* que las definimos como organismos cuyo fin se basa en el interés general y se aleja del ánimo de lucro favoreciendo, en este caso, la cobertura a programas socioeducativos. En ambos casos, contamos con un contexto que gira en torno a un programa académico que se centra en destinatarios adultos mayores de 50/55 años, en los que no es necesario un nivel formativo previo y desde una perspectiva de intervención socioeducativa. Nos interesa averiguar cuál es la percepción del adulto mayor que participa en estos programas académicos, en relación a sus dificultades de aprendizaje, la motivación y el ambiente social, familiar y académico que le rodea, así como su consideración sobre la influencia de su implicación en actividades socio-académicas sobre su percepción sobre la propia calidad de vida (Moreno-Crespo 2011; 2012, p. 2014).

Metodología de investigación

La investigación se ha realizado en distintas Universidades Abiertas y Fundaciones Educacionales de las provincias de Huelva, Málaga y Sevilla (Andalucía, España). Contamos con una muestra formada por 480 sujetos, siendo un 69,5% mujeres y con edades comprendidas entre los 50 años y que llegan a superar los 85 años.

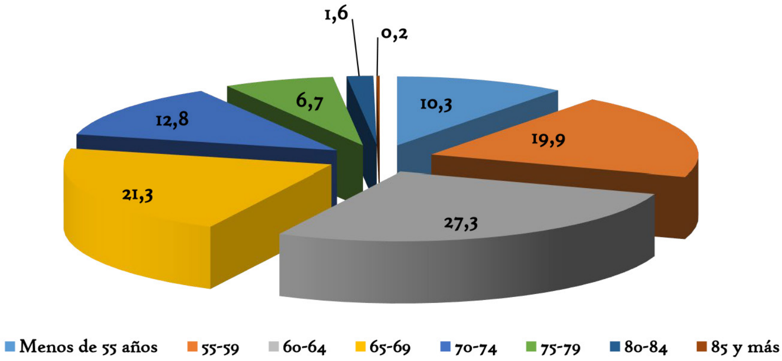
Para la elección de la técnica de la encuesta se tuvo presente el problema formulado, los objetivos de la investigación y la metodología a utilizar, así como que nuestro interés residía en describir una realidad, por lo que el cuestionario, como instrumento seleccionado, nos ha sido de gran utilidad en nuestro trabajo.

El estudio de la validez de este instrumento se ha realizado en dos fases: evaluación de expertos y reelaboración del cuestionario con realización de prueba piloto, y teniendo presente las diferentes aportaciones de la prueba piloto, una elaboración de diferentes borradores sometidos a evaluación de expertos hasta el diseño del instrumento definitivo. Las variables analizadas son: 1) dificultades de aprendizaje; 2) motivación; 3) ambiente y contexto que rodea a la persona; y 4) la percepción sobre la influencia de la actividad académica en su calidad de vida.

Análisis de los datos

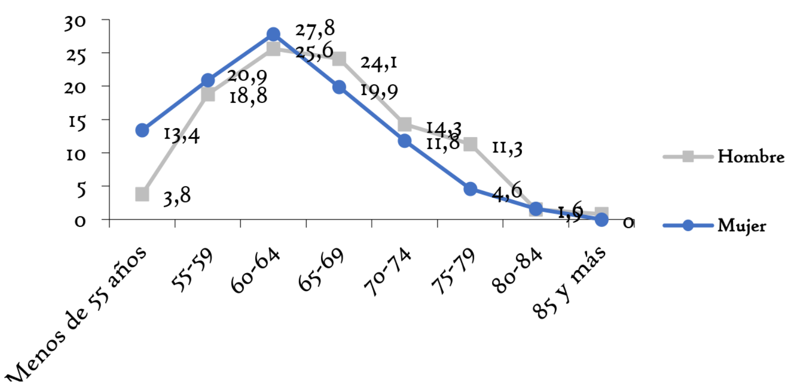
En las siguientes líneas realizamos el análisis de los datos recopilados, haciendo en primer lugar un análisis de los datos sociodemográficos más relevantes y, posteriormente, analizaremos los aspectos referidos a las dificultades de aprendizaje, motivación y ambiente, así como la percepción sobre la influencia de la actividad académica en su calidad de vida.

Sobre la edad en los participantes en los *Programas socioeducativos analizados* (Gráfica 1) podemos encontrar los siguientes porcentajes que se encuentran representados en la gráfica que aparece a continuación: *"menos de 55 años"*, 10,3%; *"entre 55 y 59 años"*, 19,9%; *"entre 60 y 64 años"*, 27,3%; *"entre 65 y 69 años"*, 21,3%; *"entre 70 y 74"*, 12,8%; *"entre 75 y 79 años"*, 6,7%; *"entre 80 y 84 años"*, 1,6% y *"85 y más"*, 0,2%. Por lo tanto, podemos afirmar que predomina entre el alumnado las edades más jóvenes en el intervalo de 60 a 69 años en un 48,6%, siendo las edades menos representadas las de "75 y más años" con un total de 8,5%.



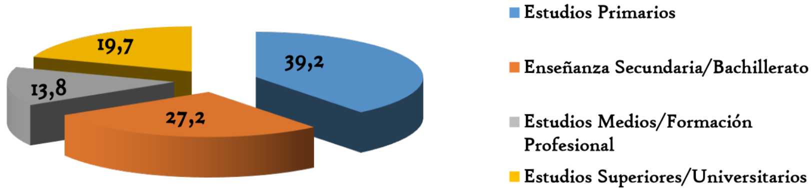
Gráfica 1: Distribución por edad
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo, 2011

Las mujeres que acuden a los *Programas socioeducativos analizados* (Gráfica 2) son más jóvenes que los hombres (p<0,001). La distribución que se realiza en las frecuencias establecidas para las edades, un 62,1% de las mujeres son menores de 65 años, cuando en el caso de ellos, el porcentaje se reduce a un 48,2%. Sin embargo, los hombres las superan en número en la franja de 65 a 79 años. Se igualan las proporciones entre sexos para aquellos que tienen 80 o más años.



Gráfica 2: Distribución por edad y sexo
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo 2011

La proporción en la se distribuye el alumnado en los *Programas socioeducativos analizados* entre los diferentes niveles formativos que han realizado (Gráfica 3), tienen una mayor representación aquellos que han realizado *"Estudios Primarios"* (39,2%), seguido por los que han realizado *"Enseñanza Secundaria/Bachillerato"* (27,2%) con un total de 66,4% sobre el total de la muestra. El 33,6% restante se distribuye entre quienes han realizado *"Estudios Superiores/Universitarios"* en un 19,7% y *"Estudios Medios Técnicos/Formación Profesional"* en un 13,8%.



Gráfica 3: Estudios realizados
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo 2011

En la Gráfica 4, comprobamos que la muestra se encuentra representada por un 66,4% que ha realizado *"Estudios Primarios"* y *"Enseñanza Secundaria/Bachillerato"*. El análisis nos revela ($p<0{,}001$) que existe un predominio positivo de mujeres que tienen *"Estudios Primarios"* (45,8% *vs.* 22,7%) y que los hombres tienen un representatividad positiva en *"Estudios Medios Técnicos/Formación Profesional"* (22,7% *vs.* 10,3%) y en *"Estudios Superiores/Universitarios"* (28,8% *vs.* 15,9%).

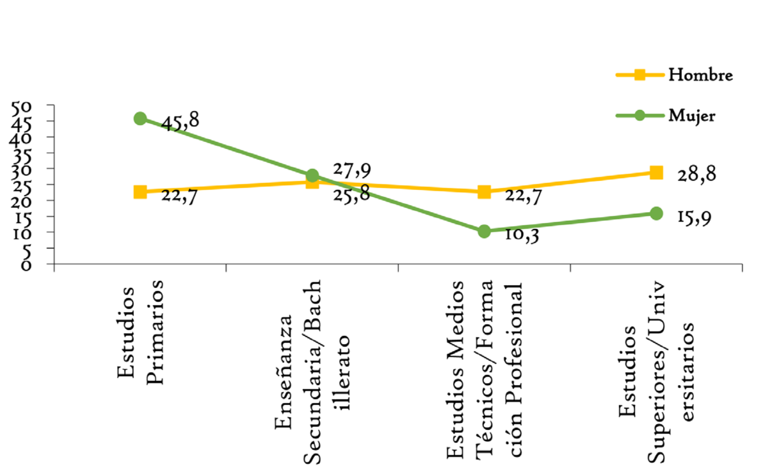
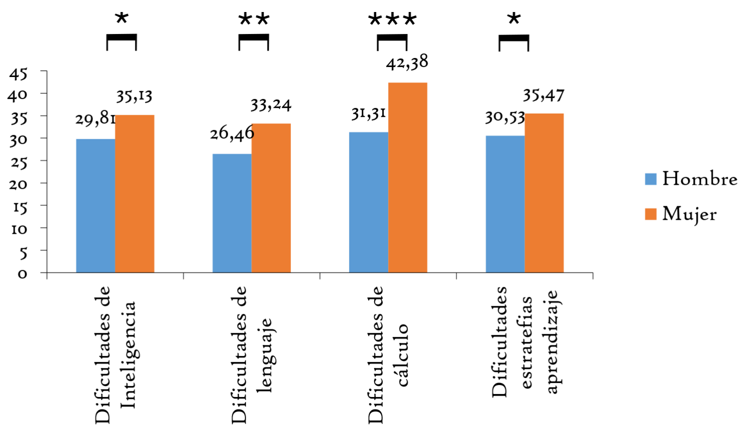


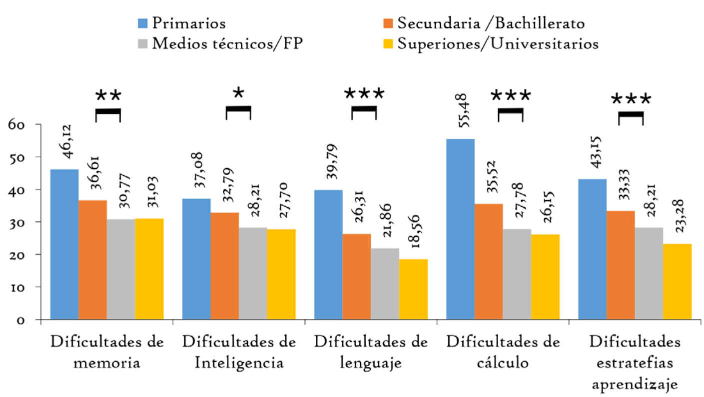
Gráfico 4: Distribución por estudios y sexo.
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo 2011

Al analizar las dificultades de aprendizaje correlacionadas con el sexo (Gráfica 5), comprobamos que *ellos* denotan menos dificultades que *ellas*. Las relaciones significativas más importantes en este sentido, establecen que los hombres tienen menos *"Dificultades de cálculo"* (p<0,001) y *"Dificultades de Lenguaje"* (p<0,01), seguidas por *"Dificultades de inteligencia"* y *"Dificultades de estrategias de aprendizaje"* (p<0,05).



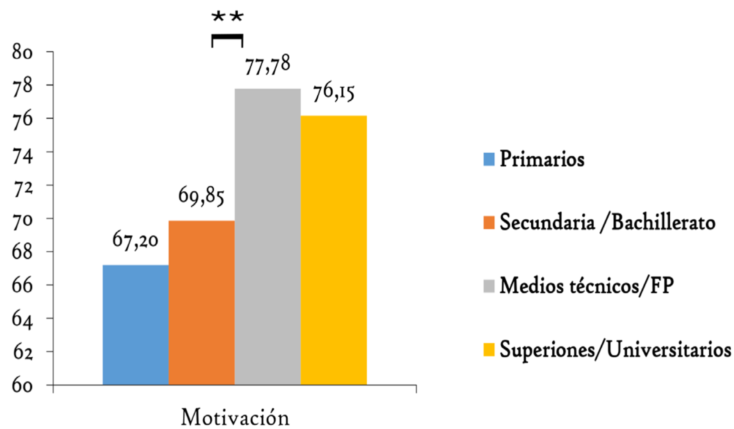
Gráfica 5: Correlación entre dificultades de aprendizaje y sexo
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo 2011

Al correlacionar el nivel de estudios y las dificultades de aprendizaje (Gráfica 6), aquellas personas que tienen un nivel de formación básico, principalmente estudios primarios, tienen más dificultades de lenguaje, cálculo y estrategias de aprendizaje (p<0,001), seguido por dificultades de memoria (p<0,01) y, con un error muestral más elevado, dificultades de inteligencia (p<0,05).



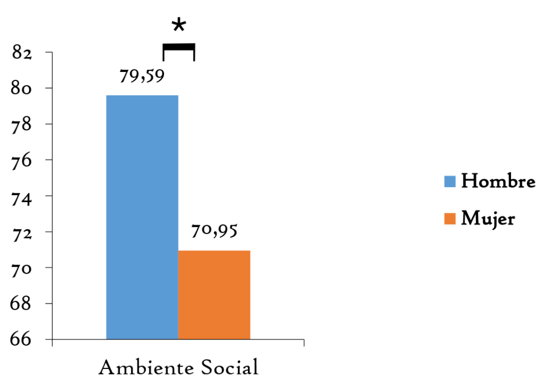
Gráfica 6: Correlación entre nivel de estudios y dificultades de aprendizaje.
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo 2011

Al establecer relación entre las variables relativas al nivel de estudios y la variable sobre motivación (Gráfica 7), encontramos que aquellas personas que tienen un nivel de formación básico, principalmente estudios primarios, poseen menor motivación académica (p<0,01).



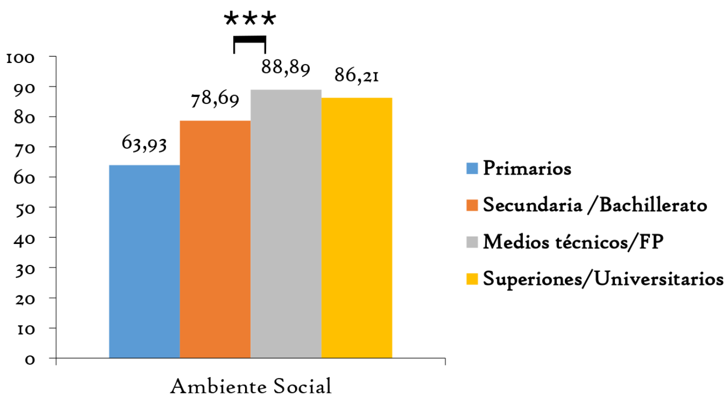
Gráfica 7: Relación entre el nivel de estudios y la motivación.
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo 2011

Si atendemos la relación entre el ambiente social y el sexo (Gráfica 8), comprobamos que los hombres consideran que cuentan con un mayor apoyo desde *"Ambiente social"* (p<0,05).



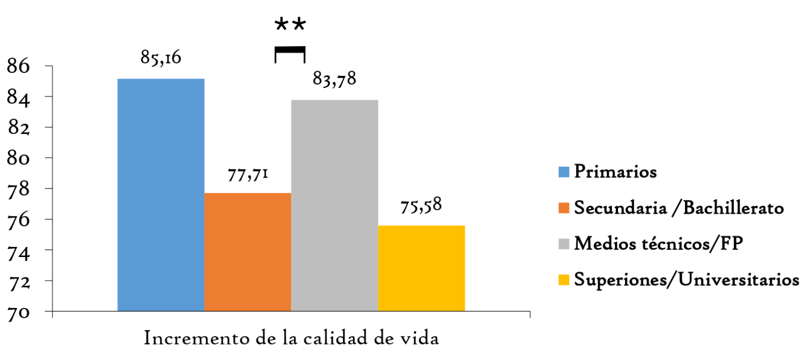
Gráfica 8: Correlación entre sexo y ambiente social
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo 2011

La relación entre las variables sobre nivel de estudios y el ambiente social (Gráfica 9), denota que aquellas personas que tienen un nivel de formación básico, principalmente estudios primarios, encuentran que el apoyo que reciben desde su entorno social es menor (p<0,001).



Gráfica 9: Relación entre nivel de estudios y ambiente social.
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo, 2011

Al tener presente el nivel de estudios y la percepción que poseen los participantes sobre el incremento que la calidad de vida (Gráfica 10), consideran que su participación en el programa ha incrementado su calidad de vida, destacando quienes han realizado *"Estudios Primarios"* y *"Medios Técnicos/Formación Profesional"* (p<0,01).



Gráfica 10: Relación ente estudios realizados y la percepción sobre el incremento de la calidad de vida
Fuente: Moreno-Crespo 2011

Discusión de resultados y conclusiones

En las gráficas 1 y 2, podemos observar que *ellas,* las mujeres participantes, son más jóvenes. Por otro lado, encontramos que la participación en los *Programas socioeducativos analizados* es mayor en las mujeres porque, tal y como afirma Amador, Monreal y Moreno-Crespo (2006, p. 10): "[. . .] la mujer mayor presenta mayores inquietudes a niveles socioeducativos que el hombre mayor, teniendo mayor participación en este tipo de actividades."

Teniendo presente que para el acceso a los *Programas socioeducativos analizados,* el requisito mínimo es tener habilidades lecto-escritoras, en el grupo analizado prevalecen los Estudios Primarios (39,2%) y Estudios Secundarios (27,2%). Sin embargo, entre las mujeres predominan los Estudios Primarios (45,8%), ante el masculino en "Estudios Medios Técnicos/ Formación Profesional" (22,7%) y en "Estudios Superiores/Universitarios" (28,8%). Aunque un 66,4% de los estudiantes de los *Programas socioeducativos analizados* poseen "Estudios Primarios" o "Enseñanza Secundaria/ Bachillerato", encontramos que a mayor edad, por encima de los 64 años, existe un predominio mayor de los "Estudios Superiores/Universitarios," y a edades más jóvenes (hacemos referencia a menores de 65 años) predominan los estudios de nivel medio (Gráfica 3 y 4).

En este sentido, en el *LBEA* (Consejería para la Igualdad y Bienestar Social 2010) se analiza profundamente la sociodemografía de los adultos mayores andaluces y establece que existe un alto porcentaje de personas mayores que carece de instrucción académica (62%, de las cuales un 15,86% carecían de habilidades de lecto-escritura). La distribución de la proporción restante se reparte del siguiente modo: 23% con formación de primer grado, 12% con formación de segundo grado y 3,43% con formación de tercer grado. Resaltamos que la incidencia del bajo nivel académico afecta más a las mujeres. Interpretamos que éste puede ser el motivo por el cual la representatividad femenina es más alta en los *Programas socioeducativos analizados.*

De igual forma, podemos afirmar que a mayor edad mayor nivel de formación. Sin embargo, analizando todos los datos, deducimos que esta relación se debe al mayor número de mujeres en la muestra, que además son más jóvenes que los hombres, unido a que su formación es más básica que la de *ellos.*

Los hombres denotan menos dificultades de aprendizaje que las mujeres, principalmente en cálculo y lenguaje, seguidas por inteligencia y estrategias de aprendizaje (Gráfica 5). Quienes tienen un nivel de formación básico, principalmente estudios primarios, tienen más dificultades de lenguaje, cálculo y estrategias de aprendizaje, seguido por dificultades de memoria y dificultades de inteligencia (Gráfica 6).

Deducimos que tanto la formación inciden en las dificultades de aprendizaje que encuentran los participantes en estos programas socioeducativos, lo cual puede encontrarse relacionado con la afirmación que aporta Sarrate (2002, p. 108): "[. . .] las investigaciones sobre la evolución de la inteligencia [. . .] demuestran que la capacidad mental se mantiene estable, sin que se produzca a penas pérdidas importantes hasta edades muy avanzadas."

Aquellas personas que tienen un nivel de formación básico, principalmente estudios primarios, poseen menor motivación académica (Gráfica 7). Podemos confirmar que el grado de motivación del alumnado de los programas socioeducativos analizados es positivo. Tal y como queda recogido, la motivación es relevante para el desarrollo de procesos cognitivos que promuevan el aprendizaje, ya que se produce en un contexto de interacción social, en el que se ponen de manifiesto las habilidades sociales. En los datos analizados observamos cómo es relevante la motivación en relación a el nivel de estudios ($p<0,01$). Por lo cual, consideramos que a mayor nivel de formación favorece una motivación mayor, debido a que nos encontramos en un medio que se domina.

Las valoraciones sobre las dimensiones ambientales son positivas, destacando la influencia en el ámbito social del nivel de estudios ($p<0,001$) en la gráfica 9 y sexo ($p<0,05$) en la gráfica 8. Por lo cual se comprueba la clara relación entre las mujeres y los Estudios Primarios, repercutiendo en una influencia negativa el ámbito social, cuestión que relacionamos también con mujeres que con jóvenes y que desde el entorno se prima sus obligaciones sobre sus inquietudes socioculturales.

Acentuando la satisfacción de vida en relación a la participación en *Programas socioeducativos analizados*, nos centramos en la ilusión por realizar tareas nuevas, la satisfacción con la etapa de la vida actual, la actitud positiva; así como la percepción sobre la vida en general. Sobre esta dimensión es en la que más altas puntuaciones hemos obtenido. El alumnado considera que su participación en el programa ha incrementado su calidad de vida (Gráfico 10), destacando quienes han realizado *"Estudios Primarios"*. Deducimos que la percepción del incremento de la calidad de vida sobre su participación en *Programas socioeducativos analizados* es mayor en estudios básicos, ya que son más conscientes del proceso o valoran más éste. Insistimos en el planteamiento realizado por Sarrate (2002, p. 110) al respecto: *"[. . .] la* *motivación para aprender se encuentra especialmente interrelacionada con la satisfacción de sus necesidades, pues se hace patente cuando existe una necesidad insatisfecha.*"

Llegados a este punto, destacamos que las conclusiones más relevantes a las que llegamos son que los participantes en los programas socioeducativos analizados: 1) No perciben dificultades de aprendizaje; 2) Se encuentran motivados y con habilidades sociales suficientes para desenvolverse en el ámbito académico; 3) Los ambientes académico, familiar y social le son favorables; 4) Consideran que su participación académica ha incrementado positivamente su calidad de vida.

Es por lo tanto, de relevante importancia, reconocer que las acciones referentes al adulto mayor no puede dejar de lado algo tan importante como es la educación, entendida como un proceso que se desarrolla durante toda la vida. La educación como facilitadora de la vida intelectual y espiritual así como crecimiento y desarrollo personal se mantiene a lo largo de los años. Es responsabilidad de todos nosotros contribuir a la mejora educativa de todas las generaciones. Por lo tanto, debemos tener presente que la sociedad debe atender las inquietudes educativas del adulto mayor, reconociendo su influencia en la calidad de vida.

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The Formation of Personal and Professional Identity of Future Religion Teachers

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Abstract: In the past fifteen years several studies dealt with the formation of teachers' identity. The authors of these works all agreed that the improvement of professional identity is an important condition in the process of becoming a teacher. They also consorted that this process is a long phenomenon influenced by many factors. Personal experience, attitude and previously seen examples all play an important role in this process. This study examines the improvement of professional identity in the cases of students attending the religion teacher part-time program of the Debrecen Reformed Theological University. This study analyses the connections between Protestant Christian and professional identity with the help of an open questionnaire answered by the students and the forming of Protestant Christian identity by using the student essays describing the personal motivations behind applying for the program.

Keywords: Religion and Ethics, Protestant identity, Religion teachers

Introduction

Religion and Ethics, as compulsory elective subjects, were introduced in the Hungarian state schools in the autumn of 2013. At this time the teaching of these subject started with the first and fifth graders and another two grades were added each year to receive this education. It took four years to apply the new system for all the eight grades of primary schools. After the first few years, observing the national statistics, it turned out that half of the students chose Religion, and half of them chose Ethics. (However, at the same time, the results show significant regional differences.) In contrast with the previous, the elective system of Religion classes, the increase in the number of students attending the classes required far more well-trained professionals than before. This increased need for professionals is indicated by the fact that between 2013 and 2015 both the number of groups and students were tripled. In the autumn of 2015, there were 58.547 students in 9.153 groups in the compulsory elective classes of Reformed Religion in state schools. For those Religion teachers, who have finished their studies, not only the system of state education offers jobs, but the expanding institutional system of the church as well. In the Transtibiscan Reformed Church District, which is the most important basis of the Debrecen Reformed Theological University (DRTU) training, in the school year of 2015/16, more than twenty thousand students were attending 55 Reformed educational institutions. The expansion of the church institutional system also indicates that more Religion teachers are needed. A new training, the Religion and Ethics teacher vocational training for colleagues with degrees in Pedagogy was made to fulfill this need. In this training applicants do not have to study pedagogical courses, the majority of the material includes theological and religion-pedagogic studies. For applicants with no Pedagogy degrees the opportunity to graduate in the traditional training of BA Religion teacher, based upon high-school graduation exams, will be still open. The Religion and Ethics teacher vocational training started in September 2016 at several Hungarian universities that offer religious training, including the DRTU.

During the examination of professional identities in the cases of part-time students, we must not forget the fact that whether they are working as teachers or in a different field at the moment, they all plan the alteration and expansion of an already existing professional life. Originally, none of them planned to become a religious education teacher, they all decided later to change their careers. To make this decision their personal motivation, the improvement of their faith and the strength of their devotion could have been of assistance, although, on the other hand, external points of view, congregational expectations, and school opportunities could have also played an important role. The increased number of lessons and unattended classes can mean an opportunity to serve, however, from an existential perspective, this situation offers part-time and full-time jobs to those, who are in need. The vocational training starts off with students of various education, but all of them will arrive at the same place: in the school year of 2016/2017 twenty-one students started the training in the DRTU, including eighteen women and three men. There are almost 30 years between the youngest and the oldest participants. There are significant differences between their educations as well. In the pedagogical vocational training, all students have pedagogical degrees, although, on the Catechist-Pastor Co-worker (CPC) training students have various educations: medical, economic, or dance teacher. This essay is based upon the questionnaire about the improvement of identity, answered by twenty-one students.

Theoretical Background

The problem of the improvement of teachers' identity plays an important role in pedagogical studies at the beginning of the 21st century (Lamote & Engels, 2010). It is obvious that the process of becoming a teacher does not start with the first practice teaching and does not end with the graduated teacher entering the classroom. Patterns, previously seen during school socialization, have a great influence on the formation of teachers' identity. Events of personal life and the formation of professional identity are in close relationship. Childhood experiences, observations concerning teachers' roles, happenings in personal life can all contribute to the formation of teachers' identity (Sugrue, 1997). Researchers all agree that the professional identity is not a stative entity, but an ever-changing dynamic phenomenon that is expanding with new and new elements all the time. This phenomenon can only be interpreted in the context of the personality of the given teacher, his or her personal experiences and pedagogical work. The process of identification with the profession cannot be separated from the concrete sociocultural context. "Becoming professional always occurs within a social-cultural context" (Lejlen-Kullasepp 2013, p. 105). That is why the formation of personal identity is in close relation with the formation of profession-related roles, experiences, and attitudes (Pillen, Beijaard & den Brok 2013). Identity formation has a personal life aspect. Events in private life can have a new emphasis after experiencing crises questioning identity and forming existence, which "follows from the necessity of [re]interpretation [. . .] evoking memory, which is closely connected to identity negotiation" (Gaál-Szabó 2017, p. 77): "The individual is forced again and again to reinterpret and reemphasize his or her own biography, to reconstruct it over and over again and to apply his or her previous biography to the new environment" (Pataki 2001, p. 228).

Professional identity has more components (Lamote & Engels 2010, p. 6). One of these components is the role of the expert. A teacher is expected to be a professional who knows what and how to teach. At the same time, what belongs to the role of the expert is not fixed, it changes all the time. It is also expected from a teacher to be able to handle devices of info-communication in connection with education, and to be able to participate in creating pedagogical programmes and institute curriculum by overstepping his or her subject-centred perspective and changing it to the vocational education system of the school, from the perspective of the whole school (Ferenczi 2009). This means that they must be able to do teamwork as members of a professional pedagogical workshop. The next element of professional identity is task orientation: "Task orientation refers to teacher's answers to the questions: What do I want to achieve with my pupils and how do I want to do this?" (Lamote & Engels 2010, p. 6). The content of task orientation changes, as does professional orientation, in parallel with the changes in educational goals and methods of mainstream trends. Another element of the formation of professional identity is the teacher's personal efficiency. For a teacher suffering from frustration because of students with difficulty or unmotivated pupils, the counter-agent for their frustration can be memories of previous results and professional and emotional conformation coming from co-workers. Teaching practice during the training has an important role in the forming of professional identity, where they can acquire classroom experience as teachers for the first time. The next, highlighted period of the training is the introductory acclimatization phase after graduating when they have to step out of the role of the student and face the new tasks and expectations as teachers. Very much like in the case of liminality in anthropological terms, the phase corresponds to "the in-between" yet "in a given socio-cultural space" (Gaál-Szabó 2013, p. 103). This phase is important in the solidification of professional identity because the experiences, attitudes and forming patterns during the first few years of the career, in many cases, will define the formation of attitudes, expectations, and relationship with students and colleagues for years.

Two greatly different conceptions have emerged concerning the structure of identity. According to the first one, identity is "none other but the changeable and volatile, completely situational consecutive projections of self-images or self-roles: the process of constructing situational self-images" (Pataki 2001, p. 206). In the other one, the emphasis is on a self-system (identity) that is stable, structured and hierarchical. In this way, the attention of the researchers was focused on the organizational principles of the system and the elements of the structure. According to Ferenc Pataki, the two conceptions do not exclude each other but complete one another. One aspect observes the forming, organizational principles and stability of the identity. The framework of the other one involves the more complex conceptual system of social behavior (Pataki 2001).

Types of the Formation of Protestant Christian Identity

Conversion is a paramount stage in the formation of the students' personal identity. It is a paramount stage because after conversion the previous fundaments of identity, believed to be firm, are being reinterpreted. The concomitant emotional characteristics of the process of conversion can be described in the pre-conversion phase as disheartenment, bitterness, and negative emotions (Fruttus 2003). The lifestyle and perspective led before conversion are seen as undesirable, negative perspective. The value-hierarchy, built in the self, collapses, thus creating a vacuum, from which the new and all-determining supreme value emerges – especially since, as Peter Gaál-Szabó points out in a different context, "Diffusing the experience of human unity and unity in one God into [one's] worldview proves [. . .] enlightening" (2014, p. 35). The new value-hierarchy results in a new identity. The phase following the conversion can be characterized by positive emotions, happiness, relief, and emancipation. These emotional concomitants are irrelevant to the speed of the conversion process, whether it was fast, happening suddenly or slow, taking a long time.

Because prior to the 1990 political changes religious education was a peripheral phenomenon in the state education, and there were only 10 church schools in Hungary, it is not surprising that more than half of the students did not receive religious education during their education. There are some among them who were led to God by a personal crisis, others were led by the example of a religious person or family. Many of them did not experience a sudden change, but rather a slow and gradual inner development process, which led them to conversion. Closely observed personal examples can have crucial importance for many. The other group of students was socialized in Protestant Christian families. Concerning these students such phases, as positive childhood experiences, in connection with the church is followed by a teenager distancing from it, then an adulthood re-joining can be seen as typical. Those, who had a strong, supporting, similar age community during their high school years could stay within the Christian community. Conscious commitment to Christ and his church was helped by the word from the Bible suddenly becoming living, reading experiences, personal stories or gradual inner spiritual development. During the subsequent evaluation, the different students all agreed that they understood God's leadership during their own spiritual journey.

The different ways from conversion to theology can be divided into two major groups. The first one is a way full of hardships and conflicts, through which the support from a mentor, a personal spiritual leader helped to get over. This mentor was usually a family member, a pastor or a close friend. A kind of person, who can see the hardships of the forming new life and can help with his or her experience and personal example. This presumes a very deep and mutually confident relationship. It is typical that a volunteer service among children had a positive, reinforcing effect on the experience of conversion. There are some in this group who were led back to the congregation, to their spiritual origins by their children attending a religious school.

The members of the other group did not go through spectacular religious crises, they evaluated their development as gradual. According to them, advancement in congregational services more or less led naturally to the application to the training. This application was often supported by factors as a request from the pastor or a service opportunity in the workplace.

Motivations, in relation to teaching Religion, can also be divided into two groups. Personal motivations belong to the first group. The personal motivation can either point at the students ("I would like to give them what I have received, show them the right way, to raise my children in a more conscious way") or themselves ("it reinforces me in my faith, my inner development have led to this"). The other group consists of external motivations, such as a request from the pastor or the opportunity of unattended Religion classes.

Concepts in Relation to the Role of the Religion Teacher

Most people mentioned love, professional preparedness, openness, guidance and active participation in church life as expectations in connection with Religion teachers. This agrees with the findings of previous research (Kotschy 2000). For the question "What would you like your students to think about you?" some answered with personal characteristics (love towards students, helpful, consequent, empathetic), while others answered in relation with their profession (keeps good classes, keeps discipline), or in relation to Christian faith (for example, the love towards God).

Almost all the answers were concordant concerning the question about the interconnection of personal and professional goals. All students declared that there was a complete concordance or strong connection. A few examples: "Even as a teacher I am a Christian first of all" (male between 36–54), "my goal as a person and professional is the same: to show the children the way to God." The interconnection between private life and professional life can be observed in these answers. Others had similar thoughts: "It is good when someone does not have a "job" but does what he or she likes to do, that makes them happy, and then it is not considered as a job. That is what I'd like to have and maybe I already have it" (male between 46–55). "For me, teaching is an attractive opportunity. I feel this opportunity as personal fulfillment" (female between 36–45). At the same time, there were students who see these two kinds of commitments as two grades built upon each other: "First, I had to find my faith to be a faithful example to others, so that others can find the way to God – even through me" (female between 26–35).

To the question "What would you like to do in the same way as a Religion teacher?" the students gave various answers in the first semester of the training. There were answers that mentioned a concrete action, like "I will read from the children's Bible" or "I will try to connect the different fields". In the other half of the answers, the students gave orientations: to accept and value all children, to reinforce their faith and to expand their knowledge. Most of them formulated general Christian values as an answer, such as maintaining commitment or having an exemplary, humble life. Besides these, tolerance, empathy, and maintaining the balance between family and work were also mentioned. Probably, they will be affected by many helping and impedimental factors when they will be placed into schools and congregations. The students mentioned indifferent parents, unmotivated children, increased stress associated with these problems, threatening exhaustion, and a constant shortage of time as hardships to be expected. On the other hand, prospective helping factors expected by the students can be the motivation of children coming from Christian families, the support of the pastor, the help coming from their families when facing hardships and the knowledge acquired at the university that can help you through the dead-center. It is interesting that the professional and emotional support of colleagues working in a similar scope of activities was completely absent from the list of helping factors. However, social support coming from those who are in a similar situation is one of the most important elements of the feeling of satisfaction in connection with work (Seligman, 2002).

In the meantime, as a consequence of introducing the compulsory elective Religion and Ethics, more and more children attend Religion classes without any previous attachment to any congregation or without religious socialization, we must observe the flip side of the coin as well. That is, in contemporary Hungary secularization is the fundamental medium of Christian education. Whether the students will do church or school service, they must understand this so that they do not set themselves unreachable goals. Friedrich Schweitzer summarizes the embeddedness of religious education into society in the past 35 years. However, he proceeds in his analysis from experiences gained primarily in German and Protestant areas and the processes introduced by him are relevant not only to Germany or Protestant churches: "The most important change in the evaluation of religious education is that the family refers to secularization. [. . .] Some interpreters even spoke of the religious desocialization of the family" (Schweitzer 2012, p. 93). Researchers agree that nowadays religious individualism is an important characteristic of family education. Religion is confined to the private sphere of family members, now we cannot really talk about a regulating system determining thinking and behavioral characteristics of a family which can hold together the whole family. The reason behind this is that opinions about religion are widely different in an average family. Various religions, religious attitudes, and affiliations are more and more complicated to synchronize. The will and ability to transmit traditional religious frames as value to the next generation is becoming less and less. This not only means that it is hard to build upon the precognitions brought from the family or from the congregation, but that the Religion teacher does not have to fight the distorted God-image or the effects of negative experiences. So that the teacher can have a fresh start and the opportunity not only to become a tutor of religious knowledge but a person who demonstrates Christ's love for the students. The attitude of spiritual care is more important than demanding objective knowledge. "For the little child the Religion teacher also represents the loving God, thus the teacher's accepting behavior makes the child experience something divine" (Kovácsné 2014). There is an increasing need for this because various statistics show an alarming picture of the state of Hungarian families. A great many children carry the burden of family crises that the child cannot process or understand. A Religion teacher who has the trust of the students and treats them as equal partners can be asked a lot of difficult or unanswerable questions. It is a great temptation for the pedagogue to see and treat the badly formulated, distress signaling questions of a child as distracting factors, disturbing the order of the class, since the teacher must go on with the material and is responsible for the development of other children in the group. The most a teacher can do in this situation is to listen and understand. In this way, the teacher can express for the child that he or she is not alone with these questions, spiritual problems.

Conclusion

Since 2013 the number of groups studying Religion has significantly increased in Hungary. This means considerable challenge not only for the schools and congregations organizing Religion teaching but for the institutes participating in training Religion educators. In the course of Religion education, the teachers need to have various knowledge, skills, and competence. The role of a teacher also involves a system of complex expectations with many components. This is pronouncedly true for the role of the Religion teacher, who is simply the representative of the "church" for many parents, teachers, and students in the school. Digression is frequent between the external expectations and the standard set by the Religion teacher for him- or herself. There are parents who only expect religious education to make their undisciplined, revolting children obedient. Others think that the most important goal of Religion teaching is to make children behave morally. Many parents want to give an opportunity to their children with Religion because it was forbidden to them in their childhoods. "They must know the different values first so that later they can choose from them" – they say. There are some, who make their children attend Religion in a fear that they might repeat the mistakes their parents had done, because "they cannot learn anything bad there." According to some people, Christianity belongs to the knowledge of European culture and civilization, and that is why religious knowledge is unavoidable. However, for the Protestant Christian religious education, the main motivation is not given in these, but in Jesus's universal missionary command. Not the temporarily changing social context, but Jesus's universal missionary command marks the place of religious education in the service of the church.

The purpose of religious education is universal, but at the same time in the different settlements and schools with different sociocultural attributes, the Religion teacher has to face significantly various challenges. In a small village school, where most of the students are disadvantaged, a Religion teacher has completely different kinds of tasks compared to a city secondary school teacher, in which school most of the students were chosen to get in. The attitude, knowledge, and discipline of the students, just as the place and prestige Religion has in various schools can differ significantly. Although, there is no difference in what is expected of a Religion teacher by his or her environment: general theological, pedagogical, methodological preparedness, and also great empathy, helpfulness, supporting behavior and personal attentiveness. At the same time, personality and pedagogical identity are changing constantly. In this process, a lot of happiness, success, but also failures are to be expected. The teacher must be prepared that not only plenty of positive feedbacks is to be expected, but the chance of mistakes or the fruitless results of a work done with enthusiasm and devotion. He or she must be prepared because, without constant positive confirmation and supportive professional community, the spiritual processes leading to burnout can increase easily. The environment does not expect the religion teachers of today to declare dogmatic theses with irrevocable authority, but to help the students make their way in life. To do this these teachers will need to synchronize their personal faith, value, the image of the profession, and professional ambition. Conversations about the formation of religious and professional socialization during the training can help them to improve their realistic role comprehension and personal and professional identity. There is also a great need to encourage the professional panel that helps during the first few years and also to develop a mentor program that can help to process together various experiences. These supporting factors can help to maintain the concordance between personal and professional identity for a long time.

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Sadness and Happiness in the Face and Other Parts of the Human Body
Metonymy, Metaphor, and Their Interaction

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Abstract: The paper is a corpus-based study of body part metonymies and metaphors of the concepts of happiness and sadness. Happiness and sadness are basic emotions in Ekman's (1977) sense and can be distinguished by universal facial expressions throughout the world. Lakoff (1987) and Kövecses (1990, 2000) claim that emotions are accompanied by both physiological and behavioral reactions, which are referred to by figurative linguistic expressions instantiating metonymies and metaphors. A large number of these figurative expressions describe changes in the face area, however, our corpus shows that it is not only the face where happiness and sadness appear but also the eyes, head, and heart as well. The paper looks at English and Russian linguistic expressions containing the terms face/lico, eyes/glaza, head/golova, and heart/serdce to investigate metonymies and metaphors of the English and Russian concepts of happiness and sadness.

Keywords: sadness, happiness, metonymy, metaphor, metaphtonymy, interaction

1. Introduction

This paper aims at studying metaphors, metonymies and their interaction in English linguistic expressions of sadness and happiness containing the words *face, eyes, head, heart* and other words related to the human body. Most of the expressions under investigation and quoted here as examples are sentences collected from online dictionaries, which are listed in the References.

The paper is inspired by Goosens's (2002) study of the interaction of metonymy and metaphor and uses a cognitive linguistic approach to the analysis of happiness and sadness expressions in English.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1. Metonymy and Metaphor and Their Interaction

Emotion is one of the most important phenomena of human behavior. It is a complex system of changes taking place in an individual's mind and body. The changes are typically short-lasting reactions to things happening to us and around us. Psychologists claim that emotions comprise of bodily reactions, facial expressions and emotional reactions, a cognitive appraisal of the situation in question, which says whether the events concerned are thought of as good or bad (cf. Bányai 2013, p. 51, Atkinson et al. 1997, p. 309).

The language of emotion is very informative about the details of emotional experiences and contains a lot of literal and figurative expressions. Throughout different languages and cultures literal expressions generally describe physiological reactions and bodily changes accompanying emotions (*She turned pale and became speechless as she read the news about the accident*), while figurative expressions refer to events that are usually not visible but are rather subjective internal experiences of an individual (*It is really heart-warming to see the success of my children*).

Linguistic investigation is concerned with what details of experience are revealed in the language of emotion. Wierzbicka (1999, p. 276 – qtd. in Goatly 2007, p. 223) identifies three kinds of universals saying that "In all languages, people can describe cognitively-based feelings via observable bodily symptoms, [. . .] with reference to bodily sensations [and] via bodily images." By observable bodily symptoms, Wierzbicka means behaviors like facial expressions which are voluntary or semi-voluntary ways of communicating emotions. By bodily sensations she means (involuntary) bodily events like blushing, for example, and by bodily images she means "expressions referring to imaginary events taking place inside the body, used as a basis for describing the subjective experience of feelings assumed to be based on thoughts" (Wierzbicka 1999, p. 305 – qtd. in Goatly 2007, p. 255).

The above-mentioned sentence (a) *She turned pale and became speechless as she read the news about the accident* can have a literal meaning describing the bodily symptoms of change of skin color in the face area and inability to speak. However, the same description may have a figurative, that is, metonymic reading here to refer to fright or anxiety. The other example (b) *It is really heart-warming to see the success of my children* describes a bodily sensation referring to an imaginary event taking place inside the body. Probably it is difficult to find objective evidence to this subjective experience, however, warmth and happiness are easily associated with each other, or to use cognitive linguistic terminology the concept of happiness is metaphorically understood in terms of warmth in the heart. Example (a) is an instantiation of the metonymy CHANGE OF SKIN COLOUR STANDS FOR EMOTION/FRIGHT and INABILITY TO SPEAK STANDS FOR EMOTION/FRIGHT, while (b) is an instantiation of the metaphor HAPPINESS IS WARMTH IN THE HEART. Cognitive linguistics views both the two metonymies and the metaphor as pure because there is no other cognitive mechanism involved in them.

However, besides pure metaphor and pure metonymy, there are cases of interaction between the two cognitive mechanisms. Goossens (2002, p. 350) coins the term metaphtonymy and assigns it "the status of a mere cover term which should help to increase our awareness of the fact that metaphor and metonymy can be intertwined." He explores the interaction using a database of conventionalized figurative expressions denoting linguistic action. In his analysis, Goossens finds four kinds of interactions, namely metaphor from metonymy, metonymy within metaphor, demetonymisation inside a metaphor and metaphor within metonymy. In his conclusion, he suggests a distinction between integrated metaphtonymy and cumulative metaphtonymy. In integrated metaphtonymy, a metaphor and a metonymy are combined in one and the same expression. In cumulative metaphtonymy "a metaphor is derived from a metonymy or vice versa" (Goossens 2002, p. 369). The first type of metaphtonymy includes metonymy within metaphor and metaphor within metonymy, while the second category includes metaphor from metonymy and metonymy from metaphor. In metaphor from metonymy a metonymic basis is activated and is understood metaphorically, for example in *beat one's breast* "the religious practice of beating one's breast while one confesses one's sins publicly" is understood metaphorically as "make a noisy open show of sorrow that may be partly pretence" (Goossens 2002, p. 362), which means that the metaphor is derived from a metonymy. In metonymy within a metaphor the metaphorical expression contains a part understood metonymically just like in the phrase *She caught the minister's ear and persuaded him to accept her plan*, where *the minister's ear* stands for the minister's attention within the phrase *catch someone's ear* metaphorically understood as "catch someone's sympathetic attention or notice" (Goossens 2002, p. 364–5). For demetonymisation inside a metaphor Goossens gives only one example, *pay lip service to* claiming that the metonymic understanding of "lip" for "speaking" needs to be "dissociated" from the whole phrase in order to get the metaphorical reading of lip service "service as if with the lips only" (Goossens 2002, p. 365–366). Cserép (2009, p. 89) argues against this explanation claiming that lip does not lose its metonymic interpretation, therefore the phrase is an example of metonymy within metaphor. The fourth type of interaction is <u>metaphor within metonymy,</u> which is instantiated by one expression only in Goossens' database: *be/get on one's hind legs*. Goossens argues that without the word "hind" the expression can only get a metonymic interpretation, however, adding "hind" "forces us to reinterpret the expression in terms of an animal standing up" (Goossens 2002, p. 366), that is, to conceptualize a human person as an animal, which adds a metaphorical reading to this part of the phrase. Cserép (2009, p. 88–89) finds the expression an example of pure metaphor where the source domain of animals is mapped onto the target domain of people and he rightly calls our attention to the pure metonymy *get on one's feet*.

A different kind of approach to metonymy and metaphor can be seen in Goatly's *Washing the Brain* (2007). Goatly discusses the role of metonymies and metaphors in human conceptualization and finds that often metaphors have a metonymic basis since metonymies usually capture physical characteristics of things observed in the real world and physiological changes perceived in the human body. The link between metonymy and metaphor is most obvious in the case of emotions "since emotion is very often defined in terms of disturbance to bodily equilibrium, or is manifest in changes to the body. The strong correlation between emotion and bodily experience and perception of the body gives a real-world or metonymic basis, which can be elaborated metaphorically" (Goatly 2007, p. 215).

When studying emotions we can find that facial expressions and physiological changes are the most easily observable bodily experiences to talk about. Expressions like *he has gone white (with fear)* and *she has turned red (with rage)* are instantiations of the metonymy CHANGE OF COLOUR IN THE FACE AREA STANDS FOR EMOTION (Kövecses 1990, p. 173) and refer to fear and anger, respectively. Such expressions are instantiations of a pure metonymy. A similar example of describing a physiological change accompanying an emotion is, for instance, *My heart was pounding* with reference to excitement or surprise or fright. Deignan and Potter (2004, p. 1224) identify it as an image, where both the literal and the non-literal interpretations of the phrase are activated in a way that the reader or hearer makes inferences based on their knowledge of body-mind links and the "inferences could be seen as metaphorical". We share Cserép's (2009, p. 89–90) view that "[t]he inferences are metonymic, since they are based on the link between body part action and emotion."

Discussing the metaphor theme EMOTION IS MOVEMENT Goatly points out a more complex mechanism, in which a metonymical expression like *a shiver down the spine* meaning "feeling of excitement, pleasure or fright" is used in a metaphorical expression *"Jessye Norman's singing sends shivers down my spine*" (Goatly 2007, p. 201). In Goatly's analysis *shiver down the spine* is an instantiation of the metonymy CAUSE AS EFFECT, specifically EMOTION AS SYMPTOM and he claims that "because the physical manifestations of emotion can stand as metonyms for the emotion itself, [. . .] various kinds of slight shaking tend to metaphorically represent the emotions that cause them" (Goatly 2007, p. 201). We think that this example is similar to Deignan and Potter's (2004) image *My heart was pounding* in the sense that there is a clear association with an emotion through the reference to a bodily experience, however, the phrase *Jessye Norman's singing* as the cause of shivers down the spine is personified and therefore it turns the whole construct a metaphorical expression. It must be noted here that examples like this would be identified as metonymy within metaphor by Goossens.

A further remark to be made here is that although it is clear from Goossens' and Goatly's studies that metaphor and metonymy may often interact in rather complex mechanisms and the interaction results in very complex constructs, neither of them discusses the interaction of two or more metaphors or two or more metonymies. Later in the present paper, we examine whether there are instantiations of combinations of metonymies or combinations of metaphors. In the remainder of the paper, we use the term combimetonymy for combinations of two (or more) metonymies and combimetaphor for combinations of two (or more) metaphors.

2.2. Body Parts in Emotion Expressions

Ekman (1972, 1982, 1992) claims that there are six basic emotions (anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise) that are accompanied by typical facial expressions throughout the world, therefore, he calls them universal emotions and universal facial expressions. The important face areas are the eyes and eyebrows, the mouth and the nose, where characteristic movements (opening, closing, raising, lowering, etc.) may be observed, as well as the cheeks, where the change of skin color (turning white or red) may signal a change of emotions.

As a matter of course, the language of emotions describes the characteristic movements of these parts of the face. Wierzbicka (1999, p. 182–184) offers a combination of structural and semantic analysis of facial expressions and identifies eight movements of different parts of the face as minimal meaningful units such as (1) brow furrowed – eyebrows drawn together, (2) eyebrows raised, (3) eyes wide open, (4) corners of the mouth raised, (5) corners of the mouth lowered, (6) mouth open (while not speaking), (7) lips pressed together and (8) nose wrinkled. She also points out that these meaningful units may get a metonymic and metaphorical interpretation at the same time, for example, wrinkling the nose shows disgust (metonymic interpretation) and it means metaphorically that we want to avoid contact with something bad just like when we smell something malodorous.

Besides facial expressions, there may be several physiological changes that accompany emotions. Some of the physiological changes are easily observable, like blushing, sweating, or fastened breathing, while others, like an increase in heartbeat or blood pressure, are not so easily noticeable. However, references to such experiences are often used to describe emotions. Therefore we think that not only terms related to the human face but also terms denoting other parts of the body should be included in research investigating the language of emotions. As a reference point it is interesting to look at Goossens's (2002, p. 359) classification of body parts, however, it must be noted that he was concerned with an investigation of metaphor and metonymy in expressions containing body parts for linguistic action: (1) "body part which could be instrumental in the speech act": *mouth, tongue, lip(s), jaw, throat, chin, voice* (not a body part, but closely associated with the body); (2) *head, ears, neck, nose, eye(s), brain, brow, eyebrow, cheek, hairs, profile*; (3) *trunk, heart, breast, chest, bosom, belly, back*; (4) *hand, palm, finger, knuckles*; (5) *legs, foot/feet, knee(s)*; and (6) *blood* ("a body part only in the loose sense of the word").

We have three remarks to make at this point. First, the fact that such non-physical actions as linguistic action have a great number of expressions coined with body part terms supports the cognitive linguistic view that our cognition is rooted in bodily experiences, therefore our bodily experiences give the experiential basis for our metonymical and metaphorical conceptualization of the world around us (including linguistic action) and consequently they serve as source domains for conceptualizing more complex and more abstract target domains like linguistic action (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, p. 56–60, Kövecses 2002, p. 243–244, Kövecses 2005, p. 247). For example, *close-lipped* means "silent or saying little" and *put one's foot down* means "speak or act firmly on a particular matter" (Goossens 2002, p. 362–363). Second, we do not claim that all body parts listed in Goossens' classification are equally represented in the language of emotions but a number of them are relevant with respect to emotions. It seems that it is difficult to find an expression with *trunk* or *knuckles*, for instance, to refer to an emotion, or at least we have found no example of their use. On the other hand, based on our corpus we think that *face* definitely needs to be included in the list of body parts applied in expressions of emotions, and in expressions of sadness and happiness in particular, for instance, *Jack's face was as long as a fiddle* for sadness or *"How nice", said Mary with a happy expression on her face* for happiness. Third, it is not only abstract ideas (like linguistic action) or very common human experiences (like emotions) that may have their source domains in body parts but also such distant areas of experience as oenology. Pungă(2016) finds that the human body may serve as the source domain for the target domain *wine* in anthropomorphic metaphors in winespeak, for example, *Our 2014 Vidal Blanc has a nose of green apple and pear with smooth, balanced acidity, notes of melon, and a bright finish,* where nose denotes the smell of the wine, and *The legs are clues to how much alcohol or residual sugar the wine contains* (Pungă 2016, p. 75), where legs mean the remains of wine on the inside of a wine glass after the wine has been swirled. Pungă argues that not only human anatomy but also appearance, personality traits, human life cycles, etc. are mapped onto wine and she concludes that metaphorical expressions like the above mentioned are all instantiations of the generic metaphor WINE IS A HUMAN BEING (Pungă 2016, p. 81). Finally, Pungă's findings, too, are all in line with the general cognitive view that practically all metaphors have their experiential basis, and support the claim that the use of body parts in metaphors seems rather productive in relation to a variety of human experience.

2.3. The Container Metaphor

The last idea we are using as a starting point in our investigation is that in the conceptualization of emotions the container metaphor plays a very central role. Kövecses (1990, 2000) identifies the following generic metaphors with the container image: EMOTIONS ARE CONTAINERS; EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER; THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS. When discussing specific emotions Kövecses identifies specific level metaphors like SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER or THE

ANGRY PERSON IS A PRESSURIZED CONTAINER. Cognitive linguistic literature mainly talks about the human body as a container for the emotions (Lakoff 1987, Kövecses 1990, 2000), for example, *I am filled with sorrow* (Kövecses 2000, p. 24) or emotions as containers for the person experiencing an emotion, for example, *In his astonishment Mark could not say a word.*

Besides identifying anger, fear and sadness as fluids in a container Esenova (2011) also finds that these emotions can be conceptualized as pure or mixed substances, dangerous substances, color, or even as drink and food substances. However, she does not investigate the containers for these substances although her examples show the voice, the eyes, the head, and heart also as containers for sadness as in

There was a shade of sadness in the young man's voice… (Esenova 2011, p. 100)
...her eyes were still filled with pure sadness. (Esenova 2011, p. 102)
I will think to myself "I haven't thought about my dad today" and in some respects it's nice not to have a head full of grief all-day every day. (Esenova 2011, p. 98)
Yesterday my heart was full of sadness. (Esenova 2011, p. 99)

The above sentences instantiate the metaphors SADNESS IS A SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER.

3. Our Data

Before the discussion of metaphors and metonymies in our collection of sadness and happiness expressions, we first provide a brief description of the corpus. We have found the 48 items in our database and classify them according to different groups of body parts:

a. 9 items contain face or eyes: there are 1 happiness expression and 5 sadness expressions with face and 3 sadness expressions with eyes,
b. 7 items contain mouth, throat or voice (not a body part, but closely associated with the body (cf. Goossens 2002, p. 359): there are 1 happiness expression with throat, 1 sadness expression with mouth and 5 sadness expressions with voice,
c. 7 items contain head, brain or mind (the last two are not body parts again, but are closely associated with [the functioning of] the head): there are 4 sadness expressions with head, 1 happiness expression with brain and 2 sadness expressions with mind,

d. 15 items contain heart, chest, breast, shoulders or neck: there are 5 happiness and 5 sadness expressions with heart, 2 sadness expression with chest, and 1 happiness expression with breast, 1 sadness expression with shoulders, 1 sadness expression with neck,
e. 10 items contain some reference to the body (however, the term body does not appear in the expressions): there are 7 happiness expressions and 3 sadness expressions.

In the classification above we put the anatomically related body parts in one group. As can be seen, lower parts of the body (for example, *legs, foot/feet,* etc.) are not represented in our database of happiness and sadness expressions. We assume the reason may be that movements of the legs are not very typical in states of happiness and sadness.

4. Research Questions

In the remainder of the present paper, we investigate

1. what metaphors and metonymies are instantiated in our corpus,
2. which body parts serve as containers for happiness and sadness and
3. whether there are examples of combimetonymy, combimetaphor, and metaphtonymy in our corpus.

5. Research Findings and Discussion

5.1. face, eyes

The human face and eyes are very informative in relation to our emotions and in the language of emotions descriptions of facial expressions are easy to find. A sad face is typically seen as long and the eyes are usually downcast. In our corpus we have found the following examples: *His face was as long as a fiddle. Mary has a long face. She walked with downcast eyes after the news of her child's death.* If these sentences are used in a non-literal sense, they get a metonymic reading to mean sadness, thus they are instantiations of the metonymies LONG FACE STANDS FOR SADNESS and DOWNCAST EYES STAND FOR SADNESS. We also have expressions like *He had a gloomy face, He was walking around with a sad face* and … *said John with a sad/gloomy expression on his face*, which are literal descriptions of a sad person's facial expression. In *with a sad/gloomy expression on his face* "face" is a place/surface where facial expressions, that is, signs of sadness appear. Thus the metonymies A SAD FACE STANDS FOR SADNESS and A SAD EXPRESSION ON ONE'S FACE STANDS FOR SADNESS. Similarly one can say things *with a happy face* or *with a happy expression on his/her face*, therefore we also have the metonymies A HAPPY FACE STANDS FOR HAPPINESS and A HAPPY EXPRESSION ON ONE'S FACE STANDS FOR HAPPINESS.

In the expressions *...her eyes were still filled with pure sadness* (Esenova 2011, p. 102) and *The large, magnificent brown eyes, with a tinge of melancholy in their depths…* (Esenova 2011, p. 100) the eyes are containers for sadness, and in the former example, sadness is conceptualized as a fluid, while in the latter as a color. The expressions are instantiations of the metaphors SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, SADNESS IS A COLOUR SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER and THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR SADNESS, thus their combinations SADNESS IS A FLUID IN THE EYE CONTAINER and SADNESS IS A COLOUR SUBSTANCE IN THE EYE CONTAINER.

Another example of sadness is *"My marriage is over", she said with tears in her eyes*, where the phrase *with tears in her eyes* has a literal meaning describing the behavioral reaction typically accompanying intense sadness. However, the phrase may get a metonymic reading and stand for sadness, that is, TEARS IN ONE'S EYES STAND FOR SADNESS. It is also interesting to compare the following two expressions *her eyes were filled with tears* and *her eyes were filled with sadness.* Because tears belong to the category of fluid and sadness is conceptualized as a fluid, too, and the eyes are containers for both, the possible metonymic reading of the former phrase interplays with the metaphoric reading of the latter (SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER). It also means that the eyes are not only containers for tears but also for sadness. Thus, we have the parallel between "tears are a fluid in the eye container" and "sadness is a fluid in the eye container", where the first has a literal meaning and this literal meaning refers, at the same time, to the experiential basis of the metonymy TEARS IN ONE'S EYES STAND FOR SADNESS. The second phrase instantiates the metaphor we identified in the previous paragraph.

5.2. mouth, throat, voice

The phrase *down in the mouth* may have either a literal or a metonymic reading in *The Roman Orator was down in the mouth; finding himself thus cheated by the money-changer.* The expression comes from the fact that the corners of a sad (or disappointed) person's mouth are usually drawn down, which is the fifth item (corners of the mouth lowered) among Wierzbicka's eight minimal meaningful units of facial expressions. The expression is an instantiation of the pure metonymy LOWERED CORNERS OF THE MOUTH STAND FOR SADNESS.

The following string of sentences shows happiness as a dangerous substance first, then as a fluid. *Happiness choked my throat like an anthem. It flowed through me like a river from the beginning of the column to its end*. Throat in the first sentence is the location or container for happiness, while in the second the body of the happy person serves as the container for the emotion. Thus HAPPINESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE THROAT IS A CONTAINER FOR HAPPINESS are the components of the combimetaphors HAPPINESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN THE THROAT CONTAINER and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN THE THROAT CONTAINER. (It is interesting to note that emotion in general and intense emotions are conceptualized as dangerous substances that cause choking, that is, people may become speechless when they experience certain emotions, for example: *she was choking with emotion* and a*nger choked his word.*)

As we have already pointed out voice is not a body part but is closely associated with the organs of speech and by way of this association it is closely related to emotions because ways of speaking and the quality of the voice are characteristic of many emotions (and mental states), for example: *worry remained suspended in her voice* and *a frosty sparkle in his voice that presupposed opposition*. In the following examples voice serves as the container for sadness, however, sadness, that is the thing contained, is conceptualized in different ways:

Evelyn's voice was so filled with despair that Kate felt rage again. (Esenova 2011, p. 99)
There was a shade of sadness in the young man's voice… (Esenova 2011, p. 100)
There was also a tinge of sadness in Gerry Britton's voice when he was asked about his old club. (Esenova 2011, p. 100)

In the first sentence despair is conceptualized as a fluid, in the other two sentences sadness is conceptualized as a color substance, and they each instantiate a combination of the pure metaphors SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, SADNESS IS A COLOUR IN A CONTAINER and THE VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS. Thus the combimetaphors SADNESS IS A FLUID IN THE VOICE CONTAINER and SADNESS IS A COLOUR IN THE VOICE CONTAINER.

5.3. head, mind, brain

In our corpus, we have four sentences containing the term *head*. The first two can be classified as either literal expressions or weakly metonymic following Radden (2002, p. 409) and Cserép (2009, p. 90): *her head drooped sadly* and *John drooped his head (sadly)*, which capture one typical detail of a sad person's body posture. The underlying metonymy is DROOPING ONE'S HEAD STANDS FOR SADNESS. The following two examples may only get a metaphoric reading. In *[Peter] felt depression settle on his head like a sick crow* depression is conceptualized as a dangerous animal (a sick bird in this case, which is supported by the simile) and head as its seat or location. In *it's nice not to have a head full of grief all-day every day* (Esenova 2011, p. 98) grief is a fluid and the head is its container. The latter two sentences instantiate the combination of the pure metaphors SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE HEAD IS A LOCATION FOR SADNESS, THE HEAD IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS. Thus the combimetaphors SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL ON THE HEAD LOCATION and SADNESS IS A FLUID IN THE HEAD CONTAINER.

The sentences *Sheila was out of her mind with grief* and *depression crept like a fog into her mind* present mind as a container, but in the first sentence, it is a container for the emotionally calm person, while in the second it is a container for the emotion. In the first sentence, grief is conceptualized as insanity or as the cause of insanity. In the second sentence, depression is seen as an animal in the mind container. The pure metaphors that are instantiated in combination are SADNESS IS INSANITY, SADNESS IS AN ANIMAL, THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR A SANE PERSON and THE MIND IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS. Thus the combimetaphors SADNESS IS INSANITY IN THE MIND CONTAINER and SADNESS IS AN ANIMAL IN THE MIND CONTAINER.

The last example in this group is *happiness filled her brain like wine*, where happiness is seen as a fluid, and brain is a container for it, that is, HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE BRAIN IS A CONTAINER FOR HAPPINESS interact in the combimetaphor HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN THE BRAIN CONTAINER.

5.4. heart, chest, breast, shoulders, neck

In this group of examples, we have five body parts that are related to the trunk. ”Heart” seems to be the most often used body part term in our corpus and is mainly a container and rarely a location for both sadness and happiness.

First, let us discuss examples of sadness metaphors and metonymies. The heart is a location in the following examples, … *felt melancholy grip him, like a pain in the heart* and *She had borne about with her for years like an arrow sticking in her heart the grief, the anguish*, and sadness is conceptualized as a dangerous animal in the first, while a dangerous object in the second. The sentences instantiate combinations of the pure metaphors SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS OBJECT, THE HEART IS A LOCATION FOR SADNESS, that is, SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL IN THE HEART LOCATION and SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS OBJECT IN THE HEART LOCATION.

In the following two examples there is no emotion term, however, there is an apparent connotation with sadness. Based on our folk views we think that emotions are seated in the heart and getting bad news, and especially news of someone's death causes sadness. So in *The news of his death [Byron's] came down upon my heart like a mass of lead* the heart is a location for the news about someone's death and the news is the cause of sadness, which is not overtly mentioned in the sentence. The sentence combines a metonymy and a metaphor, therefore we identify a metaphtonymy in Goossens' (2002) sense, namely a metonymy within metaphor. The underlying metonymy is THE CAUSE OF SADNESS STANDS FOR SADNESS (the generic level metonymy is CAUSE STANDS FOR EFFECT), and the underlying metaphor is THE HEART IS A LOCATION FOR SADNESS and their interaction results in the metaphtonymy /metonymy within metaphor/ THE HEART IS A LOCATION FOR THE CAUSE OF SADNESS STANDING FOR SADNESS. In contrast to this metonymy within metaphor, we identify a metaphor within metonymy in the sentence *[He] wore his broken heart like a mourning band.* Here the heart is a fragile object and is, at the same time, the symptom of sadness, which stands for sadness. Thus the metaphors THE HEART IS A FRAGILE OBJECT and THE HEART IS A LOCATION FOR SADNESS and the metonymy THE SYMPTOM OF SADNESS STANDS FOR SADNESS (the generic level metonymy is SYMPTOM FOR EFFECT, which is analogous to CAUSE FOR EFFECT), are combined in the metaphtonymy / metaphor within metonymy/ A BROKEN HEART STANDS FOR SADNESS.

We make two remarks at this point. One, in the metaphor within metonymy A BROKEN HEART STANDS FOR SADNESS two metaphors interact with each other and are embedded in a metonymy, of which there is no example in Goossens' (2002) analysis, whereas in the metonymy within metaphor THE HEART IS A LOCATION FOR THE CAUSE OF SADNESS we have seen the interaction of one metaphor and one metonymy and it is the metaphor that embeds the metonymy. Two, Goossens says nothing about the possibility of the interaction of more than one metaphor and one metonymy in metaphtonymy. However, we think that both in theory and in practice it is possible that more than one metaphor interacts with a metonymy (or more than one metonymy interacts with a metaphor), just like in the example A BROKEN HEART STANDS FOR SADNESS above.

The chest may also be conceptualized as a location or container for emotions. In *Grief sat on his chest like a dragon* sadness is conceptualized as a dangerous animal and the chest is its location, while in *Sadness that, over the years, had gathered in his chest like matter in a clogged drain* sadness is seen as a dangerous substance and the chest as a container for it. In both cases the similes support or reinforce the figurative meaning, or in other words, they help to understand the metaphors SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL, SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE and THE CHEST IS A LOCATION FOR SADNESS and THE CHEST IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS, which are combined in SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL IN THE CHEST LOCATION and SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN THE CHEST CONTAINER.

We have only found one example with “neck” in our corpus. It shows the human body similar to a bottle (or jug or jar) full of some fluid: *(I felt depressed,) filled to the neck with sadness like a carafe with bad wine*. The underlying pure metaphors are SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS and their combination is SADNESS IS A FLUID IN THE BODY CONTAINER.

The last example of sadness in this group is an instantiation of the combination of the metonymies DROOPING SHOULDERS STAND FOR SADNESS and THE CAUSE OF SADNESS STANDS FOR SADNESS: *She walked with drooping shoulders after the news of her child’s death*. We identify the combimetonymy DROOPING SHOULDERS CAUSED BY HEARING BAD NEWS STAND FOR SADNESS.

Our corpus has five examples of the use of the term “heart” in happiness expressions. Some of them are rather complex in the sense that they are either a combination of metaphors or a combination of metaphors and metonymies. *Happiness … descended upon her heart, like a cloud of morning dew in a dell of wild-flowers* is a relatively simple construct since it is an instantiation of the combination of two pure metaphors HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR HAPPINESS, that is, HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN THE HEART CONTAINER. *(Heart is) as full of sunshine as a hay field* seems more complex combining three pure metaphors HAPPINESS IS SUNSHINE, HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR HAPPINESS in the triple combimetaphor HAPPINESS IS THE HEART FULL OF SUNSHINE. (The last metaphor may have the version HAPPINESS IS SUN(SHINE) IN THE HEART CONTAINER, which is instantiated by *The sun in my heart comes up like a Javanese orange*.)

Examples like *It was heart-warming to see the happiness of the children* and *(Their hearts were open and) sweet sensations flowed in them like honey* show that positive emotions cause (or at least are associated with) pleasant bodily experiences in the heart. The underlying pure metaphors are POSITIVE EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN A CONTAINER and THE HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR HAPPINESS/EMOTIONS. The combimetaphors are POSITIVE EMOTIONS ARE FLUIDS IN THE HEART CONTAINER and HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN THE HEART CONTAINER.

Our last example in this group is *Exhilaration spread through his breast like some pleasurable form of heartburn*, which instantiates the interaction of the metaphors HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE BREAST IS A CONTAINER FOR HAPPINESS in the combimetaphor HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN THE BREAST CONTAINER.

5.5. "the body"

In the previous section, we have pointed out that the human body can be thought of as a container for sadness/depression as in *(I felt depressed,) filled to the neck with sadness like a carafe with bad wine*, where depression is conceptualized as a fluid. Using the part of speech classification we can say that combinations of certain prepositions and personal pronouns referring to someone experiencing an emotion can also refer to the body as a container for sadness and happiness (and, of course, for other emotions, too). However, the things contained, that is, the emotions in question may be conceptualized in several different ways. In *There's a corrosive sadness in her, because of that* (Esenova 2011, p. 100) sadness is conceptualized as a dangerous substance in a container and the body as a container for sadness, in *Joy leaping within me … like a trout in a brook* joy is conceptualized as a (playful) animal, while in *Joy rises in me like a summer morn*, joy is conceptualized as the sun (or the dawn perhaps). In the section on heart, we have seen that happiness is associated with the sun and sunshine, so sunrise (a source domain concept) may well be mapped onto the rising of happiness/joy (a target domain concept). The underlying metaphors in the above examples are SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN A CONTAINER, HAPPINESS IS A

(PLAYFUL) ANIMAL IN A CONTAINER, HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, HAPPINESS IS SUNRISE IN A CONTAINER, THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR HAPPINESS, respectively. We identify the following combimetaphors here SADNESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE IN THE BODY CONTAINER, HAPPINESS IS A PLAYFUL ANIMAL IN THE BODY CONTAINER, HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN THE BODY CONTAINER, HAPPINESS IS SUNRISE IN THE BODY CONTAINER.

The sentence *Despair howled round his inside like* a *wind* also supports that emotions are inside the body, that is, the body is a container for emotions, and shows despair/sadness as a dangerous animal. The metaphors SADNESS IS A FEARFUL ANIMAL and THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS are combined in SADNESS IS A FEARFUL ANIMAL IN THE BODY CONTAINER. It is interesting to note that the simile in the second part of the sentence contains a natural force, the wind, which loosely associates the sentence with the metaphor EMOTION IS WEATHER (Goatly 2007, p. 233).

Besides instantiating the metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR THE EMOTIONS (for happiness in our case) the three upcoming sentences show that several other metaphors may come into play. In *Happiness choked my throat like an anthem. It flowed through me like a river from the beginning of the column to its end* happiness is a liquid, in *Joy careens and smashes through them like a speeding car out of control* joy is dangerous object or a (physical) force and in *A strong exhilaration ran through her like the fumes of wine* exhilaration is thought of in terms of a fluid (in fact a gas here) that is quick to move and has a fast and strong influence. In all three examples the image of (quick) movement is implied or connoted, which may have an association with the idea of change or changeability, too (cf. CHANGE IS MOVEMENT, EMOTION IS MOVEMENT, EMOTION IS FORCE – Goatly 2007, p. 197–200). The idea of movement is present in *Despair passed over him like cold winds and hot winds coming from places he had never visited* and is reinforced by comparing the movement to cold and hot winds, that is, to weather components. Finally, both the happiness and the sadness examples capture the idea that we do not choose emotions but, on the contrary, emotions happen to us and they control us, which is part of our folk view of emotions (Goatly 2007, p. 199).

The last two examples in our corpus instantiate the metaphor EMOTIONS ARE CONTAINERS FOR THE PERSON EXPERIENCING THE EMOTIONS: *Our joys are about me like a net* and *A wonderful feeling enveloped him, as if light were being shaken about him*, that is HAPPINESS IS A CONTAINER FOR THE HAPPY PERSON.

6. Conclusions

Through the study of English sadness and happiness expressions containing body part terms the focus of the present paper is threefold: to investigate (1) what metaphors and metonymies are instantiated in our corpus, (2) which body part terms are used in expressions of the two emotions and (3) what classes of figurative expressions they instantiate. We have found that (1) sadness and happiness metaphors are variations of the container metaphor, while sadness and happiness metonymies are emotion-specific versions of the generic level metonymy A BODILY REACTION STANDS FOR THE EMOTION (for example, WAYS OF LOOKING/ A (SPECIFIC) EXPRESSION ON ONE'S FACE/ A (SPECIFIC) BODY POSTURE STANDS FOR THE EMOTION). We have found that (2) the terms face, eyes, mouth, throat, voice, head, brain, mind, heart, chest, breast, shoulders and neck are used in sadness and happiness expressions. We have found no examples of the use of the term body in our corpus, however, the concept body is understood in a number of sadness and happiness expressions. All the body parts in our list, as well as voice and mind, serve as containers in metaphors of sadness and happiness. We have also seen that (3) the expressions containing the above body parts in our corpus have figurative meanings and the figurative expressions can be classified into the following categories: pure metaphor, combimetaphor, pure metonymy, combimetonymy, metonymy within metaphor (metaphtonymy 1) and metaphor within metonymy (metaphtonymy 2) in Goossens's (2002) sense.

Some of the expressions in our corpus are instantiations of pure metaphors (*Happiness choked my throat like an anthem* – HAPPINESS IS A DANGEROUS SUBSTANCE).

The majority of our expressions are instantiations of combimetaphors, mostly variations of the container metaphor, where a number of body parts (the eyes, throat, head, brain, heart, chest, breast) may serve as containers for sadness and happiness. For example, in the expression *her eyes were still filled with pure sadness* the metaphors SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE EYES ARE CONTAINERS FOR SADNESS interact in the combimetaphor SADNESS IS A FLUID IN THE EYE CONTAINER.

Although the voice and the mind are not really body parts but are very closely associated with the throat or mouth and the brain, respectively, it is worth discussing them here since they can also serve as containers for the emotions happiness and sadness. For example, in *Evelyn's voice was so filled with despair that Kate felt rage again* the metaphors SADNESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE VOICE IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS interact in the combimetaphor SADNESS IS A FLUID IN THE VOICE CONTAINER.

The only example with neck in our corpus does not show neck as a container but as the upper dividing line between the head and the trunk in *I felt depressed, filled to the neck with sadness like a carafe with bad wine*, which instantiates the pure metaphor THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS. It must be noted here that the term "body" is not used in sadness and happiness expressions, however, a number of expressions demonstrate that sadness or happiness is "in/within" the body of the person experiencing the emotion. For example, *Despair howled round his inside* and *Joy leaping within me … like a trout in a brook* instantiate the interaction of the metaphors THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR SADNESS/HAPPINESS and SADNESS IS A FEARFUL ANIMAL and HAPPINESS IS A PLAYFUL ANIMAL, so the combimetaphors are SADNESS IS A FEARFUL ANIMAL IN THE BODY CONTAINER and HAPPINESS IS PLAYFUL ANIMAL IN THE BODY CONTAINER, respectively.

The overwhelming majority of combimetaphors in our corpus consists of two metaphors interacting with each other, however, we have also found an expression of happiness that combines three metaphors, namely the expression *(Heart is) as full of sunshine as a hay field* instantiates the triple combimetaphor HAPPINESS IS THE HEART FULL OF SUNSHINE, which combines the metaphors HAPPINESS IS SUNSHINE, HAPPINESS IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE HEART IS A CONTAINER FOR HAPPINESS.

A small number of expressions in our corpus are instantiations of some pure metonymies, for example, *She walked with downcast eyes after the news of her child's death*, where the underlying pure metonymy is DOWNCAST EYES STAND FOR SADNESS. As can be seen, unlike other body parts the terms face, mouth and shoulders are only used in expressions describing certain physiological or behavioral reactions thus denoting sadness or happiness. For example, the expression *his face was as long as a fiddle* instantiates the pure metonymy LONG FACE STANDS FOR SADNESS; and … *he said with a happy expression on his face* instantiates the pure metonymy A HAPPY EXPRESSION ON ONE'S FACE STANDS FOR HAPPINESS.

In our corpus, we have found only one expression of the interaction of metonymies. In *She walked with drooping shoulders after the news of her child's death* the metonymies DROOPING SHOULDERS STAND FOR SADNESS and THE CAUSE OF SADNESS STANDS FOR SADNESS are combined in the combimetonymy DROOPING SHOULDERS CAUSED BY HEARING BAD NEWS STAND FOR SADNESS.

Based on the evidence of our corpus we claim that the interaction of metaphor and metonymy is possible in the language of emotion. Next to examples of combimetaphors and combimetonymies, there are examples of metaphtonymies in the language of sadness and happiness. We have identified two kinds of metaphtonymy in Goossens' (2002) sense. The expression *The news of his death [Byron's] came down upon my heart like a mass of lead* instantiates the metaphtonymy /metonymy with metaphor/ THE HEART IS A LOCATION FOR THE CAUSE OF SADNESS STANDING FOR SADNESS, while *[He] wore his broken heart like a mourning band* instantiates the metaphtonymy /metaphor within metonymy/ A BROKEN HEART STANDS FOR SADNESS.

To sum up, Goossens's (2002) classification must be completed with the idea that the interaction of figurative expressions is not limited to the interaction of metaphor and metonymy, on the one hand, and to the interaction of only two components, on the other. We claim that in addition to mechanisms producing different kinds of metaphtonymy, we also have mechanisms combining two metonymies and two metaphors, thus we have combimetonymies and combimetaphors. If we have three metaphors interacting in one expression, we classify it as an instantiation of triple combimetaphor. By way of analogy, we think that triple combimetonymy is also possible, although we have found no example of it in our corpus of sadness and happiness expressions.

Finally, it must be admitted that our corpus is relatively small, so questions concerning the use of body part terms in sadness and happiness expressions and the classification of figurative expressions in the language of emotion need to be further investigated. However, the present study hopes to have shed some light on the complexity of metaphorical and metonymical conceptualization of emotions.

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