

Sezione monografica

Prometheus, Daedalus or Jesus? Remembrance
of an elementary school teacher in the 19th century in Hungary*Prometeo, Dedalo o Gesù? Ricordo di un insegnante
di scuola elementare nel 19° secolo in Ungheria***Gabriella Baska**Lecturer of History of Education / Department History of Education / Eötvös Loránd University,
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abstract

In Hungary, the second half of the 19th century was the time for the wide spread of public education and the initiation of compulsory school attendance. This led to the emergence of a new role in the society, that of elementary school teacher. In my research, I was keen to examine the characteristics of the teacher figure formed in the minds of the contemporaries, as well as the traditional idea about being a teacher, and the traces of the new conceptual framework in this modernising and professionalized occupation. I conducted a metaphor analysis on texts of 1898 and 1906 – the years of the 25-year jubilee and the death of a particular teacher – and found that instead of modernising, they depicted the well-known heroes of ancient myths. Eulogizing people portrayed the teacher in various sacral roles, such as 'the apostle of Christ', 'an evangelistic man' who 'was building the realm of God' and a mourning person even stated that 'He is not here. He was resurrected!'.

Keywords: *Teachers, Metaphors, Rhetorical texts, School, Educational research*

In Ungheria, la seconda metà del 19° secolo fu il momento in cui si diffusero ampiamente l'istruzione pubblica e la frequenza scolastica obbligatoria. Ciò portò all'emergere di un nuovo ruolo nella società, quello del maestro. Nel lavoro esamino le caratteristiche della figura dell'insegnante delineata dai contemporanei, così come l'idea convenzionale sui maestri e le tracce del nuovo quadro concettuale in questo lavoro ormai professionalizzato e modernizzante. Sono state condotte analisi metaforiche sui testi del 1898 e del 1906 – gli anni del venticinquesimo giubileo e poi della morte di un insegnante – e ciò che si rileva è che invece di modernizzare, rappresentavano i ben noti eroi dei miti antichi. I testi elogiativi ritraevano l'insegnante in vari ruoli sacrali, come "l'apostolo di Cristo", "un uomo evangelico" che "stava costruendo il regno di Dio" e una persona che piangeva la sua morte affermava anche che "Egli non è qui. È stato resuscitato!".

Parole chiave: Insegnanti, Metafore, Testi retorici, Scuola, Ricerca educativa

Prometheus, Daedalus or Jesus? Remembrance of an elementary school teacher in the 19th century in Hungary

Introduction

In the late 19th century, the establishment of a modern public education system, and parallelly the emergence of teachers, as a new professional community were pressing issues in Hungarian culture. In this paper my aim is to lay hold of a few of the 19th century society's stances on these matters.

The discourse on teachers of the era could be researched by using numerous sources. For example, the appearance of this particular role in the different spheres of politics can be examined through records of the Parliament, certain provisions and laws. The manifestations of educational politics are also capable of transmitting an official standpoint, as these represent the expectations and goals of the decision-making people in power. The unfolding discussions in the contemporary, vastly printed journals can also be examined. These latter kinds of researches present the views of our profession – even if they are not necessarily uniform. In my current research, I was aiming to create a “snapshot” through texts revolving around one particular teacher, which would display the attitude towards this profession by the people in a Hungarian chief town between the 19th and 20th century.

This research was largely based on one primary source: a memoir printed in 1906 called 'Forget-me-not'¹. It was published by the peers of Elek Budai, a Calvinistic public educator in D s, following his death. The hereby collected texts were revolving around two particular

1 “Forget-me-not” (Nefelejcs) in the memory of Elek Budai, Calvinistic elementary school teacher in D s, arranged by Istv n De si Daday, published by the Szolnokdobokav rmege Teachers Committee, D s, 1906.

events: his 25-year jubilee as a teacher and his death, eight years afterwards. I interpreted the motifs in these rhetoric texts left by the peers, students and locals, as parts of a contemporary discourse on teachers. It is a discussion where the aim of everyone participating – deliberately or not – is to thematize the common talk around the activity of teachers. The ceremonial speeches here always differ from plain talk, as they are characterised by pathos, cherishing and the need of stirring emotions. This has to be considered throughout the whole interpretation of the texts, while we are also presented with a certain form of mental representation.

1. Theoretical framework

The late 20th century philosophy was largely affected by a new approach on re-evaluating the relationship between *reality* and *language*. This detached itself from the previous view which stated that reality and all its components can be discovered *through language*. Language is not a neutral medium anymore, that can reflect certain facts, on the contrary, our world is built from the denotations and connotations carried by the language (Carver, 2004, p. 143).

The followers of postmodern epistemology do not constitute one uniform philosophical school, but it is certainly a common trait, that they turned from the examination of the world, being and the sense towards the discourse on these matters (Németh-Szabolcs, 2001, p. 52). Even the *primaeva* of microhistory stemmed from postmodern philosophy. This is what later became one element of those intellectual experiments, that arise around history and help moving researchers on from quantitative methods towards qualitative ones (Magnússon, 2006).

By possessing words, the speaker upholds their *own view on the world and society* and determines a variety of ways of action, as these words own a mobilizing power. It was Ricarda Wolf who introduced the concept of 'positioning in society' into this division of ideas. This means that during a discourse, the speakers either *attach certain traits* to themselves or others, or insert themselves or others into a group in society through *speech acts* (Pálvölgyi, 2006, p. 22).

In accordance with everything mentioned above, I believe that the

corpus of texts used for this research is a component of a unique discourse. It is a part of society's discourse in the era of the Dual Monarchy in Hungary on the professions in education and on being a teacher. The users of language, when creating the speeches and eulogies, aimed to thematize common talk, while they gave the teacher an interesting place in society.

I consider my research a study into the history of mentalities and microhistory, as well as a qualitative research paradigm.

2. Discourse on teachers

2.1 Briefly about the era

We are in the decades following the legislation of the 38th law article of 1868 – the law on public education. This document was the starting point for the Minister for Education and Religious Affairs, József Eötvös for his reform plan. It was also a crucial element of the changes in economics, society and politics which followed the Austro-Hungarian Compromise. The law was a constituent part of the transformation of Hungarian civilians in society, as well as its key condition. The reform on public education was a part of the everyday modernisation, therefore required compulsory education and compensated the obligation with freedom in choosing schools and teaching (Kelemen, 2007, p. 22).

This is a crucial period for the teacher's profession in coming into being, forming and defining itself. From the second half of the 19th century, the representatives of this occupation defined their work as a modern profession. In this period, a unique environment formed in pedagogy and society, in which the activities became more and more differentiated. The teacher was well-prepared for these activities, as guaranteed by the law mentioned earlier on. He was a "qualified specialist" (Németh, 2008, p. 100), whose work included *safety*, *legitimacy* and *prestige*. The up-to date knowledge of public educators then had to include topics on health, special education, child protection, social issues, coeducation and human rights. Moreover, school administration, the expertise on how the school operates had to be in the range

of the teachers' competence. These were becoming routine tasks, that were ought to strengthen the legitimacy of this profession and give a foundation for its prestige and social power (Németh, 2008, p. 94; Szabolcs-Hegedűs, 2008, p. 81; 2010 p. 240).

Regarding the image of a child, the view of a 'modern' teacher on them was far from a romantic utopy. It was a new concept, based on the foundations of modern science and using the elements of a darwinist-evolutionist, positivist worldview (Németh, 2008, p. 94).

I believe, it is important to emphasize the ideas of András Németh, as these show the professional-ideological environment that surrounded the lives of public educators in the era of the Dual Monarchy. These concepts are even more interesting in the light of the texts used in this research.

2.2 The teacher and the sources of the research

Elek Budai died on the 25th February, 1906., in a cardiac failure following pneumonia. The 56-year old teacher was accompanied by the majority of Dés² on his last walk two days later. He was the public educator of the town for 33 years, a teacher at first, and in the last years of his career he was also the headmaster of the local Calvinistic elementary school for boys. He participated in the town's social life in many ways: he organised the local voluntary group of firefighters, lead the firefighters' marching band, was the President of the Red Cross in Dés, the member of the local ice-skaters club and the jury member of cycling and athletic competitions, just to name a few. The short course of his illness and the news of his death caused disturbance in the public opinion and his funeral grew out to be a large-scale community event. Meanwhile there commenced the mythization and sacralisation of his figure – as I will aim to prove this later on.

Among the authors of the contemporary texts, which are providing the source of this research, we can find Calvinistic pastors, civil and state school teachers, train furnace officers, female teachers, doctors,

2 Transylvanian chief town.

curates, lawmen and presidents of Teacher's Committees – people who were once his students and peers. The occupation and status of many more authors remained unknown. These texts are ceremonial referrals, eulogies, memoirs, poems, letters and dispatched messages. Some of them were even published in a range of journals: issues of the Educational Symposium (*Tanügyi Tanácskozó*), Szolnok-Doboka and Dési News (*Dési Hírlap*).

3. The research process³

It was soon discovered during the qualitative content-analysis, that the decoded and categorically assembled corpus of texts contain quite picturesque phrasings. This gave the chance for me to narrow the material down even more (generally the collected texts themselves required this) and later compare the findings to the ones in the original corpus of texts.

The process of narrowing down meant collecting the metaphors which aimed to answer the following questions: “Who is the teacher?”, “What is a teacher doing?” and summarising these in a table. This was followed by the actual metaphor analysis and the supplementing qualitative content-analysis on the larger corpus of texts. In this paper I am reporting the results of the metaphor analysis.

3.1 *What is a metaphor?*

It is possible that even nowadays, we have the tendency to classify the tropes – the group containing metaphors – as a domain of rhetorics, poetics or stylistics. However, it has been a tradition for centuries to examine the questions regarding this topic in the contexts of semantics, language philosophy, and epistemology. This is used by analytical philosophy, linguistics, cognitive psychology, literature, music and film theory among other fields (Kelemen, 2006, p. 5).

3 Due to the size limits of this study, I will only summarise the most important steps of this process.

For example, Friedrich Nietzsche discusses the inevitably metaphorical nature of language. The views considering metaphors and picturesqueness as original traits of language are the ones emphasised. However, the new theories of conceptual metaphors think of the metaphor as the humans' general tool in discovering the world, and describe metaphorisation as a cognitive process with which the non-metaphorical concepts can be traced back to patterns of images (Orosz, 2006, p. 146).

Jorge Luis Borges also casts his vote next to the original metaforic nature of language. He draws attention to the fact that we use the same basic metaphors in any part of the world. For example *time as a river*, *a woman as a flower*, *life as a dream*, *death as sleep*, *the eye as a star* (Borges, 2001) According to István Fónagy, the metaphor *is* considered by science as an *unconscious* declaration. Examining these double pictures, the metaphors, can help in approaching and analysing the relationship between an individual and their environment. (Fónagy, 1982, p. 316).

3.2 Briefly on the method

For my analysis, I used the methods described by Ágnes Vámos (2003), as the research into metaphors in the pedagogical studies is mainly connected to her works. I did not borrow the methods described as they were, but adapted them to fit the properties of my study. The essence of the research into metaphors is that we have a so-called *target concept*, one which all of our metaphors revolve around. The target concept of this study is the public educator. We group and arrange all the metaphors and the metaphorical expressions in the sample and their analyses, the metaphor analysis itself, leads us to the so-called *source domain*. Actually, this is the grouping of the metaphors based on their meaning, which we continue until finding a shared meaning, the *source concept*. The number of sets means the number of source domains which we examine through their relationship with the others. During this analysis, we are searching for a concept summarising the meanings of the different sets. This particular concept is projected onto the target domain, which would lead us to our target, the *conceptual metaphor*. Interpreting and analysing the conceptual metaphor concludes the analysis, as from this, we can

infer to the target concept and comprehending this more deeply was the point of the whole examination (Vámos, 2003, pp. 33-35).

In the following part of this study I will highlight and analyse – without the need of completeness – the metaphors which carry a characteristic message about being a teacher and acting as one.

4. Metaphors in rhetorical texts written on the occasion of the jubilee and death of a 19th century public educator

4.1 Celebration – jubilee as a teacher

The metaphors from the texts on the 25th jubilee of the public educator involved in this study were channelling three source concepts: *gardener*, *Daedalus* and *Jesus*. These were created by narrowing down the meanings of the metaphors.

There can be numerous pedagogical concepts and images of a child attached to the metaphor where teacher=gardener. The metaphors that belong here have varying moods and meanings, but it is a common trait that the connection between the gardener and the plant is an inferior-superior, therefore they have a hierarchic relationship. The gardener, meaning the teacher, interferes with the way of development, but the aim of this interference is positive (Vámos, 2003, pp. 57-58). The teacher tries to 'perfect' the child. This means that the child himself is "imperfect". If the collected expressions here are all referred to the child, then he will be a "sapling", a "fallow land" a "field with weed". This widely known approach can remind us of Rousseau's saying about children. He thinks that kids already possess everything that they need for developing. A sapling also has the future tree in itself and in this sense, the gardener only provides the optimal conditions for development, as does the nurse of Rousseau. "Tend and water it ere it dies. One day its fruit will reward your care."⁴

"Fallow land" and a "field with weed" are, however, providing the

4 Rousseau J. J. (1762). *Emile, or On Education*, <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/rousseau-emile-or-education> Translated by Barbara Foxley.

21st century reader with definitely negative associations. We can understand it the way, that the teacher, while working, is ploughing an untouched piece of land, but also that the teacher has to create something valuable from a land which is worth nothing in itself. “Removing weeds” is a similar task, meaning that the subject of it is developing in a wrong way, if not interfered by the teacher. These metaphors suggest such images of the child, which are traditional in the history of European thinking and have been there centuries before our examined time period. This is usually associated with the “original sin”, a doctrine of Christian theology. The soul of a person (and a child) carries negativ tendencies and therefore the early intervention is crucial, as it would herd these towards a more positive route. This intervention is the task of the teacher – even as a “gardener”. It is important to mention that this image of a child, considered traditional and creating negative associations, is from the layman authors in the beginning of the 20th century.

I associated *Daedalus* with the certain metaphors in connection with flying and wings. Here we can find the same concept on children as mentioned earlier on: the child is ‘imperfect’ and unable to evolve without an intervention from an adult. The teacher is not only the one who helps to grow the feathers, but he is the one who makes these feather grow in the first place. Therefore, he is quite an active participant in the process of educating a child. On the other hand, there is the mythological connection, the tale of Daedalus and Icarus which features wings in an important role. This tale is a metaphor in itself, for youth, for the fearless wondering of a young soul and for the wise discernment of being an adult. Daedalus can be interpreted as a type of teacher or pedagogical ethos who lets their protege fly, as opposed to cutting their wings down.

The third concept from the sources is *Jesus, the saviour* and this constitutes the majority of the metaphors there. Even if the previous figures of speeches were mostly about the childred and only from there did they lead to the teacher, these are the words talking directly about him. He is the one who opens the eyes of the blind, he lays his coat down, gives his hand to the stumbling, lies on the aching heart of humanity and places the image of God onto the man. The teacher=Jesus connetion is fortified later, in connection with the ceremony of mourning. We could say

that it is natural to associate the public educator with one of the most remarkable 'teachers' in the history of European culture, but the direction the comparison takes here is quite odd. It does not talk about Jesus, who is a teacher by nature or how Jesus=educator, but it depicts the public educator who is basically a saviour based on the metaphors. He represents a position as high as Jesus Christ himself. I will go into more details on this question later, in the possession of the metaphors constructed, regarding the ceremony of mourning.

Gardener, Daedalus, Jesus. The everyday concept, the well-known figure from Greek mythology and the saviour of the Christian theology are, in my opinion, connected via *metamorphosis, transformation*.

	Celebration		Ceremony of mourning	
	Noun	Verb	Noun	Verb
Texts written by teachers	Apostle	Yields noble fruit Lays his coat down Grafts saplings with noble twigs Hold his hand out to the stumbling	Majestic creature Greater master Builder Apostle Promethian figure Grandmaster	Builds the realm of God Feeds with the blood of his soul Becomes a child for children Carries humanity in his great heart Does miracles Dresses the naked and abandoned Gives shelter for the homeless
Texts written by laymen	Miner Fundamental	Opens the eyes of the blind Lies on the aching heart of humanity Ploughs the fallow land Removes weed for the hearts to yield good fruit Grows the first feather onto the wings Places the image of God onto the man	Lighthouse Piece of candle Apostle Saviour Mythological figure Fisher of pearls Apostle of Christ Evangelistic man Blessing, vitalizing sun Servant Creature invested with superhuman power Great teacher from Heaven	Beams his brightness onto others Shares the fire of his heart and his holy enthusiasm Sprinkles the pearls with both of his hands Beams the rays of development, strength and education onto the small souls Leads to the road of truth

Table 1. Samples of metaphors used by teachers and laymen
Ceremony of mourning – death

During the metaphor analysis we extract a kind of source concept from those figures of speeches organized in sets, that have almost the same meaning. This would provide a collective feature for the whole group examined, as it did when I analysed the texts for the 25-years jubilee. When examining the eulogies, however, I had to choose a different method, as their authors worked with a varied symbol system that had too many nuances. Simplifying them or narrowing them down would have been a mistake. Instead, I intended to point out as many of their connections in the history of culture as I could, in order to find a more varied connotation of these metaphors.

The key character in the metaphors of the ceremony of mourning is again, Jesus, along with his apostles. The metaphors collected here revolve around altruism, self-sacrifice, charity, but also around fact that whoever commits these acts, is a bearer of exceptional qualities. He gives shelter, clothes, a place to stay, aid, fire, 'pearls', brightness, light, and what's more, his own blood. He gives from himself.

The universal idea of Christ the Saviour technically fits the myths of all the *heroes* and *saviours* before Christianity. The place and time of birth of this motif is unknown. According to the tradition of Christian mythology, thousands of men are coming to be baptised, after summoned by John the Baptist, and Jesus of Nazareth is one them. John then recognises him as the Messiah. After that, Jesus has to withstand a large number of trials and then, when arriving to Galilea, he proclaims the Gospel, the Good news on the immediate *transformation* of the world (Eliade, 1999, p. 263). The tale of Jesus features such universal symbols, that they can even be called archetypes.

Mircea Eliade studies the personality of Jesus, and following the reconstruction, he compares it to the figure of the suffering servant, as *suffering* in his tale is a significant element. The concept of 'servant' there is also interesting, because this word appears twice in the laymen-written texts for the ceremony of mourning, once as servant, once as enthusiastic servant in an adjectival structure. The ancient and universal *voluntary sacrifice* can also be connected with these concepts: new religion can only come into being after a sacrificial death.

The metaphor *light* and its associates are also have to be noted here. Light, as a principle of birth, is a symbol of the utmost reality. For example, in Lamaism, the Tibetan religion, the motif of light was

adopted from India as well as non-directly from Iran and it represents the spirit. In India it is also the manifestation of the spirit and creational energy, which is explained clearly in the Brahmanas and in the Upanishads. When a god or a saviour (like Buddha) appears, it is accompanied by supernatural light (Eliade, 1996, p. 119; pp. 235-237). The similar motif in Christianity is likely to come from the Persian light religion. Light can be connected with the Sun. The teacher is a 'blessing, vitalizing Sun'. Sun as a planet became the symbol of *death* and *rebirth*, due to the mythological explanations to its orbital. Gods of fertility in various mystery religions also possess the fate of the god of Sun (Osiris, Tammuz, Attis, Adonis, Mithras). Numerous heroes of myths and fairy tales are also destined with this fate. But the Sun is also the symbol of *cosmic intelligence*. In the Bible, there are multiple references to the similarity between Christ and the Sun, as both the nativity and the passion contain elements from the fate of a god of Sun (Hoppál, Jankovits, Nagy, Szemadám, 1997, pp. 158-160). Constantine the Great was also a devotee of solar tradition and saw the foundations of his empire in the Sol Invictus. The fact that the Sun became inferior to the almighty God could have been the first consequence of the emperor's conversion to Christianity (Eliade, 1999, p. 324).

The sun-metaphor is also well-known in the history of pedagogy where it applies to the teacher. Johannes Amos Comenius writes about the teacher in "School of Pansophy" at Sárospatak as: "[...] a teacher [...] as the Sun of his world, should stand tall, to *beam* the *rays* of science for all and to *enlighten* everyone equally"⁵. The light of science and the brightness of knowledge appears in his other texts too: '[...] is able to talk with richness in thought in order to *abundantly radiate* the *light of wisdom*, therefore to *pleasantly enlighten* the things and the *minds alike*'⁶. Or: "[...] to enlighten minds with the *glow* of knowing

5 Comenius J. A. (1962). School of Pansophy In: Kovács Endre (Ed.). *Comenius in Hungary – Comenius' works in Sárospatak*. Budapest: Textbook Publisher. 137.

6 Comenius J. A. (1962). De cultura ingeniorum, In: Kovács Endre (Ed.). *Comenius in Hungary – Comenius' works in Sárospatak*. Budapest: Textbook Publisher. 77.

all things that would be harmful to remain unknown”⁷. Comenius technically conducted his own metaphor analysis, however, he collected and examined the expressions regarding the institution of school instead of the teachers⁸.

There is a metaphor in the texts which could technically be connected to all of the concepts mentioned earlier on: the teacher is a Promethean figure. This figure of speech comes from a teacher, and is closest to a metaphor from a layman author, who defines the teacher as a mythological figure. These have, however, some more specific connections as well. The first important tradition is originating from the 4th century B.C. and says that Prometheus created and formed men from the mud. Then, Aischylos considers him the greatest *hero*, as he stands up against the will of Zeus and steals the divine fire for mankind hidden in a stick. He gives them the biggest gift anyone can give: *trades* and *science*. Overall, the key action in Aischylos’ tale of Prometheus is that he teaches mortal people things that raise the quality of their lives so much, that nobody could have imagined it, as he *fills their existence with sense*. He is also *self-sacrificing* and his fate from there is *suffering*.

5. Summary, interpretation

It seems unimaginable that the authors, with varying ages, professions and stages of schooling, would have known about the deep connections between the symbols they used in their texts, when remembering the public educator. Therefore, it is not likely that they used these metaphors deliberately, in order to support the messages they wanted to convey.

7 Comenius J. A.: School of Pansophy. In: Kovács Endre (Ed.). *Comenius in Hungary – Comenius’ works in Sárospatak*. Budapest: Textbook Publisher. 123. (All quotations from Comenius were translated by Krisztina Jedlovsky)

8 See: Comenius J. A. (1962). *Fortius Redivivus, sive de pellenda*. In: Kovács Endre (Ed.). *Comenius in Hungary – Comenius’ works in Sárospatak*. Budapest: Textbook Publisher. 262-284.

Metaphors can be approached as manifestations of the “unconscious”. István Fónagy writes in his study on metaphors that they contain components unknown to both the author and the reader (Fónagy, 1982, p. 316). The pictures examined earlier on can be derived from those ancient beliefs that Freud called “archaic remnants” and Jung called “archetypes”. These are mental figures with their origins unknown and they can appear in any part of the world, anytime, even in cultures where their transmission through direct contact can be excluded as an explanation. According to Jung’s theory, it can be hypothesised, that the human psyche is developing similarly to the evolution of the body. Therefore, analogies can be found between a man’s dreams nowadays and the products of the primitive psyche, the “collective images” or “mythological motifs”. Jung also says that an archetype is not a static scheme, but a dynamic factor that manifests in involuntary impulses, such as instincts. Our myths about heroes, as we have seen through multiple examples earlier on, are universal, as they are all built on the same schemes (Jung, 1993, p. 68).

The unconscious psyche of a modern man – according to Henderson – kept this ability to create symbols, which had manifested in the beliefs and rituals of the primitive man before that. The most common and known myth in the world is exactly the myth of the hero. And Joseph Henderson also states that the society with the intention of strengthening its collective identity is also in need for the universal pattern of the myth of the hero (Henderson, 1993, p. 109).

The field of associations we used during the metaphor analysis provided us the following connotations: hero, saviour, saver, recreator, transformer of the world, resurrection, suffering, voluntary sacrifice, service, miracles, creation, giving sense, sharing enthusiasm, becoming more noble, perfecting, etc.

These concepts together can lead us to a sort of solution. My starting point, meaning the target concept of this study, was the teacher, for which I was aiming to find a metaphor summarising it, its “conceptual metaphor”. The conceptual metaphor of the teacher based on the texts published in 1906 was the cultural hero. The cultural hero is a mythic warrior, gaining or creating cultural goods for the man or for mankind, on many occasions conflicted with the will of the gods’ and standing up against them. In some cases he creates these goods, in oth-

ers, he transforms them, both in order to make reality more bearable for mankind. Every mythology has similar figures to this, but the most prominent example of our cultural area is Prometheus. In other cultural areas, such as in Oceania, the cultural heroes suffer from death among tortures and their bodies will become the food of men. Many other metaphors reference this motif when someone sacrifices their own soul, goods or blood for the man. The other archetype of cultural heroes, Jesus, is sacrificed similarly and he is the one who gives the most to mankind: the promise of salvation, the coming of God's realm, the transformation of the world and man. This is the deepest, most detailed symbol of altruism.

When comparing metaphors from the celebration and the ceremony of mourning, not much of a difference can be found. The only contrast is that the speakers on the latter occasion tend to use metaphors in the form of nouns more, as it would make the messages they want to express clearer. The standpoints and text contents do not differ much between authors from education and layman authors, they are actually more likely to complete each other. Regarding the celebration, we have found some contradicting views on the image of a child. In spite of that, everyone has the same purpose and they even use the similar methods in order to raise the value they share, their hero, the teacher.

Lénárt Béla (1997, p. 277) came to an intriguing conclusion regarding the financial recognition of contemporary teachers: by the end of the century it became obvious that the simple soldiers of public education will never be waged properly by society and that will release its guilty conscience by emphasising the idea of "profession". Leaving the majestic context created by metaphors behind, we can also come to this exact conclusion: the community - in this case the inhabitants of Dés - needs a hero for creating collective identity, but by raising him to mythical heights, it gives the teacher his payment subsequently. This defines being a teacher not only as a profession but also as a "mission".

As mentioned earlier, the teacher fitting the civil needs of that era would have needed safety, legitimacy and prestige. However, the Hungarian society could and would barely fulfill these demands, which meant that there was no uniform image of this profession in the sense

of financial safety, working conditions and appreciation. In spite of that, there was a sphere of reality where a surprisingly large consensus was reached between the professionals and the laymen, politicians and civilians: the world of demands and expectations towards the teacher. The history of European culture produced such a large scale of requirements towards this profession, that it was difficult to fulfill them all. This can be derived from the fact, that as a part of his job, the teacher always stood in the center of the attention. His students were observing him all the time, if not others as well, therefore it slowly became obvious that the most crucial component in a teacher's role is to provide an example. An example for his students and also for the community he is working in. The metaphors found in the sources depict this exact social responsibility, while drawing attention to two important factors as well: *suffering* and *service*.

While the reality of the era examined provides more and more space for modernisation and for a new perspective on the profession of a teacher, the man is holding onto well-known stereotypes and ancient messages on a less conscious level. This is expressed through the metaphors of this research. In my opinion, the image of a *servant producing cultural goods without demanding reward for his profession* has not been extinct from the Hungarian world of education even nowadays. This problem, however, is a topic for a different study.

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