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Anke Fischer-Kattner, Menja Holtz, Martina Kopf,
Eva Spies (eds.)

Room for Manoeuvre: (Cultural) Encounters and Concepts of Place

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Introduction

**Anke Fischer-Kattner, Martina Kopf,
Eva Spies, Menja Holtz**

ABSTRACTS

Im Mittelpunkt des Themenheftes steht das Verhältnis von Ort und kultureller Begegnung, sowohl in konzeptueller als auch in empirischer Hinsicht. Die Einleitung zeichnet die Debatten um die Konzepte Ort, Raum und Begegnung nach und plädiert für eine positive Neubewertung des Ortsbegriffs, der im Zuge von *spatial turn* und Globalisierungsdebatten vom Raumbegriff nahezu verdrängt worden war. Wie das Themenheft insgesamt, argumentieren die Autorinnen für eine Perspektive auf Orte, die Räumlichkeit und Praktiken der Begegnung verbindet, indem sie Orte als Produkte sozialer, materieller und konzeptueller Beziehungen versteht. Sie knüpfen an theoretische Überlegungen zur Relationalität von Ort und Raum an, wie sie u. a. Tim Ingold (Ethnologie), Doreen Massey (Geographie) oder Karl Schlögel (Geschichtswissenschaft) dargelegt haben. Damit rücken die relationalen Prozesse ins Zentrum der Aufmerksamkeit, durch die sich, oft auch über Zeiten und Räume hinweg, Orte herausbilden. Sie sind also nicht nur Bühnen für oder Kontexte von Begegnungen, sondern erst durch diese konstituiert. Durch den Blick auf die Herausbildung von Orten durch Begegnungen werden auch Handlungsspielräume (*room for manoeuvre*) erkennbar, die solche Begegnungen eröffnen: Weder Identitäten noch Geschichte(n) sind unabänderlich an einen gegebenen Ort gebunden, sondern ebenso dynamisch wie die Beziehungen, die die Orte formen. So wird auch deutlich, dass (kulturelle) Begegnungen in ihrer Vielfältigkeit erst gemeinsam mit den Orten der Interaktion entstehen. Auf diese Weise erschließen sich neue Sichtweisen auf frühere wie aktuelle Formen globaler Verflechtung und Mobilität. In diesem Sinne bearbeiten die Beiträge des interdisziplinär angelegten Themenheftes Fallstudien vom 17. Jahrhundert bis in die Gegenwart. Sie entwickeln vor dem Hintergrund historischer, literatur- und religionswissenschaftlicher Fragestellungen die in der Einleitung formulierte prozessuale Perspektive fort.

This thematic issue of Comparativ examines the relationship between place and cultural encounters in conceptual as well as empirical respect. The introduction delineates the discussions

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revolving around the concepts of place, space, and encounter. It proposes a reappraisal of the concept of place, which had almost been pushed off the agenda by the *spatial turn* and globalisation debates.

The authors of the introduction and of the other thematic contributions argue for a perspective on place which connects spatial configurations and practices of encounter, understanding places as products of social, material, and conceptual relations. In doing so, they take up theoretical reflections about the relationality of place or space as put forward by Tim Ingold (in social anthropology), Doreen Massey (in geography) or Karl Schlögel (in history). All of their approaches emphasize that places are formed in relational processes, often spanning across time and space. In this sense, places are not mere stages or contexts for events of encounter but are being constituted by them. From such a perspective, the room for manoeuvre, which opens up through interaction, becomes apparent: Neither identities nor (hi-) stories are inalterably bound to pre-existing places, but they are just as dynamic as the relations forming particular sites. The great diversity of (cultural) encounters only emerges jointly with the respective places of interaction. Such lines of thought also allow for new approaches to past and current forms of global connections and mobility. In this sense the contributions united in this interdisciplinary thematic issue examine case (or: place) studies from the 17th century up to the present. Grounded in historiographical, literary- and religious-studies scholarship, they undertake to further refine the process-oriented perspective presented in the introduction.

1. Room for Manoeuvre: Global Mobility and the (Re-)Making of Places

Place occupies key positions in current public debates, such as those about migration: People leave their homes, supposedly their "own" places, and have to find their way around in new locations. Those who claim to have occupied those sites before seem to fear the dissolution of familiar places by the arrival of "strangers" and ways of life, which are perceived as different. Such fears engender struggles to conserve specific particular places. In this context, a sense of security through local rootedness appears to be in great demand, as recent discussions, e. g. about *Heimat*[1] in Germany, and the rise of nationalist political movements across the world, indicate. Yet, obviously, "a place called home" appeals to those who feel threatened by assumed global movements of people, goods, and capital touching on comfortable provincial life. Across the political spectrum, places associated with the familiarity of first-hand contacts seem to promise a remedy for the discomfort with globalism and modern "time-space compression"[2]. In contrast to abstract notions of space, they appear to offer stable and concrete rooms, in which resistance against or retreat from a world in flux is possible.[3]

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[1] The German Federal Ministry of the Interior has added the field of "Heimat" to its official name: https://www.bmi.bund.de/DE/startseite/startseite-node.html (accessed 13 August 2018). While the language of 'homeliness' still raises suspicions of nationalist, even chauvinist overtones, it has become current throughout the German political spectrum and is often used approvingly, see e. g. a whole series of articles dedicated to the question "What is 'Heimat'?" in the liberal-leftist newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung throughout the months of January and February 2018: http://www.sueddeutsche.de/thema/Was_ist_Heimat (accessed 19 March 2018).

[2] Its unsettling nature was already diagnosed by D. Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change, Oxford 1989, p. 284.

Public debates tend to ignore the entanglements of a global world, in which places are not autonomous but local and global at the same time. Instead, places appear somehow endangered. Fears of deterritorialization[4], in this case conceived as the dissolution of place(s) as a consequence of migration, abound. Yet, as of globalization theories already emphasized in the 1990s, processes of deterritorialization are inherently linked to reterritorialization, that is, to creative processes of cultural productivity and identity formation. Thus, being part of global flows always stimulates local reworking.[5] In this sense, scholars of globalization hinted at the productive, scale-spanning effects of globality and the cultural encounters it induces, and began to question the opposition between abstract global processes and concrete local practices. Undermining the global / local-dichotomy, also suggests that a space / place-opposition might be misleading.

A similar point emerged from theoretical debates that started after the turn of the millennium in reaction to the “spatial turn” in the humanities and social sciences.[6] In this context, notions of relationality, highlighting the role of interactions and exchanges in the formation of place or space and vice versa, gained in importance. We take up the idea that the dynamic, continuous processes of relating that characterise situations of encounter are constitutive for the making, unmaking or remaking of places, just as much as places shape encounters. Thinking in terms of relationality opens up new rooms for manoeuvre for those who encounter because – in this perspective – experiences, differences and identities are not only formed in relations, they also constantly produce new relational possibilities to experience, identify, differentiate, or to un- / make place. Hence, actors in such processes might always relate differently; encounters in this sense open up a whole scope of potential places. These lines of thought are taken up and developed in the current special issue.

The following contributions draw attention to several different constellations of place-making in and through encounters. In the light of current social processes and of a conceptual resurgence of place, interdisciplinary investigations of the co-constitution of place and encounter are clearly in order. They contribute to a better understanding of contemporary as well as historic mobile worlds. Studying how places are formed by and at the same time form interactions helps to counter provincialism and nostalgia. Moreover, it allows for genuine interdisciplinary debates and cooperation on specific empirical grounds, providing a viable alternative to vague references to a paradigm of spatial turn.[7]

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[3] D. Harvey, From Space to Place and Back Again: Reflections on the Condition of Postmodernity, in: J. Bird (ed.), Mapping the Futures, London 1996, pp. 3–29.

[4] Initially put forward by G. Deleuze and F. Guattari (Capitalisme et schizophrénie: L’anti-Œdipe, Paris 1972), the term *deterritorialization* is now frequently used to describe processes of cultural globalization, referring to the loss of a supposedly natural relation of culture to geographical and social territories (J. Tomlinson, Globalization and culture, Chicago 1999). A. Giddens and R. Robertson describe it as a process whereby locally situated “worlds” become more global. A. Giddens, The Consequences of Modernity, Cambridge 1990; Roland Robertson, Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture, London 1992; see also A. Appadurai, Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization, Minneapolis1996 on flows and deterritorialization.

[5] According to Deleuze and Guattari, the terms *deterritorialization* and *reterritorialization* refer to the fluid and dissipated nature of human subjectivity in contemporary capitalist cultures. Deterritorialization is always accompanied by reterritorialization, as the example of the Spanish conquest of the Aztecs demonstrates. See also concepts of local appropriation or glocalization: H. P. Hahn, Antinomien kultureller Aneignung: Eine Einführung, in: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie136 (2011) 1, pp. 11– 26; Robertson, Globalization.

[6] See section 2 below for a summary of these developments.

In preparation of our interdisciplinary studies of place and encounters, it is necessary to briefly introduce the conceptual resurgence of place since the turn of the 21st century and its relation to discussions of spatial theory. A closer look at the development of this field reveals that space and place might actually be complementary rather than competing concepts. Afterwards, a framework which integrated (cultural) encounters and relational conceptions of place will be outlined. It links the individual case studies of encounters united here. The contributions to this special issue put the theoretical concepts to an interdisciplinary test, probing how well they are compatible with empirical material about diverse interactions across cultural boundaries.

2. Back to Place?

In comparison to space, place has been a somewhat unfashionable category in the humanities and social sciences for some time. Western notions of modernity as marked by accelerated transnational flows of people, things, capital, practices and ideas, accompanied by omnipresent new media, seemed to render it unnecessary. By the 1970s and 1980s, concepts of movement across space, connections and processes of deterritorialization appeared more up to date than those of bounded culture and place. With the "spatial turn",[8] academic works foregrounded space, while place appeared provincial, nostalgic, and static. Space was conceived as socially constructed, thus forming both a ground and product of social life.[9] It appeared dynamic, always changing. In descriptions of hypermodernity, place merely took on negative form as "non-place"[10] or "heterotopia"[11], and it was largely overshadowed by notions like that of a "space of flows".[12]

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[7] J. Döring and T. Thielmann harshly rebuke such academic practices: J. Döring and T. Thielmann, Einleitung: Was lesen wir im Raume? Der *Spatial Turn* und das geheime Wissen der Geographen, in: Ead. (eds.), Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigma in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften, Bielefeld 2009, pp. 7–45, at 10.

[8] For a compact overview, see D. Bachmann-Medick, Cultural Turns: Neuorientierungen in den Kulturwissenschaften, Reinbek 2007, pp. 286–287.

[9] This conception harked back to the Marxist theory of H. Lefebvre, La production de l'espace, Paris 1974.

[10] M. Augé, Non-lieux: Introduction à une anthropologie de la surmodernité, Paris 1992.

[11] M. Foucault, Des espaces autres: Conférence au Cercle d'études architecturales, 14 mars 1967, in: Architecture, Mouvement, Continuité 5 (1984), pp. 46–49.

[12] M. Castells created this metaphor to describe the predominance of electronic information networks. Döring and Thielmann, Einleitung: Was lesen wir im Raum?, pp. 14–15. See also the metaphor of "scapes" introduced by A. Appadurai, Modernity at Large.

In a much-quoted reference of the new spatial orientation, Michel de Certeau was referring to space as “the effect produced by the operations that orient it”.[13] In contrast, he conceived of place as given physical-geometrical location, implying that place was to be regarded as a container-like, dead category. For de Certeau “a place (*lieu*) is the order (of whatever kind) in accord with which elements are distributed in relationships of coexistence”. As “an instantaneous configuration of positions” place therefore “implies an indication of stability”.[14] All in all, however, de Certeau ultimately favoured neither space nor place but focused on subversive practices in time – as a means of resistance open to the lower classes.[15] Nonetheless, his seeming denigration of place chimed in with many other academic voices. Increasingly, scholars understood space, constituted in and through socio-material practices, as permeated by power relations. They made a point of examining how space was produced in and itself produced processes of domination and marginalisation.[16]

Paradoxically, this expanding conceptual scope of space brought new impulses to the study of imagined and concrete places. It had proven impossible to completely reduce place to the status of a physical locality. In the 1970s, geographer Yi-Fu Tuan had already stressed the sensual and emotional relations humans develop towards geographical locations, which become places only in lived experience.[17] It is hardly surprising that the idea of local attachment and “senses of place” established in practices of everyday life held particular appeal for anthropologists.[18] As Clifford Geertz pointed out, the “anthropology of place” brings ethnographic exactitude and living details to all kinds of analyses of “the grand complexities that plague the world.”[19]

Indeed, the stunning current renaissance of place as a category of analysis has originated in several fields of study. As indicated above, scholars of globalization in the 1990s contributed to bringing place back into focus.[20] However, they often did so by contrasting the global, associated with space and flows, against the local, associated with place, rootedness, identity and sensuous experience.[21] In the wake of such conceptions, investigations on particular locations in a globalized world have been flourishing, with e.g. port cities being a favourite in recent works of global history.[22] There is, however, still a tendency in Global Studies to regard places primarily as "nodal points" in global networks, implying their relegation to the status of temporary "stops" or "crystallizations" of flows of global modernity.[23] Such notions of globality, easily aligned with discussions of a putative "disappearance of space",[24] once more threaten to submerge lived experiences as well as political or power-related aspects of place.

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[13] M. De Certeau, L’invention du quotidien [The Practice of Everyday Life], S. Rendall (trans.), Berkeley 1984, p. 117. “Est espace l’effet produit par les opérations qui l’orientent,” M. De Certeau, L’invention du quotidien, Paris 2007, p. 173.

[14] De Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, p. 117. “Est un lieu l’ordre (quel qu’il soit) selon lequel des éléments sont distribués dans des rapports de coexistence. […] une configuration instantanée de positions. Il implique une indication de stabilité.” De Certeau, L’invention du quotidien, pp. 172–173.

[15] M. Füssel, Tote Orte und gelebte Räume: Zur Raumtheorie von Michel de Certeau S. J., in: Historical Social Research 38 (2013) 3, pp. 22–39.

[16] See P. Bourdieu, Physischer, sozialer und angeeigneter physischer Raum, in: M. Wentz (ed.), Stadt-Räume, Frankfurt a. M. 1991, pp. 25–34; M. Foucault, Des espaces autres. Yet, the concept of place was not completely absent from these discussions, e. g. D. Massey, A Global Sense of Place, in: Marxism Today 38 (1991), pp. 24–29; P. Bourdieu, Ortseffekte, in: P. Bourdieu et al., Das Elend der Welt: Zeugnisse und Diagnosen alltäglichen Leidens an der Gesellschaft, Konstanz 1997, pp. 159–167; E. W. Soja, Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory, London 1989.

[17] Y. Tuan, Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values, Englewood Cliffs 1974; Id., Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience, Minneapolis 1977.

[18] See e. g. S. Feld and K. H. Basso (eds.), Senses of Place, Santa Fe 1996.

[19] C. Geertz, Afterword, in: S. Feld and K. H. Basso (eds.), Senses of Place, pp. 259–262, at 262.

[20] See e.g. S. Sassen, Places and Spaces of the Global: An Expanded Analytic Terrain, in: D. Held and A. McGrew (eds.), Globalization Theory: Approaches and Controversies, Cambridge 2007, pp. 79–105. See also footnote 4 for more general works on globalization.

Interestingly, the work of Martina Löw, usually considered as exemplar of the "spatial turn",[25] offers a reintegration of the politics of place into a sociology of space. At first sight, she seems to subscribe to an abstract conception of place ("Ort") as an empty physical location filled by living practices of spacing. Yet, her terminology betrays a need for active aspects of place as she defines spacing as a process of placing and being placed ("Prozeß des Plazierens bzw. Plaziert-Werdens").[26] In describing location or place ("Ort") as the target and result of placing ("Ziel und Resultat der Plazierung"),[27] she emphasizes that acts of spacing endow locations with symbolic meaning. This in turn shapes perceptions and memories of places, exerting considerable influence on the lives of people.[28] Löw's sociology of space thus reconnects to debates on *lieux de mémoire* and places of (cultural) heritage.[29]

The field of urban studies just after the turn of the millennium provides some further hints that scholars were beginning to grapple with an abstract notion of space. They highlighted e. g. how cities as bounded, yet diversely connected places were structured by a complex internal spatial layout and distinct identities linked to it.[30] In this sense, historian Karl Schlögel,[31] who accords due attention to the peculiar physical and symbolic topography of the city as an expression of its history, pointed out that the abstract space of the map always remained connected to lived-in places, "Örter"[32]. Schlögel's approach has been censured for its supposed disregard of power and politics – compared to international postcolonial versions of the spatial turn[33] – and for its allegedly "German" emphasis on (mere) "local and regional spaces of experience"[34]. This, however, misses the important point Schlögel's consideration of places made: Place is not just a simplified, small-scale, somewhat nostalgic view of complex spatial relations. Schlögel, like other scholars of urban space, demonstrates that a focus on place can remind us of the puzzling complexities of the material and the social and of the contemporaneous existence of multiple historical times with the present. Although historiographic debates tend to favour time over place, there is no evidence for linear time being real.[35] Looking at place thus makes one realize that time exists in movements and layers, not as a linear category of one event happening after the next. The materiality of place, which presents time and events simultaneously, helps to approach the complexity of lifeworlds and the encounters of which they are made up. Schlögel's thoughts connect surprisingly well to constructionist and interactionist perspectives, which are helpful for an understanding of the making and unmaking of difference in urban encounters. Works of scholars of religion on the material dimension of religious diversity, its experience and management in urban space and time provide telling examples. They study the sensuous, tangible presence of religious traditions in cities by connecting the spatial, material and aesthetic dimensions of (religious) encounters and co-existence.[36]

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[21] See A. Escobar, Culture Sits in Places: Reflections on Globalism and Subaltern Strategies of Localization, in: Political Geography 20 (2001), pp. 139–174; Hahn, Antinomien; Robertson, Globalisation.

[22] Interestingly, an architect and urban planner sums up research on the history of port cities for a major world-historical handbook. C. Hein, Modern Cities: Interactions: Port Cities, in: P. Clark (ed.), Oxford Handbook on Cities in History, Oxford 2013, pp. 809–827. The classic work on port cities as localities, in which transcontinental movements of goods and people converge, is P. Chaunu, Séville et l'Amérique aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles, Paris 1977, but see also an immense number of recent works such as C. Antunes, Globalization in the Early Modern Period: The Economic Relationship between Amsterdam and Lisbon, 1640-1705, Amsterdam 2004; M. Bustos Rodriguez, Cadiz en el sistema atlantico: La ciudad, sus comerciantes y la actividad mercantil (1650–1830), Cadiz 2005; H. Weiss, Ports of Globalisation, Places of Creolisation: Nordic Possessions in the Atlantic World during the Era of the Slave Trade, Leiden 2016.

[23] Thus, SAGE's "Encyclopedia of Global Studies" equates "global sites" with UNESCO's world heritage. H. K. Anheier, Sites, Global, in: H. K. Anheier and M. Juergensmeyer (eds.), Encyclopedia of Global Studies, vol. 1, Thousand Oaks 2012, pp. 1548–1551.

[24] Döring and Thielmann, Einleitung, p. 14.

[25] Bachmann-Medick, Cultural Turns, p. 291.

[26] M. Löw, Raumsoziologie, Frankfurt a. M. 2017, p. 198.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., pp. 198–203.

[29] At the root of these discussions was P. Nora (ed.), Les lieux de mémoire, 7 vols., Paris 1984–1994; for a recent critical appraisal, see B. Majerus, Lieux de mémoire – A European Transfer Story, in: S. Berger and B. Niven (eds.), Writing the History of Memory, London 2014, pp. 157–171; R. Harrison, Heritage: Critical Approaches, New York 2013.

All these approaches challenge scholars to analyse places' material, sensuous-experiential, performative, temporal and power aspects. Such issues have already been raised from various theoretical positions.[37] The British-American geographer John Agnew identifies four major strands of thought, in which a re-integration of place and spatial theories is attempted: "the humanist or agency-based, the neo-Marxist, the feminist and the contextualist-performative"[38] orientations. Feminist and / or Marxist approaches e. g. consider movements of experiencing subjects in conjunction with processes of place-making, using this as a basis for anti-capitalist critique. Doreen Massey thus examines the human consequences of mobility in the era of globalization. She asks what this mobility means for the sense of place but also for relations between place, culture and identity. On the basis of her findings, she argues emphatically for renewed attention to the concept of place and its socio-economic implications:

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[30] See e. g. S. Gunn and R. J. Morris (eds.), Identities in Space: Contested Terrains in the Western City since 1850, Aldershot 2001, with its introductory chapter by S. Gunn, The Spatial Turn: Changing Histories of Space and Place, pp. 1–14.

[31] He tends to be regarded as the main initiator of a spatial turn in German historiography, e. g. Döring; Thielmann, Einleitung, p. 20.

[32] K. Schlögel, Kartenlesen, Raumdenken: Von einer Erneuerung der Geschichtsschreibung, in: Merkur 56 (2002) 4, pp. 308–18, at 308; see the same term in K. Schlögel, Die Wiederkehr des Raumes, in: Id., Promenade in Jalta und andere Städtebilder, Munich 2001, pp. 29–40, at 39. See also his works: Moskau lesen, Berlin 1984; Petersburg 1909–1921: Das Laboratorium der Moderne, Munich 2002.

[33] Such criticism is e. g. voiced by Bachmann / Medick, Cultural Turns, p. 300.

[34] Ibid., p. 302 [translation AFK].

[35] M. Middell, Der Spatial Turn und das Interesse an der Globalisierung in der Geschichtswissenschaft, in: Döring and Thielmann (eds.), Spatial Turn, pp. 103–123, at 109–112.

[36] See M. Burchardt and S. Höhne, The Infrastructures of Diversity: Materiality and Culture in Urban Space – An Introduction, in: New Diversities 17 (2015) 2, pp. 1–13; K. Knott, V. Krech and B. Meyer, Iconic Religion in Urban Space, in: Material Religion 12 (2016) 2, pp. 123–136.

[37] See e. g. A. Escher and S. Petermann (eds.), Raum und Ort, Stuttgart 2016; Feld and Basso, Senses of Place; T. Hünefeldt and A. Schlitte (eds.), Ort und Verortung: Beiträge zu einem neuen Paradigma interdisziplinärer Forschung, Bielefeld 2017.

> *"Places" – their characters and the differences between them – continue to matter: they matter to capital which exploits the different characteristics of place – in other words, uneven development; and they matter to people because of our senses of belonging and identification, and the quality of our geographical imaginations.*[39]

Her understanding of places focuses on social relations and the senses of place that develop from them: Places are not containers but open articulations of connections and differentiations, and identities of places or in them are fluid products of interrelations. In this way, difference (of experience) is continuously produced and may also give way to political change.[40] Such a relational concept of place allows for (re)thinking difference and its political consequences, and likewise encourages diversity within global studies, e. g. in the writing of global histories from a "Southern" perspective.[41]

A similar effort to integrate relationality with the human experience of and the attachment to place has been made by a scholar concerned with truly far-Northern viewpoints. Social anthropologist Timothy Ingold, an expert on circumpolar hunting and herding, explicitly argues against the notion of space as "the most abstract, the most empty, the most detached from the reality of life and experience."[42] In contrast, he considers places as "knots", asserting that "the threads from which they are tied are lines of wayfaring."[43] For him, place should be studied as a phenomenon in the making, as a result of movement and not as a bounded entity existing in space.[44]

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[38] J. Agnew, Space: Place, in: P. Cloke and R. Johnston (eds.), Spaces of Geographical Thought: Deconstructing Human Geography's Binaries, London 2005, pp. 81–95, at 89.

[39] D. Massey and P. Jess, Introduction, in: Eaed. (eds.), A Place in the World? Oxford, 1995, pp. 1–4, at 4.

[40] See also Agnew, Space: Place, p. 91; D. Massey, Space, Place, Gender, Minneapolis 1994. For a 'political reading' of place see also Escobar, Culture Sits in Places, and the authors he cites.

[41] This would include the recognition of theories from the South and the so far asymmetrical entanglements of Northern and Southern knowledge production. Such complex changes could not remain without impact on prevailing notions of place and on the competition over the ownership of (e. g. religious) places. See D. Chidester, Space, in: M. Stausberg and S. Engler (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Study of Religion, Oxford 2016, pp. 329–339. Escobar, Culture Sits in Places, likewise focuses on "subaltern strategies". See also U. Freitag and A. von Oppen (eds.), Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective, Leiden 2010.

[42] T. Ingold, Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge, in: Id. (ed.), Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description, London 2011, pp. 145–155, at 145.

[43] Ibid., p. 149.

[44] Ibid., p. 146.

To take the production of place and place-experience into account reveals a baffling intermixture of materiality, practices, sensuous perceptions, imaginations and social constructions, which make and mark places as emerging relational knots. It can also serve to remind us that places are not only fashioned by actors who are sensuously and materially involved in movement and encounters, but also by actors who are involved on a discursive level. The "topographical turn" thus draws attention to the changing representation techniques that underlie culturally prevailing spatial concepts.[45] The term "topography" here refers to acts of describing and thereby drafting places. As Sigrid Weigel points out, space only becomes accessible to analysis in cultural studies when it or something about it is transformed into text, something that is readable.[46] Following J. Hillis Miller, the topography of a place is nothing which already exists, just waiting to be described; it is produced by means of a performative speech act.[47] Thus, while the spatial turn is devoted to practices that constitute space, the topographical turn is concerned with forms and techniques of representation. Against this background, writers likewise participate in relational place-making.

All in all, recent works highlight that it takes acts of relating to make places come into being. At the same time, the conceptual resurgence of place in the last decades has taken into account the power exerted on actors by locations and meanings attached to them. All of this points to the necessity of reintegrating actors and places as they co-constitute each other. This has two important implications, which are addressed – more or less explicitly – in all the contributions to this issue.

Firstly, the conceptual separation of space and place, one conceived as active, practised, living, the other as abstract, geometrical, unchanging, turns out to be of very limited use. All of these aspects are ultimately inherent in acts of place-making. Indeed, space and place turn out to be more complementary than competing concepts.

Secondly, a conception that links place-making to acts of relating implies that there is someone or something "other" than the actor, who or which can be related to. It is this idea of relationality that links place, as it is conceived here, to the concept of encounter, which requires further attention.

3. Place and (Cultural) Encounters

A relational concept of place-making posits place as one of the constituent elements of any interaction and, at the same time, as constituted through interaction. A firm conceptual link between interaction and encounter has already been established by Erving Goffman's classic work.[48] Yet, in defining "encounter" from a sociological and intracultural perspective, Goffman limits it to a "focused gathering", task-oriented face-to-face interaction of individuals.[49] While this focus has been adopted among practitioners of intercultural training,[50] research in diverse fields of the humanities and social sciences has established a wider understanding of encounter. It has become an umbrella term for diverse forms of interaction, comprising e. g. Urs Bitterli's influential categories of "contacts, collisions and relationships"[51]. While his approach still suggests an encounter between discrete given entities and as such cannot overcome notions of cultures or identities as containers, theorizations of encounters that focus on dynamic interactions and relationships in time and space are different. They connect very well to relational concepts of place.

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[45] W. Hallet and B. Neumann, Einleitung, in: Eaed. (eds.), Raum und Bewegung in der Literatur: Die Literaturwissenschaften und der Spatial Turn, Bielefeld 2015, p. 12.

[46] S. Weigel, Zum „topographical turn": Kartographie, Topographie und Raumkonzepte in den Kulturwissenschaften, in: KulturPoetik 2 (2002) 2, pp. 151–165, at 160.

[47] J. Hillis Miller, The Ethics of Topography [Die Ethik der Topographie], R. Stockhammer (trans.), in: R. Stockhammer (ed.), TopoGraphien der Moderne: Medien zur Repräsentation und Konstruktion von Räumen, pp. 161–196, at 183.

Mary Louise Pratt's concept of the contact zone is an attempt to demonstrate the effects of a spatial and temporal co-presence of individuals and societies previously separated, e. g. geographically and historically, but whose routes and habitats now intersect. Pratt scrutinizes the conflictual and asymmetric (power) relations in the newly shared social spaces as they bring forth "transculturation", a typical phenomenon of the contact zone.[52] Paul Gilroy's "Black Atlantic" likewise focuses on the relationship between transculturality and place-making.[53] Homi Bhabha's notion of "third space" or David Chidester's concept of "frontier zones" emphasize the co-constitution of encounters, places and academic categories. By focusing on dynamic (often asymmetric) processes of hybridization or mediation they overcome simplifying notions of cultural encounter as unambiguous contact between two given entities, emphasizing the relational constitution of identities and knowledge instead.[54]

Following these ideas, studying encounters means to study the co-production of (power) relations, cultural differences and places as material or imaginative contact zones in changing historical contexts. As places are made and unmade by continuous social practices of relating,[55] they engender cascades of further processes of place-making and interaction. Thus, places as well as (cultural) difference are produced in and through encounters. This view bridges the gap between analyses of representational constructions of (cultural) difference[56] and studies that take into account the bodily and material aspects of interactions and relationships.[57] In interactions, human as well as non-human actors may participate and contribute to the creation of place in and through their practices of relating.[58] With such a broad notion of encounter, which comprises a wide variety of relations (and relata), we are able to consider not only instances of cooperation, appropriation or imitation, but also those of mis- or non-understanding, situations of failing and disrupted communication,[59] or cases of rejection, exclusion and denial.

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[48] E. Goffman, Encounters: Two Studies in the Sociology of Interaction, Indianapolis 1961.

[49] Ibid., p. 8.

[50] See e. g. R. Brislin, Cross-Cultural Encounters: Face-to-Face Interaction, Boston 1981.

[51] U. Bitterli, Alte Welt – neue Welt: Formen des europäisch-überseeischen Kulturkontakts vom 15. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert [Cultures in Conflict: Encounters Between European and Non-European Cultures, 1492–1800], R. Robertson (trans.), Stanford 1989, p. 20.

[52] M. L. Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, London 1992. The current debate on transculturality is in turn linked back to the spatial turn. D. Kimmich and S. Schahadat, Einleitung, in: Eaed. (eds.), Kulturen in Bewegung: Beiträge zur Theorie und Praxis der Transkulturalität, Bielefeld 2012, pp. 7–22, at 11.

[53] P. Gilroy, The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness, Cambridge 1993.

[54] H. Bhabha, The Location of Culture, London, 1994; D. Chidester, Savage Systems: Colonialism and Comparative Religion in Southern Africa, Charlottesville 1996. Chidester does however not refer to Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier thesis. In his later book Empire of Religion: Imperialism and Comparative Religion, Chicago 2014, Chidester avoids the term "frontier zones" and focuses on the relations between the science of comparative religion and the imperial project, and rather speaks of colonial contact zones, see pp. x–xi.

[55] That this also happens in poetic texts, is pointed out by E. Glissant, Poétique de la rélation, Paris 1999.

Focusing on the emergence of place through interactions allows us to study the multiple possibilities and potentials of encounters in the making – and at the same time the limitations produced by hierarchies, lacking opportunities and material conditions. This conceptual focus serves as a reminder to look at the conditions under which encounters "take place", how these conditions are themselves produced in the act, remembered or forgotten. While some contributors to this special issue conceive of encounters as face-to-face contacts, sometimes even physical clashes of human players, others foreground contact between different cultural systems. All focus on processes of relating and differentiating, temporarily bundled in locations. In sum, this allows for taking up the challenge to (re)consider socio-cultural as well as non-human, material and ideational aspects of encounters. Their combination opens up room for manoeuvre in relational processes, as the possibilities of concrete or imagined, actual or potential forms of association are multiply for the participants.

As a heuristic analytical tool, "place" thus assists in approaching encounters comparatively. Processes of place-making are not only circumscribed by restricting conditions of encounters but also bring forth enabling (temporary) results. Encounters span local, regional and global levels as relations may cross scales.[60] Studying places and encounters co-making each other thus helps to overcome the dichotomous ways in which places or spaces are often differentiated, e. g. as centre or periphery, local or global. "Placing" encounters in this way avoids some of the abstractions inherent in certain alternative concepts.[61]

In the wake of this approach, the contributions to this special issue focus on place and practices of place-making, while not necessarily subscribing to the more radical objections against space. We understand places and space not as given substances, but rather as products of interrelations, of contact or its denial. This becomes a point of departure for developing a new comparative and interdisciplinary perspective on the dynamic co-production of place and encounters marked by cultural differences.

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[56] E. Hallam and B. V. Street (eds.), Cultural Encounters: Representing "Otherness", New York 2000.

[57] See e. g. S. Jobs and G. Mackenthun (eds.), Embodiments of Cultural Encounters, Münster 2011.

[58] Today different approaches include non-human participants (e.g. technologies, physical environment, spirits) in their thinking about relations and relationality. See for example Actor-Network theorist B. Latour, Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory, Oxford 2005, or new materialist K. Barad, Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning, Durham 2007.

[59] See Topic: Cultural Understanding and Non-Understanding/Thema: Kulturelles Verstehen und Nichtverstehen, in: International Yearbook for Hermeneutics 16 (2017), pp. 121–282.

[60] See C. Powell, Radical Relationalism: A Proposal, in: Id. and François Dépelteau (eds.), Conceptualizing Relational Sociology, New York 2013, pp. 187–207.

[61] See e. g. "translocality" as proposed by U. Freitag and A. von Oppen: Introduction. 'Translocality:' An Approach to Connection and Transfer in Area Studies, in: Eaed. (eds.), Translocality: The Study of Globalising Processes from a Southern Perspective, Leiden 2010, pp. 1-21.

4. Contributions

The contributions to this special issue cover place-making in locations as different as Ostend, Paris, Berlin, Moscow, Kalacoon (in today's Guyana), Salvador da Bahia, Galápagos, Haiti, Bermuda, and Madagascar. Their temporal range extends from the early modern period to the present. They draw on theoretical and methodological approaches and empirical findings from such different disciplinary fields as cultural and environmental history, literary studies, social anthropology, human geography, and the study of religion. Looking through these different lenses, the individual chapters attest to the value of new conceptualizations of place for the analysis of encounters.

The basis for this project was created in 2016 by a panel discussion and workshop addressing issues of place and (cultural) encounter.[62] Looking at specific examples of historical and present situations as well as fictions of encounter, the workshop's conversations explored the potential of locating such situations, whether in the "meshwork" of personal trajectories (Tim Ingold), in "geopoetics" (Kenneth White), or in imagined transcultural places. Building on the discussions and exchanges of this event, the following chapters analyse case studies of (cultural) encounters at the micro-level and reflect on wider theoretical implications of processes of place-making through relations. The individual contributions to this volume thus explore potential uses of innovative conceptions of place in the analysis of intercultural and even interspecies encounter.

Anke Fischer-Kattner examines spatiality and location in early modern sieges by focusing on violent encounters at Ostend. During the Eighty Years' War, in which the Netherlands acquired their independence from the Spanish Habsburg monarchy, the siege of Ostend (1601–164) raised immense contemporary attention across Europe. It was presented as a bloody encounter of inconceivable length. The muddy trenches of Ostend on the one hand call to mind later war experiences in Flanders, thus inviting comparative approaches to "spaces of violence" (Jörg Baberowski)[63] with their general characteristics. On the other hand, this massive siege operation can be regarded in the light of new conceptions of "place", which emphasize particularity created in the crossing of individual trajectories. Contemporary sources such as broadsheets and prints depicting the siege of Ostend demonstrate that both perspectives pervaded perceptions and interpretations already at the time of the wars. Original documents themselves contributed to Ostend's becoming one of the iconic places for the formation of a new Dutch identity – in spite of its capture by the Spanish. The story of the siege thus exemplifies how activities of violence and representation interweave. It substantiates Michel de Certeau's metaphorical likening of warfare and story-telling as spatial practices. Practices and representations of violence contributed to the making of a "war landscape",[64] in which new boundaries of identity and alterity were produced. By means of an analysis of spatial constructions, the violent encounters and daily life of the siege are linked to the emergence of the new Dutch state in early modern Europe.

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[62] This event was organized by the interdisciplinary Scientific Network "Dynamics of Intercultural Encounter" (http://www.dynamiken-interkultureller-begegnungen.de/), funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). It brought together early-career researchers and established scholars from various disciplines.

[63] His conceptual proposal has been taken up rather eagerly in the field of history, particularly for the 20th century: J. Baberowski and G. Metzler (eds.), Gewalträume: Soziale Ordnungen im Ausnahmezustand, Frankfurt a. M. 2012.

Franziska Torma focuses the production of "place" as field for research by William Beebe, an American naturalist and travel writer. He counts as a founding-figure of tropical ecology. Torma analyses his contribution to this field in terms of place-making activities. Her starting point is Beebe's observation that representations can never recreate the material experiences that made a place. Peter Turchi has called this problem "the challenge of representation"[65]. In William Beebe's case, this challenge opened up a tricky room for manoeuvre: Various activities might happen at one spot but create very different notions of place, which could be formed as narrated landscape, room for bodily experience, or site of research. In order to set up a frame for a scientific approach to nature, Beebe had to deliberately reduce the complexity of the place of his fieldwork by silencing its imaginative and sensuous notions. Torma uses Beebe's printed travel accounts as a key to uncover the abovementioned different, but entangled notions of place, drawing on concepts put forward by Peter Turchi, Yi-Fu Tuan, and John B. Harley.

Katharina Bauer explores the significance of European locations in the writings of Aleksey Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1883–1945), a neo-realist writer and prominent figure between 1910 and 1945 of Russian respectively Soviet literature. The more the author deals with questions of national identity in his writings, the more important his encounters with other cultures become, as they give him the chance – or force him – to glance at Russia from an outside point of view. Presenting some of the author's journeys to Germany and France between 1908 and 1935, this contribution demonstrates how his topographies of the visited European cities oscillate between explicitly subjective descriptions, references to literary topoi and an instrumentalisation for geo-cultural purposes in the Soviet context: Over the years, the first, allegedly productive encounter with European cultures changes into an experience of deep estrangement combined with the claim of the Soviet Union's cultural superiority. Yet, there are other texts that give Tolstoy "room for manoeuvre" to express a much more personal view of Europe than in his official writings.

The theoretical framework of the analysis is based on Detlef Ipsen's definition of places as "focal points of an immediate perception, of cultural interpretation and meaning and of social action."[66] Underlining both the concrete experiential character as well as the meaning-making potential of places, his definition applies to all genres, which Tolstoy uses, may they be literary or documentary. For tracing Tolstoy's changing interpretation of the places visited, Susanne Frank's works on *geo-kulturologija* and its relation to geopoetics gave important impulses.

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[64] This concept was put forward in K. Lewin, Kriegslandschaft, in: Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie 12 (1917), pp. 440–447.

[65] P. Turchi, Maps of the Imagination: The Writer as Cartographer, San Antonio 2004, p. 20.

Martina Kopf examines transcultural place-making and the search for Brazilian identity, Brazilianness, in Brazilian author's Jorge Amado's (1912–2001) writing. Amado's preferred setting is the Brazilian federal state of Bahia known for its strong cultural ties to Africa and its large Afro-Brazilian population. In Amado's novel *Tenda dos milagres* (*Tent of Miracles*) (1968), Bahia's capital, Salvador, is portrayed as a place where cultural influences of African, Brazilian indigenous and European origin collide. It is at Salvador da Bahia's historic centre, also known as the Pelourinho, that he situates a kind of Afro-Brazilian 'university'. The Pelourinho becomes a constituent element of interaction, where Brazilian culture as transcultural, namely Mestizo, culture is practised. In describing Salvador da Bahia as the cradle of Brazilian culture, thus locating culture in a special place, Amado contributes to defining Brazilianness. Transcultural place-making helps to define Mestizo identity in a national as well as in a cultural framework. Searching for Brazilianness moreover means to reevaluate and emancipate the former colony in attributing to Brazil a pioneering task: Salvador da Bahia is drafted as the world's umbilicus, and the mulatto, the result of intercultural encounters, becomes the human "of the future". This raises the question how transculturality shapes a place. The contribution thus connects to Paul Gilroy's statement that transcultural concepts emphasize not only dynamics and restlessness in space or place, but also the creativity which is linked to it.[67]

Eva Spies focuses on current South-South mission encounters in Madagascar. Her contribution follows a Malagasy pastor sent to a small town in the Central Highlands of Madagascar, where he is to establish a branch of Winners' Chapel, a Nigerian Pentecostal-charismatic church. However, to "win the place for Jesus" – as he described his task – it was not enough to preach and wage spiritual warfare against territorial spirits. It rather turned out that the pastor needed to relate to the place, the people, and himself with the help of a ritual. This enabled him to bind himself to the place, and the inhabitants to Jesus. Referring to theoretical approaches that understand place not as a given but as an emergent product of relations, i. e. constituted in and through processes of relating (as proposed by Timothy Ingold, Doreen Massey, and Christopher Powell), the chapter regards the performative engagement of the pastor with his surroundings as processes of place-binding. Through these, inhabitants, practices and ideas emerge and relate, and the place comes into being as a taking-place of relations.

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[66] "[…] ist es sinnvoll, Ort als Kristallisationspunkte der unmittelbaren Wahrnehmung, der kulturellen Deutung und Bedeutung sowie des sozialen Handelns aufzufassen." D. Ipsen, Ort und Landschaft, Wiesbaden 2006, p. 64 (transl. K. B.).

[67] P. Gilroy, The Black Atlantic [Der Black Atlantic], T. Zacharias (trans.), in: Haus der Kulturen der Welt (ed.), Der Black Atlantic, Berlin 2004, pp. 12–31, at 16.

Jointly, the contributions to this volume confirm the importance attached to place in recent theoretical debates. They illustrate how a focus on activities of place-making encourages interdisciplinary discussion which produces fresh looks at case studies of encounters and the places brought forth by them. In the end, it is only in and through encounters – between the inhabitants of present, past or imagined worlds as much as between different academic disciplines – that new perspectives emerge. Such contacts might not engender unquestioned consensus or a fusion of horizons. Nonetheless, producing knowledge relationally, in confrontation with "others", is an extremely stimulating enterprise and possibly the only way to create new insights at all. To acknowledge this opens up room for manoeuvre for future research and theory building – and hopefully for some movement in current public debates as well.

Violent Encounters at Ostend, 1601–1604: Spatiality, Location, and Identity in Early Modern Siege Warfare

Anke Fischer-Kattner

ABSTRACTS

Die Belagerung von Ostende (1601–1604) mag kein großes Thema aktueller Historiographie sein, doch sie erregte im Europa des frühen 17. Jahrhunderts immense Aufmerksamkeit. Verschiedenste Publikationsformate widmeten sich der Operation als bedeutendem Teil des niederländischen Aufstands gegen die Habsburgermonarchie und präsentierten eine blutige Konfrontation von bislang ungekannter zeitlicher Länge. Illustrierte Flugblätter und ausführliche gedruckte Berichte trugen dazu bei, dass Ostende zu einem symbolträchtigen Ort für die Formierung einer neuen niederländischen Identität werden konnte – wenngleich die Spanier es einnahmen. Die Geschichte der Belagerung illustriert so einerseits Michel de Certeaus metaphorische Überblendung zwischen Krieg und Erzählung als Raumpraktiken. Andererseits erinnert sie auch an die physische, existenzielle Dimension von Kriegsgewalt. Gewaltpraktiken und -repräsentationen formten gemeinsam eine „Kriegslandschaft" (Kurt Lewin) mit Orten, an denen neue Grenzen zwischen Eigenem und Fremdem geschaffen wurden. Die schlammigen Gräben von Ostende wecken heute Reminiszenzen an die Felder von Flandern des Ersten Weltkriegs, was zu vergleichenden Betrachtungen dieser „Gewalträume" (Jörg Baberowski) anregt. Zugleich können die Belagerungsoperationen, die tausende von Menschen mobilisierten, im Lichte neuer Ortskonzepte betrachtet werden, die eher hervorheben, wie spezifische Orte sich an den Kreuzungspunkten individueller Bewegungsbahnen formen. Durch die Verbindung dieser unterschiedlichen Konzeptionen von Raumkonstruktion ist es möglich, die physischen Aspekte der gewaltsamen Begegnung und des Alltagslebens in der Belagerung mit der Entstehung des neuen niederländischen Staates in Beziehung zu setzen.

While the siege of Ostend (1601-4) is not overly prominent in modern historiography, it did

raise immense attention across Europe in the early 17th century. The operation, which formed part of the Eighty Years' War of the rebellious Netherlands against the Spanish Habsburg monarchy, was represented as a bloody encounter of inconceivable length in various published formats. Contemporary sources such as broadsheets and printed siege accounts contributed to Ostend's becoming one of the iconic places of the formation of a new Dutch identity – in spite of its capture by the Spanish. The story of the siege thus substantiates Michel de Certeau's metaphorical likening of warfare and story-telling as spatial practices. Yet, it is also a reminder of the physical, existential dimension of war. Practices and representations of violence contributed to the making of a "war landscape" (Kurt Lewin), of places, in which new boundaries of identity and alterity were produced. As the muddy trenches of Ostend call to mind early-20th-century war experiences in Flanders, they invite comparative approaches to the general characteristics of "spaces of violence" (Jörg Baberowski). Yet, as will become clear, this massive siege operation, which mobilized thousands of people, can also be regarded in the light of new conceptions of "place," which emphasize particularities created in the crossing of individual trajectories. An analysis that unites these different concepts of spatial constructions is able to link the physicality of violent encounters and the daily life of the siege to the emergence of the new Dutch state within early modern Europe.

The centenary of World War I has once more called to mind the history of Flanders as a zone of conflict. Every-day experiences of life and death "In Flanders Fields"[1] and elsewhere, especially in World Wars I and II, have come under historians' closer scrutiny since the 1980s. Drawing on soldiers' letters as a new kind source material, researchers have attempted to reconstruct war experiences and thereby furthered methodological reflections[2] in the context of 'new military history'[3]. Against this background, the contents of a soldier's letter, allegedly found in the pockets of a dead man after one of the fierce, yet ultimately fruitless attacks on enemy lines in Flanders, appears all too familiar: Addressing his brother, the writer describes the bleak situation in the trenches. Cold and damp cause everyone bodily pain. The enemy is stubbornly clinging to his positions. The writer's comrades are dying in great numbers. 48-hour watches in the flooded trenches are horrible, but the conditions in the rearward camp are hardly better. The soldiers bear constant cannon and grenade fire. Money is sparse while the price of straw for bedding and of victuals is constantly rising. In spite of all this, the writer feels lucky as he has so far been in good health and has some cash left in his pockets. Yet, his optimism was to prove unfounded. The letter never got into the mail.

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[1] For the early 20th century, they have been immortalized in John McCrae's famous poem.

[2] P. Knoch, Feldpost – eine unentdeckte Quellengattung, in: Geschichtsdidaktik 11 (1986), pp. 154–171; id., Kriegserlebnis als biographische Krise, in: A. Gestrich et al. (eds.), Biographie – sozialgeschichtlich, Göttingen 1988, pp. 86–108; K. Latzel, Die Zumutungen des Krieges und der Liebe: Zwei Annäherungen an Feldpostbriefe, in: P. Knoch (ed.), Kriegsalltag: Die Rekonstruktion des Kriegsalltags als Aufgabe der historischen Forschung und der Friedenserziehung, Stuttgart 1989, pp. 204–221; K. Latzel, Vom Kriegserlebnis zur Kriegserfahrung: Theoretische und methodische Überlegungen zur erfahrungsgeschichtlichen Untersuchung von Feldpostbriefen, in: Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen 56 (1997), pp. 1–30; B. Ziemann, Feldpostbriefe und ihre Zensur in zwei Weltkriegen, in: K. Beyrer and H.-C. Täubrich (eds.), Der Brief: Eine Kulturgeschichte der schriftlichen Kommunikation, Heidelberg 1996, pp. 163–170.

[3] For the international debate on proper themes and methods of military history in the 1970s, see D. Showalter, A Modest Plea for Drums and Trumpets, in: Military Affairs 39 (1975) 2, pp. 71–74; summarizing the developments by the 1990s: P. Paret, New Military History, in: Parameters 31 (1991), pp. 10–18.

In the light of World War I, according to George Kennan "the great seminal catastrophe"[4] of the 20th century, the story of this letter could have been a typical example of the experience of trench warfare which has become iconic[5] for this "first large-scale industrialized conflict", which "gave birth to the concept of total war".[6] Yet, the account given in the letter summarized above refers to a much earlier conflict in Flanders. This was not even the famous Thirty Years War, before the 20th century regarded as an epitome of devastating and all-encompassing conflict,[7] but only one of the conflicts that eventually fed into this early modern "great war", namely the Eighty Years War against Spanish rule.

The letter, allegedly written on 29 December 1601 in the Spanish camp before the fortifications of Ostend,[8] was given into print (or simply made up) by the defenders of the town. With it, they meant to dissuade "all kindes of lewde people"[9] in "forraine Countries"[10] from joining the Spanish army. The printed publication claimed that the document had been found in the pockets of a dead attacker after the general storm attempted by the Spanish troops on 7 January 1602. The attack failed, but cost, according to the defenders, the lives of more than 2000 soldiers in Spanish service.[11] Whether the published letter was just a ploy to undermine the enemy's recruiting efforts or a faithful reproduction of a genuine document, it indicates that the story of a voice from the trenches seemed plausible to contemporary readers. Letters from and about the siege were indeed frequently circulated and given into print as news.[12]

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[4] G. F. Kennan: The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875–1890, Princeton 1979, p. 3.

[5] See for example the title choice of A. Booth: Postcards from the Trenches: Negotiating the Space between Modernism and the First World War, New York 1996.

[6] S. Förster, Introduction, in: R. Chickering and S. Förster (eds.), Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914–1918, Cambridge, UK 2000, pp. 1–15, at 6.

[7] A direct comparison between the Thirty Years War and World War I is drawn by Förster, Introduction, p. 5. A renewed interest in the dynamics of early modern war, in the field of political science, has been demonstrated recently by H. Münkler, Der Dreißigjährige Krieg: Europäische Katastrophe, deutsches Trauma 1618–1648, Berlin 2017.

[8] E. Grimeston, A True Historie of the Memorable Siege of Ostend, […], London 1604, p. 112.

[9] Ibid., p. 110.

[10] Ibid. p. 111.

[11] Ibid., p. 109.

[12] For hand-written newsletters, see I. Atherton, The Itch Grown a Disease: Manuscript Transmission of News in the Seventeenth Century, in: J. Raymond (ed.), News, Newspaper and Society in Early Modern Britain, 2nd ed., London 2002, pp. 39–65 [1st ed. 1999]; their relation to printed newspapers is examined by H. Böning, Handgeschriebene und gedruckte Zeitung im Spannungsfeld von Abhängigkeit, Koexistenz und Konkurrenz, in: V. Bauer et al. (eds.), Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesens im 17. Jahrhundert: Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit, Bremen 2011, pp. 23–56. For contemporary printed publications on Ostend, see the titles given in the database of Early English Books Online, e. g.: Newes from Ostend […]. Diligently translated out of Dutch into English, according to the Dutch copie, printed at Amsterdam, London 1601; Further newes from Ostend. […], London 1601;The Oppugnation and fierce siege of Ostend by the Arch-duke Albertus his forces […], [London 1601]; A breefe declaration of that which is happened aswell within as without Oastend sithence the vij. of Ianuarie 1602 […], Middleborrow and London 1602; A dialogue and complaint made vpon the siedge of Oastend, made by the King of Spaine, the Archduke, the Infanta, the Pope,

The temporal glitch engendered by the soldier's letter marks the importance of historical siege warfare for a history of (violent) encounter. The case of Ostend allows for an exploration into the connections between space, place, and violence in a longer-term perspective. Minute analysis of early modern warfare and its (published) representations, created for an emerging European market of printed news, enriches current discussions of violence and space / place-relations. Triangulation with questions of cultural identity formation confirms that locations of military conflict have to be taken into account in discussions of the relations between places and cultural encounters. In a first step, it needs to be established how theoretical approaches linking violence and space can be brought to relate to the renaissance of place-concepts. Secondly, some remarks on the historical background of the operations around Ostend explain how these contributed to the political and cultural differentiation of 'rebellious Dutch' from 'Spanish overlords'.[13] Considering this, primary sources on the fate of Ostend, particularly the first published siege journal, a day-by-day account of the operations, in which the soldier's letter appeared, as well as other printed visual and textual material about the siege has to be re-read. Thus, in a third step, narratives of the military operations and the fascinating visual illustrations of de- and re-constructions in the besieged city are inspected in terms of place-making. How strategies and tactics employed in these representations connect to identity-formation is investigated in the fourth section.

1. Approaches: Spatial Analyses of Violence

In early-modern military history, the term 'approach' refers to the zig-zagging trenches dug towards the point of a bastion in a Vaubanian "siege in form"[14]. Siege warfare's fundamentally spatial character seems to indicate that it occupies a core position in historiographical reflections on the spatiality of violence.[15] Surprisingly, it has been all but disregarded. The theoretical approach taken by Jörg Baberowski, who has taken up Wolfgang Sofsky's sociological term "Gewaltraum", "space of violence", is focusing on space as an enabling factor for acts of violence, particularly in the 20th century.[16] For Baberowski,

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the Prince Morrice, and the eldest sonne of Sauoye. […], London 1602; Extremities vrging the Lord General Sir Fra. Veare to offer the late anti-parle with the Arch-duke Albertus. […], London 1602; Newes from Flanders and Ostend […], London [1604].

[13] This dichotomous differentiation is actually a surprise in the light of the strong 'Burgundian' tradition in the 16th-century Netherlands: H. Schilling, Der Aufstand der Niederlande: Bürgerliche Revolution oder Elitenkonflikt?, in: H.-U. Wehler (ed.), 200 Jahre amerikanische Revolution und moderne Revolutionsforschung (= Geschichte und Gesellschaft, Sonderheft 2), Göttingen 1976, pp. 177–231.

[14] See for this ideal type in military history e. g. J. Childs, Warfare in the Seventeenth Century (Smithsonian History of Warfare), Washington, D. C. 2001, pp. 141–150.

[15] At the time of writing still advertised as in print: S. Petersen, Ding – Macht – Raum: Zur materiellen Kultur von Belagerungen im 18. Jahrhundert, in: N. Korths et al. (eds.), Räume, Orte, Konstruktionen. (Trans)Lokale Wirklichkeiten im Mittelalter und der Frühen Neuzeit.

[16] J. Baberowski, Einleitung: Ermöglichungsräume exzessiver Gewalt, in: Id. and G. Metzler (eds.), Gewalträume: Soziale Ordnungen im Ausnahmezustand, Frankfurt a. M. 2012, pp. 7–27; for the concept's genesis and application,

vignettes of warfare, highway robbery, and public executions from the 17th and 18th centuries merely illustrate an undifferentiated "order of premodernity"[17], in which permanent insecurity arises from potential violence, as yet uncontrolled by the modern state.[18] Closer investigation of early modern war as a "space of violence" thus seems in order.

Yet, as Teresa Koloma has pointed out, Baberowski's concept, defined by an absence of the state, harks back to ideas of space as an empty container for social interaction.[19] As a remedy, she suggests the sociology of violence should focus on experiences and social production of – lived and living – spaces.[20] This critique connects extremely well to the reconsideration of 'place' in other academic disciplines, which likewise call for an experiential reconsideration of place as constructed by acts of movement and encounter.[21] Research on the spatiality of violence may thus profit from "topological" approaches[22] with their focus on experiences and practices of relating.[23] Such a linkage of theoretical fields can, moreover, address the danger of limiting relational, experiential concepts of space or place to situations of peaceful, supposedly uninterrupted circulation.

Two authors, Kurt Lewin and Michel de Certeau, help in building a theoretical framework for bridging the conceptual gaps which separate civilian from military spatial practices and early modern from modern violence. Lewin was drawing on his experiences in the German field artillery on the Western and Eastern fronts of World War I,[24] when he published his first academic article in a psychology journal in 1917.[25] He described the experiential specificity of a "war landscape", in which military violence created zones of danger and barriers, which in turn shaped perceptions and movements of the combatants. In later works, Lewin developed a topological concept, "hodological space", defined by routes of movement through distinct areas.[26] He proposed that this abstract

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see F. Schnell, Ukraine 1918: Besatzer und Besetzte im Gewaltraum, in: Baberowski / Metzler, Gewalträume, pp. 135–168, at 137–138.

[17] Schnell, Ukraine 1918, p. 98.

[18] Baberowski, Räume der Gewalt, pp. 47 and 67–68.

[19] Teresa Koloma Beck, Gewalt – Raum: Aktuelle Debatten und deren Beiträge zur raumsensiblen Erweiterung der Gewaltsoziologie, in: Soziale Welt 67 (2016), pp. 431–449, at 438.

[20] Koloma Beck, Gewalt – Raum, pp. 444–446.

[21] See e. g. the works by geographer D. Massey, Space, Place, and Gender, Minneapolis 1994; and social anthropologist T. Ingold, Against Space: Place, Movement, Knowledge, in: P. Kirby (ed.), Boundless Worlds: An Anthropological Approach to Movement, Oxford 2009, pp. 29–43.

[22] Koloma Beck finds them well developed in the sociology of space and urbanity: Koloma Beck, Gewalt – Raum, pp. 440–441 and 444–446.

[23] Despite his call for finer terminological differentiation, Günzel identifies relationality as the core characteristic of topological approaches: S. Günzel, Spatial Turn – Topographical Turn – Topological Turn: Über die Unterschiede zwischen Raumparadigmen, in: J. Döring and T. Thielmann (eds.), Spatial Turn: Das Raumparadigman in den Kultur- und Sozialwissenschaften, Bielefeld 2009, pp. 219–237.

[24] W. Dornik, "Ganz in den Rahmen dieses Bildes hinein passt auch die Bevölkerung": Raumerfahrung und Raumwahrnehmung von österreichisch-ungarischen Soldaten an der Ostfront des Ersten Weltkrieges, in: B. Bachinger and W. Dornik (eds.), Jenseits des Schützengrabens: Der Erste Weltkrieg im Osten: Erfahrung – Wahrnehmung – Kontext, Innsbruck 2013, pp. 27–43, at 38.

[25] K. Lewin, Kriegslandschaft, in: Zeitschrift für angewandte Psychologie 12 (1917), pp. 440–447; reprinted in C.-F. Graumann (ed.), Kurt-Lewin-Werkausgabe, vol. 4: Feldtheorie, Bern 1982, pp. 315–325.

[26] E.g. presented in K. Lewin, Der Richtungsbegriff in der Psychologie: Der spezielle und allgemeine Hodologische Raum, in: Psychologische Forschung 19 (1934) 1, pp. 249–299.

model could clarify the psychological concept of direction in discussions of intentional acts of movement, “locomotions”, within a dynamic living space, “Lebensraum”.[27] Stephan Günzel points out that, in spite of its “ahuman” perspective, hodological space was strongly influenced by Lewin’s phenomenological reflections on war landscapes.[28] Indeed, hodological space connects personal and environmental factors in spatiality. It concedes some influence to external structures (like the existential threats of the war zone), while maintaining that living space is formed by physical or mental movements.[29] This dynamic entanglement of constructive actions and moments of exposure to a hostile environment is particularly helpful for the purpose of understanding place-making activities in war. Lewin explicitly hoped for interdisciplinary applications of his hodological space.[30] In any case, it adds the aspect of military violence to recent circulatory concepts of place.

Michel de Certeau’s work links thinking about spatial practices to early modern (cultural) history. The Jesuit scholar is usually cited to contrast – geometrical, “dead” – place and – living, practiced – space.[31] While, terminologically, he thus squarely contradicts recent theories of living place, he does connect his reflections of spacing activities with the military concepts of “strategy” and “tactic”.[32] He associates the former with the grand spatial vision and control of the elevated “voyeur”[33], the entrepreneur or town planning institution, easily transfigured into the air-borne attacker of city life. The latter refers to the predominantly temporal acts of resistance of the “walkers”[34] in the city, the “small” people who can only fight the owners of space in their little counter-cultural actions. Yet, the structural composition of de Certeau’s binaries itself makes clear that his work harbors a different reading of his famous phrase that “space is a practiced place”.[35] Spatial practices, whether appropriations ‘from above’ or relations ‘below’, never exist in isolation. Strategies and tactics are always linked in the construction of living spatial configurations. De Certeau thus makes clear that spatial theory has to take into account conflict and boundary-drawing. This is where his work connects to Lewin’s topology.

Both de Certeau and Lewin draw attention to the relational, constructed and living aspects of spatiality. Although they prefer to speak of “spaces”, their approaches are closely related to recent (mostly Anglophone) calls for a resurgence of place. At the same time, their conceptions take into account the potentially conflictual aspects of spatial acts and the determining influence, sometimes even existential danger, imposed by some spatial features. In combination, Lewin's and de Certeau's concepts thereby prepare the ground for an analysis of the construction (and destruction) of places in early modern siege warfare, for which Ostend can be regarded as a case in point.

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[27] Ibid., pp. 251–252.

[28] S. Günzel, Kurt Lewin und die Topologie des Sozialraums, in: F. Kessl and C. Reutlinger (eds.), Schlüsselwerke der Sozialraumforschung, Wiesbaden 2008, pp. 94–114, at 101.

[29] Calling hodological space a “result of acts or […] spatial sum of these acts” emphasizes the latter: Günzel, Kurt Lewin und die Topologie, p. 111 (transl. AFK).

[30] Looking particulary to sociology: Lewin, Richtungsbegriff, p. 299.Stephan Günzel identifies him as a theorist of social space, “Sozialraumtheoretiker”: Günzel, Kurt Lewin und die Topologie, p. 105.

[31] M. Füssel, Tote Orte und gelebte Räume: zur Raumtheorie von Michel de Certeau S. J., in: Historical Social Research 38 (2013) 3, pp. 22–39; see also W. J. T. Mitchell, Landscape and Power, 2nd ed., Chicago 2002, p. viii, and the discussion in the introduction above.

[32] M. de Certeau, The Practice of Everyday Life, Berkeley 1984; e-book 2011, p. xix.

[33] Ibid., p. 92.

[34] Ibid., p. 93.

[35] Ibid., p. 117.

2. The Siege of Ostend and the Emergence of the Dutch: Violent Encounter, Place-Making and Cultural Formation

The siege of Ostend unfolded during the Eighty Years' War (1566/68–1648) in the Netherlands.[36] Although it ended in the loss of this important port city for the rebellious United Provinces, it can be seen as a formative event for Dutch culture as it was created in the course of the long struggle against Spanish rule.[37] Violent counter-insurgency operations by the Spanish governor, the Duke of Alva,[38] were taken up in print publications denouncing Spanish "terror". These mobilized "Patriot" opposition across the Netherlands[39] and united Protestant Europe in revulsion.[40] While Alva's harsh intervention had at first united the seventeen provinces in resistance, it became clear over the course of war and negotiations in the 1570s that attitudes towards Spain in the seventeen rebellious provinces were by no means universal.[41] Forming the unions of Arras and Utrecht, respectively, in 1579 the southern provinces sought for reconciliation, while the northern ones, led by Holland, cut their ties with the Spanish monarchy.[42]

After failed political experiments with French and English protectorates, the rebellious Northern provinces opted for republican government without foreign intervention – in spite of considerable military pressure.[43] Unexpectedly, the young state, dominated by the province of Holland and its advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, succeeded in driving back the Spanish armies during the 1590s.[44] Profiting from the absorption of the

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[36] See e. g. S. Groenveld et al. (eds.), De Tachtigjarige Oorlog: opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (ca. 1560-1650), Zutphen 2008.

[37] For a very good structural summary of developments since the mid-1500s and an overview of classic studies on the origins of what he regards as the revolution of the Netherlands, see Schilling, Aufstand, pp 177–231.

[38] His reign pushed even formerly conciliatory Dutch nobles towards open defiance of Spanish rule: J. I. Israel, The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806, Oxford 1995, pp. 152–161.

[39] P. J. Arnade, Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt, Ithaka 2008, pp. 166–259.

[40] The contribution of these events and their media representations to the formation of "confessional alignments" in the emerging international system is e. g. highlighted by H. Schilling, Confessional Europe, in: Th. A. Brady, H. A. Oberman and J. D. Tracy (eds.), Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation, vol. ii, Leiden 1995, pp. 641–681, at 660.

[41] Initially, the full States General of the Netherlands had convened without the monarch's approval (this is discussed by Schilling, Aufstand, pp. 198–199) and declared their common determination to rid their territories of Spanish troops (Israel, Dutch Republic, pp. 184–186; G. Parker, The Dutch Revolt, London 1977, pp. 177–178).

[42] Israel, Dutch Republic, pp. 186–209; for the Spanish view, see Parker, Dutch Revolt, pp. 180–194.

[43] Israel, Dutch Republic, pp. 202–230; Parker, Dutch Revolt, pp. 199–221.

[44] Israel, Dutch Republic, pp. 233–253.

Spanish crown in other conflicts, the Dutch commanders were also actively seeking improvements of their troops and technology, contributing important elements towards a European "military revolution".[45] While success in warfare and the economic sphere brought the young republic what became known as a "Golden Age"[46], the provinces allegedly maintained a "siege mentality steeped in suspicion".[47] The United Netherlands thus refused offers for peace negotiations made by the new Spanish governors, Isabella, the daughter of Philip II, and her husband, Archduke Albert.[48]

Apart from twelve years of truce between Spain and the Dutch Republic (1609–1621), fighting continued in the first half of the 17th century. Historiographical work, enthralled by debates of origins and causes of revolution, has often treated this part of the wars rather summarily.[49] Recent research, however, is no longer surprised by the duration of the Dutch Revolt[50] and emphasizes the insecurity of Dutch independence even after the mid-1600s.[51] The operations of the 17th century, among them the exhausting siege of Ostend, were a decisive part of the Netherlands' state formation process.

Simon Schama has highlighted how the years of armed conflict from the 1570s to 1648 contributed to a new, specifically Dutch national culture. It linked moral uneasiness with political and economic success to an ambivalent attitude towards the military.[52] Allegedly, the Netherlands only employed military power in the "defense of freedom"[53] against raging threats from the outside. The violent encounter at Ostend, in which the important stronghold was lost, can be read as a *topos* of formative disaster, much like the moralistic messages inherent in Dutch prints of beached whales and other catastrophic events.[54] The struggle and the encounters it engendered formed the place – both physically and in representations. At the same time, the place with its natural and social circumstances contributed to the shaping of self and others, helping to differentiate the emerging Dutch republic from the Spanish monarchy and those provinces in the south that remained with the Habsburg Empire. A closer look at the events around the port of Ostend shows how this collective dynamic related to peculiar spatial experiences of the siege and to their (published) representations in print publications. Like political acts and military operations, the latter have to be regarded as activities that contributed decisively to the making of the place and the violent encounters of the siege.

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[45] G. Parker, The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West, 1500–1800, Cambridge, UK 1988, pp. 18–23; Israel, Dutch Republic, pp. 267–271; O. van Nimwegen, The Dutch Army and the Military Revolutions, 1588–1688, Woodbridge 2010.

[46] See for the persistence of this topos, e. g. H. J. Cook, Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age, New Haven 2007; A. T. von Deursen, Plain Lives in a Golden Age: Popular Culture, Religion and Society in Seventeenth-Century Holland, Cambridge, UK 1991; A. Goldgar, Tulipmania: Money, Honor and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age, Chicago 2007; C. H. Parker, Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age, Cambridge, MA 2008.

[47] Israel, Dutch Republic, p. 256.

[48] Ibid., pp. 254–255.

[49] Thus, e. g. Parker, Dutch Revolt, pp. 225–266; Anton van der Lem speaks of „geregelde oorlog" already for 1584–1609 (chapter 6 of his De Opstand in de Nederlanden (1568–1609), Utrecht 1995; web-version: https://dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/verhaal/Pages/default.aspx [accessed 21 March 2018]).

[50] Geoffrey Parker asked "Why Did the Dutch Revolt Last Eighty Years?", in: Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 26 (1976), pp. 53–72, and provided a world-historical answer.

[51] E. g. from an economic history perspective M. t'Hart, The Dutch Wars of Independence: Warfare and Commerce in the Netherlands, 1570-1680, London 2014.

[52] S. Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age, New York, 1997 [original edition 1988], pp. 238–253.

[53] Ibid., p. 254.

[54] See for their interpretation as portents of warning ibid., pp. 130–150.

After the military successes of the 1590s, Oldenbarnevelt and the regents of Holland were hoping to continue the expansion of the young republic in the new century. For the campaign season of 1600, they envisaged the conquest of Flanders, despite misgivings of Prince Maurice of Orange, the military commander. The States General and Oldenbarnevelt took up their headquarters at Ostend, the strongly fortified republican enclave in Spanish-controlled territory. Maurice's troops gained a costly victory at the battle of Nieuwpoort (30 June 1600), but withdrew from Flanders soon after.[55] The following four years were marked by strategic "stalemate"[56], but not by a decline in fighting or war expenditure.

The central operation of the years 1601-4 was the siege of Ostend. Archduke Albert and the states of Flanders, harassed by enemy sallies from the town, had decided to reduce the rebel stronghold.[57] Against the well-entrenched defenders, however, the Archduke's troops could hardly make any inroads. The defending garrison, first commanded by the English general Francis Vere, then by changing Dutch governors, was continually supplied by means of a new harbor, which proved viable through more than three years of operations.[58] The contending parties expended immense resources on the siege and the number of human casualties amounted to tens of thousands dead.[59] Ostend was becoming "an enduring symbol of the Low Countries struggle"[60], from which withdrawal without loss of face was impossible.

The town gained fame as a peculiar place of violent siege warfare "throughout Christendom"[61]. Its symbolic value arose because the siege coincided with the emergence of a market of news. The expanding mail systems allowed for compilation and redistribution of news at urban centers of communication.[62] As the siege was drawing to a close in

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[55] Israel, Dutch Republic, pp. 257–259.

[56] Ibid., p. 259.

[57] J. L. Motley, History of the United Netherlands, vol. iv: From the Death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce – 1609, New York 1868, pp. 61–62.

[58] Ibid., pp. 62–64.

[59] While Christopher Duffy, the doyen of the history of siege warfare, subscribes to the number of 40 000 casualties (C. Duffy, Siege Warfare: The Fortress in the Early Modern World, 1494–1660, London 1979, pp. 88–89), John Lothrop Motley gives more than 100 000 (Motley, History, iv, p. 216).

[60] Israel, Dutch Republic, p. 260.

[61] Motley, History, iv, p. 67.

[62] See for this momentous communicative development: J. Raymond et al. (eds.), News Networks in Seventeenth-Century Britain and Europe, London 2006; the connection to the imperial mail service is made clear by W. Behringer, Im Zeichen des Merkur: Reichspost und Kommunikationsrevolution in der Frühen Neuzeit, Göttingen 2003; the relationship of hand-written and printed news is investigated by H. Böning, Handgeschriebene und gedruckte Zeitung im Spannungsfeld von Abhängigkeit, Koexistenz und Konkurrenz, in: V. Bauer et al. (eds.), Die Entstehung des Zeitungswesens im 17. Jahrhundert: Ein neues Medium und seine Folgen für das Kommunikationssystem der Frühen Neuzeit, Bremen 2011, pp. 23–56.

1604, a publisher offered a first comprehensive siege journal at the Frankfurt book fair.[63] Dutch information on the operations was translated into German and compiled into a day-by-day account. The text was enriched by spectacular visual material, probably also largely of Dutch origin, and brought up to date in three instalments.[64] Contemporary translations of the text attest to the craving of a European reading public for information about the fate of the besieged place. A French version of the first German volume[65], completed by information about events from 17 June 1604 to the end of the siege in September[66] and by material from unknown sources, formed the basis for Edward Grimeston's English text.[67] Ostend as a physical and symbolic place of siege was thus embedded in a long row of circulations of information: from the besieged town itself, by way of ships that left port under Spanish fire, to the republican States General; from them to their agent in Cologne, Henricus Bilderbeke,[68] and his publisher; from Germany to France and on to England. A closer look at Grimeston's representation of the siege reveals how representations generated in these circulations connected the narrative and visual place-making activities of the Dutch in the European news market back to the war landscape at Ostend.

For his overview plan of the siegeworks, Grimeston relied heavily on the foldout map of his German predecessor, which in turn was based on a Dutch plan produced in the camp of Prince Maurice.[69] Grimeston's depiction strengthened the original's three-dimensional effects of a bird's eye view, associated with popular traditions of the visual genre of the 'siege view',[70] while the original approximated more closely an exact ichnographic plan. Besides the ships and buildings also depicted in the Dutch engraving and the German print, Grimeston replaced an insert on the top left by an image of the most spectacular siege engine developed for the Spanish attackers, a mobile drawbridge – seen from the side and in larger scale.

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[63] At least, no earlier version has been identified so far. See the detailed study of the different Dutch siege accounts by A. E. C. Simoni, The Ostend Story: Early Tales of the Great Siege and the Mediating Role of Henrick Van Haestens, 't-Goy-Houten 2003.

[64] Belägerung der Statt Ostende: Journal: Tagregister und eigentliche beschreibung […], 3 vols., [Frankfurt] 1604–1605.

[65] Histoire remarquable et véritable de ce qui s'est passé par chacun iour au siege de la ville d'Ostende, […], Paris 1604.

[66] These are the contents of the second and third instalment of the German text, probably also circulating in French translation, but of which I have not been able to find a print.

[67] Grimeston, True Historie.

[68] Identified as the compiler of the siege journal by Simoni, Ostend Story, p. 192.

[69] According to the title page of the German publication, the accompanying map was produced by Maurice himself and given to the Duke of Florence. The Dutch original is digitally reproduced by the Rijksmuseum (Permalink http://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=urn:gvn:RIJK04:RP-P-BI-1040); it names an unidentified "Wolff" and Flor[is] Balt[hasar, possibly Balthasars van Berckenrode, who indeed accompanied Prince Maurice's campaigns] as its creators (see for the same attribution L. P. Sloos (ed.), Warfare and the Age of Printing: Catalogue of Early Printed Books From Before 1801 in Dutch Military Collections, Leiden 2008, p. 137).

[70] See for an account of the development of siege views: M. Pollak, Cities at War in Early Modern Europe, Cambridge, UK 2010, pp. 109–153.

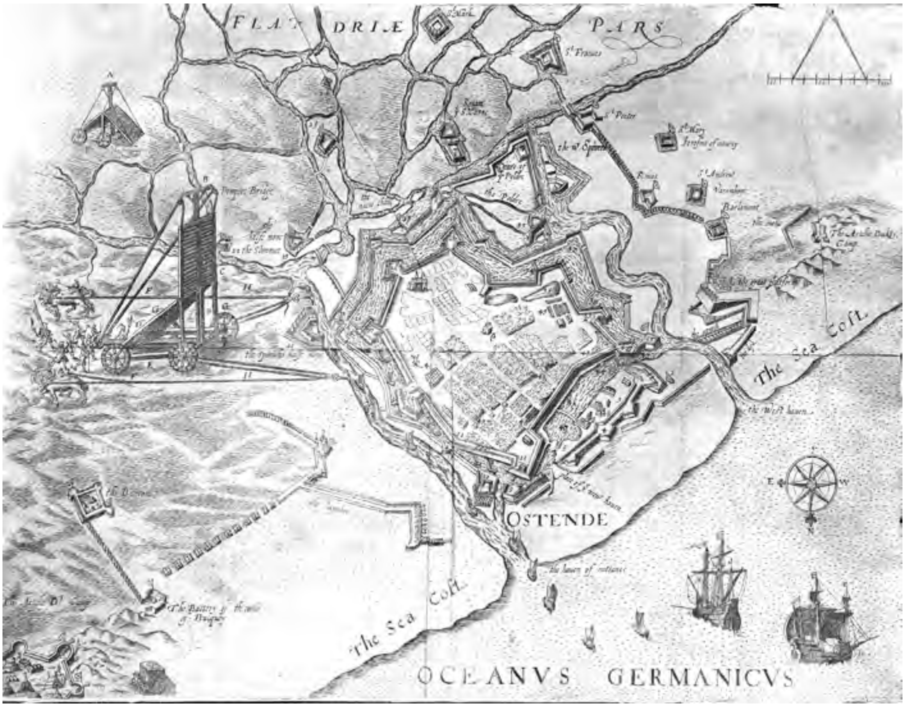

Image: Foldout map from Grimeston, True Historie, Call Number: 62790, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Yet, even this siege view from above was not a sterile illusion of an idealized abstract space of military control. The image contained elements that recalled the material and historical specifics of the siege event at Ostend. The three-dimensional figures of the ships and the wind-mill inside the town indicated the means by which the besieged could hold out for more than three years. The inserted siege engine referred to technological challenges posed by siege warfare in watery terrain. The smoke of the cannon and the troops depicted in the Archduke's camp (lower left) and handling the war chariot undermined the technical character of the representation. The living tactical movement of "ordinary practitioners"[71], in this case of war, thus intruded on the scene.

Like other siege views, this visual representation created an illusion of oversight for the consumer, putting him in the imaginary position of a commander overlooking operations from an elevated vantage point. As Michel de Certeau has made clear, this representational trick created a "fiction of knowledge"[72] remote from small, dirty everyday practices in the city (and war). The view from distance suggests control over the entire place. It occupies, in de Certeau's Clauswitzian metaphor, the privileged position of "strategy".[73]

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[71] Ibid., p. 93.

[72] Certeau, Practice, p. 92.

Another siege view, by the Dutch printer Batista van Doetechum, exemplifies the material upon which the comprehensive journal could build. It depicted the spectacular general storm attempted by the Spanish on 7 January 1602. Considering its bilingual title-vignette (in Dutch and French), it was from the beginning intended for international audiences. Despite the difference in orientation, the engraving followed some of the same pictorial conventions as Grimeston's siege view. It made no attempt at all to erase the multiple movements of the siege and even included the dead bodies of the victims of this storm attempt scattered around the fortifications. Despite being "fixations" of moving events, these visual representations were not merely "procedures for forgetting".[74] As acts of remembering, they were creative constructions joining the published texts they accompanied (in this case a brief account of the course of the siege until the failed storm attack) in making a place of violence of European interest.

The narrative parts of the siege journal complemented the visual material by addressing change caused by the violence of war over time. Three examples shall demonstrate the place-making linkages between text and war-related alterations in the spatial layout of Ostend. The first was the construction of a new harbor. Because the "West hauen [haven, AFK]" marked in Grimeston's plan was too close to the Spanish artillery for safe passage, the town depended on "the hauen of entrance" through a natural channel (the "gollet" in Grimeston's text) to the east. As this was also taken under fire, the defenders constructed a new port on the safer north side of the town, marked in the printed plan "place of ye new hauen". Presumably echoing Dutch original accounts used in his German source, Grimeston's text repeatedly praised the efforts of harbor construction by the besieged.[75]

The written account made very clear that the safe harbor was vital for the defense. Tirelessly, it recorded the exact numbers and loads of the ships which entered and left Ostend through-out the siege.[76] Only the ships' loads of victuals, munitions, building materials, and fresh troops secured the survival of garrison and town over more than three years. Restructuring spatial layout of the port city under Spanish artillery fire even permitted a kind of ephemeral normality in the war of position at Ostend. Much like in the largely static frontlines which Kurt Lewin encountered in World War I, zones of existential danger contracted into specific points, e. g. those regularly hit by enemy fire.[77] Despite attempts by the Archdukes' forces to render the entrance to the harbor impassable, life around the well-known danger points continued and was presented as strikingly unperturbed in spite of occasional sacrifices.[78]

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[73] Ibid., p. xix.

[74] Certeau, Practice, p. 97.

[75] E. g. Grimeston, True Historie, pp. 28, 75, 89 etc.

[76] Only in the entry for 15 March 1602 the account started to summarize: "The comming in and going of the ships was in a maner like all the rest of this yeare, as in like sort their ordinary shooting, the which the reader may imagin by that which hath bin written and that which followeth." (Ibid., p. 143.)

[77] Lewin, Kriegslandschaft, p. 317.

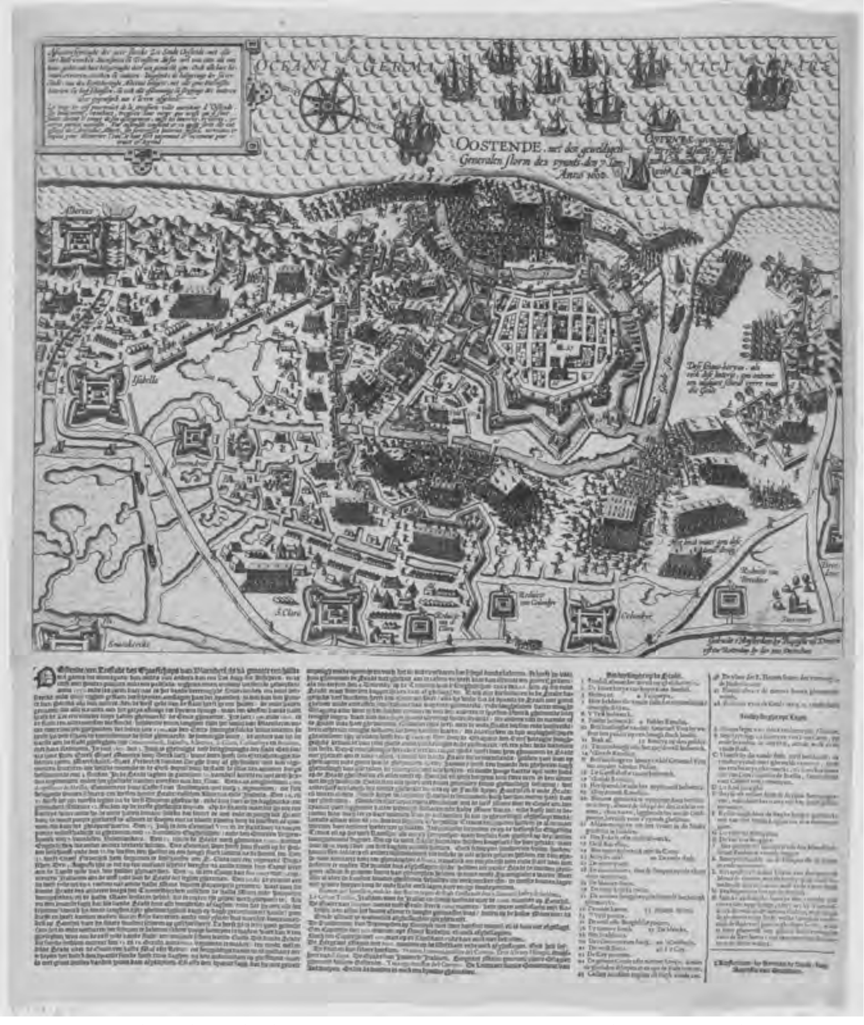

Image: One-sheet broadside print: Bestorming van Oostende, 1602, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Frederik Muller Historical Prints, FMH 1162-B), Permalink: https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=urn:gvn:RIJK04:RP-P-OB-80.585 (accessed 9 November 2018).[79]

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[78] Thus e. g. the death of "one boy onely" from a fierce Spanish artillery attack on incoming ships in the moonlit night of 13 August 1601: Grimeston, True Historie, pp. 11–12.

[79] A German version of this image, attributed to the Cologne printers Franz and Abraham Hogenberg and attesting to the spread of Dutch publications, is in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Munich), see http://www.gbv.de/vd/vd17/12:658406P (accessed 20 August 2018).

The stalemate in the costly operations around Ostend was only broken in the fall of 1603, when the Genoese Ambrogio Spínola arrived on the scene in the Archdukes' service. He ordered the systematic construction of approach trenches and the undermining of the town's Western fortifications.[80] As Spinola's troops inched towards the *corps de place*, conquering one outwork after the other, the besieged city was spatially reconstituted in a second way: The besieged, commanded by the Baron of Berendrecht, constructed a new counterscarp. It cut off about half of the area of the town, but allowed for continued resistance in spite of the enemy's spectacular advance.[81] The Spanish forces were now no longer attacking from the dunes around, but from the town's own outworks. New visual depictions of the state of operations in the second and third instalment of Grimeston's German source demonstrated the altered situation by showing little Spanish flags planted on the respective works, their artillery turned towards the town center. The space enclosed by those works flying the striped flag of the United Netherlands diminished, but continued to exist.[82]

Within their stronghold, the defenders of Ostend started to construct another site of last resort in the summer of 1604, a new citadel defiantly named "Nova Troia", the new Troy. As they were running out of earth for building bulwarks and bastions, they dug up the improvised graveyards containing the victims of the previous three years of fighting.[83] Although its antique name, according to Homer, threatened ten more years of siege, Nova Troia was not put to the test after all. By a new spatial move of the operations and their published story, the defenders managed to re-expand their room for manoeuvre once more even though Ostend capitulated on 20 September 1604.

The third and final spatial re-constitution of the siege of Ostend was a decisive re-definition of the place in question. As the States General had decided to send Maurice of Orange with a relief army to Ostend, in order "to raise the siege from the saide Towne, or at the least to annoy the Arch-duke in some other place"[84], the story acquired a new stage of action. An account of the operations of Maurice's army in the spring and summer of 1604 supplemented the narration of the fate of Ostend. His "Excellencie" was shown to take one enemy fort after another, while Spínola was forced to divide his army between the siege of Ostend, Maurice's foray, and a band of mutinous soldiers.[85] The publications thus opened up an additional geographical-military field of action, partly replacing the restrained space of the besieged town. Relieving Ostend eventually proved impossible, but Maurice and his troops successfully proceeded towards Sluys (Sluis), another Flemish port town to the northeast of Ostend.

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[80] Motley, History, iv, pp. 181–190.

[81] Ibid., pp. 190–194.

[82] E. g. Belägerung der Statt Ostende, vol. ii, [title image].

[83] Motley, History, iv, p. 194–195.

[84] Grimeston, True Historie, p. 199.

[85] Ibid., pp. 200–209.

In Spanish hands since 1587, Sluys was besieged and re-taken for the United Netherlands by Maurice's Anglo-Dutch force on 18 August 1604.[86] As part of Zeelandic Flanders, the town contributed to the territorial consolidation of the United Provinces. Grimeston's text emphasized the defensive value of this port town, "exceeding strong both by Arte and Nature"[87], as more than equivalent to embattled Ostend. Very subtly, the text now began to introduce a new motivation for resistance there. Ostend was no longer defended for itself, but so that "Prince Maurice might the better effect his desseigne vpon Escluse"[88]. Indeed, Spínola's relief army was defeated before Sluys on 17 August. After its retreat, Maurice and the States General easily conquered this valuable foothold "in the maine of Flanders, whereby they had good meanes to draw all the warres into Flanders into the enemies Country"; the States General therefore "thought it needlesse to be at any further charge" for the hopeless defense of Ostend.[89] It was determined that the embattled garrison should surrender.

Even the capitulation of Ostend was still presented as a success for the Dutch rebels. While the modern historian Motley judged that governor Daniel de Hertaing, Lord of Marquette, and his council of war surrendered "at their last gasp",[90] Grimeston and his German source presented matters differently. Sustaining a positive self-image for the beleaguered Dutch, their essential message was that the defenders had managed to keep the paths of circulation open throughout the siege. Before the surrender, they were able to ship out everything that made Ostend a valuable fortress and a living town. While Grimeston's English text mentioned "all the principall ordinance and munition" being removed,[91] the third volume of the original German account went into more detail. It described how on 19 September, besides ordinance, ammunition, and victuals, those persons were shipped out, who could not necessarily expect mercy: "alle personen/da man einich vermuten auf hatte/das sie nit in gnad solten auf und angenommen worden", i. e. [Calvinist] preachers, engineers, artillerists, miners, fireworkers, instrument makers and "new Geux", presumably deserters from the Spanish camp.[92] The governor surrendered the town, and the garrison departed on 20 September 1604 "with the honors of war"[93], a symbolic recognition of their valiant defense. The inhabitants of Ostend, except "one old man, and a woman or two" also fled, so all that was left for Archduke Albert and Infanta Isabella to take were "heapes of earth and sand".[94] With the living circulations kept up by the defenders cut off, with the routes constituting the hodological space of the besieged town destroyed, the place of Ostend ceased to exist – at least for the rebellious provinces.

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[86] Motley, History, iv, pp. 199-213.
[87] Grimeston, True Historie, p. 210.
[88] Ibid., p. 214.
[89] Ibid., p. 221.
[90] Motley, History, iv, p. 214.
[91] Grimeston, True Historie, p. 222.
[92] Belägerung der Statt Ostende, vol. iii, [no pagination].
[93] Motley, History, iv, p. 215.
[94] Grimeston, True Historie, p. 224.

3. A School of War: The Place of Violence and Cultural Boundary Formation

The siege of Ostend and its published representations exemplify Michel de Certeau's conception of stories as spatial practices. He expresses their formative power in the words of the linguist Jurij Lotman: "'every description is more than a fixation,' it is 'a culturally creative act.'"[95] This points to the creation of cultures and cultural identities by way of spatial acts expressed in narrative form. Certeau, whose work has been described as generally dominated by "the figure of alterity"[96], by conceptions of otherness, remarks that any (spatial) interaction brings forth boundaries, which are at the same time points of distinction and contact.[97] The participants of the siege of Ostend, though opponents in a violent war situation, were involved in joint acts of place-making, in which cultural identity and alterities for the United Netherlands were successively established. The published representation of the siege was crucial in this respect.

In Grimeston's narrative account of the siege as well as in his German source, nationality was crucial for the designation of soldiers' groups. Thus, the text explicitly identified the "English men"[98], fighting under their own "Generall of the English"[99], Sir Francis Vere, as a distinct set among the defenders. The conflict between the States General, Maurice, and Vere, who was striving to obtain independent jurisdiction over all English forces in the Netherlands,[100] was passed over in silence. Instead, the English troops' military actions were all presented positively, just like the arrival of British ships, frequently laden with "good English Beere"[101]. Though it did not mention confessional solidarity or other grounds for cooperation, the text thus appealed to an English readership. When an English traitor was discovered inside Ostend in early November 1601, the account declared that he had "serued the enemie long, and beene Captaine […] in their armie"[102]. Apparently, acculturation was to explain his treasonable correspondence with the Spanish and his plotting. While the valiant English defenders were accorded a legitimate part in the re-formation of the besieged place, e. g. by their construction of underground barracks in town squares,[103] the traitor had "crept into Ostend"[104]. The dangerous individual was depicted as furtively invading a closed space, from which it was forcibly dispelled after discovery through an English informant.[105] The illicit and dangerous circulations initiated by the man had to be cut off in order to protect the town in the eyes of the defenders. This was effected by torture and confession as well as by the narrative account, which made clear that it was not his nationality which made him undermine the defense effort. The traitor Conisbye was presented as the ultimate other for both Dutch and English defenders.

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[95] Certeau, Practice, p. 123.

[96] M. Füssel, Einleitung: Ein Denker des Anderen, in: Id. (ed.), Michel de Certeau. Geschichte – Kultur – Religion, Konstanz 2007, pp. 7–19, at 7.

[97] Certeau, Practice, pp. 126–129.

[98] First instance: Grimeston, True Historie, p. 13.

[99] Ibid., p. 83.

[100] D. J. B. Trim, Vere, Sir Francis (1560/61–1609), in: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford 2004; online edition, 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com.odnb.emedia1.bsb-muenchen.de/view/article/28209 (accessed 27 October 2016).

[101] Grimeston, True Historie, p. 89.

[102] Ibid., p. 66.

[103] Ibid., p. 13.

[104] Ibid., p. 66.

[105] Ibid., p. 67–68.

While differentiation from the allies was minimized except for the national designation, distinction from the enemy was highly important. The text complained that the enemy army attracted "all kindes of lewde people […], from Italie, Spaine, Germanie and al other forraine Countries"[106] to its service. In their diversity, the Archduke's forces were typical for early modern military forces.[107] Nonetheless, the printed account was at pains to emphasize the role of the Spanish as the main opponent. Thus, a key bulwark was tauntingly named "Spanish"[108], and a party returning from a sally brought back "Spanish Hattes"[109] as a sign of their success against the enemies.

Potent, yet inherently ambivalent objects of othering were the corpses left behind by the violent encounter. The furious, but failed general storm on 7 January 1602 offered plenty of opportunities for bodily othering. One of the dead was presented as a particularly remarkable curiosity. As townspeople and soldiers were searching the victims for valuables and re-usable weapons or clothes after the battle, "they found a young Spanish woman neere vnto Sand-hill, in mans apparrel the which (as they might gesse by her wounds) had beene slaine at the assault, she had vnder her apparel a chaine of Golde set with precious stones, with other Iewelles and siluer".[110] In the appendix to the first part of the German publication, a drastic depiction of the attack was accompanied by an insert presenting the cross-dressing soldier-woman, "Spenica femina Inter mortuos reperta Induta virile habita".[111] There was no further comment to guide the readers' interpretation of this curious case. Yet, marking the strange corpse as Spanish clearly differentiated it from the deaths of women in the defenders' camp, presented as wives and mothers,[112] who presumably died properly attired.

The Anglo-Dutch siege account used male victims of the general storm in order to give the othering of the enemy another bodily dimension: "The 8. of Ianuary there were great numbers of dead bodies seene before the olde towne 40. and 50. on a heape all naked: they were all goodly young men and black, as *Spaniards* and *Italiens*."[113] Calling the skin color of the Spaniards and Italians black introduced a naturalization of alterity. The acknowledgment of their good physical constitution indicated at the same time that the violent contacts at the boundary of encounter still engendered a certain degree of mutual respect.

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[106] Ibid., p. 110–111.

[107] F. Tallett, War and Society in Early-Modern Europe, 1495–1715 (War in context), London 1992, pp. 88–90.

[108] E. g. Grimeston, True Historie, p. 55.

[109] Ibid., p. 48.

[110] Ibid., p. 108.

[111] Der Belägerung von Ostende. Appendix […], [s.l.] 1604, [image entitled] Furbildung des Blutigen Sturms und gewaltigen Anfalls[…].

[112] E. g. Grimeston, True Historie, pp. 33, 90, 131.

[113] Ibid., p. 112.

Living and dead at Ostend jointly participated in the constitution of a place in which new boundaries of alterity and identity were drawn. The experience of warfare there took on a larger meaning in the struggle between Dutch and Spanish. The siege story derived from the initial German publication established an enduring metaphor by calling the city "an *Academie* and an excellent Schoole, for Gouernours, Captaines, Souldiers, Ingeneurs, Phisitions, Surgions, Pilots and Mariners"[114]. The military personnel who had gone through this school of war appeared to have acquired superior skills and even superhuman powers for the struggle against the Spanish. The text mentioned the defense of the fortress of Wastendonck (Wachtendonk on the lower Rhine) against a Spanish surprise attack in 1603. In only three hours, the experienced garrison had brought the fortifications to a state of defense and put up a fierce fight, "to the great amazement of the Spaniardes, who said they could not be men, seeing the Canon did not force them to retire a foote, or els that euery one had a new life in his cofers."[115] Even a brief spell of service in the war landscape of Ostend was presented as an experience that turned soldiers into impressive fighters in the larger cause of Dutch independence.

The place constituted in practices and (published) representations of the siege of Ostend took on a meaning that reached far beyond the local while still being closely connected to it. Participants as well as observers partook in the constitution of political, religious, or (proto-)national, identity and alterity along, but also across the siege trenches. The place of siege was obviously much more than an empty geometrical container for larger processes of state-building. It was actively made by operative military and representational practices of relating in violent encounter.

4. Room for Manoeuvre: Place, Space, Violence, and Identity

The story of Ostend, as recounted all over 17th-century Europe, offers no simple heroic message. The victors conquered a devastated town. The defeated defenders had to retreat from the place they had vowed to hold. The siege is therefore difficult to fit into a canon of national historical icons. This is at least partly due to general characteristics of siege warfare. Sieges brought physical destruction and existential danger for soldiers and civilians alike. Their conditions made morally ambiguous practices or outright atrocities very likely.[116] These in turn undermined the siege's symbolic or propagandistic use.[117] Yet, the denouement at Ostend also contains elements of success. For the Spanish side, the town's conquest had removed a dangerous enemy enclave in the loyal province of Flanders, and it had reinvigorated military hopes in Ambrogio Spínola.[118] The rebellious States General had consolidated their position, both in regard to territory – with the capture of Sluys – and to national identity – as the cultural boundaries drawn at Ostend were to prove stable through further Spanish attacks, the Twelve Years' Truce concluded in 1609, and the internal crisis of the following years.[119] The imagery of a place under siege formed at Ostend was easily transferred to the new Republic as a whole, represented as an embattled stronghold stoutly defended against 'foreign' attacks.[120]

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[114] Grimeston, True Historie, The Author to the Reader [no pagination].

[115] Ibid.

[116] See for this problem in another early modern conflict A. Fischer-Kattner, Colchester's Plight in European Perspective: Printed Representations of Seventeenth-Century Siege Warfare, in: Ead., and J. Ostwald (eds.), The World of the Siege [forthcoming].

[117] Cf. for the 20th century the questionable use made of the German blockade of Leningrad (1941-4) in Soviet culture, see e. g. L. A. Kirschenbaum, The Legacy of the Siege of Leningrad, 1941–1995: Myth, Memories, and Monuments, New York 2006.

Applied to a peculiar historical instance of violent encounter, the theoretical concepts of space and place complement each other in valuable ways. Although Michel de Certeau defined the respective terms in a peculiar manner, his insights connect extremely well to primary source material and current debates. Structural, comparative aspects of space are thus reintegrated with the particular, circulatory, and relational character of living place. Histories of violent encounter thus underline the mediatory stance taken by the geographer John Agnew, who is trying to reconcile recent theories of space and place.[121] The published accounts of the siege of Ostend confirm that contemporaries used elements of both to make sense of warfare's violence.

German philosopher Bernhard Waldenfels has coined a fitting term for the inseparable features of measurable, trans-personal space and experienced, bodily place: "Ortsraum"[122], which could approximately be rendered as *s*p*l*ace. Locality generally combines different modes of experience, simultaneously evoking feelings of ownership and estrangement. A topographical approach thus helps to explain how violence emerges in encounters.[123] Military operations might therefore be regarded as an extreme case, yet not as contrary or an exception to other spatial practices in encounter.

Thus, the siege of Ostend, connected to later instances of positional warfare through the spatial theories of Kurt Lewin, exemplifies the value new concepts of place-making add to a spatial reading of encounter. Even in situations that appear static, the existence of 'distinguished' paths and circulations is crucial for the emergent constellation of the confrontation. Barriers in hodological space contribute to the formation of new routes for the dynamic movements of life. Even under conditions of military violence, human actors creates *places* by way of acts as well as representations, in which self and other mutually constitute each other while struggling about room for manoeuvre. Violent encounters clearly do deserve further attention in analyses of the connections between space, place, and cultural identity.

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[118] Parker, Dutch Revolt, pp. 236–237.

[119] See Israel, Dutch Republic, pp. 421–432.

[120] Apart from the abovementioned contemporary source material collected by Simon Schama, the same imagery still persists in modern scholarship, thus Jonathan Israel calls his chapter on the years 1621-8 "The Republic under Siege": Israel, Dutch Republic, p. 478.

[121] J. Agnew, 5 Space: Place, in: P. J. Cloke and R. J. Johnston (eds.), Spaces of Geographical Thought: Deconstructing Human Geography's Binaries, London 2005, pp. 81–96.

[122] B. Waldenfels: Topographie der Lebenswelt, in: S. Günzel (ed.), Topologie: Zur Raumbeschreibung in den Kultur- und Medienwissenschaften, Bielefeld 2007, pp. 69-84, at 76.

[123] Ibid., p. 84.

Geographies of Tropical Ecology: Place-Making in William Beebe's Travel and Writing

Franziska Torma

ABSTRACTS

Der amerikanische Naturforscher und Reiseschriftsteller William Beebe zählt heute zu den Gründern des Forschungsfeldes der Tropenökologie. Der Beitrag beleuchtet die Strategien, mit denen Beebe dieses Feld erschuf. Ausgangspunkt ist Beebes eigene Beobachtung, dass Repräsentationen die materiellen Erfahrungen, die einen Ort ausmachen, nie vollkommen abbilden können. Peter Turchi nennt dieses Problem „die Herausforderung der Repräsentation" („the challenge of representation"). Für Beebe eröffnete diese Herausforderung einen verzwickten Handlungsraum: An nur einem Ort konnten unterschiedliche Aktivitäten stattfinden und dabei verschiedene Bedeutungsebenen erschaffen – eine erzählte Landschaft, einen Raum der Körpererfahrung und ein Forschungsfeld. Als Beebe seinen wissenschaftlichen Zugang zur Natur formulierte, musste er die Komplexität des Ortes absichtlich reduzieren, indem er die imaginativen und sinnlich erfahrbaren Bedeutungen zum Schweigen brachte. Methodologisch dienen die Reiseberichte von Beebe als Ansatzpunkt, um diese unterschiedlichen, aber verflochtenen Ebenen von „Ort" in der Konstruktion des Forschungsfeldes sichtbar zu machen. Die theoretischen Ansätze von Peter Turchi, Yi-Fu Tuan und John B. Harley leiten die Analyse.

William Beebe was an American naturalist and travel writer, who is nowadays regarded as a founding figure of the scientific field of tropical ecology. This essay understands his contribution to this field in terms of place-making activities. Starting point is one of Beebe's observations that representations can never depict the material experiences that made up the essence of a place. Peter Turchi has called this problem "the challenge of representation". For William Beebe, this challenge opened up a tricky room for maneuver: Various activities can happen in one spot and create different notions of place – as narrated landscape, room for bodily experience and site of research. In framing the scientific approach to nature, Beebe had to deliberately reduce the complexity of the place by silencing its imaginative and sensuous notions. The essay uses

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the written accounts by Beebe as keys to disentangle the different notions of place, guided by the theoretical approaches of Peter Turchi, Yi-Fu Tuan, and John B. Harley.

> *These chapters wrote themselves in the intervals of diving, fishing, watching, naming, dissecting – the serious study of the fish of Bermuda. After two seasons* […] *they came to mind and* […] *were put down between July and October, 1931. Colors, odors, sounds, and sights; the island, sea, sky and living creatures, all gloriously interexisting in the three planes of our planet, and in the fourth dimension of enthusiastic human appreciation, – all this has had to be entombed in black type upon flat paper. The chapters abound with I, Me and My, in essence the most impersonal of pronouns, standing solely for a pair of eyes, together with a moving hand whose function is that of a needle on a phonograph record, to record imperfectly what is so perfect before the directing brain begins to distort and depreciate.*[1]

The American ecologist William Beebe addressed a problem that Peter Turchi has called the "challenge of representation".[2] If one considers, like Beebe and Turchi, writing as translation of authentic experiences, text can never depict the materiality of the "real". For Beebe, a place in nature appeared as an entity that would be able to speak for itself, if only the writer was able to understand and translate the message. Beebe, however, did not only lament the impossibility to fully represent the world beyond the text, but also mentioned practices that produced place: diving, fishing, watching, naming and dissecting. They engaged the body, the sensory organs and the brain. This quotation moreover demonstrates how various activities can happen simultaneously but create different notions of place – as imaginative map, room for bodily experience, or site of research. For William Beebe, the situation was even more complicated, and was a room for manoeuvre: The purpose of his travel was field research. He counts as one of the founders of the research field of tropical ecology. However, to him, this was not enough, and he developed ways to combine different notions and representations of place.

This essay investigates the ways in which Beebe experimented with different representations of place. This approach helps to make the contradictions within the concept of place visible: The practices that Beebe conducted (writing, walking, diving, and researching) produced three entangled geographies of the tropics: The imaginative maps of the travel records represented places of encounters, the sensuous geographies of diving opened up rooms for experience, and, finally, the field was a place of scientific insights, for which Beebe had to silence the imaginative and sensuous dimension.

This travel through three notions of place also calls for three analytical approaches that I am following here. Peter Turchi's book on the writer as cartographer is illuminating to understand the first notion, that of Beebe's travel writing as the making of imaginative maps. Yi-Fu Tuan's approach of sensuous geographies unveils the ways in which Beebe's books speak of the world of odours, colours and sights that the author experienced on his travels. This place-making takes human nature (the body and the senses) of the explorer into account. Finally, in understanding how experiences become scientific representations, a third approach, which the geographer John B. Harley calls "silences" is at play. Making the field silenced the imaginative and sensuous geographies and created place in and through scientific abstraction.

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[1] W. Beebe, Nonsuch Island: Land of Water, New York 1932, p. ix.

[2] P. Turchi, Maps of the Imagination: The Writer as Cartographer, San Antonio 2004, p. 20.

This essay uses the travel accounts as key to unlock the different, but always entangled notions of place Beebe is constructing: His writing produced imaginative maps and connects place-making to moments of encountering the unknown. Using his body and the senses as tools of exploration, he produced another notion of place as sensory challenge: here diving in tropical oceans reinvents the old trope of "first contacts" as inter-species encounter.[3] The third notion of place-making relates to Beebe's actual travel purpose that was field work and science. Here, places are made by abstraction and reduction, thus by a denial of difference and real-world encounters. In considering these contradictory geographies, this essay does not follow beaten tracks of analysing travel literature as culture and science: Neither the institutionalization of tropical ecology as field science or discipline is under scrutiny here[4] nor the question of how Beebe encountered and represented places as *a priori* in contact scenes.[5] It is about the question of how different notions of place are evoked and silenced by certain technologies, aims and strategies of writing, experiencing and observing places.

After a short introduction of William Beebe and the places he built his career upon, this chapter is organized in a chronological and spatial way: It starts with William Beebe's first travels to the tropical jungle, then moves to the underwater world, and finally deals with the construction of tropical ecologies on land and in the sea.

1. Beebe's Sense of Place

William Beebe was born in Brooklyn in 1877. He was accepted to Columbia University in 1896 and studied with Henry Fairfield Osborn, who was President of the American Museum of Natural History. Beebe received a position at the Bronx Zoo as curator of birds. His first travels aimed at collecting and observing these animals in their natural surroundings.[6] For this purpose, he planned to set up a permanent field station in the tropics. The support of influential friends, for example president Theodore Roosevelt helped the New York Zoological Society to acquire tropical stations in British Guiana.[7] Beebe wrote about his experiences on the spot in the book "Tropical Wildlife in British Guiana"[8]. Aiming at understanding tropical ecologies on a larger scale, he extended the scope of his travels to other regions on land as well as to aquatic realms, e.g. to the Islands of Galápagos, Haiti and Bermuda.[9] On Nonsuch Island (Bahamas), Beebe and the engineer Otis Barton developed a closed diving machine, the Bathysphere.[10] Beebe lost his research station on Nonsuch during the Second World War. After having built and lost two further research stations in Venezuela, the New York Zoological Society founded the Simla station in Trinidad, where William Beebe died in 1962.

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[3] For contact scences with respect to the category of "place", see M. L. Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, London 1992.

[4] E.g. R. De Bont and J. Lachmund, Spatializing the History of Ecology: Sites, Journeys, Mappings, London 2017; H. Kuklick and R. E. Kohler (eds.), Science in the Field, Special Issue Osiris 11 (1996); K. H. Nielsen et al. (eds.), Scientists and Scholars in the Field, Aarhus 2011; J. Vetter (ed.), Knowing Global Environments, New Brunswick 2011.

[5] The otherwise helpful idea of the contact zone would be one example among the vast amount of literature on travel for a concept that considers "place" as *a priori* of encounters: Pratt, Imperial Eyes.

[6] W. Beebe, Our Search for a Wilderness, New York 1910.

Beebe is significant as field scientist: Although he did not earn a degree from Columbia University, he largely contributed to the invention of "tropical ecology". It is, however, not his career as semi-professional ecologist that makes Beebe's work a good case-study for understanding the making of places in / of encounters. His travels created an imaginative web of places, connecting tropical land- and seascapes to science and society in North America. Beebe wrote about the smell of the tropical flora, the feeling of heat and cold, the noises of the animals, the materiality of the water or the characteristics of the jungle. Walking on land, he reported how he felt the humidity, the wind or the sun on the skin. Diving down, he wrote about the movement of water, "the very slight push and slack of the swell"[11]. Beebe was subjected to impulses from the surrounding environment, and diving with helmet and diving suit transformed his body into a scientific instrument. These experiences point to three notions of place and the different encounters by which they are made: as imaginative maps in travel accounts discovering the unknown, as place of sensuous (inter-species) encounters, and as scientific research field, where those encountered are denied. Place-making hence engages the pen, the body and scientific instruments as well as different ways to conceptualize and deal with encounters.[12]

2. Writing Down the Tropics

In his book "Maps of the Imagination", Peter Turchi draws parallels between writing and exploration: Creating stories is like navigating through uncharted waters or traveling through unknown landscapes. Encounters with the blank space of the page require certain techniques and abilities: Writing is compared to an expedition that explores imaginative spaces by inventing them.[13] Turchi uses "mapping" as metaphor for the process of writing generally, and not as a place-making activity *per se*.[14] William Beebe's imaginative map of the tropics was based on real-time experiences, written down in more than fifty travel books and magazine articles. He travelled with his first wife, Blair Niles, to Mexico to watch and collect exotic birds for the New York Zoological Park.[15] "Our search for Wilderness"[16], "Tropical Wildlife in British Guiana"[17], "Jungle Peace"[18] and "Edge of the Jungle"[19] drew upon his extended stays as curator of the New York Zoological Society's tropical research station in British Guiana. His diving books on Galápagos ("The Arcturus Adventure"[20], "Galápagos. World's End"[21]) situated the Island within geographies of adventure in remote regions. The ecology and atmosphere of the Bermuda Islands and Haiti were topics of "Beneath Tropic Seas"[22], "Nonsuch: Land of Water"[23], "Half Mile Down"[24] and the "Zaca Venture"[25]. These books unfold the imaginative geographies of the tropical regions on land and in the sea.

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[7] W. Beebe, Pheasant Jungles, New York 1927.

[8] W. Beebe, Tropical Wildlife in British Guiana, New York 1917. See also: W. Beebe, Jungle Peace, New York 1919; W. Beebe, Edge of the Jungle, New York 1921; W. Beebe, Jungle Days, New York 1925.

[9] See W. Beebe, Galápagos: World's End, New York 1924; W. Beebe, The Arcturus Adventure, New York 1926; W. Beebe, Beneath Tropic Seas, New York 1928; W. Beebe, Thoughts on Diving, in: Harper's Monthly Magazine April (1933), pp. 582-586.

[10] W. Beebe, Nonsuch; W. Beebe, Field Book of the Shore Fishes of Bermuda, New York 1933; W. Beebe, Half Mile Down, New York 1934.

[11] Beebe, Nonsuch, p. 44.

[12] For formula and place, see: A. Rimbaud, Vagabonds, in: Illuminations, New York 1957, p. 67; M. Shapiro, A Sense of Place: Great Travel Writers Talk about their Crafts, Lives, and Inspiration, Berkeley 2004.

The chapter titles define the coordinates of the stories. The preface serves as an entrance door into the narrative's world. As we can see from the example "Two Bird Lovers in Mexico", it gives the date of the journey and situates the story in time and space: "These chapters on the Nature life of Mexico were written during a trip to that country in the winter of 1903-04. We reached Vera Cruz on Christmas Day[.]"[26] It gives information on the special character of the trip ("The entire trip was so novel"), moves on to the acknowledgement of supporters and ends with explaining the structure of the book. The text itself starts with the transit on ship. Beebe experiences travelling as movement through material space, but also through imaginative maps. The chapters' headings take us to the "Waves of the Sea", "Coast and Tableland" and reach the solid ground of "Cactus Country" or the "Mesquite Wilderness". Beebe's books mix geographies of real environments ("Near the Twin Volcanos", "Nature Near Camp") with magic and mythical lands ("The Magic Pools", "Along the Stream of Death").[27] Beebe told the reader the coordinates, where he entered the tropics in Mexico: "We were about twenty miles from the Pacific Ocean, over four degrees south of the Tropic of Cancer, and but a few hundred feet above sea-level. Our camp was at the very base of a steep cliff, while the West of the jungle thinned out to low, open bush."[28] In his travel book, he described encounters with the people as part of everyday business. He had letters of recommendation with him that opened the hearts and the doors of the indigenous population, who offered shelter and food.

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[13] Turchi, Maps of the Imagination, pp. 11-25.
[14] See the single chapters of the book that deal each with one of these strategies.
[15] See W. Beebe, Bird Lovers.
[16] W. Beebe, Wilderness.
[17] W. Beebe, Tropical Wildlife.
[18] W. Beebe, Jungle Peace.
[19] W. Beebe, Edge of the Jungle.
[20] W. Beebe, Arcturus Adventure.
[21] W. Beebe, Galápagos.
[22] W. Beebe, Beneath Tropic Seas.
[23] W. Beebe, Nonsuch.
[24] W. Beebe, Half Mile Down.
[25] W. Beebe, The Zaca Venture, London 1938.
[26] Beebe, Bird Lovers, p. vi.
[27] See ibid., p. iv.

Beebe's encounters with people resemble the cartographic convention that J. B. Harley called "silences". Harley distinguishes between "silences" and blanks, the "intentional or unintentional suppression of knowledge in maps"[29]. This was part of imaginative map-making. The idea of the (last) blank spaces functioned as almost ontological and self-sustaining motivation for expeditions to remote regions, and silences legitimate and create these playgrounds for adventure. Silences mean deliberate omissions to dislocate people, creatures and things from the narrative, or the place they are attached to.[30] Power relations are part of the process: In Beebe's writing on Mexico, the indigenous people appear not as equal partners in encounters, but as part of the landscape and infrastructure. He withholds their names, personal information on identities and faces, on individual character traits. Generalizations and silences defined Beebe's room for manoeuvre in the cultural realm.

The silences in Beebe's travel account "Tropical Wildlife in British Guiana" made the tropics places of late-colonial interactions. Personal encounters took place within the sphere of the political, scientific and economic elite or with travel companions *en route*. He travelled in a group of six to the Kalacoon river: the research associate G. Inness Hartey, the research assistant Paul G. Howes, the collector Donald Carter, and the artists Rachel Hartley and Anne Taylor.[31] Neither the lure of adventure, nor the sensation of "wild" folks attracted them to South America, but an administrative decision. The New York Zoological Society had decided to establish a tropical field station in British Guiana, with William Beebe as the station's curator. Compared to earlier tales of "first contacts"[32], the late-colonial tropics of the year 1916 were well domesticated: "We found a house and servants awaiting us."[33] The sociocultural landscapes which the American Beebe encountered, were the lands of late-imperial British rule and global commodity capitalism. The assigned spot for the station was a former rubber plantation on the Kalacoon river, stretching from the material infrastructure of civilization into imaginative geographies of virgin lands. The plantation was "situated in the primeval jungle, but free of disturbances and suitable for long-continued observation". It "was isolated from the sphere of human culture, but offer[ed] facilities of communication with the outside world."[34] Kalacoon was enough of a wilderness, at least for European and American researchers, to be the ideal research site, and simultaneously part of the British colonial infrastructure:

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[28] Ibid., p. 270.

[29] Turchi, Maps of the Imagination, p. 57; J. B. Harley, Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe, in: Imago Mundi 40 (1988), pp. 57-76.

[30] Turchi, Maps of the Imagination, p. 57.

[31] Beebe, Tropical Wildlife, p. XIII.

[32] Classic tales would be Christopher Columbus "discovery" of America or James Cook in the Pacific, see: Z. Dor-Ner: Kolumbus und das Zeitalter der Entdeckungen, Köln 1991; B. Richardson, Longitude and Empire: How Captain Cook's Voyages Changed the World, Vancouver 2005; a recent critical perspective: T. Shellam et al. (eds.), Brokers and Boundaries: Colonial Exploration in Indigenous Territory, Acton 2006.

[33] Beebe, Tropical Wildlife, p. 24.

> *No more central spot could be found, nor one more delicately balanced between the absolute primitive wilderness and those comforts of civilization which mean* […] *the ability to use body and brain to the utmost.*[35]

The making of a place as research field, which is analysed later, shows the extent to which even natural places are coproduced by certain human strategies and activities. Furthermore, Beebe's writing engaged power relations by creating his version of tropical landscapes.[36] Nature filled the silences that betrayed Beebe's disinterest in peoples, filled the sketchy maps with words and meaning. Nature and non-human companions appeared as the (new) Other and the partners of encounters. The quotes, representing Beebe's creation of the jungle, show that sounds and tactile experiences framed the land.

The landscapes of the tropics were constructed as the place of sensation and the setting for encounters: "The nights were full of interest and almost every time we rolled up in our blankets for the night, some new creature came to investigate the strange white things which were so tantalizing to the curiosity of the wild kindred."[37] The jungle was charted as experiential space even triggering affect and emotions:

> *[T]he sound of even the lightest breath of wind* […] *was as different as possible from the sighing of pines or the rustle of ordinary foliage. It was a soothing, softly sound which will ever be the background in our memory.*[38]

3. Encountering the Underwater World

The geographer Yi-Fu Tuan argues that every expedition to a foreign land was not only a scientific, but also a sensory endeavour. Before the 18th century, explorers had many reasons for going to remote regions: economic motives and mythical motifs such as finding a path to the land of spices, the legend of the open polar sea or of the wealth of Timbuktu dominated travels to seemingly unexplored countries. During the era of the Enlightenment, science emerged as the most common leitmotif of expeditions. Some travellers shared the opinion, that unfamiliar parts of the word could be understood by close observation on the spot. This "rhetoric of science, however, was not wholly convincing even to those who made it."[39] The desire for adventure, national ideologies, and the individual ambitions of the explorers stood behind many expeditions, "and something rarely stated in the open – a yearning for sublime experience."[40] This yearning for sublime experience (which William Beebe's quote in the beginning projects), is a genuine part of traveling and travel writing.[41]

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[34] Beebe, Jungle Peace, p. 141 (all quotes).

[35] Beebe, Tropical Wildlife, p. 27.

[36] D. Arnold, The Tropics and the Travelling Gaze: India, Landscape and Science, Seattle 2006.

[37] Beebe, Bird Lovers, p. 271.

[38] Ibid.

The desire for feeling fully alive in nature speaks from William Beebe's accounts. Reading Beebe's nature descriptions, the places abound with the smell of the tropical flora, the tactile impression of heat and cold, the noises of the animals, the texture of the water, or the humidity of the tropical jungle. In the 1920s, William Beebe left the Earth's surface and started to investigate underwater worlds from the tropical Islands of Galápagos, Haiti and Bermuda. Similar to his departure to the tropical lands in the previous chapter, the entrance into the ocean resembled a *rite de passage.* Beebe is standing on a ladder that will take him into the ocean. Beebe describes the transition from land to sea as a shift of body awareness, when he puts on the diving equipment. Speaking directly to the reader, he facilitates the identification with the sensory landscape of diving: "Something round and heavy is slipped gently over your head, and a metal helmet rests upon your shoulders."[42] Still standing on the ladder, Beebe faces the islands of Haiti, and makes the reader part of the scene: "Turning your head you see emerald waves breaking upon the distant beach of ivory, backed by feathery palms waving in the sunlight against a sky of pure azure." The stereotypical description shows the extent to which imaginations of tropical islands are produced by the sense of sight, a sense that creates visions, illusions, vistas and finally postcard motifs. Diving, however, left the beaten tracks of the imagination, by turning the common visual regime upside down. The first step into the ocean already dissolved the illusion of tropical islands: "For a brief space of time the palms and the beach show through waves which are now breaking over your very face." The waves are part of the ocean as material environment, but in the narrative, they work as indicators of a new visual regime: "Then the world changes. There is no more harsh sunlight, but delicate blue-greens with a fluttering shadow everywhere."

Beebe framed the unknown seascapes resorting to terrestrial projections and conventions.[43] These conventions were informed by semantic analogies to the land, as the title "Nonsuch: Land of Water" shows.[44] Projections are important for making "blanks" into regions of the known world. Projecting colonial aspirations onto the underwater world,

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[39] Y. Tuan, Passing Strange and Wonderful: Aesthetics, Nature, and Culture, Washington, DC 1993, p. 115; see also: Y. Tuan, Romantic Geography: In Search of the Sublime Landscapes, Madison 2013.

[40] Tuan, Passing Strange and Wonderful, p. 115. Considering encounters with alien environments as place-making activity takes the human nature (the body and the senses) of the explorer seriously. Y. Tuan, Romantic Geography: In Search of the Sublime Landscape, Madison 2014, pp. 167-177.

[41] A. Kraus, Der Klang des Nordpolarmeeres, in: A. Kraus and M. Winkler (eds.), Weltmeere: Wissen und Wahrnehmung im langen 19. Jahrhundert, Göttingen 2014, pp. 127-148; S. Corristine, Träume, Labyrinthe, Eislandschaften: Körper und Eis in Arktis-Expeditionen des 19. Jahrhunderts, in: Kraus/Winkler (eds.), Weltmeere, pp. 103-126.

[42] Beebe, Beneath Tropic Seas, p. 3 (for this and all quotes in this paragraph).

[43] Turchi, Maps of the Imagination, pp. 73-97.

[44] Beebe, Beneath Tropic Seas, p. 3.

William Beebe even presented the ocean as a place to be conquered, “No-man’s-land. Five Fathoms Down”.[45] Scenes of encounters that resemble the projection of first contacts were still possible in the ocean: “The first little people of this strange realm greet you – a quartet of swimming rainbows – four gorgeously tinted fish who rush up and peer at you.”[46] Anthropomorphism (the fish as people) is a common strategy in naturalists’ accounts: Encounters became interspecies affairs.[47] The question is raised of how the sensation of “first contact” was defined by experiencing (and, simultaneously, the making of) the place as new.

It was not the uncommon ground of the ocean as scientific field or as narrated place that led to the impression of first encounters. It was the strangeness of the physical and sensuous experience that the ocean offered to the human diver.[48] In the making of the aquatic tropics, diving required the body and the senses. Beebe could feel the movement of the water, “the very slight push and slack of the swell”[49]. The process of disintegration that started on entering the sea continued during diving. Modes of sight and body experiences changed. Odours and sounds were missing that made the sensuous texture of the tropical surface world. The light absorption under water created visual signs that needed to be interpreted anew, since the common modes of tropical colour-sight faded to blue in certain depths (an “ultramarine world”[50]). Although projections and conventions helped Beebe in making the underwater world and its sensuous geographies a place on maps of Euro-American imagination, the newness of the sensory landscapes and the sensation of its inhabitants made it difficult to express the experiences.

Beebe did not have to deliberately silence words for the places and animals he had seen; they were simply missing. His search for semantics, however, was cast in colonial conventions. He used two strategies for framing the ocean as place of first contact scenes: The first one is connected to the traditional exploration narrative as tale of sensations, turning a place into a realm of wonders and marvels with a different sensuous geography:[51]

> *You begin to say things to yourself, gasp of surprise, inarticulate sounds of awe, you are troubled with a terrible sense of loss that (as the case may be) twenty, thirty or fifty years of your life have passed and gone without your knowing of the ease of entry into this new world.* Are *you under water? There is no sense of wetness…. Only a moment has passed since you left the world overhead, or was it many hours?*[52]

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[45] Ibid., p. ix.

[46] Ibid., p. 4.

[47] For the recent research branch of inter-/multispecies ethnography, see: E. S. Kirksey and S. Helmreich, The Emergence of Multispecies Ethnography, in: Cultural Anthropology, 25 (2010) 4, pp. 545-576. E. S. Kirksey, The Multispecies Salon, Durham 2014; R. Madden, Animals and the Limits of Ethnography, in: Anthrozoös: A Multidisciplinary Journal of the Interactions of People and Animals, 27 (2014) 2, pp. 279-293.

[48] See Beebe, Thoughts on Diving, pp. 582-586.

[49] Beebe, Nonsuch, p. 44.

[50] Beebe, Arcturus Adventure, p. 36.

[51] M. Cohen, Underwater Optics as Symbolic Form, in: French Politics, Culture & Society 32 (2014) 3, pp. 1-23; M. Cohen, Fish Eye Fish: Diver in Fish Bowl, in: WAX 7 (2015), pp. 99-102.

[52] Beebe, Beneath Tropic Seas, p. 5 (emphasis in original).

These forms of underwater tropical frenzy were restricted by the material environment. Going native as a diver was a temporally limited affair. Losing one's terrestrial identity underwater, however, led to Beebe's cheerful rebirth when he came up to the land:

> *You exclaim something bromidic which sounds like Marvellous! Great! Wonderful! Then relapse futilely into silence and look helplessly into the distance where the emerald waves still break and the palms wave as if fairyland had not intervened in your life since you saw them last.*[53]

Making a place through the senses created an underwater world of sensation, an experience of being fully alive. Making the place with words helps in locating the region and the experience in the landscapes of late-colonial science. On these imaginative maps, every feature must have a name and not an atmosphere. Beebe had to find words for the sea and started to baptize seascapes and animals: "So Adam-like, I had to give them all temporary names, until I could identify them."[54] This strategy of inventing names like a creator, has been criticized as ritual of colonial power.[55] Evoking mastery over this no-man's-land put the sea into geographies of power. With respect to the category of place, however, Beebe's subaquatic baptism made it possible to find the language to locate the sea on imaginative and sensuous maps. As the quote shows, baptism thereby becomes a synonym of creation, naming is creating a place in encounters. Beebe's diving episode unveils the more general fact that even liquid places do not exist *per se* but are created by certain place-making activities. The body and the senses were tools of this creative power, the language the tool to place the world on imaginative maps and to turn it into the representation that the quote in beginning demonstrated. Finally, geographies of field work combine experience and text to form something new.

4. Mappings of the Fields

The research field is a challenge to the senses and the mind. Entering an area that will become the field puts the scientists first and foremost in an area, where "other activities" are carried out, since the natural site "can never be an exclusively scientific domain":[56]

> *Fields are public spaces, and their borders cannot be rigorously guarded. They are inhabited by very different sorts of people* […] *Although the members of the field's heterogeneous population pursue their separate ends and often resent one another, they also interact with and affect one another in significant ways. Thus cultural translation remains a*

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[53] Ibid., p. 6.

[54] Beebe, Arcturus Adventure, p. 84.

[55] A. McClintock, Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest, New York 1995.

[56] H. Kuklick and R.E. Kohler, Introduction, in: Science in the Field, Osiris 11 (1996), pp. 1-14, at 3.

> *persistent and pervasive possibility in the field sciences, far more than in the laboratory disciplines.*[57]

The field does not exist *per se*, it is made by body techniques and scientific conventions. The written word then translates the place's special ecology into generalized ecological scientific knowledge. Beebe's research sites offered webs of interspecies relations and different (imaginative, sensuous) geographies. He had to read and analyse them to reconstruct the ecology of the place. The jungle and the ocean, however, were different from each other as material environments, as atmospheric places and as biological entities. In his creation of the fields, Beebe used these various geographical layers of the places and turned them into scientific abstractions.[58] In this process, he used the senses as scientific tools. In the chapter "Methods of Research"[59], William Beebe described how he located specific animals by perceiving the sensuous geography of the jungle. Animals, like birds, produced sounds; these, in turn, not only produced an atmospheric soundscape of the jungle, but also provided information on the interspecies relations that made the place and gave some hints on the place's ecology.[60] One sound, for example, led Beebe to a species, and to animals that stood in relation with the sound-maker. On the one hand, following sensory impulses, discovering the web of interrelations and describing the place's ecology, was a process of creation and construction. On the other hand, translating the complex web into scientific descriptions meant reducing the complexity of the field.

Beebe deliberately silenced the senses and sensory impulses that he did not need. Beebe followed scientific conventions of field work and chose his methods.[61] Seeing is associated with thinking and understanding and "sight is coupled with insights".[62] Written handbooks and instructions on scientific observation turned seeing from an unconscious practice into a codified or even ritualized technique.[63] Observation transferred conventions of scientifically motivated cultural encounters to the animal realm: In style and techniques, Beebe's ecological observation resembled the field work of social anthropologists.[64] He and his team settled "down in a strange country" and studied non-human "wild creatures which inhabit it"[65], with one decisive difference: Fields of anthropological observation can be defined by sociocultural geographies of a place. A social anthropologist would, for example, settle down in the meeting place of indigenous societies, if he or she knew where the place was. Beebe, however, first had to find the centre of the field and to construct the place of observation. He picked one single feature, such as a significant tree, and studied it intensively together with the living beings inhabiting this place.[66] For scaling up in terms of size and abstraction and scaling down in terms of complexity, he used geometrical approaches to place – a (Western) trick of geographical reduction and spatial classification:

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[57] Ibid., p. 4.

[58] Turchi, Maps of the Imagination, pp. 159-213.

[59] Beebe, Tropical Wildlife, pp. 147-154.

[60] Ibid., pp. 147-148.

[61] Ibid, p. XIII.

[62] Tuan, Passing Strange and Wonderful, p. 96.

[63] F. Richthofen, Führer für Forschungsreisende, Berlin 1886; G. Neumayer, Anleitung zu wissenschaftlichen Beobachtungen auf Reisen, Berlin 1875; F. Dahl, Anleitung zu zoologischen Beobachtungen, Leipzig 1929.

[64] R. Renato, From the Door of his Tent: The Fieldworker and the Inquisitor, in: J. Clifford and G. E. Marcus (eds.), Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography, Berkeley 1986, pp. 77-97; T. Rice and M. L. Berg (eds.), Future Fields, Special Issue Anthropology Matters 6 (2004) 2.

[65] Beebe, Tropical Wildlife, p. 147.

> *The area in which we worked during six months of 1916, from March to August inclusive, may conveniently be divided into two very distinct zones; First, the Clearing and the Secondgrowth. Second, the jungle itself.*[67]

Measurements and dimensions made the zones of the field: "Now, for a distance of many acres along the shore, […]. Six hundred and fifty acres of jungle […]. Another five hundred and fifty acres […] second growth."[68] Beebe defined one-half square mile of the jungle south of the station as his main research area, where he worked and observed over months, creating accounts of interspecies encounters and the web of interrelations that made the place's ecology. The article "Studies of a Tropical Jungle: One Quarter of a Square Mile of Jungle Kartabo, British Guiana"[69] is usually read as a pioneer account in tropical ecology and the result of a process of creation. It unfolds the web of interrelations of the place that nature has made: the geological and soil conditions, a monthly analysis of the climate, an overview of the flora, and the description of every animal the team had observed during a five-year period. These descriptions included the number of individuals, their behaviour, and information on their position in the tropical food chain.[70] With regard to place-making activities, however, Beebe produced the research field. This making of the field is another example of the cartographic convention that J. B. Harley called "silences"[71]. Using the geographical abstraction from zones, Beebe had deliberately silenced imaginative and sensuous geographies of the place.

Ecology is place-bound knowledge, but what did he do in the seemingly placeless ocean? Understanding the ocean through the terrestrial metaphor of the field (which is a contradiction *per se*) made spatial abstractions and framing more necessary than on land. Finding the rigorous geometries for the fluid environment makes the extent to which place and fields are being made even more obvious than on land.[72] The sensuous geographies of diving reassured the oceans' division into the horizontal zones of the shallow waters and the abyss. Mapping of the vertical extension of the waves and currents challenged geometrical approaches that were possible on land. Beebe again used the epistemic trick of projection: He projected the natural formation of the island onto the underwater world.

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[66] Ibid.

[67] Ibid., p. 51.

[68] Ibid.

[69] W. Beebe, Studies of a Tropical Jungle: One Quarter of a Square Mile of Jungle at Kartabo, British Guiana, in: Zoologica 6 (1925), pp. 5-193. Still quoted in recent literature: e.g. in: D. P. Reagan and R. B. Waide (eds.), The Food Web of a Tropical Rain Forest, Chicago 1996, p. 112. See as well: W. Beebe, Fauna of Four Square Feet of Jungle Debris, in: Zoologica 2 (1916), pp. 107-119.

[70] Beebe, Studies of a Tropical Jungle, pp. 5-193.

[71] Turchi, Maps of the Imagination, p. 57; Harley, Silences and Secrecy, pp. 57-76.

[72] Beebe, Thoughts on Diving, pp. 582-586.

In analogy to his jungle observation at Kalacoon, where Beebe concentrated on one square mile in a close reading of the environment, he thought that investigating one island of water made more sense than investigating a long distance from the surface. The island of water, however, was only a mathematical abstraction and created as scientific imagination through place-making activities, such as dividing places in zones. Thus, Beebe's submarine island was created by sensuous geographies as well as the scientific practices of diving and observation.[73]

Beebe recorded the animals and the web of interrelations in the ocean. Diving down enabled Beebe to examine the tropical coral reefs and to investigate as well as classify the underwater fauna. His observations gave him ideas on biogeography ("the effectiveness of oceanic distribution"[74]) and ecology (the biodiversity and interrelations of species).[75] With respect to the emerging research field of tropical ecology, Beebe's accounts delivered one of the first at-length-descriptions of tropical coral reefs. With respect to the making of places through encounter, Beebe's invention of tropical (maritime) ecologies shows how transient notions of place can be depending on the activity that made the place.

5. Multiple Geographies of Tropical Ecology

What can we learn from Beebe's travels through several landscapes of the real and the imagination? Is the story a success story of how place-bound knowledge contributes to the institutionalization of tropical ecology as a new field of knowledge through understanding the interspecies encounters and relations that make a specific ecological place? Is it a story that tells – from nostalgic perspective – how place-bound experiences were flattened, or certain geographies were silenced, when one thinks of Beebe's lament of the impossibility to depict experiences and the materiality behind the text? According to Beebe, the feeling of being physically and sensuously present and "fully alive" at one place, and of making it by being there, could never be replaced by any kind of representation, as he put it:

> *Books, aquaria and glass-bottomed boats are, to such an experience, only what a timetable is to an actual tour, or what a dried, dusty bit of coral in the what-not of the best parlour is to this unsuspected realm of gorgeous life and colour existing with us today on the self-same planet Earth.*[76]

Beebe's place-making activities gain in importance for understanding the notions of place. Reading William Beebe's travel accounts with a multi-layered understanding of

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[73] Beebe, Arcturus Adventure, pp.322-323, 327.

[74] Ibid., p. 332.

[75] Ibid., p. 338.

[76] Beebe, Beneath Tropic Seas, p. 6.

"place" unfolds firstly writing, secondly "conscious sensing"[77], and thirdly scientific mapping as three activities that created the different layers of place in his work. The traveller and writer need these diverse geographies to give places meaning and orient himself (or herself). Beebe, for example, needed imaginative maps to locate his new experiences and observations in geographies of (Western) travel. He needed his senses and his body to read and understand the sensuous geography of sea and land, to read and construct the places of ecology. Sensuous geographies are also a crucial part of the scientific process and helped in making abstractions of the places, turning them into zones and maps. Tropical ecology is conceptualized as the science of interrelations at "one place". However, Beebe's works make the interrelatedness of different notions of place visible, as well as the processes of their creation in and through the aims, experiences and encounters behind the scenes.

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[77] Beebe, Half Mile Down, p. 160.

From Paradise to a Graveyard: Aleksey N. Tolstoy's Representations of Places Between Literary and Ideological Discourses

Katharina Bauer

ABSTRACTS

Der Beitrag beschäftigt sich mit der Darstellung und Rolle von europäischen Städten in ausgewählten Texten des neo-realistischen russischen Autors Aleksej Nikolaevič Tolstoj, einem prominenten Akteur der russischen bzw. sowjetischen Literatur zwischen 1910 und 1945. Je mehr sich der Autor in seinen Texten mit Fragen nationaler Identität auseinandersetzt, umso wichtiger werden seine Begegnungen mit anderen Kulturen, da sie ihm ermöglichen – oder ihn auch dazu zwingen, Russland aus der Perspektive eines Außenstehenden zu betrachten. Der Fokus des Beitrags liegt deshalb auf Reisen Tolstojs nach Deutschland und Frankreich zwischen 1908 und 1935. Die Darstellung der von Tolstoj besuchten europäischen Städte reicht dabei von ausdrücklich subjektiven Beschreibungen, über die Bezugnahme auf literarische Topoi, bis hin zur Instrumentalisierung für geo-kulturelle Ziele im sowjetischen Kontext. Im Laufe der Jahre wird ein deutlicher Wandel sichtbar: Der zunächst als produktiv wahrgenommene Kontakt mit europäischen Kulturen schlägt in eine tiefgreifende Entfremdung um. Allerdings erhält sich Tolstoj in einigen privaten Texten einen gewissen „Bewegungsspielraum", um eine andere Sicht auf Europa zum Ausdruck zu bringen als in seinen offiziellen Texten. Als theoretischer Rahmen der Analyse dient Detlev Ipsens Definition von „Orten" als Schnittpunkte individueller Wahrnehmung und kultureller Deutung. Die Synthese der Erfahrungsebene mit dem symbolischen Potenzial von Orten ist nicht zuletzt für die Anwendbarkeit auf sowohl literarische wie auch dokumentarische Texte wichtig. Der Begriff „Geokulturologie" im Anschluss an Susanne Frank ermöglicht dabei eine Annäherung an den Wandel von Tolstojs Sicht auf die besuchten Orte.

The contribution explores the significance of European locations in the writings of Aleksey Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1883–1945), a neo-realist writer and prominent figure between 1910 and 1945 of Russian respectively Soviet literature. The more the author deals with questions of na-

tional identity in his writings, the more important become his encounters with other cultures, as they give him the chance – or force him – to glance at Russia from an outside point of view. Presenting some of the author's journeys to Germany and France between 1908 and 1935, this contribution demonstrates how his topographies of the visited European cities oscillate between explicitly subjective descriptions, references to literary topoi and an instrumentalisation for geo-cultural purposes in the Soviet context: Over the years, the first, allegedly productive encounter with European cultures changes into an experience of deep estrangement combined with the claim of the Soviet Union's cultural superiority. Yet, there are other texts that give Aleksey Tolstoy "room for manoeuvre" to express a much more personal view on Europe than in his official writings.

The theoretical framework of the analysis is based on Detlef Ipsen's definition of places, underlining both the concrete experiential character as well as the meaning-making potential of places. For tracing Tolstoy's changing interpretation of the visited places, Susanne Frank's works on geo-kulturologija and its relation to geopoetics gave important impulses.

Aleksey Nikolayevich Tolstoy (1883–1945), from the very beginning, associated his writing career with specific geographical locations.[1] He developed a huge sensitivity regarding a special "genius loci" influencing his work or – in a broader sense – culture.[2] Though he underlines the importance of time and thus tries to catch the "duch vremeni" – "zeitgeist", the specific location where he attempts to experience the "zeitgeist" and to put it into words is of considerable significance.[3] This applies the more as Aleksey Tolstoy travelled a lot between Russia and Western Europe. The more the author deals with questions of national identity in his writings the more important become his encounters with other cultures, as they give him the chance – or force him – to glance at Russia from an outside point of view. Vice versa, Tolstoy's perception of Western Europe can, therefore, be seen as an indicator for his relation to Russia.

His numerous journeys to Western Europe cover a period of almost 40 years. They can be divided into four phases that will also function as chapters in this article: 1. private journeys to Europe before World War I, 2. journeys to Great Britain and the Western frontlines in 1916, 3. his emigration-period from 1919–1923, and 4. his official journeys as a Soviet writer and delegate in the 1930s.

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[1] In the West, the writer is mainly conceived as a "Soviet writer" referring thereby to his best-known works, the trilogy "Road to Calvary" (Khozhdenye po mukam, 1925–1941) and the historical novel "Peter the Great" (Petr I, 1930–1945) and to his role as a leading figure in the literary field after returning from emigration in 1923. For further biographical information (in Russian) see for example A. Varlamov, Aleksey Tolstoy, Moskva 2008. For a short biographical overview in English see online: https://www.britannica.com/biography/Aleksey-Nikolayevich-Graf-Tolstoy.

[2] For the importance of "space" for Russian cultural identity see S. K. Frank, Überlegungen zum Ansatz einer historischen Geokulturologie, in: Ead. and I. Smirnov (eds.), Zeit – Räume: Neue Tendenzen in der historischen Kulturwissenschaft aus der Perspektive der Slavistik, München 2002, pp. 55–75. Concerning the question of the influence of a certain place on the creativity of a writer see for example M. Marszałek and S. Sasse, Geopoetiken, in: Eaed. (eds.), Geopoetiken: Geographische Entwürfe in den mittel- und osteuropäischen Literaturen, Berlin 2010, pp. 7–18, at 10.

[3] A. N. Tolstoy, Novye materialy i issledovanya (Ranny A.N. Tolstoy i ego literaturnoe okruzhenye), Moskva 2002, p. 195.

In my analysis I will focus on Tolstoy's changing perception of cities like Paris, Berlin and London, as the author portrayed them in public articles and private letters between 1908 and 1935.[4] As I will show, over the years, the tune of Tolstoy's official writings about Western Europe changes remarkably. The more he understood himself as a "Russian writer" whose duty is to strengthen the people's identification with their homeland in times of war and crisis, the more changed his perspective on the Western European countries he visited in his official writings. In Tolstoy's novels and articles since the 1920s, Europe becomes the negative counterpart to Soviet Russia whose "bright future" is predicted by the author.

But – through the years and regardless of his official position – there are also other texts about his encounters with Western European cultures that give Tolstoy "room for manoeuvre" to express a much more personal view on Europe than in his official writings. It is important to contrast both forms in order to obtain a full impression of the author's use and construction of places.

For Tolstoy, major cities within Russia (Saint Petersburg, Moscow) or beyond (foremost: Paris, Berlin, London) are locations, where cultural processes crystallize on a material, social or moral level. It is here that such processes become visible, tangible, perceptible and describable for the author. In my analysis of cities as "places of encounter" I follow the definition of place as suggested by Detlev Ipsen:

> *Places constitute themselves around meaning and senses* […] *Despite all interdependencies and hybrid forms it makes sense to understand places as focal points of an immediate perception, of cultural interpretation and meaning as well as of social action*.[5]

Combining psychological approaches with sociological ones and underlining the concrete, experiential, and performative aspects of place, Ipsen refers explicitly to the theoretical frameworks set by Feld / Basso, Castells and Giddens.[6] Ipsen's definition works so well for Tolstoy's texts because it does not imply a hierarchical order or an opposition between space and place, which both cannot be found in Tolstoy's texts as well. Furthermore Ipsen's definition connects places to the categories of experience and event: "The relation between space and place can be compared to that of time and event […] Spaces correspond in their formality to the abstract time of day, hour, and minute; places are lived time, they are an event."[7] This event-character is very important in the analysis of the role of places in situations of cultural encounters, because it makes clear that places are not given or inalterably existing but subjectively constructed. Writing about his experiences abroad in a generalizing and authoritative way, Tolstoy especially since the 1920s makes his readers (almost) forget that his is only one perspective amongst others. Using very detailed descriptions of odours, noises, colours and the feelings that these (might) evoke, Tolstoy conveys "a feeling for the place", that is already determined. Therefore, the emotional and symbolic interpretation of a place is just the point where a potential manipulation of his readers takes place as he instrumentalises topographies for ideological purposes. Thus, how Tolstoy describes his impressions in Paris, London and Berlin does not change remarkably throughout the years – what changes is the focus on what he chooses to describe, which associations the images tend to generate and what he silences.

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[4] For an analysis of postrevolutionary geographies sketched out in Russian literature of the 1920s see E. Ponomarev, Geografiya revolyucii. Puteshestvie po Evrope v sovetskoy literature 1920-kh godov, in: Voprosy literatury 6 (2004), online: http://magazines.russ.ru/voplit/2004/6/ponom8-pr.html (accessed 10 September 2018). A shorter and revised version is also available in German: E. Ponomarev, Die Geographie der Revolution, in: W. Fähnders (ed.), Berlin, Paris, Moskau, Bielefeld 2005, pp. 191–209.

[5] "Orte konstituieren sich um Sinn und Sinne […] Trotz aller Verflechtungen und Mischformen ist es sinnvoll, Orte als Kristallisationspunkte der unmittelbaren Wahrnehmung, der kulturellen Deutung und Bedeutung und des sozialen Handelns aufzufassen." D. Ipsen, Ort und Landschaft, Wiesbaden 2006, p. 64. [All translations are, unless otherwise noted, mine. K.B.]

[6] Ibid.

After his return from emigration in 1923, the author outlines a special post-revolutionary geography by semanticizing the visited Western European locations in contrast to those in Soviet Russia. This literary technique might be compared to the "symbolic topographies" Oliver Lubrich identifies in Virginia Woolf's personal travel notes.[8] However, Tolstoy, unlike Woolf, writes not primarily for himself, trying to deal with obviously difficult travel experiences, but for the Russian respectively Soviet public. According to Susanne Frank, semanticising geographical locations can be described as a "geopoetical technique" that can be found both in literary and non-literary texts. Analyzing the functions of geopoetical techniques and their relation to geoculturological discourses, she states: "In general, […] geopoetical techniques pursue geoculturological goals."[9] She defines "Geokulturology" as follows:

> *The term geoculturology indicates a knowledge discourse that assumes and postulates geo-spaces or regions in terms of geo-cultural entities. In analyzing these entities as given objects it construes them semantically and semiotically and therefore pursues ideological and political goals.*[10]

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[7] "Das Verhältnis von Raum und Ort ist vergleichbar mit dem von Zeit und Ereignis […]. Räume entsprechen in ihrer Formalität der abstrakten Zeit von Tag, Stunde, Minute; Orte sind gelebte Zeit, sie sind Ereignis." Ibid.

[8] "Die unscheinbarsten Details tragen dazu bei, der Reise Bedeutung zu verleihen. Sogar die Bemerkungen zum Wetter fügen sich zu einer Sequenz, die oberflächlich dem Gemütszustand der Reisenden entspricht. […] Und auch die Landschaften sind semantisiert. […] Die Reisende bewegt sich sensibel durch eine symbolische Topographie." O. Lubrich, Faschismus im Selbstversuch: Rhetorik und Psychologie bei Virginia Woolf, in: Orbis Litterarum 64 (2009), pp. 1–32, at 7–8.

[9] "Gemeinhin, […] dienen geopoetische Verfahren der Verfolgung geokulturologischer Ziele." S. K. Frank, Geokulturologie – Geopoetik. Definitions- und Abgrenzungsvorschläge, in: M. Marszałek and S. Sasse (eds.), Geopoetiken: Geographische Entwürfe in den mittel- und osteuropäischen Literaturen, Berlin 2010, pp. 19–42, at 41.

[10] "Mit dem Begriff Geokulturologie soll also ein Wissensdiskurs bezeichnet werden, der Geo-Räume bzw. Regionen als geokulturelle Einheiten voraussetzt, postuliert, sie als gegebene Objekte analysiert und sie gleichzeitig semantisch und semiotisch konstruiert und damit nicht zuletzt auch ideologische und politische Ziele verfolgt." Ibid., p. 31.

According to this definition, I will speak of a geoculturological strategy, Tolstoy uses by semanticising geographical locations in his writings of the 1920s and 1930s.

1. Prewar Times: Feeling at Home Abroad

Until the outbreak of World War I Tolstoy travelled mainly for personal reasons. In 1901 he enrolled as a student of engineering in Saint Petersburg. After the revolutionary events of 1905 the Technical Institute was closed and Tolstoy continued his studies in Dresden in 1906. According to his letters, he enjoyed living in Dresden very much. These letters already indicate Tolstoy's typical manner of perceiving and describing his encounters with other cultures. He constructs himself as a distant observer who claims to see more than the locals. Reporting on a visit to a beer garden on a Sunday he wrote to his parents that the Germans are unaware of their favourable living conditions. While they are content with their beer, the numerous foreigners living in Dresden have to "feel and live" for them.[11]

In 1906, Tolstoy has not yet decided to quit the Institute and to focus on an artistic career. With the help of his future wife Sofiya Dymshic, who at this time was already studying painting, he finally chose arts over his education as an engineer. With her he was visiting Paris in 1908, 1911 and 1913. On the one hand, these journeys are partly motivated by an attempt to overcome a personal and artistic crisis. On the other hand, they are connected to joyful events: In 1908 Tolstoy and Sofiya arrived in Paris shortly after their marriage and it was in Paris that he managed to enter the Russian artistic circles, which appeared hermetically closed for him in Saint Petersburg. In 1913 their daughter was born in Paris.

While Tolstoy's perception of Russia in general, or of Saint Petersburg in particular,[12] revealed a certain boredom with his homeland, he is overwhelmed by his first impressions of Paris: "What an amazing, firework-like city of Paris. And the people are lively and cheerful."[13] His contacts with the French capital range primarily on the visual and emotional levels – the atmosphere is more important than any specific encounter. Throughout his letters, it remains unclear if he ever had or even tried to have personal contact to the French whilst living in the Russian circles and aiming for his compatriots' approval as an upcoming writer. He mainly describes public spaces like boulevards and cafés. In doing so, his view remains superficial – he mentions clothes and customs, construes out of these impressions a general characterisation of French culture. Summing up his impressions, Paris seems to be a huge "greenhouse":

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[11] "Вообще здесь жизнь хорошая, светлая, и благоприятные условия, чтобы сделать ее таковой, хотя на немцев это не действует — они только знают свое пиво и больше ничего. Зато иностранцы (которыми кишит Дрезден) чувствуют и живут для них." A. N. Tolstoy, PerepiskaA. N. Tolstogo v dvukh tomakh, vol. I, Moskva 1989, p. 118f.

[12] "Cheers to Moscow's health! And Saint Petersburg shall go to hell, this dull, faded, neurasthenic city." / "Пью здоровье Москвы, и да провалится Петербург к черту – скучныи и вялыи и неврастеническии город." Ibid., p. 182.

[13] "Что за изумительный, фейерверковый город Париж […] И люди живые, веселые." Ibid., p. 124.

> *Daily life proceeds as if organized by women; it is talking and screaming about beauty, feathers, bawdiness, a fine and fugacious love. The people blossom like flowers to love and their relations are fragile, airy and bright. The French are sinfully chosen orchids and the greenhouse that is filled with their fragrance – is Paris.*[14]

Tolstoy embeds the French capital in the symbolist, cyclical model of blossom and decline.[15] Following this model, the city and its inhabitants are described as bound to the natural cycle of life and death, yet they seem well aware of their amusements' fugacity. In 1908, he does not judge the debaucherous social life that he ascribes to French culture in general in terms of decadence and moral decline. As little a role as Russia plays for Tolstoy's first contact with French culture, as small is the author's interest in social questions. The otherness of the French for the writer is more exotic than distancing.[16]

2. World War I: Rescue for the "Second Home" Paris

With the outbreak of World War I, Tolstoy started working as a journalist (which he had rejected until then) and became, as he put it, "a patriot".[17] Being a patriotic writer for Tolstoy meant to unite the Russian people in times of crisis by assuring them of the persistence of a national identity.[18]

As a war correspondent Tolstoy became a precise observer of the events on the battlefields from the east to the west. In August 1914 he travelled along the frontlines of Volhynia, Galicya and the Caucasus and in 1916 he was part of an official Russian delegation of journalists visiting London and Paris. For his literary works of these years the war played an important role as well. In his short stories Tolstoy often reflects on the impact of war on the life of Russian people from different social classes.[19]

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[14] "Здесь все живет женщиной, говорит и кричит о красоте, о перьях, о разврате, о любви изощренной и мимолетной. Люди как цветы зацветают, чтобы любить, и хрупки и воздушны и ярки их сношения, грешные изысканные орхидеи французы и теплица, полная греховного их аромата, – Париж." Ibid., p. 132.

[15] W. Kissel, Die Moderne, in: K. Städtke (ed.), Russische Literaturgeschichte, Stuttgart 2002, pp. 226–289, at 228.

[16] Whilst Tolstoy ascribes Paris an eminent role to the beginning of his writing career, for his literary works until World War I cities within Russia or abroad only play a minor role. The novellas and novels are primarily situated on estates in the Russian countryside. Whenever Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Venice or Paris are part of the story, these cities function as counterparts to the simple and natural life of the countryside. For their description Tolstoy draws on the literary discourse of modernity and takes up a critical but finally undecided point of view. K. Bauer, Liebe – Glaube – Russland: Russlandkonzeptionen im Schaffen Aleksej N. Tolstojs, Stuttgart 2018, pp. 58–67.

[17] „Я работаю в „Русских ведомостях", никогда не думал, что стану журналистом, буду писать *патриотические* статьи. Так меняются времена. А в самом деле стал патриотом." Tolstoy, Perepiska A. N. Tolstogo v dvukh tomakh, vol. I, p. 212 (emphasis in the original). "I am working for the "Russian News", and have never thought that I would become a journalist and write patriotic articles. Times are changing. And I have really become a patriot."

[18] Although living in a multi-ethnic imperial society, Tolstoy thinks in national categories and is mostly speaking in a homogenising way about "Russia" or "the Russian people" – or in the case of other countries, of "the Germans", "the French", "the British" etc. If he draws any distinction, it's rather a social than an ethnical one.

The view on all social classes – not only the members of the higher ones like before – also holds for Tolstoy's writings about Paris during World War I. Tolstoy maintains his focus on the French capital as a symbol for the whole country. The impressions that he writes down are ambivalent. They oscillate between an alarming tune, stating the impending downfall of the city and – on a more general level – of France, and a lyrical description of the city in which war and death are reduced to rather atmospheric elements.

One of the first articles he published in August 1914 as a correspondent for "Russkie vedomosti" (Russian News) is a passionate and dramatic call for help. Reminding his compatriots that it was Paris that had become a "second home" to many Russians in the nineteenth and twentieth century and praising its creative energies (from which Tolstoy himself had drawn at the beginning of his artistic career), he declares that it is now Russia's turn to save the town and its inhabitants: "Paris, where so much had happened, people's second home, Paris could not die. One must not rip out the heart and stay alive."[20] But Tolstoy is not only evoking his readers' compassion by using the device of personification. By declaring Russia to the saviour of France he also refers to a crucial element of Russian collective memory, built in the nineteenth century: After the defeat of Napoleon's army Car Aleksandr I claimed to be the "saviour of Europe" and Russia was supposed to be the leader of an "Holy alliance".[21]

Two years later, in the articles during his journey to London, Paris and the Western frontlines in 1916 the writer changes his tune. The exuberant love of life, Tolstoy attributed to prewar-Paris, is still there, but reduced to a "sad beauty of life" (печальную красоту жизни).[22] The impressions, the writer shares from his stay, are rather those of a flaneur, not those of a war correspondent:

> *Paris, always wreathed in transparent, bluish haze, grey and monotone, with buildings that look one like another; with its mansards, cupola and triumphal arches, interrupted and girded by a belt of green boulevards… The huge city lives all day inexhaustibly, thunders and waves; at night it is flowed by light. The mist is transparent, the whole city is like a forest out of blue shadows.*[23]

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[19] See Bauer, Liebe – Glaube – Russland, pp. 68–85.

[20] "[…] Париж, где столько совершалось, вторая родина людей, Париж не может погибнуть, нельзя вырвать сердце и остаться жить." A.N. Tolstoy, Polnoe Sobranie Sochinenii (hereafter PSS), vol. III, Moskva 1949, p. 110.

[21] J.M. Hartley, Is Russia Part of Europe? Russian Perceptions of Europe in the Reign of Alexander I, in: Cahiers du Monde russe et soviétique 33, no. 4 (Oct.–Dec. 1992), pp. 369–385, at 374.

[22] Tolstoy, PSS, vol. III, p. 108.

[23] "Париж, всегда занавешенный прозрачной, голубоватой дымкой, весь серый, однообразный, с домами, похожими один на другой, с мансардами, куполами церквей и триумфальными арками, перерезанный и охваченный, точно венком, зеленые бульварами… Весь день неустанно живет, грохочет, колышется, по ночам заливается светом огромный город […] Туман прозрачен, весь город раскинут чащей, будто выстроен из голубых теней." Ibid.

The author alternates between the description of visual impressions and their emotional effects. Several times, he starts a sentence with the phrase "you feel" (вы чувствуете), e. g.: "[…] but you feel not exhaustion, having wandered through it [Paris] all day, but a quiet, gentle melancholy. You feel that they understood death here and that they love the sad beauty of life…"[24]

Having in mind all of Tolstoy's war time articles, it is obvious that he tends to present Britain and France as much more suffering from the war than Russia. Visiting the Western frontlines in France in 1916 he writes to his wife: "The atmosphere here is very gloomy, everything revolves around the war. You feel the war with such an intensity that we do not know in Russia. They balance on a knife's edge."[25]

Although Tolstoy also travelled along the Russian frontlines in 1914, crossed destroyed villages, spoke to wounded soldiers, met with prisoners of war, he avoids in his articles any appearance of despair or defeat. It is only in his letters to his wife that he mentions these experiences. Instead, his reportages (Po Volyni / Through Volhynia or Po Galicii/Through Galicia) are full of vivid descriptions of colourful, supposedly peaceful landscapes in late summer or autumn and of the busy life in cities like Kiev or Lviv that almost make readers forget the nearby trenches.[26] Compared to his visits to London and Paris in the early years of the war, his role has now changed. He is an official Russian delegate, travelling as a journalist. Besides, he describes himself as a "patriot" who sees his duty in uniting the split Russian society and strengthening the people's belief in their ability to defend the country. Pursuing these goals he uses the descriptions from situations abroad to make his readers in Russia feel that other countries are in greater danger than Russia. The impressions from Paris and London he shares with his readers are dramatic. Especially the personification of Paris as a body whose heart is to be ripped out appeal to the people's compassion. Although Tolstoy uses contrasts between life in Europe and Russia he never works with simple negative stereotypes – even when talking about Germany.[27] Since 1917, however, Germany, France and Great Britain do not play any role for Tolstoy's writings as his attention is exclusively directed at the events within Russia.

3. Emigration: Living at a Paradisiac Place or in a Mausoleum?

Tolstoy attentively observed the events of the Russian Revolution from the very beginning in February 1917. At first he was enthusiastic about the events and hoped for a new democratic order. With the failure of the Provisional government and the coming into power of the Bolsheviks his attitude, however, changed. Primarily to escape the hunger in Moscow he left for Odessa with his family in the early summer of 1918. There he was working temporarily for the anti-Bolshevik side, writing propaganda. When the allied forces could no longer defend Odessa from the Red Army, Tolstoy and his family decided to leave Russia.

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[24] "[…] но не утомление вы чувствуете, проблуждав по нему весь день, а спокойную, тихую грусть. Вы чувствуете, что здесь поняли смерть и любят печальную красоту жизни…" Ibid.

[25] "Здесь настроение очень тяжелое, все занято воинои, война чувствуется с такой силой, с какой мы и не знаем в России, поставлено на карту все." Tolstoy, Perepiska A. N. Tolstogo v dvukh tomakh, vol. I, p. 246.

[26] See the collection of articles in Tolstoy, PSS, vol. III.

[27] "Germany" is not represented by a special symbolic place but with the help of such personifications as "Berta Krupp" and "Maks Vuk". Tolstoy, "Otechestvo", in: Tolstoy, PSS, vol. III, pp. 9–13.

Coming back to Paris in late summer of 1919 after a long and exhausting journey that was not without danger, Tolstoy's first impressions sound like those of earlier, peaceful times.[28] He writes to his writer-friend Ivan Bunin who stayed in Odessa:

> *It is so good here that everything could be absolutely good, if we would not know that our relatives and friends struggle over there* […] *France is an astonishing and terrific country with principles; it is of a good age and its house has been occupied for a long time. Here won't be any Bolsheviks – whatever they might say…*[29]

France offers him the needed shelter, is depicted as the "second home" which Tolstoy had mentioned in an article during the war. In some further letters he continues to praise France as a "beneficial and peaceful land" that provides "excellent red wine" and a plentiful life – in short: an ideal surrounding for creative work. But in contrast to his earlier journeys to France when he tried to immerse himself into the inspiring atmosphere, his main focus is now on the events in Russia, especially since 1921, when he starts to change his mind about the future of Russia under Bolshevik rule.

Tolstoy's self-understanding as a Russian writer is strongly connected to the existence of a Russian state whose government is capable of keeping the huge country together and of defending its territory against enemies as well from the inside as from the outside. The more he becomes persuaded of the fact that the Bolsheviki can guarantee the persistence of the country, the clearer he expresses his conviction that emigration can only be a provisional state of existence. Even though this meant to accept the regime from which he fled and that he accused publicly for being involved in the "vivisection" of Russia's body.[30]

Tolstoy's perception of emigration corresponds quite well with Edward Said's postcolonial definition of an intellectual exile, which is marked by a peculiar relation to places of origin and residence:

> *There is a popular but wholly mistaken assumption that being exiled is to be totally cut off, isolated, hopelessly separated from your place of origin. The exile therefore exists in a median state, neither completely at one with the new setting nor fully disencumbered of*

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[28] Regarding his emigration period see E. Tolstaya, Degot' ili med. Aleksey N. Tolstoy kak neizvestny pisatel', 1917–1923, Moskva 2006.

[29] Здесь так хорошо, что было бы совсем хорошо, если бы не сознание, что родные наши и друзья в это время там мучаются […] Франция – удивительная, прекрасная страна, с устоями, с доброй стариной, обжилой дом... Большевики здесь быть не может, что бы ни говорили… Tolstoy, Perepiska A. N. Tolstogo v dvukh tomakh, vol. I, p. 280.

[30] See therefore Tolstoy's "Open letter to N. V. Chaykovskomu", published in April 1922. Ibid., p. 306.

> *the old, beset with half-involvements and half-detachments, nostalgic and sentimental on one level, an adept mimic or a secret outcast on another.*[31]

In Tolstoy's case, it is the permanent focus on the events in Russia that shapes his relation to his European host countries as well as to the other émigrés. As Tolstoy and many of his fellow countrymen were deeply convinced that they will return to Russia soon, they felt no need to assimilate or integrate into their host countries' cultures. Analyzing writings of several Russian émigré writers at the beginning of the 1920s – amongst them those of Tolstoy – Galina Time is talking about "the Russian view of 'the other'" that connects all texts.[32] By feeling superior in comparison to the citizens of postwar European countries, many members of the Russian émigré community tried to preserve pre-revolutionary Russian traditions and values rather than integrate into another culture. In Edward Said's definition they are like

> […] *a shipwrecked person who learns how to live in a certain sense* with *the land, not on it, not like Robinson Crusoe whose goal is to colonize his little island, but more like Marco Polo,* […] *who is always a traveller, a provisional guest, not a freeloader, conqueror, or raider.*[33]

In Tolstoy's eyes, living on foreign soil – even within a strong and cultural prosperous Russian community – cannot be a permanent solution. Tolstoy shows the consequences of an unwanted permanent life beyond Russia in some of his novellas. In one of them, entitled "N.N. Burov i ego nastroenya" (N.N. Burov's moods; 1922), two Russian émigrés at first enjoy living in Paris, believing to return soon, after the Bolsheviks' defeat. Their relationship, though, gets worse when the male protagonist Burov returns from a trip to the Finnish-Russian boarder and states: "[T]here is no Russia anymore but a graveyard and terrible people, not similar to humans any longer – everybody has lost his mind."[34] The hope to return home, "everybody in one's own house" has gone.[35] Burov is already on the verge of committing suicide because a life without his Russian homeland seems senseless to him. While living amidst the French in a vivid surrounding, he is longing for simplicity, something that can be called one's own: "'Would you please understand', he said […], 'even the Papuan has his house and his sun above the roof, but we are worse off than straying cats.'"[36]Although his friend Vera Ivanovna has restrained him from committing suicide, everything has changed: The feeling of estrangement is illustrated in the protagonists' different perception of colours and noises on the streets of Paris.[37] In the end, the couple walks through Paris without even noticing the life around them.

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[31] E. Said, Intellectual Exile: Expatriates and Marginals, in: M. Bayoumi and A. Rubin (eds.), The Edward Said Reader, London 2000, pp. 368–381, at 370.

[32] G. Time, Exil als Reise: der russische Blick des anderen (1920er Jahre), in: W. Kissel (ed.), Flüchtige Blicke: Relektüren russischer Reisetexte des 20. Jahrhunderts, Bielefeld 2009, pp. 285–300.

[33] Said, Intellectual Exile, p. 378.

[34] "[…] России больше нет, а есть кладбище и страшные люди, не похожие уже больше на людей — все сошли с ума…" A.N. Tolstoy, N.N. Burov i ego nastroenya, in: Sovremennye zapiski, IX (1922), pp. 116–128, at 121.

[35] Ibid., p. 119.

[36] "Поймите, – говорил он, […] даже у папуаса есть свой дом и свое солнце над крышей, а мы хуже, чем бездомные кошки." A.N. Tolstoy, PSS, vol. IV, Moskva 1949, p. 499.

As Tolstoy's belief in a powerfully restored new Russia after the end of civil war is growing, his perception of a permanent life in Europe becomes darker and gloomier. His impression of Paris – and the whole country of France as a cultural community – changes from a "paradisiac place" to a "graveyard". His wife remembers a conversation during the summer of 1921: "Please understand, Tolstoy said, and squeezed my hand, Europe is a graveyard. The whole time I feel the scent of decay. Until I get mad! It is not only impossible to work here, but to breathe at all. Living amongst the dead! I hate these people. We have to flee from here."[38]

During his time in Berlin from October 1921 until his return to the Soviet Union in August 1923 Tolstoy becomes a harsh critic of those intellectual émigrés who declare Russia dead and seek for the creation of an alternative, so-to-say extra-territorial "Russia beyond Russia". Living permanently in such an imaginary "Russia", on foreign soil, only tolerated by the European hosts, is no longer acceptable for the writer. Tolstoy argues several times that the Russian emigration, living in a post-war Europe characterized by moral and cultural decline, a huge economic crisis and social poverty, must necessarily go down together with its surrounding. For his description of life in Paris and Berlin Tolstoy uses motifs like hallucinations, delirium, fog, darkness, or the prophecy of an impending artistic and physical death that can be counted among the classical repertoire of exilic writing since Ovid: "This awesome Paris, the most wonderful city in the world is filled with maniacs. Such a France is doomed to die."[39]

Following Oswald Spengler's idea of cities as stone-like manifestations of the moral and economic decline at the end of a civilizational stage, Tolstoy describes post-revolutionary life in Soviet Russia in terms of naturalness and simplicity, even a bucolic idyll. Russia, symbolized by the own house, one must return to, to end the feeling of being "unhoused" becomes the central motif for Tolstoy's argument to return. Like Burov in the novella, the author declared in an open letter from 1922 his sole wish was, to have "one's own sun above the roof".[40] The bold colours of Paris (or New York in "Fata Morgana") are just a delusory surface. Life in Soviet Russia may be colourless, but it is authentic instead.[41]

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[37] "Эта пестрота и шум бульвара были как галюцинания."/"The boulevard's tawdriness and noise were like a hallucination." Tolstoy, N.N. Burov i ego nastroenya, p. 119.

[38] "Пойми, – говорил Толстой, сжимая мне руку, – Европа – это кладбище. Я все время чувствую запах тления. До галлюцинаций. Здесь не только работать, здесь дышать нечем. Жить в окружении мертвецов! Ненавижу людей. Надо бежать отсюда." N. Krandievskaya-Tolstaya, Vospominanya ob A. N. Tolstom, Sbornik, Moskva 1982, pp. 95–119, at 112.

[39] "Великолепный Париж, прекраснейший из городов мира, наполнен сумасшедшими […]. Такая Франция обречена на гибель." A.N. Tolstoy, PSS, vol. XIII, Moskva 1949, p. 19.

[40] Tolstoy, Perepiska A. N. Tolstogo v dvukh tomakh, vol. I, p. 314.

[41] See for example the novella "Fata Morgana" (1923) or the novel "Emigranty" (1935) in which the use of contrasts is a central device to semanticise geography for ideological reasons.

He ends his last article during emigration, "Some words before the departure" (Neskol'ko slov' pered ot-ezdom), a harsh, polarizing and cynical text about life in the (urban) West, with a glorifying-kitschy vision of a future life in Russia: "And then we will see from the doorsteps of our homes an eased off world, peaceful fields, the growth of bread. The birds will sing about peace, about silence, luck and blessed work on earth that has lived through evil times."[42]

Between 1919 and 1923, Tolstoy has gone through a quick change. Whereas his first statements were still of a private character, his later statements in articles, letters and his novels are claiming to speak for those who have not given up Russia yet and who loved their homeland so much that they could not imagine to stay longer abroad then necessary. In his writings he uses the supposed "signs" of the impending cultural and social downfall of the European countries to propagate return. The manifestation of these "signs" is intimately connected to places like Paris and Berlin. Those Russians who are not coming home either live a meaningless and joyless life in these cities or are going mad. The former French "greenhouse" has become a "mad house" for the Russians, living abroad.

But Tolstoy also preserved some room for manoeuvre. In his science fiction novel "Aelita: The decline of Mars" (1922) which can be read as an allegory for the relation between Russia and the West at the beginning of the 1920s, Tolstoy explicitly describes two different worlds – the earth (Soviet Russia) and the planet Mars (Western Europe). However, by close reading one can find that these two worlds share a lot of common history and that the foreign planet offers many attractions – and even true love – that returning home is finally more forced than chosen freely.[43]

4. Soviet Times: Europe as "Madhouse" and "Underworld"

After his return to Soviet Russia in August 1923 he continues to claim to be in an authoritative position to speak about the situation in Europe and the Russian emigration. Several of his adventure and detective novels from 1924 to 1932 are set in Europe.[44] They perpetuate Tolstoy's new geographical order insofar as Paris, Berlin, London and Stockholm are the places of conspiracy, crime and amorality in contrast to the simple, but honest common-weal-oriented life in Soviet Russia. The European cities function as stages on which the moral, social and economic decline is shown in different scenes.

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[42] "И тогда увидим с порогов мировых своих жилищ успокоенную землю, мирные поля, волнующиеся хлеба. Птицы будут петь о мире, о покое, о счастье, о благословенном труде на земле, пережившей злые времена." Tolstoy, PSS, vol. XIII, p. 23.

[43] For a detailed analysis see for example K. Bauer, Flucht vor dem Tod: Heimkehr in Aleksej N. Tolstojs Roman „Aelita. Der Untergang des Mars", in: K. M. Sicks and S. Juterczenka (eds.), Figurationen der Heimkehr: Die Passage vom Fremden zum Eigenen in Geschichte und Literatur der Neuzeit, Göttingen 2011, pp. 194–212. M. Schwartz, Expeditionen in andere Welten: Sowjetische Abenteuerliteratur und Science-Fiction von der Oktoberrevolution bis zum Ende der Stalinzeit, Köln 2014.

[44] See for example Tolstoy's novels „Emigrants" (Emigranty) or „Garin's death ray" (Giperboloid inzhenera Garina).

In his description of Paris and to some extent of Berlin, too, Tolstoy focuses mainly on public spaces, and it seems that life predominantly takes place in cafés, restaurants, and on boulevards.

In the post-revolutionary geography that Tolstoy uses in his novels, Paris stands for an unnatural, artificial life and a country that has forgotten its great revolutionary past. The Russian émigrés who are still living there are depicted either as deplorable maniacs, proud but poor intellectuals or as criminals who plot against Soviet Russia. The German people have to deal with the reparations imposed by the peace treaty of Versailles and suffer great poverty. The difference between Paris and Berlin becomes obvious in their different description by the narrator: In the case of Paris, odours, noise and colours remain an important part of the description. Berlin, in contrast, is shaped by monotony, darkness and paleness.

Not only in literature, but also in reportages about his journeys to Europe during the 1930s Tolstoy fulfils the official requirement of depicting the West as consisting of declining decadent civilizations.[45] The titles underline the topical frame of his texts since the 1920s – darkness, death, underworld; he calls them for example: “Journey to another world” (Puteshestvie v drugoy mir, 1932), “Parisian shades” (Parizhskie teni, 1935), “Orpheus in the Underworld” (Orfey v adu, 1935). But even though he does not tire of confirming publicly the new, post-revolutionary geographical order that elevates Moscow to the new centre of a future civilization that will replace the European leadership – in his letters you find some very surprising statements, which show a persistent enthusiasm for life in Europe.

In a letter from 1927 he writes to an old friend about a “poor, grey and trivial” life in the Soviet Union that seems to be provincial for someone who has just returned from the “magnificent Berlin.”[46]An interesting discrepancy also becomes apparent when comparing Tolstoy’s article “Journey to another world” and a letter he sends to his wife about the same trip. The article offers the impressions of “a single man” who walks through Moscow one day and, after a journey of one and a half days, leaves the train in “a different world” – in Berlin.[47] While Tolstoy in earlier times never reflected upon his kind of perceptions, he now specifies these: He characterizes his impressions as “sharp sighted” but nevertheless “hasty”, and refers later on to a “superficial view” resulting from the brevity of the journey (mimoletnaja poezdka).[48] It’s the point of view we already know, focused upon public spaces, buildings, streets, and clothes. The whole article is based on polarities: “darkish corridors” in the underground and “humid gleaning asphalt” on the surface.[49] Shops, colourful advertising, glass-architecture in the centre of the city are contrasted with big bourgeois houses for rent in the east of the town, huge abandoned industrial complexes in Spandau and finally supposed dog-houses, which turn out to be workers' homes. Next to them stands the villa which the architect Le Corbusier had inhabited and which the traveller also visits. Walking through the building, he mentions all the clever technological contrivances but makes a huge effort not to be impressed. The eschewing of material objects in this architecture and the scrupulous cleanliness evokes feelings of emptiness, bareness and "monasterial severity", which are uncanny and awkward to the visitor.[50] Resuming the impressions from his trip through the city, in the reportage the author performs a disenchantment of the Western World:

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[45] W. S. Kissel, Reisen zur Sonne ohne Rückkehr: Zur Wahrnehmung der Moderne in russischen Reisetexten des 20. Jahrhunderts, in: Id. (ed.), Flüchtige Blicke: Relektüren russischer Reisetexte des 20. Jahrhunderts, Bielefeld 2009, pp.11–44, at 34.

[46] “Жизнь наша внешне бедная, серая, будничная. Приедешь сюда после блестящего Берлина – станет тебе коряво; серая толпа, теснота в городах, не города – большие деревни. Но и это мы переживем. Остались же мы суверенны […].” A. N. Tolstoy, Perepiska A. N. Tolstogo v dvukh tomakh, vol. II, Moskva 1989, pp. 22f.

[47] Tolstoy, PSS, vol. XIII, p. 57.

[48] Ibid., p. 58.

> *It seems the day will come soon when all this glamour of shiny junk, for which the clever, obstinate and tragic people labour in pain, hunger and despair, will suddenly crash and the broken glass of the enchanted kingdom will sound. This is the first impression of a Soviet traveller from one of the consequences of the huge crisis, much worse than the medieval plague.*[51]

In the letter to his wife, he starts with a much more detailed description of his journey through Poland. For Tolstoy, the landscape between Poland and Germany marks the frontier between East and West, first- and second-class life. From his stay in Berlin he also mentions the economic crisis, depicting his lonely walk through the shops. But this is only one side. On the other side, Tolstoy is fascinated by precisely the glamour and luxury he judged so harshly in his reportage: "Tusenka, this is not a shop, but something like a dream, like a palace."[52] He describes his shopping tour in detail: He buys a dressing gown for his wife, a new coat, shoes and a suit for himself spending 700 marks for all of it. At the end he even regrets the lack of time – and money![53]

On the one hand, he talks about the end of the bourgeois culture and pities the people for the economic crisis, but on the other hand he obviously enjoys the comfort and feels at ease with his new self-perception as a Russian traveller in Berlin: "Generally spoken, on the first day, for the first time in my life I did not feel like it used to be in earlier times: Arriving from Russia you feel that you are a barbarian, adding a timid 'bitte' [please] behind every word; but now I feel as if they were the barbarians – not me."[54]

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[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., p. 68.

[51] "Представляется: недалек день, когда все это великолепие блестящего вздора, над которым в мучениях, в голоде, в отчаянии трудится умный, упорный и трагический народ, – вдруг рухнет, и зазвенят разбитые стекла зачарованного царства. Таково впечатление советского проезжего в первые часы от одной из сторон великого кризиса, более страшного, чем средневековая чума." Ibid., p. 62.

[52] "Это, Тусенька, не магазин, а не то сон, не то дворец." Tolstoy, Perepiska; A. N. Tolstogo v dvukh tomakh, vol. II, p. 132.

[53] Ibid.

[54] "Вообще говоря – в первый же день я, в первый раз в моей жизни, почувствовал себя не как раньше бывало: приехал из России и чувствуешь, что – варвар, и робеешь, после каждого слова – bitte, - я теперь почувствовал себя как, будто не я, а они варвары." Ibid., pp. 130f.

While Tolstoy confirms the geo-culturological ambitions of Soviet ideology in his further articles covering his journeys through Europe, there remains some private "room for manoeuvre" for his – sometimes reluctant – fascination with Paris and London in his personal letters.[55]

5. Conclusion

In Tolstoy's texts, particularly those written abroad, big cities play an important role as "places of encounter." They serve as focal points for specific cultural or national characteristics, the interpretation of which changes with Tolstoy's self-perception and role as a writer, especially since the 1920s. Individual, personal impressions which dominate during his first journeys and even at the beginning of the emigration give increasingly way to generalizing statements that claim to express "the truth" – either about the West or post-revolutionary Russia – and the authority to judge the situation there.

Describing the materiality of streets and buildings, the weather, smells, noises, and sometimes the inhabitants as well, Tolstoy construes a specific semantically charged atmosphere of the places, serving more and more ideological, or more precisely – geoculturological – purposes. Observing and categorizing Berlin, Paris and London from a superior moral position in the late 1920s and early 1930s, his aim is no longer to explain "the other" / "the foreign" in a sense of translating it into his reader's world. Instead he tends to underline its strangeness – and to assure the reader at home how lucky he or she can feel to live in the Soviet Union.

Analysing the role of places in Tolstoy's works, one can follow the evolution of a more and more national, even patriotic encoding of his texts that seems to fulfil perfectly the ideological expectations of the Soviet leadership. To strengthen the people's identification with their homeland and to make them believe in a bright future, the author defines cultural differences between Western Europe and Soviet Russia by semanticising places. In doing so, Tolstoy engages actively in the geoculturological discourse to confirm the Soviet Union's assumed cultural superiority. However, the sporadic shining-through of his persistent fascination for Europe in personal documents gives reason to question the sometimes all-too one-dimensional appraisals of the writer.

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[55] More letters to his wife from his journeys in the 1930s can be found in Tolstoy, Perepiska; A. N. Tolstogo v dvukh tomakh, vol. II.

Jorge Amado's Salvador da Bahia: Transcultural Place-Making and the Search for "Brazilianness"

Martina Kopf

ABSTRACTS

Der Beitrag untersucht den Entwurf eines transkulturellen Orts und die damit verknüpfte Suche nach brasilianischer Identität in Jorge Amados (1912–2001) Werk. Amados bevorzugter Schauplatz ist der brasilianische Bundesstaat Bahia, der für seine kulturellen Verbindungen zu Afrika und seine afrobrasilianische Bevölkerung bekannt ist. In Amados Roman *Tenda dos milagres* (*Werkstatt der Wunder*) (1968) wird Bahias Hauptstadt Salvador zu einem Ort, an dem kulturelle Einflüsse afrikanischer, brasilianischer und europäischer Herkunft aufeinandertreffen. Mittelpunkt des Romans ist das historische Zentrum von Salvador da Bahia, auch bekannt als Pelourinho, den Amado mit einer Art afrobrasilianischer „Universität" vergleicht. Der Pelourinho wird so zu einem Ort, an dem brasilianische Kultur als transkulturelle Kultur entsteht, praktiziert und erfahrbar wird. Indem Amado Salvador da Bahia als „Wiege brasilianischer Kultur" be- und damit brasilianischer Kultur einen konkreten Ort zu-schreibt, leistet er einen Beitrag zur Definition brasilianischer Identität sowohl in einem nationalen als auch einem kulturellen Rahmen. Die Suche nach einer brasilianischen Identität bedeutet nicht zuletzt, die ehemalige Kolonie neu zu bewerten und zu emanzipieren. Amado weist Brasilien in seinem Roman eine Pionieraufgabe zu: Salvador da Bahia wird als „Nabel der Welt" stilisiert und der *mestiço* als Ergebnis der interkulturellen Begegnungen wird zu einem „Menschen der Zukunft" deklariert. Im Mittelpunkt des Beitrags steht also die Frage, wie ein Ort durch transkulturelle Prozesse gestaltet wird. Der Beitrag knüpft damit an Paul Gilroys Aussage an, dass transkulturelle Konzepte nicht nur Dynamik und Unruhe betonen, sondern vor allem auch die mit transkulturellen Prozessen verbundene Kreativität.

The contribution examines transcultural place-making and the search for Brazilian identity, Brazilianness, in Jorge Amado's (1912–2001) writings. Amado's preferred setting is the Brazilian federal state of Bahia, known for its strong cultural ties to Africa and its large Afro-Brazilian population. In Amado's novel *Tenda dos milagres* (Tent of Miracles) (1968), Bahia's capital, Salvador, is portrayed as a place where cultural influences of African, Brazilian indigenous and European origin meet. Amado compares Salvador da Bahia's historic centre, also known as the Pelourinho, to a kind of Afro-Brazilian "university". The Pelourinho thus becomes a place where Brazilian culture as transcultural culture, in the form of Mestizo culture, develops, where it is practised and where it can be directly experienced. In describing Salvador da Bahia as the cradle of Brazilian culture, thus locating culture in a specific place, Amado contributes to defining Brazilianness. Transcultural place-making helps to construct Mestizo identity within a national and a cultural framework. Searching for Brazilianness moreover means to reevaluate and emancipate the former colony in attributing to Brazil a pioneering task: Salvador da Bahia is made into as the world's umbilicus, and "the mulatto", the result of intercultural encounters there, becomes the "man of the future". This raises the question how a place takes shape in transcultural processes. The contribution thus connects to Paul Gilroy's statement that transculturality accentuates not only dynamics and restlessness but above all the creativity of transcultural processes.

In the summer of 2016, the Brazilian newspaper Folha de São Paulo reported on a strange looking bundle found in a town near São Paulo in front of a bank.[1] When the bundle was found, it was suspected of being a bomb and police were called in to close off the area. In the end, it turned out that the package was not a bomb but a religious offering. The plant leaf filled with seeds and beans was ultimately ascribed to the Afro-Brazilian religion Candomblé. Candomblé, which means "dance in honour of the gods", is a creolized form of Catholicism and traditional Yoruba, Fon, and Bantu beliefs brought from West Africa by enslaved captives of the Portuguese Empire. Their cosmologies and mythical convictions mixed with other African religious cults, elements of Christianity and indigenous mythical elements. Actually, many religious practices developed because African slaves had to practice their religion under the cloak of Christianity, inventing new creative forms of religiosity. Today, Candomblé is an Afro-Brazilian religion, lifestyle and tradition.[2]

This cultural misunderstanding, the mix-up between religious offering and a bomb, shows how much Brazil as a former colony is a place of cultural diversity and intercultural encounters. It is a heterogeneous place: Not every Brazilian is familiar with Candomblé, but some Brazilians are Catholic and at the same time adherents of Candomblé. While on the one hand cultural differences persist, practices originating in different cultural contexts are combined and mixed on the other hand. Thus, intercultural encounters not only bring forth cultural differences, but also homogenizing processes of transculturation, establishing hybrid forms, such as the religion of Candomblé. The concept of "transculturation" is fundamentally based on the assumptions that in a globalized world cultures are not territorially located and that completely homogeneous communities do not exist. Yet, cultural hybridization can produce new networks[3] which may be interpreted as an attempt to homogenize. Following Mary Louise Pratt, transculturation is a typical phenomenon of "contact zones". As a place shared by people of different cultural backgrounds, Brazil was and still is a "contact zone", one of these particular "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today."[4]

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[1] Polícia de Piracicaba acha pacote estranho e aciona esquadrão antibomba: era oferenda, in: Folha de São Paulo, 18 August 2016, http://f5.folha.uol.com.br/voceviu/2016/07/10003185-policia-de-piracicaba-acha-pacote-estranho-e-aciona-esquadrao-antibomba-era-macumba.shtml (accessed 26 February 2018).

[2] "Candomblé is an Afro-Brazilian religion of divination, sacrifice, healing, music, dance, and spirit possession. […] Though this religion is headquartered in the coastal Brazilian state of Bahia, it has counterparts and offshoots all over urban Brazil. Believers attribute miraculous powers and exemplary flaws to gods known variously as orixás, voduns, inquices, and caboclos, depending on the Candomblé denomination. The adventures, personalities, and kinship relations of these superhuman beings are described in an extensive mythology and body of oracular wisdom, which also serve to explain the personalities and fates of their human worshipers, as well as the worldly relations among those worshipers. Through blood sacrifice and lavish ceremonies of spirit possession, the gods are persuaded to intervene beneficently in the lives of their worshipers and to keep the foes of those worshipers at bay." J. Lorand Matory, Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé, Princeton 2005, p. vii. See also footnote 13 referring to Macumba.

As a paradigm in the field of cultural studies, "transculturation" is currently regarded as a concept which not only replaces the propositions of post-colonial studies but also the static conceptions of interculturality:

> *Theories of 'intercultural' communication create the very problem they set out to solve: they posit 'cultures' as separate entities and people as 'belonging' to these separate entities, thereby failing to acknowledge the fact that in an increasingly interconnected world, cultures are increasingly intertwined, and people often constitute their cultural identities by drawing on more than one culture.*[5]

It might, however, be more useful to conceive inter- and transculturality not as mutually exclusive categories. They could instead be understood as complementary: whilst encounters generating perceptions of difference might be called intercultural, "products" of these intercultural encounters, such as art, architecture, people or places, might be labelled "transcultural". As the introductory episode has shown, Brazil as a contact zone offers room for manoeuvre, in which processes of transculturation, such as Candomblé, as well as cultural differentiations take place.

Against this background of intercultural encounters and transculturation in Brazil, above all mestizo culture, the question of what characterizes Brazil or, more exactly Brazilianness, forms the starting point of Jorge Amado's (1912–2001) fiction. Amado has been declared the Brazilians' favourite author because his novels not only reflect problems of Brazil's everyday life, but also leave room for Brazilian identification, as writer Mia

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[3] See H. Bhabha, The Location of Culture, London 1994; P. Gilroy, The Black Atlantic, Cambridge 1993.

[4] M. L. Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, London1992, p. 4.

[5] F. Schulze-Engler, Introduction, in: F. Schulze-Engler and S. Helff (eds.), Transcultural English Studies: Theories, fictions, realities, Amsterdam 2009, pp. ix–xvi, at xii.

Couto puts it: “Jorge Amado made us turn back towards ourselves.”[6] As a writer who seems to “understand” Brazil, Amado becomes a writer for the Brazilian people. In creating folk culture through his works, he himself becomes part of Brazilian everyday life, as e.g. streets and squares in Brazil show: They are not only named after him, but also after his literary protagonists.

In his writing, Brazil’s most popular author seeks to transcend cultural difference by focusing on processes and products of transculturation, somewhat provocatively perceived as miscegenation.[7] Amado, who describes himself as a mestizo with indigenous ancestors,[8] valorises African culture as a constituent part of Brazilianness. His work, as I will argue, brings together different cultures to form a new mestizo culture, which is meant to help overcome racial boundaries and to define Brazilian identity. This mestizo culture is linked to a special place, the Brazilian city of Salvador da Bahia, characterized by processes of cultural intermixture. In Amado’s fiction, it thus becomes a place that represents the Brazilian nation as a whole.

Salvador, capital of the federal state of Bahia, is also known as “the blackest of Brazil’s cities” because 80 per cent of its population are Afro-Brazilian.[9] Due to this significant presence of “black” population and the survival of African-derived traditions in this area, Bahia represents Brazil’s “umbilical cord to Africa”[10]. Both the city of Salvador da Bahia and the state of Bahia play an important role in Amado’s work: In the 1930s Amado wrote several novels, known later as the “Bahia cycle”[11]. By focusing on this specific Brazilian region in his works, he followed the “Regionalist Manifest” proposed by sociologist Gilberto Freyre in 1926: Against the background of diverse regional cultures, a genuine shared Brazilian culture should emerge.[12] In his cycle of novels, Amado deals with the life of the proletarian classes in Bahia. He describes their poverty and ongoing struggles against impoverishment from a communist perspective. Amado's "Bahia de Todos os Santos. Guia das ruas e dos mistérios da cidade do Salvador" (1945) is a guide to Bahia, in which information on Samba, culinary arts or religious traditions, such as the feast of Yemanja, a Yoruba deity, is given. The novel "Jubiabá" (1935) tells the story of a 100-year-old so-called wizard, a practitioner of Macumba[13] in Salvador da Bahia, who witnessed the emancipation of the slaves in 1888, which ushered in the end of the Brazilian Empire. The novel describes rituals of Candomblé and cantos in Yoruba. Jubiabá's figure is a reference to a culture brought to Brazil by "black" people. Despite forced Christianization, this culture feeds into a counter-religion promising consolation and escape for the descendants of the slaves. From the 1950s, Amado no longer bowed to a Marxist-oriented regionalism. Having diversified his worldview as much as the stylistic processes and genres he employed, Amado developed an ironic ambivalence in dealing with reality and history.[14] Yet, in his later works, such as the novel "Tent of Miracles" (1969), on which I will focus, Amado returns to Salvador da Bahia and particularly its historic centre, the Pelourinho. Many pictures show Amado, himself a "Baiano" (i.e. born in Bahia), who has even been called the "secret governor of Bahia",[15] in the streets of the historic centre, one of the town's most important landmarks and Amado's later home. Thus, it is no surprise that Ilana Goldstein asks: "Did Jorge Amado create Bahia or did Bahia create Jorge Amado?"[16]

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[6] “Esta familiaridade existencial foi, certamente, um dos motivos do fascínio nos nossos países. As suas personagems eram vizinhas não de um lugar, mas da própria vida. Gente pobre, gente com os nosso nomes, gente com as nossas raças passeavam pela páginas do autor brasileiro. Ali estavam os nossos malandros, ali estavam os terreiros onde falamos com os deuses, ali estava o cheiro da nossa comida, ali estava a sensualidade e o perfume das nossas mulheres. No fundo, Jorge Amado nos fazia regressar a nós mesmos.” M. Couto, Sonhar em casa. Intervenção sobre Jorge Amado, in: M. Couto, E se Obama fosse africano? Ensaios, São Paulo 2016, pp. 61–68, at 62.

[7] Whilst in German discourse, the terms “race” and “miscegenation” are nowadays absent, as they remain taboo in the light of the Nazi regime, in Brazil, these terms are rather unproblematic. In his novel “Tenda dos milagres”, Amado ironically refers to Hitler’s policies of racial extermination: “[S]e Hitler ganhasse a guerra poderia ou não matar tudo que não fôsse branco puro, acabando de vez com o resto do povo? Opina daqui, opina de lá, pode, não pode, ora se pode, o ferreiro se alterou: ‘Nem Deus, que fêz o povo pode matartudo de uma vez, vai matando de um a um e quanto mais êle mata mais nasce e crescegente e há de nascer, de crescer e de se misturar, filho-da-puta nenhum vai impedir!’” J. Amado, Tenda dos milagres, São Paulo 1979, p. 43.

[8] I. Goldstein, Schuf Jorge Amado Bahia oder schuf Bahia Jorge Amado?, in: P. Braun and M. Weinberg (eds.), Ethno/Graphie: Reiseformen des Wissens, Tübingen 2002, pp. 39–64, at 51.

[9] E. Hordge-Freeman, The Color of Love: Racial Features, Stigma & Socialization in Black Brazilian Families, Austin 2015, p. 15.

[10] A. Cicalo, Brazil and its African Mirror: Discussing Black Approximations in the South Atlantic, Working Paper 24 (2012) http://nbn-resolving.de/urn/resolver.pl?urn=urn:nbn:de:101:1-201304246513, p. 4 (accessed 9 November 2018).

[11] The Bahia cycle (1933–1937) includes the following works: “O País do Carnaval” (1931)/ “The Country of Carnival”, “Cacau” (1933), “Suor” (1934)/ “Sweat”, “Jubiabá” (1935), “Mar Morto” (1936)/ “Sea of Death”, and “Capitães da Areia” (1937)/ “Captains of the Sands”. E. Engler, Der Bahia Zyklus von Jorge Amado, in: Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock 14 (1965) 1/2, pp. 49–80.

In writing about (Salvador da) Bahia, Amado on the one hand refers to the real region and town. On the other hand, he creates a fictional draft of the latter, which aims not so much for a reproduction of the real town but rather for a performance of it. As a transcultural place where cultures meet, mix and generate new hybrid forms, Salvador da Bahia turns into a utopian place where a new mestizo culture is born. Amado thus becomes a "transcultural place-maker". Written by an ambassador of Afro-Brazilian culture, his work, as I will argue, might be read as a praise of miscegenation, extolling processes of transculturation.

In a first step, I take a look at Salvador da Bahia as a place which, due to its history and geographical position, is marked by miscegenation. I will investigate how, during Brazil's search for national identity in the twentieth century, it became "the cradle of Brazilian culture",[17] according to Amado. Then, I will focus on transcultural place-making, combining ideas of transculturation and writing as place-making. In a last step, I will analyse transcultural place-making in Amado's novel "Tent of Miracles". It is only in this fictitious draft, that Salvador da Bahia, as symbol of a Brazilian microcosm, becomes the place where the utopia of harmonious mestizo culture, even mestizo supremacy, is possible.

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[12] G. Freyre, Manifesto regionalista de 1926, Rio de Janeiro 1955.

[13] The Afro-Brazilian religion of Macumba is characterized by traditional African religions, European culture, Brazilian Spiritualism, and Roman Catholicism. There exist many Macumba groups, for example the above mentioned one of Candomblé.

[14] G. Wild, Jorge Amado, in: H. L. Arnold et al. (eds.), Kritisches Lexikon zur Fremdsprachigen Gegenwartsliteratur, München, https://www.munzinger.de/search/query?query.id=query-18 (accessed 11 August 2018).

[15] E. Engler, Jorge Amado, München 1992, p. 7.

[16] Goldstein, Schuf Jorge Amado Bahia oder schuf Bahia Jorge Amado?, pp. 39–64.

[17] C. Meyer-Clason, Die Menschen sterben nicht, sie werden verzaubert: Begegnungen mit Amado, Borges, Cabral de Melo Neto, Drummond de Andrade, García Márquez, J. U. Ribeiro, Guimarães Rosa, München 1990, p. 15.

1. Salvador da Bahia as "the Cradle of Brazilian Culture": Searching for Brazilianness

Amado described Salvador as the centre of Afro-Brazilian culture, but accorded to it, at the same time, even greater significance as "the cradle of Brazilian culture". He declared the city a "lighthouse of understanding" for Brazilian culture, because this place allegedly brought forth a "mestizo culture", the characteristic element of Brazilian humanism.[18]
Until 1736, Salvador was the capital of Brazil and, due to its geographical position on the Atlantic seaboard, port of arrival for slaves imported from Africa.[19] Here began what characterizes Brazil as a nation, namely a mestizo culture made up largely of African and European people in origin after the six million aboriginal population had largely been exterminated during the first period of colonialism.[20] Slavery in Brazil was not abolished until 1888 and "black" culture was oppressed until the 1930s. Even today, European ("white") supremacy and the marginalization of non-European culture have not been overcome.

In the second third of the twentieth century, two books helped to change the attitude toward black people and their culture: "Casa grande e senzala" / "The Masters and the Slaves" (1933) by Gilberto Freyre and "Raízes do Brasil" / "Roots of Brazil" (1936) authored by Sergio Buarque de Holanda. These Brazilian critics presented the idea of "miscegenation" in their major works. Amado regarded especially the first as a fundamental occasion for his country's transformation. Freyre's work exerted an important influence on Amado's representation of Brazil. This study was the "first scholarly examination of Brazilian national character that unambiguously told them [Brazilian readers, M.K.] they could be proud of their racially mixed tropical civilization."[21] Pleading against racial inferiority and superiority, the work was also read as the most decisive objection to National Socialist race theories.[22] According to Freyre, the influence of black and indigenous traditions on Brazilian culture should be appreciated as Brazilians are the result of miscegenation. They were said to live in a country of "racial democracy,"[23] with the most harmonious race relations in the Americas.[24] The mestizo should be regarded as "superior" because he unites different cultures. In establishing a positive attitude towards the mestizo and in creating this national myth, Freyre questioned the alleged Brazilian colonial inferiority complex. He deliberately defined Brazilian identity through mestizo culture, in the words of sociologist Renato Ortiz:

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[18] Ibid., p. 15.

[19] Engler, Der Bahia-Zyklus, p. 50.

[20] Engler, Jorge Amado, p. 15.

[21] T.E. Skidmore, The Essay: Architects of Brazilian National Identity, in: R. González Echevarría and E. Pupo-Walker (eds.), The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature, vol. 3: Brazilian Literature; bibliographies, Cambridge 2006, pp. 345–362, at 355.

[22] H.M. Görgen, Gilberto Freyre – Versuch einer Einführung in sein Werk, in: G. Freyre, Casa grande e senzala, [Herrenhaus und Slavenhütte: Ein Bild der brasilianischen Gesellschaft], L. Graf von Schönfeldt (trans.), Stuttgart 1982, pp. 7–18, at 7.

> *Gilberto Freyre transforms the negativity of the mestizo into positivity, which allows to definitively complete the contours of an identity that had been drawn for a long time. The ideology of 'mestizaje', which was imprisoned in the ambiguities of racist theories, can be diffused socially and become common sense, ritually celebrated in everyday relationships, or in major events such as carnival and football. What has been mestizo becomes national.*[25]

Further developing this idea of the mestizo as an expression of Brazilianness into a romanticisation and idealization of the mestizo, Amado's novel "Tent of Miracles" links it to a particular Brazilian place: the Pelourinho.

In "Raízes do Brasil" / "Roots of Brazil", Buarque de Holanda emphasizes the importance of the colonial era and states:

> *In the Brazilian case, no matter how unattractive it may seem to some of our compatriots, in truth we are still associated with the Iberian Peninsula, especially Portugal, through a long and active tradition, active enough still today to nourish our common soul, despite*

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[23] "It thereby becomes possible to interpret the formation of Brazilian society in the light of a 'synthetic principle' – to make use of an expression consecrated by usage – such as, perhaps, could not be applied with a like degree of appropriateness to any other society. So viewed, our social history, despite the grievous and persisting imprint left upon it by the experiences of a feudal economic system, is undergoing a process whose direction is that of a broad democratization. A democratization of interhuman relationships, of interpersonal relations, of relations between groups and between regions. The fact of the matter is that miscegenation and the interpenetration of cultures – chiefly European, Amerindian, and African culture – together with the possibilities and opportunities for rising in the social scale that in the past have been open to slaves, individuals of the colored races, and even heretics: the possibility and the opportunity of becoming free men and, in the official sense, whites and Christians (if not theologically sound, at any rate sociologically valid ones) – the fact is that all these things, from an early period, have tended to mollify the interclass and interracial antagonisms developed under an aristocratic economy." G. Freyre, Casa grande e senzala [The Masters and the Slaves. A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization], S. Putnam (trans.), Berkeley 1986, pp. xiii–xiv.

[24] "Hybrid from the beginning, Brazilian society is, of all those in the Americas, the one most harmoniously constituted as far as racial relations are concerned, within the environment of a practical cultural reciprocity that results in the advanced people deriving the maximum of profit from the values and experiences of the backward ones, and in a maximum of conformity between the foreign and the native cultures, that of the conqueror and that of the conquered." Freyre, Casa grande e senzala, p. 83.

[25] Trans. by M.K. "Gilberto Freyre transforma a negatividade do mestiço em positividade, o que permite completar definitivamente os contornos de uma identitade que há muito vinha sendo desenhada. […] A ideologia da mestiçagem, que estava aprisionada às ambigüidades das teorias racistas, ao ser reelaborada pode difundir-se socialmente e se tornar senso comum, ritualmente celebrado nas relações do cotidiano, ou nos grandes eventos como o carnaval e o futebol. O que era mestiço torna-se nacional." R. Ortiz, Cultura brasileira e identitade nacional, São Paulo 1985, p. 41.

> *all that separates us. We can say that the present form of our culture came from there; all other elements were adapted as best they could to that culture.*[26]

Actually, Buarque de Holanda does not focus much on these "other elements", namely indigenous, African or other non-European elements. Yet, he likewise sees the roots of Brazil in a process of miscegenation:

> *[T]he mixing of races, a significant element of adaptation to the tropical environment, was not a sporadic phenomenon but a normal process in Portuguese America. It was mainly due to the process of miscegenation, not to any superhuman effort, that the Portuguese were able to construct a new motherland far from their own.*[27]

Miscegenation becomes the precondition for the construction of a new motherland, for successful place-making – this idea is adopted by Amado.

The concepts propounded by Freyre and Buarque de Holanda contributed decisively to what can be understood as Brazilianness, the quality and characteristics of being Brazilian. In the 1930s, different cultural elements were becoming more popular, for example the Candomblé cult mentioned above, but also Samba music and dance. Capoeira, a transcultural martial art and dance, developed in Brazil by African slaves,[28] was only legalized in 1937. Incorporating these elements, a distinguishable Brazilian identity emerged in contrast to that of other countries. Afro-Brazilian culture was revaluated in order to help defining Brazilianness.[29]

The need for a Brazilian national identity had become urgent after the revolution in 1930. Literature turned into an important medium for the process of defining Brazilian identity. Since independence from Portugal in 1822, first in the romantic movement of the mid-nineteenth century and reinforced in the aesthetic movement called *modernismo* of the 1920s, literature had at the same time been a medium of expression and of the search for a definition of Brazilianness in post-colonial times. Defining identity in a former colonial country also meant the rejection of and emancipation from European influences. As Oswald de Andrade proposed in his "Manifesto Antropófago" (1928)/"Cannibalist manifesto", European art should be devoured and digested so that innovative genuine Brazilian culture would emerge.[30]

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[26] S. Buarque de Holanda, Raízes do Brasil [Roots of Brazil], G. Harvey Summ (trans.), Notre Dame 2012, p. 11.

[27] Ibid., p. 37.

[28] Capoeira's basic aesthetic elements were brought to Brazil by West and West-Central African slaves and were recombined and reinterpreted by different Brazilian slave communities to create a unique means of self-defence. Capoeira was disguised as a dance and its musical accompaniment is characteristic. See. F. Merrell, Capoeira and Candomblé: Conformity and Resistance in Brazil, Frankfurt a. M. 2005.

[29] Goldstein, Schuf Jorge Amado Bahia oder schuf Bahia Jorge Amado?, p. 42.

[30] Although his namesake Mário de Andrade attempted to translate this poetology in the same year into the century novel "Macunaíma. A Hero without any Character" (1928), the aesthetic practice fell short because, despite the Brazilian setting, in drafting an anti-hero "without any character" Andrade refers to European genres as the picaresque novel and adventure literature. Therefore, a complete emancipation from Western culture seems impossible.

Jorge Amado actively supported this revaluation of Afro-Brazilian culture, as he shared the intention to define Brazilian culture, nationality and identity. Amado saw miscegenation as a medium against racism, stating: "In my life, which was dedicated above all to the fight against racial prejudice, I learned that there exists only one instrument to stop racism: namely the mixture of races."[31] He personally took part in Candomblé rituals and, in 1959, was nominated as a candidate for the position of *Oba*, a high electoral office of a wise man in Candomblé. When Amado entered parliament as a congressman for the communist party, in 1946 he pushed legislation concerning liberty of religion, which also guaranteed unobstructed practice of animist religions and Afro-Brazilian cults.[32]

In this brief overview of Brazilian twentieth-century history, it becomes obvious that Amado's aim to build a national, cultural Brazilian identity goes hand in hand with his and others' efforts to define Brazilianness as Afro-Brazilian mestizo culture. In drafting Salvador da Bahia as a genuine Brazilian place, where mestizo culture as Brazilian culture is born, however, Amado successfully overcomes Brazil's "dislocation" as a nation and a culture. At least in fiction, he manages to act as a transcultural place-maker.

2. From "Spatial Dislocation" to Transcultural Place-Making

As the Brazilian example shows, slavery, in making people of diverse origins live together, among other things brought forth a complex new cultural formation. Paul Gilroy's concept of the "Black Atlantic" illustrates this well. He presents a space of transcultural relations, which is a product of colonialism. In using the metaphor of the Atlantic, Gilroy focuses on the experience of black slaves crossing the ocean by emphasizing the deterritorialized character of culture. He thus rethinks the relationship between cultures and a specific place. This conceptual reorientation is grounded in a broader exploration of theories of culture and its territorial and corporeal integrity. By using images of sea and water, Gilroy represents cultures as fluid, hybrid articulations implied in processes of interconnectedness and movement: The fluidity of the sea involves both interweaving and movement,[33] bringing to life less fixed planetary cultures.[34] A consequence of these processes for Gilroy is "spatial dislocation"[35], i.e. a characterization of culture that runs counter to the idea of national identity and that exists in space, but separated from any specific place. Transcultural processes in this sense are thus followed by a provisional abolishing of place. But yet, new intersubjective spaces still offer possibilities for the creation of new places, as culture is reconceptualised through "deterritorialization".[36] Similar thoughts are put forward by Doreen Massey and Pat Jess with regard to the age of globalization, which likewise grows out of colonialism and restructures places and cultures:

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[31] Trans. by M.K. Meyer-Clason, Die Menschen sterben nicht, p. 15.

[32] Engler, Jorge Amado, p. 109.

[33] P. Gilroy, The Black Atlantic [Der Black Atlantic], T. Zacharias (trans.), in: Haus der Kulturen der Welt (ed.), Der Black Atlantic, Berlin 2004, pp. 12–31, at 13.

[34] Ibid., p. 23.

[35] Ibid., p. 17.

[36] Ibid., p. 27.

> *[O]n the one hand, previous coherences are being disrupted, old notions of the local place are being interrupted by new connections with a world beyond; on the other, new claims to the – usually exclusive – character of places, and who belongs there, are being made.*[37]

Regardless of whether reconceptualisations or reconstructions are in order – due to movement of people, intercultural encounters and the hybridity these engender, places become unstable and must be renewed. Creativity is a means of such renewal. As Gilroy states, space characterised by hybridity is a space where creativity is fostered in his words "transnational black Atlantic creativity"[38]. After all, Gilroy's concept can be read as one of transcultural place-making.

Gilroy's concept might be transferred to Brazil in general and to Salvador da Bahia in particular. After the "spatial dislocation" experienced by black slaves coming from Africa to Salvador da Bahia, intercultural encounters allowed for the mixture, rejection, selection or appropriation, of different traditions. They engendered "new formations" such as mestizo cultures and their transculturally creative products, such as Candomblé and Capoeira.

As a consequence of the "spatial dislocation" of the descendants of the black slaves and as a response to cultural disjunctions like the one described above, bomb versus religious offering, Amado tries to fill the cultural gap creatively. He drafts Salvador da Bahia as a fictitious transcultural place. As literary scholar Jim Cocola writes:

> *Place making is a central aspect of human experience. Whether through deliberate practice or simply as a matter of course, we make places every day simply by dwelling, more or less consciously, in the spaces we move through. Place making happens as we read and as we write, serving not only as a compositional approach for dramatists, essayists, novelists, and poets, but also as an interpretative approach for readers, a theoretical approach for critics, and a more general method for architects, filmmakers, landscape gardeners, painters, performance artists, and sculptors – not to mention anthropologists, historians, sociologists, and urban planners.*[39]

Writing is a place-making activity among many. Place-making, in turn, might be regarded as a form of topography, the writing of a *topos*. The topography of a place in this sense is not a pre-existing reality which just waits to be described. It is rather produced by means of a performative speech act.[40] Literary descriptions of place have an additional figurative function: They may stand for something else, for example in reflecting a protagonist's state of mind or a general mood, or they may include utopic elements – as they are found in Amado's Salvador da Bahia. On the one hand, topography thus not only describes attributes of a place, but actually generates these very attributes. On the other hand, however, place-making cannot be analysed without taking into account the influence of "real" geographical place, if such a place exists. Without doubt, imagination and writing depend on the place where they are produced, Amado's case shows this in amazing clarity. The literary production of places therefore ranges continually between imaginary geographies and references to physical geography.

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[37] D. Massey and P. Jess, Introduction, in: Ead. (eds.), A Place in the World?, Oxford 1995, pp. 1–4, at 1.

[38] Gilroy, The Black Atlantic, p. 16.

[39] J. Cocola, Places in the Making: A Cultural Geography of American Poetry, Iowa 2016, p. xi.

[40] J. Hillis Miller, The Ethics of Topography [Die Ethik der Topographie], R. Stockhammer (trans.), in: R. Stockhammer (ed.), TopoGraphien der Moderne: Medien zur Repräsentation und Konstruktion von Räumen, pp. 161–196, at 183.

In writing about Salvador da Bahia, Amado not only reproduces the physical and social place familiar to him. By analysing his novel "Tent of Miracles", I will show how Amado drafts a utopian place where a powerful mestizo culture, a "new formation" in a Gilroyan sense, dominates over cultural and racial conflicts. The process, the presence and the ethic of the *mestiçagem* are described by Amado as an expression of spontaneous tolerance and solidarity.[41]

3. At the Pelourinho: Toward Mestizo Supremacy

The "Tent of Miracles" in the homonymous novel is a tiny workshop at the Pelourinho, the historic centre of Salvador da Bahia. It becomes the central place for the development of a mestizo culture. In the novel, the Pelourinho is transformed into a kind of arts and culture centre where different learning activities and practices take place. Amado explained that his youth in the streets of Bahia, mixing with people at piers and markets, in Capoeira circles and fairs, was his ideal "university"[42]. In his novel, he describes the Pelourinho as such a university:

> *In the neighborhood of Pelourinho in the heart of Bahia, the whole world teaches and learns. A vast university branches out into Tabuão, the Carmo Gates, and Santo-Antônio-Beyond-Carmo, into Shoemaker's Hollow, the markets, Maciel, Lapinha, Cathedral Square, Tororó, Barroquinha, Sete Portas, and Rio Vermelho, wherever there are men and women who work. And from the working of metal and wood, the blending of medicines from herbs and roots, and the cadence of quick-blooded rhythms, is created a fresh, original image of novel colors and sounds.*[43]

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[41] I. Goldstein, Schuf Jorge Amado Bahia, p. 41.

[42] Ibid., p. 43.

[43] J. Amado, Tenda dos milagres [Tent of Miracles], B. Shelby Merello (trans.), Madison 2003, p. 3. "No amplo território do Pelourinho, homens e mulheres ensinam e estudam. Universidade vasta e vária, se estende e ramifica no Tabuão, nas Portas do Carmo e em Santo Antônio Além-do-Carmo, na Baixa dos Sapateiros, nos mercados, no Maciel, na Lapinha, no Largo da Sé, no Tororó, na Barroquinha, nas Sete Portas e no Rio Vermelho, em tôdas as partes onde homens e mulheres trabalham os metais e as madeiras, utilzam ervas e raízes, misturam ritmos, passos e sangue; na mistura criaram uma côr e um som, imagem nova, original." Amado, Tenda dos milagres, p. 15.

In these first sentences of his novel, Amado insinuates his idea of miscegenation: It is at the Pelourinho, Salvador da Bahia's heart, that by means of intermixture "new formations" develop and works of art are created by the Bahian people. Here, we also find for example Samba dancers and practitioners of Afoxé, a semi-religious carnival group singing songs in Yoruba and Portugese, or a school for Capoeira. The Pelourinho becomes the place where hybridity is omnipresent and reflected in handmade artwork:

> *In a doorway on the Rua do Liceu, Miguel the saint-carver pours forth a stream of gay and voluble chatter as he fashions angels, archangels, and saints. Catholic saints and churchly devotion, the Virgin of the Conception and St. Anthony of Lisbon, Archangel Gabriel and the Baby Jesus – how is it they are found so close to Master Agnaldo's orixás? The only thing the Vatican elect and the voodoo and caboclo gods have in common is their mixed blood. If Agnaldo's Oxóssi is a backlands gunman, so is the saint-carver's St. George. His helmet looks more like a leather hat, and his dragon might be a cross between a crocodile and the fabulous monster in the Christmas pageant of the Three Kings.*[44]

Significantly, it is also at the Pelourinho that books about Bahian – as Brazilian – life are written and printed. Bahia thus becomes the cradle of Brazilian culture and the place where culture is created, documented and enabled to circulate through the whole country or even beyond. The author of such books and the main protagonist, Pedro Archanjo, might be seen as Amado's *alter ego*. Moreover, his figure is inspired by the pioneering writer of the anthropology of African culture in Bahia, Manuel Querino. He is quoted at the very beginning of the novel, providing a motto for the whole text, which presents the mestizo not only as the main driving force for Brazil but also as equipped with specific qualities, thus as an enrichment for the country: "Brazil has two real claims to greatness: the richness of its soil and the sharp wits of its mestizos."[45]

The novel recounts the story of Archanjo, who died in 1943. Moreover, it focuses on the celebration of his one-hundredth birthday in 1968, thus dealing with different eras in Brazilian history. Archanjo is a self-taught Bahian mestizo, who works as a beadle at the medical faculty but at the same time as an "amateur" ethnologist. Ironically, he is only recognized and adored as an important Brazilian and Bahian personality and writer when a US-American professor visits Bahia to see the birthplace of Pedro Archanjo. This allusion to the supposed inferiority complex of the former colonized indicates that even in 1968, Brazil is still struggling for self-confidence.

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44 Amado, Tent of Miracles, p. 7. "Na Rua do Liceu, numa porta de prosa alegre e franca, o santeiro Miguel faz e encarna anjos, arcanjos e santos. Santos católicos, devoção de igreja, a Virgem da Conceição e Santo Antônio de Lisboa, o arcanjo Gabriel e o Deus Menino – qual então o parentesco a ligá-los assim intimamente aos orixás de mestre Agnaldo? Há entre êsses eleitos do Vaticano e aquêles curingas e caboclosde terreiro um traço comum: sangues misturados. O Oxossi de Agnaldo é um jagunço do sertão. Não o será também o São Jorge do santeiro? Seu capacete mais parece chapéu de couro e o dragão participa do jacaré e da caapora de reisado." Amado, Tenda dos milagres, p. 19.

45 Amado, Tent of Miracles., p. vii. "O Brasil possui duas grandezas reais: a uberdade do solo e o talento do mestiço." Amado, Tendas dos milagres, p. 11.

Archanjo also has the function of a so-called *Ojuobá*, an African honorary title given to high priests and dignitaries of the cult of *Xangô*[46] in Candomblé. Born in 1880, the year when slavery was abolished in Brazil, he was growing up in a country which was slowly discarding its colonial slave-holding past but was still being inhabited by a highly colour-conscious society. Proud of being a mestizo and objecting to racism and arrogance, Archanjo fights against injustice and inequality and presents original ideas about miscegenation at a time when racist theories were circulating in Bahia. Scholars such as Archanjo's opponent, the racist professor Nilo Argolo, argued in favour of prohibiting Candomblé and of miscegenation.

In this situation, Archanjo published four books entitled e.g. "African Influences on the Customs of Bahia"or "Notes on Miscegenation in the Families of Bahia". To illustrate miscegenation, he himself – the mestizo par excellence – serves as an example:

> *Pedro Archanjo Ojuobá, the conversationalist and the bookworm, the man who talks and argues with Professor Fraga Neto and the one who kisses the hand of Pulquéria the* iyalorixá *[Candomblé priestess, M.K.] – are they two different people, the white man and the black, perhaps? You're mistaken, Professor, if that's what you think. There is only one, a mixture of the two. Just one mulatto.*[47]

Pedro Archanjo regards miscegenation also linked to Brazilian national consciousness:

> *A mestizo culture is taking shape, so powerful and innate in every Brazilian that in time it will become the true national consciousness, and even the children of immigrant fathers and mothers, first generation Brazilians, will be cultural mestizos by the time they are grown.*[48]

The point of origin or genuine place for this mixed culture is Bahia, where, as Archanjo says, "'it would be hard to say who is not mestizo.'"[49]

In presenting his ideas about miscegenation, Pedro Archanjo goes one step further than Gilberto Freyre. He develops the idea of the mestizo as a better human: "The mixture of races has given birth to a new race of so much talent and endurance, of such power, that it is able to rise above misery and despair in a daily creation of beauty and of life itself."[50]

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[46] Shango is a deity of the Yoruba. As one of the orishas, the Yoruba gods, Shango is a deified ancestor as well as a natural force, he is the god of lightning, thunder and fire. The Afro-Brazilian cult "Xangô" is named after him. U. Beier, Yoruba Myths, London 1980, p. 22.

[47] Amado, Tent of Miracles, p. 312-313. "Pedro Archanjo Ojuobá, o leitor de livros e o bom de prosa, o que conversa e discute com o professor Fraga Neto e o que beija a mão de Pulquéria, o iyalorixá, dois sêres diferentes, quem sabe o branco e o negro? Não se engane, professor, um só. Mistura dos dois, um mulato só."

[48] Amado, Tent of Miracles, p. 254. "Formar-se-á uma cultura mestiça de tal maneira poderosa e inerente a cada brasileiro que será a própria consciência nacional e mesmo os filhos de pais e mães imigrantes, brasileiros de primeira geração, crescerão culturalmente mestiços." Amado, Tendas dos milagres, p. 258.

[49] Amado, Tent of Miracles, p. 294. "'Na Bahia […] é difícil dizer quem não é mestiço.'" Amado, Tenda dos milagres, p. 297.

[50] Amado, Tent of Miracles, p. 288. "Da miscigenação nasce uma raça de tanto talento e resistência, tão poderosa, que supera a miséria e o desespêro na criação quotidiana da beleza e da vida." Amado, Tenda dos milagres, p. 292.

Needless to say, this thesis might be (mis-) understood at first glance as a simple adaptation of racist concepts, but it should be considered in context: The idea of the mestizo as a better human should be seen as a response to contemporary racist theories through a fundamental revaluation of the mestizo. The mestizo symbolizes the dissolution of race, giving the term "new race" an ironic and provocative overtone. It is obvious that Amado's wish is not the birth of a distinctive and static "new race". Instead he proposes the mestizo – as a being in-between – as a possibility for overcoming race and racial problems. Thus, the superelevation and proclaimed supremacy of the mestizo must be interpreted not as a relapse into racial thinking but as a utopian prognosis for a peaceful future, in which all men will be mestizo and therefore racial problems will be solved.

Besides this harmonizing tendency, Amado's novel also deals with cultural conflicts and prejudice, mentions the prohibition of African customs such as Candomblé and gives a voice to those who propose race theories. Yet, in "Tent of Miracles" the marriage between "black" and "white" people becomes possible and "white" people are welcome to join Macumba rituals, for example the aristocrat Zabela who is present at Ogun's festival.[51]

Thanks to Salvador da Bahia's port, located at All Saints Bay (Baía de Todos os Santos), the Pelourinho also becomes a place of further intercultural encounters. Archanjo thus meets the Finnish woman Kirsi at the Pelourinho. They fall in love, and when she leaves Salvador after several months on a ship to Scandinavia, it seems obvious that, "[i]n cold Suomi a bronze child made of sun and snow will play King of Sweden[sic!], holding in his right hand the *paxorô* [ornate staff surmounted by a bird, M.K.] of an African god."[52] Pedro Archanjo's and Kirsi's child, begot at the Pelourinho, becomes a symbol of miscegenation. Not only its skin colour reflects the synthesis of its parents, "coloured" Pedro and "white" Kirsi, "made of sun and snow" combines the climate of both countries. Furthermore, the child's carrying the *paxorô* refers to the highest Yoruba deity, which is also the supreme authority of Candomblé. Thus, the child as a product of miscegenation represents cultural hybridity, a typical Brazilian characteristic. The encounter between Pedro Archanjo and Kirsi proves that miscegenation is not only reduced to a national project but transcends the Atlantic to become an international phenomenon. The mestizo-child conceived in Salvador, "made in Brazil", but growing up on the other side of the ocean might be interpreted as a vision for the future: Sooner or later mestizos will dominate the whole world. The mestizo culture made in Salvador da Bahia becomes a future model for the whole world. Thus, Amado re-evaluates not only the mestizo and mestizo culture, giving it a Brazilian place, his novel also re-evaluates Brazil as a pioneer, namely as a country where trends of the future originate.

This biologist vision may appear somewhat problematic to current European readers, but this draft makes different sense as a post-colonial response from a country that is struggling for independent cultural self-confidence. The colonial power imbalance is turned around in Amado’s utopian vision: Salvador da Bahia, standing for Brazil, is no longer dominated by colonial forces. It is able to exert influence itself, or in other words, it becomes the world’s navel. Moreover, Amado’s prophecy of the mestizo anticipates something that is expressed years later in academic theories: Namely, that mixed forms of global entanglements are the normal case, not the exception. Europe only becomes aware of this through migration movements of the last few years.

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[51] Amado, Tent of Miracles, p. 180.

[52] Ibid., p. 115. "Na fria Suomi brincará um menino feito de sol e neve, côr de bronze, na mão direita um paxorô, o rei da Escandinávia." Amado, Tenda dos milagres, p. 125.

4. Conclusion: Transcultural Place-Making and the Creation of Brazilianness

It is obvious that racial and cultural conflicts still haunt Brazilian everyday life. The killing of black, gay councillor Marielle Franco in March 2018, probably a carefully targeted shooting by professional killers, is e.g. forcing Brazilians to ask searching questions about their country’s inherent racism. As the episode recounted at the very beginning demonstrates, even almost fifty years after the publication of “Tent of Miracles”, Candomblé practices are not always recognized as such. They might provoke a bomb alert due to cultural misunderstanding and ignorance of Afro-Brazilian culture. Against this background, Amado’s Salvador da Bahia emerges as an alternative draft, a utopia of mestizo culture, even mestizo supremacy, where the mestizo is romanticized as a better human. This is presented as an alternative for a Brazilian nation which still seems under construction, on the road towards a “new formation”. Put differently, Brazil is still looking for its unique “place” in the world and searching for genuine Brazilianness. In this context, correlations of place-making and identity-construction in a multicultural society become obvious: In making or writing Salvador da Bahia as the cradle of Brazilian culture, locating culture in a special place, Amado helps to define Brazilianness. Thus, transcultural place-making helps to construct Mestizo identity in a national as well as in a cultural frame. It is, therefore, little wonder that Amado is one of Brazil’s most popular authors. By his transcultural place-making through writing, he fills a social gap, producing the utopia of a coherent Brazilian culture, which is fundamentally based on heterogeneity.

“Winning the Place for Jesus”: A Relational Perspective on Pentecostal Mission Encounters in Madagascar

Eva Spies

ABSTRACTS

Unter Bezugnahme auf theoretische Ansätze von Tim Ingold, Doreen Massey und Christopher Powell entwickelt der Beitrag eine relationale Perspektive auf Ort und missionarische Praxis in Madagaskar. Im Mittelpunkt des Beitrags stehen gegenwärtige Süd-Süd-Missionskontakte und die Versuche eines madagassischen Pastors, in einer kleinen Stadt im zentralen Hochland einen Zweig seiner Kirche aufzubauen: Der Pastor arbeitet für Winners’ Chapel, eine pfingstlich-charismatische Kirche aus Nigeria, und hat die Aufgabe, „den Ort für Jesus zu gewinnen“. Nach zahlreichen Misserfolgen soll ihm schließlich ein Ritual dabei helfen, die Verbindungen der Stadt mit territorialen Dämonen zu lösen, den Bund der Bewohner zu Gott zu erneuern und den Pastor selbst in lokale Beziehungsgeflechte einzubinden.

Der Artikel versteht „Ort“ nicht als gegebene Einheit, sondern als entstehendes und sich veränderndes Produkt relationaler Prozesse. Ein Ort ist demnach keine Arena für Geschichten, Identitäten und Begegnungen, die an ihn gebunden sind oder in ihm stattfinden. Vielmehr konstituiert sich der Ort erst als dynamisches Beziehungsgeflecht durch unterschiedliche Praktiken des Bezugnehmens oder In-Beziehung-Setzens. Abschließend geht der Beitrag darauf ein, inwiefern eine relationale Perspektive nicht nur eine neue Sicht auf „Gegenstände“ ethnographischer Forschung ermöglicht, sondern auch auf die akademische Wissensproduktion selbst.

In reference to theoretical approaches by Tim Ingold, Doreen Massey and Christopher Powell, the contribution develops a relational perspective on place and missionary practices in Madagascar. The article focuses on current South-South mission contacts and the attempts of a Malagasy pastor to establish a branch of his church in a small town in the central highlands: The

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pastor works for Winners’ Chapel, a Pentecostal-charismatic church from Nigeria, and is tasked with “winning the place for Jesus”. After numerous failures, a ritual is supposed to help him finally break connections with territorial spirits, renew the covenant of the inhabitants with God and bind himself to the local web of relationships.

The article understands “place” not as a given entity, but as an emerging and changing product of relational processes. A place is therefore not a pre-set arena for stories, identities and encounters that are bound to it or take place in it. Rather, place constitutes itself as a dynamic meshwork of relationships through different practices of relating. In this way, place comes into being as a taking place of relations. Finally, the article shows that a relational perspective not only invites us to take a new look at the “objects” of ethnographic research, but also at academic knowledge production itself.

1. Studying Mission Encounters

To win the place for Jesus – this is what Malagasy pastor M. was supposed to accomplish when the leader of his church sent him from the capital city Antananarivo to a town 250 km southward. M. was a young pastor of Winners’ Chapel, a Nigerian Pentecostal-charismatic Church (PCC) that today has several branches in Madagascar.[1] The practices of this pastor and his difficulties in winning over this new workplace will here serve as an example of a relational perspective on place and Pentecostal mission encounters.

From the 1990s, social scientists and historians have tended to describe the European Christian missionary efforts in nineteenth-century Africa in terms of “(cultural) encounters”. In contrast, the dominant frame of reference for the analysis of contemporary Pentecostal mission in Africa and elsewhere is usually “globality”. These divergent approaches mirror the different foci of global/local- as well as space/place-debates referred to in the introduction of this special issue: European mission in the nineteenth century is frequently described as an encounter between actors, religions and/or cultures, where participants indulge in conversations, translations and exchanges. Describing asymmetrical interactions in the colonial contact zone, this view on mission exchanges highlights the “interlocking understandings and practices”[2] and especially the influence of foreign, Christian worldviews on local cultures, as well as the local adaptations and appropriations of Christian (i.e. European, colonial and modern) messages.[3] Recent studies place greater emphasis on notions of mutual modifications as they work within the framework of global history adapting its core ideas of circulations, crossings and entanglements. Nonetheless, the main focus still tends to be on transformations of given rooted places, knowledge systems and practices, foregrounding the ways in which European Christianity manifests itself in the micro-histories of specific encounters at these places.[4]

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[1] Scholars in theology, social sciences or the study of religion define the terms Pentecostal church or Pentecostal-charismatic church (PCC) differently, and accordingly assign different groups or movements to these categories or not, see A. Anderson, Varieties, Taxonomies, and Definitions, in: A. Anderson, M. Bergunder, A. F. Droogers and Cornelis van der Laan (eds.), Studying Global Pentecostalism: Theories and Methods, Berkeley 2010, pp. 13-29. See below for my own use of PCC.

[2] M. L. Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation, London 1992, p. 7.

[3] To name just a few works in this vein: J. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, Of Revelation and Revolution, vol. 1: Christianity, Colonialism and Consciousness in South Africa, Chicago 1991; B. Meyer, Translating the Devil: Religion and Modernity Among the Ewe in Ghana, Edinburgh 1999; F. Raison-Jourde, Bible et pouvoir à Madagascar au XIXe siècle: Invention d’une identité chrétienne et construction de l’État (1780–1889), Paris 1991.

Of course, some studies of contemporary Pentecostal-charismatic expansion are likewise concerned with processes of locating Christianity in African societies and the results of local appropriations and translations. Plenty of more recent research, however, focuses on the mobility and unboundedness of a Pentecostal meta-culture and the construction of a global, i.e. spatially unbound and unbounded Pentecostal community.[5] On the one hand, this has to do with the self-portrayal of Pentecostal-charismatic Christianity that understands its mission as a global project, regarding God's message and the work of the Holy Spirit as universal and thus free from any local specificities. On the other hand, the focus on global flows and meta-culture might also be explained by the academic turn to space. Research in this vein follows the tendency to draw attention to global connections with a life of their own, which only 'descend' from time to time in order to influence given local traditions and historically rooted identities.[6] Although different in central respects, both approaches – whether focusing on lived encounters and localisations or on meta-culture and global unboundedness – are rooted in binary thinking, where the global is connected to abstract space, movement and change while the local is about concrete places, practices and cultural continuities.

Human geographer Doreen Massey and others have criticised such a dichotomous definition of place and space, whereby places are characterised as bounded given entities with a singular identity and an internalised history.[7] She does not argue against place, but for overcoming the dichotomy by looking at relational processes in and through which place and space are constituted. Even though anthropologist Tim Ingold explicitly argues against space as an empty and abstract category, he likewise opts for a relational perspective, defining place as delineated by movement and as a product of relations.[8] In this article, I will build on the relational views which these authors developed in their works on places / spaces. I will argue that a relational perspective helps to go beyond dichotomies (of space / place, global / local, European / African, abstract / concrete) and the either-or-definitions that go along with them. From a relational perspective, we do not have to approach our fields of study as fields that consist of bounded, essentialised entities (places, actors, objects, religions) that connect to other such entities. Instead, we approach them as instances of relational meshworks, that is, as temporary, constantly changing products of relational processes.[9] Altogether, the choice of such an epistemological stance leads to an understanding of lifeworlds as worlds that come into being relationally. In this sense, place, too, is not merely a pre-given container, stage or arena for – in my case – mission encounters, but is emerging in and through multiple relations, which bring forth multiple identities and histories.

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[4] R. Habermas and R. Hölzl (eds.), Mission global: Eine Verflechtungsgeschichte seit dem 19. Jahrhundert, Köln 2014.

[5] Anthropologist Simon Coleman for instance speaks of a "global, charismatic 'meta-culture' ", S. Coleman, The Globalisation of Charismatic Christianity: Spreading the Gospel of Prosperity, Cambridge 2000, p. 68. In the same vein: A. Anderson, The Emergence of a Multidimensional Global Missionary Movement: Trends, Patterns, and Expressions, in: D. E. Miller, K. H. Sargeant and R. Flory (eds.), Spirit and Power: The Growth and Global Impact of Pentecostalism, Oxford 2013, pp. 25-41, esp. at 27f. and 40 where he refers to the notion of a global "meta-culture"; B. Reinhardt, Soaking in Tapes: The Haptic Voice of Global Pentecostal Pedagogy in Ghana, in: Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 20 (2014), pp. 315-336, speaks of a "repertoire" and a "charismatic norm", p. 319. See also A. F. Droogers, Globalisation and Pentecostal Success, in: A. Corten and R. Marshall-Fratani (eds.), Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America, Bloomington 2001, pp. 41-59, on the repertoire of transnational Pentecostalism esp. pp. 44-46. Birgit Meyer proposes to focus on Pentecostal aesthetics that make up (global) aesthetic formations. B. Meyer, From Imagined Communities to Aesthetic Formations: Religious Mediations, Sensational Forms, and Styles of Binding, in: Ead. (ed.), Aesthetic Formations: Media, Religion and the Senses, New York 2010, pp. 1-28.

[6] Cf. A. Anderson, Emergence, pp. 27-28.

[7] D. Massey, A Global Sense of Place, in: Ead., Space, Place, Gender, Minneapolis 1994, pp. 146-156. See also T. Cresswell, Place: An Introduction, Chichester ^{2}2015, esp. pp. 88-114.

In the next three sections, I will first outline the activities of a Pentecostal mission church in Madagascar and follow the young pastor M. through his relations, from which the ‘place to win’ emerged. I will then summarise basic elements of a relational perspective and link this once more to the activities of the missionary. In conclusion, I will offer some thoughts on the consequences of a relational perspective for ethnographic research on “religious encounters”.

2. Madagascar Mission

“Nigeria is now becoming known as one of the great missionary-sending nations of the world.”[10] This is what the Pentecostal author Peter Wagner stated in 2004 while looking at the “dynamic explosion of the Christian faith in our times”[11] and the role of Nigerian churches in world mission. Wagner himself is the leading proponent of religious notions such as church growth and spiritual warfare – central ideas in today’s PCCs.[12] Winners’ Chapel International, founded in 1983 by David Oyedepo in Nigeria, is one of these churches.[13] Winners' Chapel has been active in Madagascar since the end of the 1990s. The church started in the capital, Antananarivo, in an unspectacular barrack with Nigerian missionaries, who not only preached but also set up a tough training programme for future Malagasy pastors and other church staff. After some years, the Nigerian missionaries left Madagascar and gave the leadership of the church to a local pastor and his staff. It was him who sent out pastor M. in 2010 to win a place south of the capital for Jesus. Besides skills in management, accounting and leadership, the Nigerians introduced the central teachings of David Oyedepo.

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[8] T. Ingold, Against Space: Place Movement, Knowledge, in: Id., Being Alive: Essays on Movement, Knowledge and Description, London 2011, pp. 145-155.

[9] See ibid. for the notion of meshwork, esp. p. 151.

[10] C. P. Wagner, Introduction, in: Id. and J. Thompson (eds.), Out of Africa: How the Spiritual Explosion Among Nigerians is Impacting the World, Ventura 2004, pp. 7-18, at 14.

[11] Ibid., p. 8.

[12] C. P. Wagner, Strategies for Church Growth, Eugene 1989. The church-growth mission strategy was developed in Evangelical and later Pentecostal-charismatic circles in the USA from the late 1950s onwards. The goal of church growth is to convert as many people as possible to Christianity in an efficient manner, to increase and maintain the membership of existing churches and to plant new congregations. Donald Anderson McGavran is one of the founding fathers of church-growth mission principles. They are based on the idea that the focus of mission should not be on philanthropy (including education, health care etc.) but on the propagation of the Gospel, on “winning the winnable now“, making “disciples of all nations” and thus on planting churches. D. A. McGavran, How Churches Grow: The New Frontiers of Mission, London 1959, pp. 9, 5 and 184. One of the main strategies for achieving the growth of the Christian church is to found as many new churches as possible. It is also called

"The hour has come to liberate the world from all oppressions of the devil through the preaching of the word of faith, and I am sending you to undertake this task."[14] According to Oyedepo, these are the words God spoke to him in 1981, mandating him to found a church and start the work of mission. This short sentence puts the central tenets of many of today's Pentecostal-charismatic churches in a nutshell. The devil is described as God's opponent, who tries to harm and oppress humans in every conceivable (material, emotional, physical, financial) way. He has to be fought by informing the world about this struggle as well as about man's divine right to attain here and now what Jesus has won for him, namely salvation, healing, sanctification, prosperity and success.[15] The explicit, positive commitment to the word of God and to faith is central to Winners' adherents, as is the conviction that they will receive what they ask for and claim. According to these word-of-faith principles, faith is a prerequisite for God's action, and the Holy Spirit is considered the power through which success and prosperity are achieved.[16] Thus, Win-

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church planting. This is based on the assumption that new churches have a stronger missionary urge and are generally more active in founding churches than those that have existed for longer.

Spiritual warfare is a central topic for many PCCs resulting from their understanding of the world as a battlefield of two opposing forces (God and the Devil). To fight demons and any other expression of satanic forces, these forces have, firstly, to be experienced and / or mapped (spiritual mapping) and, secondly, to be cast out. Persons, objects, houses or rooms can be cleansed through exorcisms; in larger territories demons have to be discovered first before delivering the places. There are several manuals on how to conduct this. See e.g. P. C. Wagner (ed.), Breaking Strongholds in Your City, Turnbridge Wells 1993. See also the analysis from the perspective of religious studies by Sean McCloud: S. McCloud, Mapping the Spatial Limbos of Spiritual Warfare: Haunted Houses, Defiled Land and the Horrors of History, in: Material Religion 9 (2013) 2, pp.166-185. See also below.

[13] Today the church in Nigeria is called Living Faith Church Worldwide and David Oyedepo is its leading bishop. In Madagascar and elsewhere in the world, the churches go under the name of Winners' Chapel International X (name of the country and / or town), and are described as branches of the Winners' World Mission Agency. Church members are usually called "Winners".

[14] David Oyedepo Ministries International, The Winners' World: The Liberation Mandate@25, [no place] 2006, p. 12, as well as the website of Living Faith Church International / Faith Tabernacle: http://faithtabernacle.org.ng/aboutus (accessed 10 October 2018).

[15] For theological positions, see David Oyedepo Ministries International, The Winners' World, as well as the books of Oyedepo and the websites of Living Faith Church International / Faith Tabernacle. For an analysis of these positions: P. Gifford, Christianity, Development and Modernity in Africa, London 2015. In August 2010 the screen saver of Pastor M. proclaimed, for example, "Unlimited Success is my Birthright" (in English), and the Winners' motto of September 2017 was "Supernatural Breakthrough is my Birthright."

[16] US-American Kenneth Hagin (1917–2003) is considered the founder of this word-of-faith theology, and Oyedepo refers to him as an important influence: Oyedepo Ministries International, Winners' World, p. 11. More about the word-of faith-movement: A. Anderson, An Introduction to Pentecostalism: Global Charismatic Christianity, Cambridge 2004, p. 220-224 and S. Coleman, The Globalisation, p. 28-31. The teachings known as prosperity or health-and-wealth gospel are (to varying degrees) also part of the word-of-faith theology. Winners' Chapel

ners' Chapel presents itself as a church emphasising the aspects that describe many recent Pentecostal churches.[17] As the agency of the Holy Spirit and its gifts are central to the lives of pastors and other church members, I prefer to add "charismatic" and speak of Pentecostal charismatic Churches (PCC).[18] In its global mission work, Winners' Chapel aims to motivate people to 'give their life to Jesus', that is, to accept the word-of-faith message and begin a new life marked by a personal relationship to Jesus. Hence, Winners focus on the living Christian faith, which they think is experienced and expressed in the lives of individual believers through the presence and power of the Holy Spirit and its gifts (the charismata).

As mentioned above, Winners' Chapel presents a dualistic view of the world as separated into good and evil, powers of God and of Satan. These two sides are in a constant struggle, and the devil uses every opportunity to test and endanger the believer's commitment to God. He/she might experience this as illness or financial trouble. During services which I attended, Winners' pastors in Madagascar combined issues of success and combating spiritual forces many times, and in my conversations with them the danger of witches, idolatry or ancestor cult were mentioned frequently. This is why pastors have to be strong in spiritual warfare, especially when they want to establish a church where they feel that evil forces are strong.[19]

3. Winning the Place?

I got in touch with pastor M. through his wife, a young Malagasy woman whom I had met for the first time in 2009 – still unmarried – at Winners' Chapel Antananarivo, and who had then started to give me Malagasy lessons. She knew M. from Winners' Chapel's bible school. When the church decided to plant a church in the town south of the capital – a decision that was taken in consultation with the Nigerian headquarter and the Holy Spirit –, they needed a pastor.[20] M. was the person whom the senior Malagasy pastor chose for this task, so he received a brief additional training to become a pastor. M. asked my friend to be his wife because he liked her and, as a pastor, he should be a

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belongs to the word-of-faith strand and has a strong focus on prosperity teachings, inspired by Kenneth and Gloria Copeland. Sermons frequently centre on questions of this-worldly material success, work, discipline, diligence, entrepreneurship, paying tithes and giving offerings. See P. Gifford, Unity and Diversity Within African Pentecostalism: Comparison of the Christianities of Daniel Olukoya and David Oyedepo, in: M. Lindhardt (ed.), Pentecostalism in Africa: Presence and Impact of Pneumatic Christianity in Postcolonial Societies, Leiden 2015, pp. 115-135.

[17] They are sometimes called neo- or third-wave Pentecostal churches, see A. van Klinken, African Christianity: Development and Trends, in: S. J. Hunt (ed.), Handbook of Global Contemporary Christianity: Themes and Developments in Culture, Politics, and Society, Leiden 2015, pp. 131-151, esp. 133f.

[18] Oyedepo as the anointed "man of God" frequently implies an ability to impart or channel the power of God and the gifts of the Holy Spirit and thus to bring about health and success, see Gifford, Unity and Diversity, p. 124f.

[19] See S. McCloud, Mapping the Spatial Limbos, for examples of how to proceed in spiritual warfare.

[20] According to M., he was sent to this small town because Bishop Oyedepo, the founder of Winners' Chapel in Nigeria, gave the order to plant new church branches all over Madagascar and because the Holy Spirit had told the leading Malagasy pastor that a church had to be planted in exactly this town.

married man. She told me that she was quite surprised and confused as her life plans had not included becoming a pastor's wife, but she finally accepted his proposal. In early 2010, pastor M. travelled to the small town to find an apartment for himself and his wife as well as an adequate assembly room for services and other church meetings. His wife stayed in the capital and joined him only some weeks later.[21]

M. had learnt about spiritual warfare and strategies of church growth in the church's bible school. He had, however, no experience whatsoever of leading a group and establishing a church, and only limited experience of preaching. As to missionary work, he was still very much a beginner rather than a "winner". In terms of a relational perspective, I am especially interested in the relations and interactions that helped to constitute M. as a Pentecostal "fighter" and a "winner" as well as in the relational practices in and through which the "place" he wanted to win emerged. Hence, I am attempting to describe the place and the actors as being made up of relations. This means that they cannot be separated from activities, and as they take form in practices of relating, they are always in the process of becoming and changing. The relations I am looking at are social/personal, conceptual as well as material or sensuous, and do not only refer to processes of connecting (like advising, marrying or commanding) but also to those of blocking or non-relating (like rejecting, denying or excluding).

I visited the couple for the first time in 2010, six months after they had moved to "the place" they were to win and where the young pastor therefore had to plant a church. The senior pastor in the Malagasy headquarters had instructed him to find and rent a meeting place or house, to preach and attract an audience, particularly tithe-paying members; he should not care about or cooperate with other (Pentecostal) churches,[22] but care for his own church and be a strong leader. Via mobile phone, M. was in exchange with the head office in Antananarivo receiving instructions on what to do. On Facebook and via websites and books, he followed "papa Oyedepo", with whom he felt connected through a spiritual link of mentorship and care. For M., Oyedepo's media appearances seemed to impart the charismatic power and anointing of the Nigerian leader and to enable him to experience a share of the Holy Spirit's gifts.

During the first weeks, the pastor stayed in a hotel, whose owners had been members of Winners' Chapel Antananarivo for some years. On his second day, the pastor had received the order (by the church leader in the capital) to become acquainted with the town and its inhabitants. So, he walked around town and talked to people. As he informed me, they had told him right away that there was too much "idolatry" and "ancestor cult" in town. The following night, he was in his hotel room, when he heard an old woman calling him outside his window. Although he was afraid, he gathered up all his courage, stepped to the open window and poured anointed oil onto her. Then she disappeared. He told me that she was a witch. Certainly, the pastor was aware that there are "demonically afflicted" locations – as this is part of the teachings of spiritual warfare. Yet, it was this bodily experience with what was for him a witch which made him understand that he had to actively fight enemy activities in order to win the town for Jesus. Due to the encounter that night, he became aware that he needed to be a fighter to deal with witches and other resident demons, but he also understood that he had to fight his own fears. His body, practices and the objects he used (oil) emerged as weapons of fight and conquest.[23] At the same time, the place came into being as one where evil spirits had succeeded in establishing long-term relationships with other inhabitants and the environment, making them reject him and his church.

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[21] For the following, see also E. Spies, Being in Relation: A Critical Appraisal of Religious Diversity and Mission Encounter in Madagascar, in: Africana Religions (forthcoming).

[22] The missionary's work aims both at the conversion of non-Christians and at a "revival" of Malagasy Christianity, which is perceived as being reified in institutions. The town the pastor was sent to has been the centre of a Catholic diocese since 1999, and Protestant and Pentecostal churches are on the spot, too. Many people in this region of Madagascar (including the capital) refer to themselves as Christians, when asked. The region has been missionized since 1820, first by the Congregationalist London Missionary Society; the Catholic church gained greater influence during the French colonial era. See J. P. Daughton, An Empire Divided: Religion, Republicanism, and the Making of French Colonialism, 1880-1914, Oxford 2006.

However, other interactions made M. aware that his own story with the place depended on different relations and meshworks as well. Contrary to his expectations, the pastor found it extremely difficult to obtain affordable rooms for the church. For many months, he was not able to find a house or an assembly room to rent. Sunday services were held in the communal youth centre because its director felt inspired by the Holy Spirit and wanted to preach, too. Other services and meetings took place in the private home that the pastor had managed to lease. The "head office" was his and his wife's living room equipped with a table, a notebook, a mobile phone, a collection of Bishop Oyedepo's books and some thirty plastic chairs in the corner. Some gatherings of members and interested persons took place in this room. Other meetings took place in the restaurant of the hotel where the pastor had stayed in the beginning and, later, some home-cells were set up, that is, prayer and bible-study groups meeting in private homes. The couple told me that they had visited many people and had seen many suitable houses or meeting places for the church, but no landlord had wanted their business. The owners demanded exorbitant, unaffordable rents and were unwilling to negotiate. This process of unsuccessful search and the ensuing first contacts with property-owning inhabitants defined the project to plant a church not only as a fight; it also constituted the couple's view of "the people here" as too rich, lazy and moneygrubbing. In this vein, they had begun to regard themselves as unwanted strangers who needed to defend their persons and project against ignorance and greed. Thus, the place to be won came into being in the rejection and indirect control the missionaries experienced from potential landlords (supposedly representative of all inhabitants in fending off those who are not part of the town's social networks). In this context, the couple explained exclusion not in spiritual but in material terms of financial disparity, the housing market and missing family ties.

As M. had no house, no money and no family close by to support him, the place of his missionary enterprise emerged as a tissue of restricted and blocked relations. Together with the bodily experience of "demonic attack", all this made it clear that the pastor was in need of a strategy allowing him to take part in existing meshwork(s) and to tie those in with his own relational practices.

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[23] On the role and power of oil in Winner's Chapel see P. Gifford, Unity and Diversity, p. 129: "Oyedepo even claims some originality in introducing oil rituals into African Pentecostalism (where they are now common)."

4. A Relational Perspective on Place

M.'s relationship with his superiors, the witch attack and the house hunting have already provided some very brief samples of relationally constituted places and lifeworlds. Understanding place relationally means to look at the processuality and coming into being of places through practices of relating. As I will show below, my notion of relationality is not primarily an abstract theoretical one, but one developed in studying lifeworlds in Madagascar, including Pentecostal ways of world-making. However, before I return to Pentecostal mission in Madagascar, I would like to sketch the basic ideas of a relational perspective. Besides the works of Doreen Massey and Tim Ingold, the approach of relational sociology, especially by Christopher Powell, has shaped my thinking about relationality.[24]

On Relationality

Generally, a relational perspective shifts the focus from encounters between given entities towards the multiple relations involved in their production. This shift does not imply an understanding that everything is harmoniously connected with everything else, it rather turns our attention towards the multiple processes of relating and the different forms of relations that shape our fields of study in a particular way. What we study then are specific meshwork(s) or bundles of relations and the processes through which they emerged. Thus, following Powell, relations are conceptualized as processes.[25] As the example of the pastor's ongoing practices of relating and his moves in his fight show, relations could be personal, conceptual, material or sensuous and are by no means restricted to social relations of individuals or societal institutions. Not only human actors participate in processes of relating, but also non-human beings, ideas, objects, buildings, environments, which have agency insofar as they have the capacity to participate in a relation.[26] In M.'s case, different human and non-human beings participated in relational practices and the meshwork that emerged: Witches, the Holy Spirit, God, Bishop Oyedepo, his Malagasy boss, his wife, house owners, absent family members including ancestors, and myself – but also ideas of Nigeria and global Christianity, the notion of warfare, the housing market, the word-of-faith theology of Kenneth Hagin, Malagasy traditions and landscapes, and effects of European mission and colonialism took part, as well as the contemporary Christian mainline churches (in need of revival), bodies, books, Ariary bills and coins, vacant houses and bottles of anointed oil.

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[24] Ch. Powell, Radical Relationism: A Proposal, in: Ch. Powell and F. Dépelteau, Conceptualizing Relational Sociology: Ontological and Theoretical Issues, New York 2013, pp. 187-207. Just as much, my colleagues in the joint research programme "Africa multiple: Reconfiguring African Studies" at the University of Bayreuth have shaped my thinking about multiplicity and relationality.

[25] Ibid., pp. 194-195.

[26] The capacity of hon-humans to participate in relations is an open question in relational sociology, see F. Dépelteau, Relational Thinking in Sociology: Relevance, Concurrence and Dissonance, in: Id. (ed.), The Palgrave Handbook of Relational Sociology, Cham 2018, pp. 3-33. In contrast, it is a central tenet of the approaches of New Materialism and Actor-Network-Theory, see B. Latour, Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory, Oxford 2005; K. Barad, Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning, Durham 2007. Here relationality is understood as an ontological category. I am certainly not saying that relational approaches are exclusively about tracing the meaning-making activities of human

Relations also have different properties depending on the observer's position, i.e. they might be more or less concrete, imagined, (im)material, embodied, brief or enduring. Relations can be present, past or potential, and thus open up future possibilities of relating. This feature connects nicely with Karl Schlögel's conception, mentioned in the introduction, of places incorporating the simultaneous existence of multiple historical times. Understanding relations as processes of relating or, as Ingold puts it, as lines and movements, points to the capacity of relations to span distances as well as times, from Madagascar to Nigeria, from the European mission of the nineteenth century to the US-American word-of-faith movement, from the Congregationalist missionary enterprise to contemporary Pentecostalism, from colony to post-colonial nation state.

With respect to place, both Doreen Massey and Tim Ingold have developed relational approaches.[27] Although they start from different backgrounds and pursue different objectives, they share important basic ideas. Massey and Ingold agree that we should study places not as given, container-like entities with fixed boundaries within which people live, but rather as constant processes of becoming.[28] Thus, the dynamic movement of relating and thereby producing places is central to both of their conceptions. In his review of Massey's book "For Space" (2005), Ingold writes:

> *Both of us imagine a world of incessant movement and becoming, one that is never complete but continually under construction, woven from the countless lifelines of its manifold human and non-human constituents as they thread their ways through the tangle of relationships in which they are comprehensively enmeshed.*[29]

The focus on movement and change makes clear that places "can be made durable but they cannot last,"[30] as they are not substances but only temporary products of changing relations. Ingold describes these movements as wayfaring and writes: "Places, then, are like knots, and the threads from which they are tied are the lines of wayfaring". These

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beings. However, I do not have the methodical training to study, for example, materials or non-human agency and therefore follow only M.'s practices.

[27] D. Massey, Global Sense of Place; T. Ingold, Against Space.

[28] D. Massey, Global Sense of Place: Massey criticises the rhetoric of time-space compression, favouring time and equating it to movement and progress, whereas place is equated with stasis and reaction, connected to notions of boundedness, fixity and straightforwardness, see p. 151 as well as the introduction of this special issue.

[29] T. Ingold, Review: Doreen Massey: For Space, in: Journal of Historical Geography 32 (2006), pp. 891-893, at 891.

[30] N. Thrift, Steps to an Ecology of Place, in: D. Massey, J. Allen and P. Sarre (eds.), Human Geography Today, Malden 1999, pp. 295-322, at 317. This does not deny that people may perceive places as static and fixed.

lines “become caught up with other lines in other places, as are threads in other knots. Together they make up what I have called the meshwork”. [31] Places as knots of lived stories and experiences or bundles of relations and as components of meshwork(s), again participate in further relational processes and thus in the co-constitution of other places, ideas, objects and actors. As the multiple relations that produce a place always bring forth multiple other processes of relating, relationality questions the idea of place as a singular, discrete and given object of study, but rather shows that place cannot be other than multiple.[32]

Place then forms through spatio-temporal events and mirrors the complex, changing (power) relations it is made up of. The specificity of a place results from the particular configuration of relations at a specific moment in time, including those relations reaching beyond the physical locus.[33] In the same vein Ingold writes that human existence is not fundamentally place-bound, but place-binding. It is about the processes of relating or, in Ingold’s words, of wayfaring, entwining lifelines, and thereby producing knots and meshwork(s) of intertwined trails along which life is lived.[34] For a relational study this means that relations are not simply analysed as connectors between given entities, but are themselves traced as experienced, lived practices. Thus, the study of place is not about decoding the many meanings attached to a given place or uncovering the social worlds constructed *in* it. It is rather about studying the processes of ‘doing place’, this is, the practices through which a place emerges, including imagining, embodying, expressing or envisioning, or, in Ingold’s terms, dwelling and wayfaring. As shown above, these practices can involve different modes of relating, such as for instance support, cooperation, resistance, exclusion or denial.[35] Hence, thinking in relational processes is not about the denial of power, nor about an exclusive focus on harmonious connections and mixtures. On the contrary, it allows for a closer look at the specificity of relations and their (a)symmetries. This raises the question of what kinds of (power) relations are necessary to bind a place and to eventually produce the perceived or desired fixity of a place, that is, of a specific relational configuration.

On Place-Binding Practices

Several ethnographic studies suggest that in the Malagasy highlands, where the town in question is located, a person is perceived as existing only in and through its relationships. These relations include, for example, living and deceased family members, the land of the ancestors and the blessings they give.[36] Thus, to place somebody means to trace and construct his/her spatial, temporal, material and social relations. According to archaeologists/anthropologists Kus and Raharijaona, villages, tombs, and agricultural fields not only mark ongoing social affiliations but the histories of social groups charted "through trajectories of site occupation, abandonment, and relocation."[37] Thus, processes of the becoming of a place and of a person or group are co-constitutive. Maurice Bloch writes about the Merina in the highland of Madagascar: "People are thought of as descendants of the land as much as they are thought of as descendants of their ancestors".[38] A family tomb here represents, for example, the undivided, enduring, even eternal descent group; and with a tomb the descent group is "eternally merged with its land".[39] Bloch regards the ritual of turning the dead (*famadihana*) as a means to negate individuality, change of the social order and the everyday experience of discontinuity.[40] The ritual emphasises eternal relations that make up the continuing entity of the descent group. This construction of an ideal image of an eternal, unchanging order and of the timeless fixity of relations is a central aspect of many rituals, according to Bloch,[41] and I think it can be found in Pentecostalism, too. After numerous failures, pastor M. finally tried to establish eternal relations and to merge place, Pentecostals and Jesus by performing a ritual.

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[31] T. Ingold, Against Space, p. 149.

[32] On multiplicity see for example G. Deleuze and F. Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, London 2015.

[33] D. Massey, Global Sense of Place, p. 154. However, Massey concentrates attention on *social* relations, stating, “each place is the focus of a distinct a *mixture* of wider and more local social relations” (emphasis in original), p. 156.

[34] T. Ingold, Against Space 2011, p. 148f.

[35] In her book “For Space”, Massey writes that the “throwntogetherness” of place also includes “the non-meetings-up, the disconnections and the relations not established, the exclusions.” D. Massey, For Space, London 2005, p. 130.

Central to Pentecostalism's relational thinking is the goal of convincing people to break the ties that bind them to "evil" places, traditions and persons, and to commit themselves to a new eternal covenant. To "make a complete break with the past"[42] thus means to overcome the demonic spells that reign over the believers' bodies, minds and living environments. In this sense, Pentecostals try to win and fix a place by cutting some relations and fixing others. This is also how religious studies scholar Sean McCloud describes the idea of spiritual warfare: as "attempts to fix the interstitial into position".[43] Interstitial places, he calls them spatial limbos, "in which [according to Pentecostals] the sins of history materialize in the forms of demons"[44], need a reformation through a remaking of the relations in and through which they are constituted.

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[36] This does not deny that persons are understood as individuals, too.

[37] S. Kus and V. Raharijaona, Domestic Space and the Tenacity of Tradition Among Some Betsileo of Madagascar, in: S. Kent (ed.), Domestic Architecture and the Uses of Space: An Interdisciplinary Cross-Cultural Study, Cambridge 1990, pp. 21-33, at 22. To "occupy" a site includes, for example, to have a family tomb there. In contrast to the houses of the living, the tombs are made to endure; they signal the continuity of the descent group. See footnote 38.

[38] M. Bloch, Death, Women and Power, in: Id. and J. Parry (eds.), Death and the Regeneration of Life, Cambridge 1992, pp. 211-230, at 211. See also M. Bloch, People into Places: Zafimaniry Concepts of Clarity, in: E. Hirsch and M. O'Hanlon (eds.), The Anthropology of Landscape: Perspectives on Place and Space, Oxford 1996, pp. 63-77. Here Bloch writes about the architectural efforts of Zafimaniry people to make houses places that remain, thereby also stabilizing and materialising family relations and fixing people to place. In this way, people and places merge, p. 71.

[39] M. Bloch, Death, p. 219. In this image then, people do not make places but become part of them. With Ingold, I would argue that they bind themselves to the place and the place binds itself to them; thus, place and people co-constitute.

[40] *Famadihana* or the turning of the dead is a ritual practised in the Malagasy highland. The extended family honours ancestors by taking the remains of the deceased out of the family tomb, rewrapping them with cloths and celebrating this event with the inhabitants of the land of their ancestors with music, dance and a communal meal, see M. Bloch, Placing the Dead: Tombs, Ancestral Villages, and Kinship Organization in Madagascar, London 1971.

[41] M. Bloch, Death, p. 223f. Bloch speaks of rituals in contexts of traditional authority. Michael Lambek works in a different region of Madagascar but is also concerned with the relational being of the people he works with, the Sakalava, and their making of (or dealing with the relationality of) history, places and persons in ritual. M. Lambek, The Weight of the Past: Living with History in Mahajanga, Madagascar, New York 2002.

[42] B. Meyer, 'Make a Complete Break With the Past': Memory and Post-Colonial Modernity in Ghanaian Pentecostalist Discourse, in: Journal of Religion in Africa 28 (1998) 3, pp. 316-349.

Pastor M. failed at placing himself in the lifeworlds of the other inhabitants of the town because he could not participate in their relational webs. For him, these meshwork(s) were made up of relations to evil forces. His project, his role as a missionary and his practices to win the place for Jesus took shape together with his efforts to bind the place to himself, to the church and to Jesus. During my stay with the pastor and his wife, I participated in one of the performative practices they had decided on, based on their previous interactions and experiences. The pastor did not try to conquer the public sphere via loudspeakers, radio and other materializations of the church's presence, practices PCCs are known for. Instead, he opted for another way, which he called (in English) "blood spilling".[45] This is a ritual that he started to perform regularly on Saturday nights. It is about dispersing the blood of the Lamb of God / Jesus Christ in town in order to "win the place for Jesus", as the couple explained. Only four people participated in this nocturnal activity: the pastor, his wife, the director of the youth centre and a taxi driver, who was a member of another word-of-faith church in town. When I attended the ritual, the pastor and his wife prepared fourteen one- and-a-half-litre bottles of grenadine syrup diluted with water. The pastor "anointed" the liquid, as he said, that is, he consecrated it into the blood of the Lamb of God. Then, the pastor, his wife, the director of the youth centre and I got into the taxi to cruise around the town. While the taxi driver was taking us through the town's streets, the three poured the "blood" out of the open car windows and said prayers. They took turns sprinkling the blood and stopped pouring when there were people in the street.

In explaining this practice to me, the pastor referred to several passages in the bible. He mentioned Exodus 12:13, where the blood of the sacrificial Pesach lamb is said to protect the people of God (with bloodstains on the doors marking the houses to be protected). He also referred to Exodus 24:8, which is about the confirmation of the covenant: "And Moses took the blood, sprinkled it on the people, and said, 'This is the blood of the covenant which the Lord has made with you according to all these words'." Moreover, the pastor brought up Revelation 12:11, in which the Devil fights against the angels in heaven: "And they overcame him by the blood of the Lamb and by the word of their testimony", and where finally (14) the lamb (Jesus Christ) stands jointly with God at the centre of New Jerusalem.[46]

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[43] S. McCloud, Mapping the Spatial Limbos, p. 168.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Other pastors of Winners' Chapel in Madagascar called it "the sprinkling of blood" and did not perform it regularly.

According to the pastor, sprinkling blood in a Malagasy town allows him to relate to the inhabitants, and to pass over the covenant to them, as the blood stands for the relation between God and his people. The pastor, or rather the words that the Bible and the Holy Spirit have given him, and the blood of Jesus are meant to connect the town and God; the consecrated syrup makes Jesus present, binds the place to God/the Holy Ghost and the pastor to the local community: It is this process of relating the pastor, the blood, the streets of the town, its inhabitants and God that will break demonic spells and bring people to his church.

The pastor's way to "win the place for Jesus" was trying to dissolve unwanted relations and establish new ones. In the beginning, he had no specific idea of the town and the obstacles and enemies he would encounter. It was in the interactions that took place and the relationships he entered and experienced, that the pastor as a fighter, his practices, the inhabitants and the place emerged. In Ingold's words: "Here the meaning of the 'relation' has to be understood quite literally, not as a connection between pre-located entities but as a path traced through the terrain of lived experience".[47]

5. Conclusion

The core issue of a relational perspective seems very simple: Instead of taking objects of study for granted as discrete entities with a given substance, it focuses on the processes of relating in and through which these "entities" temporarily come into being. Such a perspective thus implies a rethinking of our "objects" of study – e.g. actors, groups, places or religious traditions – in relational terms. This rethinking enables us to overcome dichotomies; and this in turn requires us to transcend an exclusive focus on religion in the study of "religious" encounters and places, asking instead for a new look at lifeworlds, their relational production and the rooms of manoeuvre which the continuous and potential processes of relating offer.[48]

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[46] Bible quotes from New King James Version: https://www.biblestudytools.com/nkjv/ (accessed 10 October 2018). In several YouTube videos Winners' Chapel pastors preach about the blood of sprinkling. Here the blood is sprinkled, for example, on the audience and frees them from demonic spells and curses. To sprinkle or apply the blood can involve protection, deliverance, healing, redemption and/or communion with God. See for example Bishop Oyedepo: Mystery of the Blood of Sprinkling, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-akKRjaT4jY (accessed 27 October 2018).

[47] T. Ingold, Up, Across and Along, in: E. Näripea, V. Sarapik and J. Tomberg (eds.), Koht ja Paik / Place and Location: Studies in Environmental Aesthetics and Semiotics V, Tallinn 2006, pp. 21-36, at 30. In his text, "here" refers to the topics of a story and the movement of /in storytelling. My focus is however on the broader notion of "doing" (i.e. performing, experiencing etc.), and not just on storytelling in the strict sense.

[48] Similar to notions of meshwork and network, see also Deleuze's and Guattari's notion of *agencement* / assemblage as an experiment not to think in different hierarchical levels and discrete dualist entities but to think individual, society, agency, structure and event 'on one level'. Deleuze and Guattari, A Thousand Plateaus.

In the study of religion, place/space and contemporary encounters are important topics. A growing number of works focus on religious diversity in public spheres and urban spaces, but also, for example, on pilgrimages and sacred sites. Frequently, "religious space" is either presented phenomenologically as a clearly located and bounded room for spiritual experience or it is conceptualized in constructivist manner as an arena for contestations and / or negotiations of belonging, identity, ownership and representation.[49] Either way, many of these studies work with dichotomies of sacred / profane or religious / secular and focus on the religious, e.g. the diverse religious traditions meeting in a given space or the delineations of the sacred by different religious groups using the same sites etc. Kim Knott, a central proponent of the spatial turn in the study of religion, draws inspiration from Massey's relational and dynamic concept of space as a context in which places are set, i.e. as "a wider space of stretched-out social relations".[50] The "interconnectedness of events and [the] relational nature of the persons, objects, and places that constitute space"[51] led her to go beyond a study of the religious, and instead to focus on religious-secular relations and the location of religion in a wider (non-religious) context. For me, the acknowledgement of relationality and the shift of focus away from discrete entities towards the processes through which relational configurations come into being, likewise inevitably leads to an opening of our fields in the study of religion. It leads to the dissolution of a "religious field" or of "religion" as a separate domain, because situations and experiences are always made up of multiple relations, not only of those in which "religious" groups, ideas, places, or objects participate. Opting for a relational epistemology means that the field of study is not defined by religion (and a distinct logic of the field), but rather delineated by relations. It invites us to study lifeworlds instead of an autonomous religious field.

The notion of lifeworld allows for grasping lives at specific historical junctures, where dynamic practices of relating form ever-changing meshwork(s) of relations, through which people constitute, and experience, embody, interpret and make the world.[52] This notion includes subjective and intersubjective relationships that open or close rooms for manoeuvre for further practices of relating. It comprises textures of habits, rituals, affect and knowledge, but also the multiple relations of other agencies as, for example objects, ideas, environments, spirits or other human beings beyond the subjective reach. Processes of relating are multiple and continuous. They may span different temporal and spatial scales. Every field of study is thus made up of multiple meshworks and is therefore in principle boundless. In ethnographic (and other) research, we need to cut the relational meshwork(s)[53] and choose a cut-out from which to start – a step which makes us inextricably part of our relational field of study, by bringing to an end some relations, and initiating new ones. This makes clear that knowledge production is relational, too. This is not to pretend that such a perspective is able to decolonize knowledge production and overcome power asymmetries. However, acknowledging epistemic relationality is a step towards overcoming dichotomies like the one between concrete local knowledge, which we encounter in our fields of research, and abstract knowledge, which we supposedly produce in academic space.[54] Focusing on relational lifeworlds and, thus, the co-constitution of knowledge means that we have to consider multiple participants in academic knowledge production as well.

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[49] Chidester summarizes the approaches of the first thread as "poetics of religious space" and the second as "politics of religious space." D. Chidester, Space, in: M. Stausberg and S. Engler (eds.), The Oxford Handbook of the Study of Religion, Oxford 2016, pp. 329-339, at 330. See also K. Knott, Religion, Space, and Place: The Spatial Turn in Research on Religion, in: Religion and Society: Advances in Research 1 (2010), pp. 29-43, see especially 31-35. Most relational approaches are constructivist, too; however, they do not focus on the finished constructions but on the processes of their coming into being.

[50] K. Knott, The Location of Religion: A Spatial Analysis, Durham 2013 [2005], p. 32. Knott understands space as means, outcome and medium of social and cultural activity, p. 34.

[51] Ibid., p. 23, insertion E.S.

[52] See E. Spies, Being in Relation.

Finally, the notion of relational lifeworlds helps to overcome a space / place-dichotomy, which understands space as lifeless and abstract while place appears concrete and tangible. Although Massey reconceptualises space as open, multiple and relational, unfinished and always becoming,[55] I see no need for this concept if we speak of relational lifeworlds, ultimately agreeing with Ingold: "To my mind the world is a world, not space".[56]

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[53] See M. Strathern, Cutting the Network, in: The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute 2 (1996) 3, pp. 517-535. According to Strathern, relating is always connected to cutting, as relations connect and divide at the same time. It is this process of cutting that she thinks researchers should focus on. I think this is similar to my interest in the relational processes that are necessary to produce the (perceived) fixity of meshworks (a religious tradition, a place, a person). I prefer Ingold's notion of meshwork to network, because the latter seems to foreground the knots / nodes and less the experienced processes and movements. Thus, "network" focuses on results and less on the "trails along which life is lived." T. Ingold, Against Space 2011, p. 148f. For relational research see also M. Desmond, Relational Ethnography, in: Theory and Society 43 (2014), pp. 547-579.

[54] See D. Chidester, Empire of Religion: Imperialism and Comparative Religion, Chicago 2014, on the constitution of knowledge (concepts and theories) in religious studies in and through processes of mediation.

[55] D. Massey, For Space, p. 59.

[56] T. Ingold, Review, p. 892.

BUCHBESPRECHUNGEN

Stefan Berger / Holger Nehring (eds.): The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective. A Survey (= Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements, vol. 14), London: Palgrave Macmillan 2017, 737 p.

Reviewed by
Micha Fiedlschuster, Leipzig

This is a substantial volume that offers a survey on a vast variety of cases and topics aiming at combining the insights of historical and sociological research. Each chapter is supplemented with a substantial section on further readings, which renders the book a very useful resource for students and researchers who wish to delve into one of the topics. The purpose of the book is "to revive the dialogue between history and the social sciences" (p. 5) and to cross-fertilize the conceptual toolbox of historians and sociologists. The editors argue in favor of a global historical perspective, because it allows to address "the complexity of multiple modernities" (p. 10). Furthermore, it helps to diversify social movement research, which has been mostly developed in the context of Western modernization accounts and Western social movements. The global perspective is chosen, first, to "make visible […] the ways in which we might conceptualize [the] relationship between agency, structure, and political, social, cultural and material contexts more precisely […]" (p. 4) and, second, to draw "attention to the different meanings of 'equality', 'freedom', 'peace' and so on, while nonetheless bringing them together within a common frame of reference that help to create connections across the globe" (p. 12).

Part I offers an overview of concepts and methods of studying social movements and provides two cases with a regional focus outside of Europe that outline challenges in writing about social movements from a global perspective (three chapters). Those readers, who are not familiar with the research paradigms in social movement studies, will find in Dieter Rucht's contribution an excellent introduction into the field by one of its acclaimed researchers. Rucht defines a social movement "as a network of individuals, groups and organizations that, based on a sense of collective identity, seek to bring about social change (or resist social change) primarily by means of collective public protest" (p. 45). Rucht's chapter tacitly represents the "Western" approach to social movement studies, and the editors – while acknowledging his approach as crucial for theory building and the historiography in the field – seek to critically engage with its rootedness in the history of the "West".

Rochona Majumdar discusses the usefulness of subaltern studies for writing a history of social movements in India. Subaltern studies focused initially on peasant movements and the difficulties to apply Marxist analyses of the transition towards an industrialized society to the Indian context. Later, subaltern studies departed to some extent from the European traditions of political thought in order to provide a better account of Indian mass insurgencies. Majumdar explains that subaltern studies' interest in mass mobilizations and the collective, insurgent subjectivity showed that subaltern politics neither completely fit the dominant history of nationalism and colonialism nor can it be subsumed under the conception of civil society (p. 66). Over all her contribution shows how the approach constitutes a very useful resource to overcome methodological nationalism.

Seonjoo Park's chapter problematizes the Western centrist view on the history of the Women's movement, which is a globalized movement par excellence. Exploring 'transpacific feminism,' she aims at demonstrating the movement's diversity. According to her, neither global nor national classifications of women's movements are helpful because "[t]he recognition of the multiple and shifting ways that identity is made and unmade with and/or against ideological power within international dynamics may help us to formulate feminist politics in a non-totalizing manner" (p. 109). Rucht, Majumdar and Park's articles taken together stand for a debate between the predominant Euro- / Westerncentrism in history and (social movement) theory making and the attempts to overcome it in non-Western contexts.

Part II offers continental perspectives on the history of social movements (eight chapters). Readers will likely welcome that the main focus of the geographical section is located outside Europe and the United States, which are not seldom overrepresented in volumes on social movements. It starts with Claudia Wasserman's overview on the development of social movements in Latin America, which are characterized by a similar colonial and socio-economic structure. Felicia Kornbluh's assessment of North America focuses on the US because in her view a continental perspective does not yet exist apart from the analyses of the protests against the North American Free Trade Agreement. Marcel van der Linden's broad account of European social protest is a fruitful combination of historiography with a social movement perspective. Andreas Eckert's chapter and John Chalcraft's contribution deal with social movements in Africa, which are still under-explored. There is no overview on Asia but some of its movements are represented by Arvind Elangovan's chapter on India as well as Jung Han Kim and Park's one on Korea. The Middle East is treated together with the North African movements. Given the diversity of Asia, splitting the analysis of the region into several chapters is reasonably. However, China and South East Asia remain blind spots. Readers, who wish to learn more about Asia, can turn to Hoering et al.[1] Part II closes with Sean Scalmer's historical overview on Australian social movements. Australia is characterized as a colonial settler society, which sets it apart from other continents with a colonial past.

The possibility of comparing the different trajectories of social movements in Latin America, Africa, and Australia constitutes the strength of Part II, which can indeed yield a better understanding of the global history of social movements.

It is impossible to comment on all chapters of Part III, which offers eleven chapters on specific social movements. Depending on the reader's own background – historian or social scientist – he or she will find different chapters of interest. I will discuss Stefan Berger's chapter on the labor movements in more detail because it is a paradigmatic example of the volume's research agenda.

Berger clearly shows the possibilities and challenges of writing the history of social movements from a global perspective. He discusses the conceptual Eurocentrism and its problems for analyzing the labor movement. Berger carves out the local differences of "regimes of labour and of associated social protest movements organizing labour" (p. 386) across five continents. In addition, he identifies four transnational moments, which he admits suffer from a Western bias (p. 405 f.): "first, the caesura of the First World War; secondly, the impact of the Russian Revolution; thirdly, the struggle against fascism and right-wing authoritarianism in the inter-war period and beyond; and, finally, the Cold War with its accompanying histories of decolonialization." This list, as he acknowledges, needs diversification in future research. Nevertheless, he seems to be convinced that, due to the development of capitalism, the history of labor movements will continue having "a distinctly Western outlook" (p. 411). Bergers position reflects a dilemma of the attempts to de-center the global history of social movements. A radical break with the European / Western contexts seems to be impossible, thus the region remains to be an unavoidable point of reference, either as a historical starting point, as an intellectual tradition to (dis-)engage with or as an adversary of a particular movement.

Among the many contributions, Part III includes chapters on fascism and right wing movements, which are timely considering the contemporary rise of right wing populism. Missing are explicit chapters on religious or indigenous movements, which might have helped to de-center the research on social movements further. A discussion of non-Western belief systems or world views such as the Latin American 'buen vivir' or the Muslim traditions in India as sources of popular dissent and struggles for or against social change might have yielded interesting insights on the history of social movements beyond the history of modernity and enlightenment. Nonetheless, the topical and geographical scope of the volume is immense and the identified gaps are a wish list for further publications in the same series (Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements).

Considering that the editors aimed at a survey without an overarching single theoretical framework, it is understandably that the volume has no conclusion. However, a commentary and outlook on future research by another historian and/or social movement researcher would have been a welcome complement of the volume. The editors have set out an ambitious research agenda by calling for a combination of global history and social movement research. Their introduction and the sum of the contributions convincingly show the

advantages of a global perspective on the subject. Hence, the volume is highly recommended to researchers and students of social movements in past and present.

Notes

[1] U. Hoering, O. Pye, W. Schaffar, Ch. Wichterich (eds.), Globalisierung bringt Bewegung. Lokale Kämpfe und transnationale Vernetzungen in Asien, Münster 2009.

Margrit Pernau / Dominic Sachsenmaier (eds.): Global Conceptual History. A Reader. London: Bloomsbury 2016, 376 p.

Rezensiert von
Christof Dipper, Darmstadt

Margrit Pernau wirbt seit einiger Zeit für eine neue Begriffsgeschichte. Diese soll, wie könnte es anders sein, global, was zugleich heißt: verflochten sein. Für eine Autorin, die den Begriff des Bürgertums bei Muslimen in Delhi erprobt und erweitert hat, ist das fast schon selbstverständlich. Dominic Sachsenmaier hat einige Beiträge zu chinesischen Adaptionen europäischer Begriffe vorgelegt und repräsentiert mit diesem weitgespannten Bogen ebenfalls eine begriffsgeschichtliche Entwicklungsstufe jungen Datums. Denn seit Globalisierung und Poststrukturalismus in den 1990er Jahren in den Kultur- und Geisteswissenschaften wirklich angekommen sind und letzterer dort namentlich den *linguistic turn* ausgelöst hat, steht die Begriffsgeschichte vor neuen Herausforderungen.

Dieser Aufgabe stellt sich der bereits 2016 erschienene, dem Rezensenten aber erst zwei Jahre später zugeleitete Sammelband. Auf den ersten Blick fällt auf, dass er keine Originalbeiträge enthält, sondern aus dem Deutschen übersetzte oder auf Englisch erschienene Aufsätze älteren und jüngeren Datums. Auf den zweiten dann, dass es nur einen Aufsatz zur im Titel angekündigten globalen Begriffsgeschichte gibt. Das ist kein Wunder, denn eine solche setzt, wie die Herausgeber einleitend einräumen, eine große Forschergruppe und hohen Zeitaufwand voraus. Tatsächlich bieten etliche Beiträge transnational verflochtene Begriffsgeschichten geradezu exotischen Zuschnitts. In ihrer knappen Einleitung skizzieren die Herausgeber nach einem Rückblick auf die (deutschen) Anfänge – dass sie dabei Richard Koebner übersehen, ist angesichts des Forschungsstandes verzeihlich – die Anforderungen an die Begriffsgeschichte nach dem *linguistic turn*, der Sprache, Sprecher und Übersetzer gegenüber Begriff und Bedeutung enorm aufgewertet hat. Dabei fällt auf, dass der von Margrit Pernau 2012 aufgestellte enorme theoretische, womöglich überdehnte Anspruch[1] hier stillschweigend ein Stück zurückgenommen worden ist.

Die ersten drei Beiträge stammen von Reinhart Koselleck und Rolf Reichardt; zwei davon sind die Einleitungen zu den großen, von ihnen verantworteten lexikalischen Unternehmungen. Während Koselleck sich beiläufig von der damals das Feld beherrschenden, inzwischen vergessenen französischen Lexikometrie absetzte und mit Hilfe klassischer historischer Methoden die Entstehung der Moderne im Medium ihrer Begrifflichkeit aufdecken wollte, konnte sein Schüler, darauf aufbauend, ein bisher unabgeschlossenes Vorhaben entwerfen, das eine amerikanische Rezensentin als Versuch klassifizierte, Habermas' „Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit" für Frankreich umzusetzen.

Die nächste Abteilung, gut amerikanisch mit „Challenges" überschrieben (während man früher, d. h. vor den Zeiten sprachlicher Hohlraumversiegelung, wohl unverblümt von „Kritik" gesprochen hätte), präsentiert die wichtigsten Gegenpositionen zu der mit dem Namen Koselleck verbundenen Form der Begriffsgeschichte: eine neue Version von Dietrich Busses nicht mehr ganz taufrischer, diskurstheoretisch basierter Historischer Semantik und Quentin Skinners der „Rhetorik", wie er es nennt, verpflichtete und scheinbar theoriefreie Sicht auf begrifflichen Wandel.

Was passiert mit der Begriffsgeschichte, wenn sie ‚transnationalisiert' wird? Die im Hauptteil abgedruckten Aufsätze geben implizit eine Antwort: Sie verschiebt sich in Richtung „intellectual history", Linguistik und Übersetzungswissenschaft. Von „translation" ist in der Einleitung der Herausgeber wie in den Aufsätzen denn auch viel die Rede. Mit der Koselleckschen Version hat das nur noch wenig zu tun. Koselleck beharrte bekanntlich nicht nur darauf, dass es eine Realität jenseits der Sprache gebe, sondern wies, obgleich er die Geschichte der Begriffe auch als Geschichte von Übersetzungen bezeichnete, auf die prinzipiellen Grenzen der Übersetzbarkeit hin. „Es bedürfte" dazu „einer Metasprache, die die Unterschiede vermittelt. Eine solche Metasprache aber gibt es nicht".[2] In Frankreich hat man daraus die Konsequenz gezogen und einen „Dictionnaire des intraduisibles" zusammengestellt; jedes Lemma umschreibt das in der Originalsprache Gemeinte und versucht näherungsweise Übersetzungen.3 Pernau betonte in ihrem oben genannten Aufsatz daher völlig zu Recht, dass es bei begriffsgeschichtlichen Untersuchungen von Übersetzungen nicht um ‚richtig' oder ‚falsch' geht, sondern was den Akteuren als äquivalent galt.

Ein erstes anschauliches Beispiel dafür liefert Jörn Leonhard mit einem Überblick über die Varianten des französischen „libéral" im Englischen und Deutschen zwischen 1800 und 1830. Er unterscheidet zwischen nachahmender, adaptierender und diskursiver Übersetzung. Diese drei Möglichkeiten erweitert Kari Palonen anschließend auf fünf und erläutert sie am Beispiel der finnischen Sprachpolitik, als diese ein eigenständiges finnisches politisches Vokabular schuf. Dass dabei immer auch ein Machtgefälle im Spiel ist, verdeutlicht Lydia H. Liu in ihrem den historischen Leser gelegentlich an seine Grenzen führenden Beitrag. Die chinesische Sprache musste Tausende von Lehn- und Fremdwörtern bilden und zu deren Integration fallweise sogar die Grammatik verändern, um von den überlegenen Europäern und Japanern zu lernen. In umgekehrter Richtung gibt es kein Gegenstück. Man darf getrost – tröstend? – darauf hinweisen, dass es dem Deutschen ähnlich ging; spätestens mit der Christianisierung verlor das Althochdeutsche seine (unterstellte) Ursprünglichkeit; die Begriffsgeschichte interessiert das freilich bislang nicht. Vergleichbares berichten Ilham Khuri-Makdisi fürs Arabische, Katrin Bromber für Suaheli und Imke Rajamani für Hindi. Immer geht es um Übersetzung unter asymmetrischen Bedingungen. Andrew Sartori schließlich demonstriert den intensiven und komplexen innereuropäischen Austauschprozess von ‚Zivilisation' und ‚Kultur', bis ‚Kultur' dann durch bengalische Intellektuelle eine Reihe von Bedeutungszuwächsen erfuhr, mit denen man sich von missliebigen Phänomenen abgrenzen konnte. Vergleichbares ereignete sich im späten 19. Jahrhundert im Zarenreich und in Japan. ‚Kultur' wurde tatsächlich ein global anzutreffendes Begriffsfeld.

Den Abschluss bildet Willibald Steinmetz' kenntnisreiche Zwischenbilanz von 2008, „Vierzig Jahre Begriffsgeschichte – The State of the Art", in der er die internationale Forschung unter der Kategorie der Historischen Semantik zusammenführt, die transnationale und globalgeschichtliche Ausweitung einfordert und die sprachpragmatische Perspektive in Erinnerung ruft.

Der Sammelband ist vor allem für das englischsprachige Publikum ein nützlicher Reader und in diesem Milieu vor allem ist die globale bzw. transnationale Begriffsgeschichte ja auch zuhause. Sie ist methodisch und sprachlich anspruchsvoller als die mit ‚Bielefeld' assoziierte, die gleichwohl ihre Daseinsberechtigung behält, aber seit einiger Zeit schon aufgefordert ist, sich von ihrer Fixierung auf die „Sattelzeit" zu lösen. Den Nachweis einer globalen Begriffsgeschichte liefert der Band indes nicht. Und dann sind da noch die vielen weißen Flecken allein schon auf der europäischen Landkarte, die auch hier, von Leonhard abgesehen, unbeachtet geblieben sind. Bleibt noch anzufügen, dass der Band zwar ein Namens- und ein Begriffsregister enthält, aber die Autoren nicht vorgestellt werden.

Anmerkungen

1 M. Pernau, Whither Conceptual History? From National to Entangled Histories, in: Contributions to the History of Concepts 7 (2012) 1, S. 1-11.

2 R. Koselleck, Theoriegeschichtliche und methodische Vorbemerkung, zu: ders., W. Steinmetz, U. Spree, Drei bürgerliche Welten? Zur vergleichenden Semantik der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft in Deutschland, England und Frankreich [1991], jetzt in: ders., Begriffsgeschichten, Berlin 2006, S. 413.

3 B. Cassin (ed.), Vocabulaire européen des philosophes. Dictionnaire des intraduisibles, Paris 2004; engl. Übersetzung 2014.

Julian Go / George Lawson (eds.): Global Historical Sociology, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2017, 298 S.

Rezensiert von
Matthias Middell, Leipzig

Dieser Band kann als ein (weiteres) Manifest für die Erweiterung der Agenda in den Humanwissenschaften gelesen werden, Konsequenzen aus der anhaltenden Globalisierungsdiskussion für den Umbau der Wissensproduktion zu ziehen. Globale historische Soziologie, wie die Herausgeber sie sich vorstellen, sucht explizit die Allianz mit der Globalgeschichte und grenzt sich von der Staatsfixiertheit einer sog. zweiten Welle historischer Soziologen wie Skocpol, Mann und Tilly ab, die ihrerseits auch für einige Zeit Leitfiguren für Teile der Geschichtswissenschaft waren bzw.

von diesen als Bereicherung und Anregung rezipiert worden sind.

Lawson und Go stimmen in den Chor derer ein, die nationalgeschichtliche Fixiertheit, Essentialisierung von Weltregionen / Areas, Staatszentriertheit, Verdinglichung nationalisiert gedachter Gesellschaften, Diffusionismus, Eurozentrismus und universalistische Deutungen ablehnen und dagegen eine Agenda setzen, die zunächst einmal schlicht mehr Kompetenz für Varietät der „Fälle“ jenseits des Westens zur Kenntnis nimmt und anschließend reziproke Vergleiche (wie von Gareth Austin vorgeschlagen), relationale Methodologien, eine Reflexion des Konstruktionscharakters der Untersuchungseinheiten und der darauf aufbauenden komparatistischen Designs sowie Verflechtungsanalysen oder die Untersuchung der räumlichen Reichweite von Mobilitäten und Kontrolle in den Mittelpunkt rückt.

Insofern reicht das Bündnis über die zunächst naheliegende Verbindung von Historiker/innen und historischen Soziolog/innen weit hinaus und schließt mindestens ebenso New Political Geography, Global Studies, International Studies, Transregional Studie, Urban Studies und Migration Studies ein, auch wenn davon in diesem Band weniger die Rede ist. Diese Aufzählung ist gewiss nicht komplett und soll auch nur andeuten, auf welch breiter Front angestammte Epistemologien in Bewegung geraten sind. Ein Streit um Deutungshoheit wäre das Letzte, was diesem Bündnis gut täte. Denn schon die intensive Abgrenzung von den ursprünglichen disziplinären Kontexten verschlingt viel polemische Kraft – und wird vermutlich auch immer wieder gekontert durch mehr oder minder glaubwürdige Lippenbekenntnisse, die neuen Fragestellungen und Vorgehensweisen seien längst in der Mitte der Fächer angekommen, für größere Umbauten bestehe mithin gar kein Anlass. Da gilt es zunächst einmal gegenzuhalten. Die Globalgeschichte hat diese Emanzipationsphase vielleicht etwas früher bewältigt und erlebt gegenwärtig die (zuweilen mit Hinterlist vorgetragene) Zuschreibung einer neuen Hegemonialposition, aus der heraus sich weitere Ressourcenforderungen quasi von selbst verbieten würden, wo doch schon die ganze öffentliche Aufmerksamkeit usurpiert sei. Immerhin lässt sich nicht leugnen, dass dieses eher symbolische Kapital inzwischen auch in leichte Zuwächse bei der Stellenausstattung (gegen ein sehr niedriges Ausgangsniveau) getauscht werden kann.

Die Historische Soziologie scheint noch nicht an diesem Punkt angekommen, woraus sich der Überschuss an heftiger Abgrenzung in diesem Band erklären mag. Aber vielleicht hängt er auch damit zusammen, dass es gleich um die großen Narrative der Gesellschaftstransformation oder der Konstituierung von Welt geht. Das Gütesiegel wird demzufolge eher für eine überzeugende Erklärung bzw. Erzählung vergeben, nicht notwendigerweise für neue empirische Entdeckungen in Archiven, Interviews oder materiellen Artefakten. So nimmt es nicht wunder, dass die global historical sociology, die in diesem Band vorgeschlagen wird, in den inzwischen großen Fundus der globalgeschichtlichen Forschung greift. George Lawson referiert in seinem Beitrag zu einer globalhistorischen Soziologie der Revolution die scharfe Wende, die die Historiographie seit 1989 in Bezug auf die Rolle der haitianischen Rebellion genommen hat. Um nun aber die Neuartigkeit seines Ansatzes betonen zu können, muss er nicht nur sein innovatives Herangehen unterstreichen, die Nationalgebundenheit der bisherigen Befassung mit Revolutionen in der Soziologie kritisieren, sondern auch den Platz Saint Domingues in der historischen Forschung herunterspielen, während er doch komplett auf deren materiale Fortschritte zurückgreift. Dieses Dilemma wird die globalhistorische Soziologie wohl erst lösen, wenn sie ihre Deutungen mit eigenen Quellenstudien untermauert und nicht auf eine Arbeitsteilung setzt, die den Historiker/innen die Kärrnerarbeit der Spurensuche zuweist und für die Soziologie die allgemeinen Erklärungen reklamiert. Dies funktioniert auch deshalb nicht, weil die global historical sociology dafür eintritt, nicht allein den Westen, seine Erfahrungen und seine Kategorien, zum Ausgangspunkt der Theoriebildung zu wählen, eine neue Perspektive aber nur aus einer mindestens gleich intensiven Auseinandersetzung mit den Vorgängen im „Nicht-Westen“ gewinnen kann. Konzeptioneller Eurozentrismus lässt sich vermutlich nicht überwinden, indem man klassische Theorien und Methoden der Soziologie auf das in der Globalgeschichte angehäufte Material anwendet.

Andersherum lässt sich aber auch fragen, ob die Gesprächsangebote der Geschichtswissenschaft ausreichend sind. Viele Globalhistoriker/innen plädieren dafür, ihre neuen Zugänge als eine Perspektivierung des Materials herunterzuspielen und scheuen allzu explizite Theoriebildung oder fürchten den Vorwurf der neuen Meistererzählung – ein Feld mithin, das dann von einer globalhistorischen Soziologie zu besetzen wäre. Jürgen Osterhammel hat vor Kurzem Bedenkenswertes zu den dahinter stehenden unterschiedlichen Sensibilitäten notiert und gute Gründe für die Zurückhaltung von Historiker/innen angeführt.[1] Für Globalhistoriker/innen ist der wachsende Ehrgeiz der globalhistorischen Soziologie möglicherweise eine willkommene Herausforderung, sich die Interpretation nicht einfach aus der Hand nehmen zu lassen und zugleich ihr Material auf größere Verallgemeinerungswürdigkeit und höhere Thesenverdichtung zu durchforsten.

Anregungen bietet der vorliegende Band genügend, sie reichen vom Dialog mit der britischen imperial history bei der Überwindung eines klassischen Territorialismus zugunsten transnationaler Zirkulationsregime als Grundlage einer Betrachtung von Staatlichkeit (Matthew Norton), zur Rolle von Armeen und Krieg für die Entfaltung des modernen Staates (Tarak Barkawi). Zine Magubane beschäftigt sich mit dem Platz von Rassenkonstruktionen und Rassismus in den internationalen Beziehungen; Robbie Shilliam bekämpft das Vergessen der kolonialen Vergangenheiten Europas, und Vrushali Patil trägt mit einer Skizze zu den Geschlechterverhältnissen in der kolonialen Moderne ebenfalls zu einem postkolonial zurechtgerückten Bild der Metropolen bei. Im dritten Teil geht es um Kapitalismus und Politische Ökonomie: Ho-Fung Hung stärkt das Argument, dass die Entstehung des modernen Kapitalismus in der Atlantik-Area nicht losgelöst von den Entwicklungen in Ostasien verstanden werden kann; Emily Erikson betrachtet den Einfluss des Handels mit Asien auf die Entwicklung britischer ökonomischer Theorien und auch Andrew Phillips konzentriert sich auf die Asien-

Europa-Beziehungen, während John B. Hobson dafür plädiert, die Ursprünge des Kapitalismus im Zusammenwirken verschiedener Zivilisationen zu suchen und Andrew Zimmerman abschließend noch einmal die wechselseitige Inspiration von transnationaler Geschichte und Historischer Soziologie Revue passieren lässt. Zimmerman plädiert für eine dialektische Fassung von Geschichte, die der Gefahr des Eurozentrismus entgegentritt, indem sie sich nicht auf eine einzige Erzählperspektive festlegen lässt, sondern immer das Potential subalterner Stimmen mitdenkt. Wer sich an einer solchen Art Geschichte im Dialog von global ausgerichteter Soziologie und Geschichtswissenschaft inspirieren lassen will, sei nicht zuletzt auf die vorzügliche Auswahlbibliographie am Ende des Bandes verwiesen, die aufzeigt, wieviel intellektuelles Gepäck mitzuführen ist, wenn man als sachverständig gelten will.

Anmerkung

1 J. Osterhammel, Die Flughöhe des Adlers, München 2017.

Constance Bantman / Bert Altena (eds.): Reassessing the Transnational Turn, Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies, Oakland, CA: PM Press 2017, 235p.

Reviewed by
Pascale Siegrist, Florenz

The present volume brings together a series of articles that all shed light on a seeming contradiction: as historians went 'transnational' or 'global' and challenged the role of the nation-state as the default category of historical analysis, anarchism made a powerful return to the scholarly agenda. Committed internationalists, highly mobile activists and, after all, declared enemies of the state, anarchists appeared as the perfect transnationalists *avant la lettre*. However, the recent studies adopting an explicitly transnational approach have also revealed the segregation of anarchist (exile) communities along national lines and the persistence of patriotic and even xenophobic sentiment among anarchists. It would seem that, rather than providing appealingly fitting illustrations of the ideological, material and personal transcendence of the nation-state, case studies from the anarchist and syndicalist movement can at the same time help to problematize an all-too smooth understanding of transnationalism. As the editors Constance Bantman and Bert Altena put in in their very nuanced introduction, in so doing 'anarchism and syndicalism have provided a better understanding of the functioning and limitations of the First Globalization' (p. 4).

The articles in the collection go on to not only offer concrete examples of the complex realities of anarchists acting in a transnational sphere, but also to propose concrete strategies of 'reassessing the transnational turn'. To pick the two theoretically most far-reaching suggestions, we could point out Isabelle Felici's approach that draws on migration history to make sense of the anarchist experience and Raymond Craib's compelling characterisation of Casimiro Barrios as a 'sedentary' anarchist. That Felici starts from the universality of the different stages of a migrant's

passage while Craib scrutinises the case of an individual (on whose exemplarity we are invited to ponder) is telling of the underlying concern of a volume that aims to highlight the interdependence of different spatial categories rather than to posit the local and the global, the national and the transnational, as opposites. We find studies of individual cities – such as Kenyon Zimmer's excellent piece on San Francisco as an anarchist hub connecting European immigrants with those who had crossed the Pacific – and the biographies of far-travelled individuals, Kropotkin, Malatesta and Michel, but also lesser-known anarchists. As the editors remind us, it is above all the notion of the network that allows us to cut across these levels and to understand localities and actors as 'nodes' offering an entry point to such networks.

Given the caution with regard to the confident agenda of transnational studies, this reviewer was a bit disappointed to not find a thorough engagement with a common reproach levelled at network analysis: that the discovery of connections alone risks to take precedence over the transformations that these connections brought about, or as David Bell has put it, that we tend to 'learn far more […] about postal systems, telegraphs, and telephones than about the ideas transmitted through them.'[1] The articles in the collection have surprisingly little to say on how anarchists conceived of their internationalism and on the specific impact that the many cross-cultural encounters had on anarchist theory (as Bantman has so admirably done in her own monograph[2]). We are left wondering why anarchism so quickly developed an appeal all over the world[3] and how this in turn fed back into the thought of its exponents. We would love to see the three parts of the book – that could roughly be summarised as theories, practices, contexts – speak more closely to each other and produce more global conclusions. This reluctance to take the scalar approach all the way to its global level (in each sense of the term) at times makes 'anarchism' and its supposed cosmopolitanism appear as a given – an assumption that not least this volumes forces us to revise.

For what we do get are stunning insights into the thorny issue of nationalism and anarchism. The problem in fact appears in each of the contributions and it is undoubtedly the great strength of the volume as a whole to approach anarchist nationalism in-depth and from a broad range of perspectives. All of them underline the pitfalls of imposing our present-day understanding of nationalism on historical figures. The perhaps most fascinating finding comes from the confrontation of Davide Turcato's discussion of nationalism centred on Malatesta with Ruth Kinna's take on Kropotkin's theory of the state: although dealing with the most vocal pundit of each camp in the conflict occasioned by the First World War, both articles stress that a clear-cut distinction between the nation and the state is essential when trying to make sense of anarchist 'nationalism'. On a less theoretical level, Nino Kühnis and Martin Baxmeyer untangle for the Swiss and Spanish case how nationalist rhetoric came to fulfil a series of functions: for Kühnis it helped to foster a common identity whereas Baxmeyer stresses the fundamental shift that the Civil War introduced in the anarchist literary production. The same can be said of Constance Bantman's study of the diverse range of reactions of

French anarchists to the Dreyfus Affair and on the role of previous experiences and contacts in explaining the anti-semitic stand of some anarchists. Taken together, these examples underline how historical contingency challenged anarchist theory.

In light of this focus on the nation and the era of World War One, the overly European perspective that the editors themselves regret seems justifiable; the relative absence of articles on the Yiddish-speaking, Russian or the German anarchist movement (compared with the predominance of Italian perspectives) is however more painful. Bert Altena's article on Max Nettlau illustrates the challenges faced by a German-speaking anarchist, not always aware of his own prejudices. The nationalist classifications employed by this early and in many ways constitutive historian of anarchism reminds us to rethink our own categorisations of different branches of the anarchist family. Pietro di Paola's succinct overview of different generations of Italian anarchists in London invites us to draw further comparisons to other 'national' communities and to those established in other places (he notes that while the London Italians tended to belong to radical movements before their departure, those in Argentina became radicalised only in the host country).

The volume is in this sense also an opening to new avenues of research and an encouragement to continue reassessing the transnational turn. Bert Altena's untimely death in October of this year leaves the task of continuing his work to the many who have been inspired by him. The reprinting of his book – this is a slightly revised version of the 2015 Routledge volume under the same title – is testimony not only to the editors' commitment to accessibility, but also to the relevance of the topic. Its fascinating and important articles introduce a welcome degree of nuance to the hagiographical character of a great deal of anarchist scholarship. It can be hoped that transnational scholars will in turn learn a lot from the anarchists.

Notes

1 David A. Bell, This is What Happens When Historians Overuse the Idea of the Network, in: The New Republic, online 26.10.2013 (https://newrepublic.com/article/114709/world-connecting-reviewed-historians-overuse-network-metaphor, accessed on 18.9.2018).

2 Constance Bantman, The French Anarchists in London (1880–1914): Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation, Liverpool 2013.

3 Part of this is perhaps accounted for by the existence of a sister-volume: Steven J. Hirsch, Lucien van der Walt (eds.), Anarchism and Syndicalism in the Colonial and Postcolonial World, 1870–1940: The Praxis of National Liberation, Internationalism, and Social Revolution, Leiden 2010.

Georg Fischer: Globalisierte Geologie. Eine Wissensgeschichte des Eisenerzes in Brasilien (1876–1914), Frankfurt am Main: Campus 2017, 328 S.

Rezensiert von
Helge Wendt, Berlin

Es war im Jahr 1910, als in der brasilianischen Eisen- und Stahlindustrie globalisierte Finanzströme ein neues Zeitalter einleiteten. Bis dahin hatte sich in Brasilien eine Allianz aus Experten und

Politikern daran versucht, eine eigene Schwerindustrie aufzubauen und damit die brasilianische Rohstoffwirtschaft um Eisen und Stahl zu erweitern. Aber 1910 geriet dieses Projekt in die Krise. Finanzstarke Investoren aus Großbritannien und den USA, mit ihren in den Dienst genommenen, weltweit anerkannten Geologen interessierten sich verstärkt für die Vorkommen in Minas Gerais. Verhinderte der Erste Weltkrieg noch die unmittelbare Umsetzung des Projekts, so waren 1910 doch fast alle Fragen gelöst: die britischen und US-amerikanischen Geologen hatten die Vorkommen inspiziert und kartiert, die Rechtsanwälte und Richter über die Eigentumsverhältnisse entschieden. Außerdem waren die Finanzierungsfragen, die Transportinfrastruktur, die Fabrikstandorte und der Zugang zu den internationalen Märkten geklärt. 1910 stellten internationale Geologen ihr Wissen über die brasilianischen Eisenlagerstätten auf dem internationalen Geologiekongress in Stockholm vor. Es war also 1910, als die internationale Wirtschaftsgeologie das brasilianische Expertenwissen ausstach, ohne eigentlich neues Wissen über die brasilianischen Eisenvorkommen beizusteuern.

Der Globalisierungsprozess vollzieht sich bei Fischer in drei Etappen. Wissenszirkulation, die im Laufe der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts mit Bergbauakademien an Fahrt gewann und ihre Dynamiken zudem durch Reisetätigkeiten einiger Experten wie den hessischen Adligen von Eschwege entfaltete. Zweitens waren es in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts formulierte Theorien mit einem globalen/planetarischen Gültigkeitsanspruch über Geomorphologie und Stratigraphie. Diese theoretischen Grundlagen wurden zwar durch neuere Forschungsergebnisse nicht selten wieder in Frage gestellt, jedoch beharrte auch jede neue geologische und geomorphologische Theorie auf einer planetarischen Bedeutung. Der dritte Globalisierungsschritt ist die kommerzielle Durchdringung geologischer Erschließungstätigkeiten, die zum einen auf internationalen Geologenkongressen durchaus kritisch debattiert wurde, zum anderen für die Kartierung jeweilig nationalen Untergrunds eine Bedeutung hatte. Besonders diese kapitalistische, auf Ausbeutung bedachte Geologie wurde zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts für Brasilien bedeutsam und nimmt in Fischers Darstellung rund ein Drittel der Erzählung ein. Der Autor schreibt nämlich eine Geschichte der wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Brasiliens auch aus den Archiven der Gesellschaften in den USA und London, die in Brasilien in die Sektoren des Eisenbergbaus und der Eisenverarbeitung gleichermaßen investierten. Somit wird die Geschichte des Beginns des industriellen Eisenerzbergbaus in Brasilien auch zu einer spannenden Wirtschaftsgeschichte eines um 1910 beginnenden Ablösungsprozesses britischen Kapitals durch US-Investoren.

Wissensgeschichtlich zeichnet Fischer eine Entwicklung der Geologie von der Konkretisierung im 17. Jahrhundert bis zu einer globalen Standardisierung nach. Die letzte Phase des späten 19. Jahrhunderts, die ja zum eigentlichen Kernbereich von Fischers Studie gehört, ging einher mit neuen Entwicklungen des internationalen Kapitalismus und internationaler Politik. Infrastrukturbau, Architektur, Produktionsweisen entwickelten sich in einem Feld mutualer Abhängigkeiten, zu dem die Geologie ebenfalls gehörte. Wissenschaftliche Kongresse und Weltausstellungen waren die Gelegenheiten, bei denen Wissen ausgetauscht werden konnte, neue Theorien und nationale Leistungsfähigkeit vorgestellt wurden. Eine für die Wissensentwicklung wichtige Gruppe von Grenzgängern, die in diesem Feld entstand, waren technisch-wissenschaftlichen Experten. Van Hise, der Hauptakteur der Darstellung in den USA oder Nilo Peçanha (stellvertretend für eine Vielzahl von brasilianischen Geologen) besetzten die Position zwischen Wissenschaft, Finanz und Politik. Die globale Situation zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts bestand in der Zusammenführung lokaler, brasilianischer Praktiken im Feld der Geologie und Prospektion mit den importierten Formen der Wirtschaftsgeologie aus Großbritannien und den USA. Insofern stellt Fischers Darstellung auch einen weiteren Ablösungsprozess dar: eine durch internationale Experten im Laufe des 19. Jahrhunderts entstandene brasilianische Geologie, die an einigen Ausbildungsstätten gelehrt wurde, wird von internationalen und global operierenden Konzernen abgelöst, die als Finanzunternehmen in London oder New York ihre Zentrale hatten.

Solcherart Ablösungsprozesse sind in Fischers Darstellung besonders als das Aufeinandertreffen von zuvor separaten Netzwerken zu verstehen, die dann teilweise in asymmetrischen Konstellationen fusionieren. Weder das US-amerikanische, noch das britische Netzwerk aus Wirtschaftsgeologie, Unternehmertum und Großfinanz waren vor 1910 mit Brasilien verbunden gewesen. In der jungen Republik bestand hingegen eine recht enge Verbindung zwischen praktischer Geologie und Politik, die auch die reichen Staaten Minas Gerais und Rio de Janeiro prägte. Dieses Netzwerk hatte bereits die Entscheidung vorangetrieben, ein großes Montanindustriezentrum zu gründen. Anders als das Kupfer aus Chile oder Peru sollte brasilianisches Eisen also nicht einfach als Erz in die Montanindustriestätten der westlichen Industriestaaten abfließen. Brasilien sollte, so das politische Projekt, eine eigenständige Metallindustrie besitzen und damit zumindest die Nachfrage des nationalen Markts befriedigen. Verhindert wurde das Unternehmen jedoch durch fehlende Geldmittel und den Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs. Die brasilianischen, im Parlament ausführlich diskutieren Pläne wurden nach dem Scheitern des nationalen Projekts zur Grundlage des britischen und US-amerikanischen Engagements. Demnach wirkte das Projekt einer brasilianischen und in Rio de Janeiro angesiedelten Schwerindustrie als Verbindungspunkt zwischen dem nationalen wissenschaftlich-politisch-wirtschaftlichen Netzwerk und den internationalen Netzwerken.

Fischers gut zu lesende Studie zeigt, wie Globalisierungsprozesse in ihren nationalen und regionalen Besonderheiten beschrieben werden können. Der Autor schafft es, konsequent die Ebenen miteinander kommunizieren zu lassen, die den „globalen Eisenraum“ in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts bildeten. Es wäre sicherlich wünschenswert, direktere Vergleiche zur damals zeitgleich ablaufenden Entwicklung der Erdöl- und Kohleindustrien zu ziehen, die ebenfalls erhebliche Globalisierungstendenzen und Verbindungen von vorher getrennten Netzwerken aufwiesen. Wu (The Empire of Coal, 2015) oder Shulman (Coal and Empire, 2015)[1] haben jeweils gezeigt, wie in regionalen, imperialen und internationalen Konstellationen um 1900 neben politischen und ökonomischen, auch (wissenschaftliches und Experten-) Wissen zu einer wertvollen Untersuchungskategorie werden kann. Diese Studien vertreten sicherlich weniger den Anspruch einer Wissensgeschichte, aber wie die von Fischer sind sie intersektionelle Untersuchungen, die im variantenreichen Feld der Globalgeschichte aufgrund ihrer Konzentration auf einen Rohstoff hervortreten.

Der Untersuchungsteil zu Wissen stellt zwei Formen von Geologie in den Vordergrund, die in zwei unterschiedlichen Perioden zu verorten sind. In Brasilien bestand eine Expertenkultur, die vornehmlich praktische Feldgeologie betrieb. Diese Experten hatten die Eisenvorkommen in Minas Gerais ausfindig gemacht und betrieben deren Ausbeutung. Die zweite Form der Geologie war die angelsächsische Wirtschaftsgeologie, die im Fall der Briten durch das Bankhaus Barings, im Fall der USA durch das vom Geologieprofessor in Wisconsin mitgegründete Bergbauunternehmen Brazilian Iron and Steel nach Brasilien getragen wurde. Fischer behandelt hier einige Entwicklung der Geologie im späteren 19. Jahrhundert, ohne sich von seinem Beispiel zu entfernen. Nur das Engagement von van Hise und Kollegen im Umfeld des Völkerbundes, in dem der Zugang zu Rohstoffen intensiv diskutiert wurde, geht über den eigentlichen Untersuchungszeitraum hinaus.

Der Autor beschreibt keinen Entwicklungsprozess, wie sich die internationale Geologie in verschiedenen Etappen globalisierte. Vielmehr zeigt er anhand des Geologie-Industrie-Komplexes in Brasilien, wie zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts Akteure aus verschiedenen Standorten bei der Erschließung von Metallvorkommen zusammenwirkten und wie daher die Analyse sowohl den regionalen als auch den globalen Maßstab erfordert. Fischers globalisierte Geologie ist im Grunde das Ergebnis eines früheren Globalisierungsprozesses, in dem sich die geologische Taxonomie, Praxis und Nützlichkeit für die industrielle Entwicklung herausgebildet hatte. Vielleicht hätten in der Untersuchung Fragen aus der Umweltgeschichte noch stärker Beachtung finden können. Es ist jedoch ein Verdienst der Studie, dass sie herausstellt, dass trotz großer finanzieller Mittel, ohne ein geologisches Wissen die Eisenindustrie in Brasilien nicht entstanden wäre. Fischers Untersuchung ist eine große Anregung, sie stärkt die Erforschung der Geschichte von Rohstoffen im Kontext von Wissensentwicklung, politischen Rahmenbedingungen und Wirtschaftslage. „Globalisierte Geologie“ ist ein gelungenes Beispiel dafür, einen Rohstoff ins Zentrum von historischer Untersuchung zu stellen.

Anmerkung:

1 P. A. Schulman, Coal and Empire. The Birth of Energy Security in Industrial America, Baltimore 2015; S. X. Wu, Empires of Coal. Fueling China's Entry into the Modern World Order, 1860–1920, Stanford 2015.

Rajak Svetozar / Konstantina E. Botsiou / Eirini Karamouzi / Evanthis Hatzivassiliou (eds.): The Balkans in the Cold War (= Security, Conflict and Cooperation in the Contemporary World), London: Palgrave Macmillian 2017, 372 p.

Reviewed by
Nedzad Kuc, Vienna

As a region historically known for standing between East and West, the Balkans were home to the separation line dividing Europe into two ideological blocs. The superpowers of the time, the Soviet Union and the United States, although generally more concerned with other regions in Europe and the world, played without any question a significant role in the political developments of the Balkans. However, the states of Southeast Europe did not turn into passive spectators of US and Soviet dominance: They posed a challenge to the international ideological and political system.

In this book, the editors raise the question what exactly shaped this European region during the period of geopolitical antagonism between the two blocs. Was it the "systemic element of the Cold War" or the "inherent regional realities and pressures?" (p. xix). They argue that both external and internal factors played a role. The book's aim is to "underline their interdependence", "to comprehend the interrelation between the local, the regional and the global" and to address "the relationship between the global Cold War and its regional manifestations" in the Balkans (p. xx).

The fifteen chapters are subdivided into five (largely chronological) thematic parts, from the creation of the Cold War order, the military alliances, the relations with the superpowers to the Balkan dilemmas and the relations with the European Economic Community (EEC). In the last part, entitled 'Identity, Culture, Ideology' the editors try to bring in a broader range of perspectives instead of only focusing on political and military issues. Nonetheless, the book mainly stays within the framework of diplomatic and political history and the three insightful chapters could have found a place in the previous parts.

All six countries in the Balkans (Yugoslavia, Romania, Albania, Greece, Bulgaria and Turkey) had to deal with numerous external and internal political changes following the decades after the end of Second World War. Although Yugoslavia gets the most attention in the book, the different chapters still present interesting perspectives and findings for each country. Albania and Romania are dealt with in more detail in Laurien Crump's article, where she analyzes the countries' challenges to Soviet dominance in the socialist bloc during the Sino-Soviet split, which resulted in a multilateralization of the Warsaw Pact. Ayşegül Sever looks at Turkey as a multiregional state and its search for security and participations in the NATO, the Balkan and the Baghdad Pacts. Turkey's westernization and modernization debates are analyzed by and Mehmet Döşemeci. Jordan Baev studies Bulgaria's perspective on the Warsaw Pact, nuclear proliferation and NATO military exercises. Spyridon Sfetas discusses the impacts of the Macedonian question on the relations in the Bulgaria-Greece-Yugoslavia triangle. Effie G. H. Pedaliu concentrates on the Johnson-Nixon era détente and its repercussions for each state in the region and Konstantina E. Botsiou deals with the economic and political changes of the socialist Balkan countries in the last two decades of the Cold War. John O. Iatrides discusses how the Greek civil war, among other things, led to American involvement in the region and Eirini Karamouzi analyzes the role of the EEC as a stabilizing force for the young Greek democracy in the mid-1970s.

Mark Kramer points to the increasing rearmament of the Soviet Union and its satellites bordering Yugoslavia after the Tito-Stalin split and implies that only Stalin's death may have prevented an attack on Yugoslavia in order to bring it back under Soviet dominance. For Svetozar Rajak, the Yugoslav-Soviet split and the Yugoslav rapprochement to the West as well as its alliance with NATO members Turkey and Greece were paradigm shifts of the early Cold War. Rajak's contribution also offers interesting insights into Tito's balancing act between the two ideological blocs, his quest for new allies and stability and how his country became one of the leaders of the Nonalignment Movement (NAM) and "the only Balkan country with the ambition to play a global role" (p. 82). Evanthis Hatzivassiliou argues that NATO analysts regarded Yugoslavia with suspicion and neglected its potential leadership of the NAM until the mid-1960s while Ivo Banac shows the tense Yugoslav-Soviet relations after the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968, Tito's cautious dealing with Brezhnev and his handling of internal political struggles. Benedetto Zaccaria looks at the EEC and its economic activity and cooperation agreements with Yugoslavia and Miroslav Perišić examines the Yugoslav need for cultural transformation and exchange with the West after its expulsion from the Soviet bloc.

The different chapters of the book often focus on one country but also include the other regional states. Internal changes and national actions and developments had transnational impacts. In addition, the Soviet Union, the United States, NATO and the EEC were and had to get involved as the Balkan states maneuvered their ways through the global Cold War system.

In the conclusion of the book, Norwegian Historian Odd Arne Westad observes that the Balkans demonstrated Cold War contradictions: Ideologically close countries like Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union split apart, whereas historical adversaries like Greece and Turkey became NATO-allies. Yugoslavia then avoided challenging the Soviets by limiting the impact its own way of socialism could have had on Soviet satellite states. NATO-membership and the fear of losing their allies in the West definitely helped in preventing an escalation between Greece and Turkey during the Cyprus crisis. Westad concludes that the "Balkan discord was less of a danger mainly because self-containment fitted the ordering and domination that were primary superpower aims during the Cold War" (p. 362).

The book's strength lies in the amount of consulted sources and the multi-archival research for each chapter. The regional archives from the Balkans which became accessible in the last decades are of particular importance and allowed new findings. By providing a platform for new interpretation and reinterpretation, the editors took the first step towards reaching their goal: to "encourage further research and scholarship" and to "inspire scholarly discussions and debates" (p. xxi). The different chapters of the book offer new insights, open doors for discussions and constitute important contributions to the history of the Balkans and the Cold War.

Tobias Rupprecht: Soviet Internationalism after Stalin. Interaction and Exchange between the USSR and Latin America during the Cold War, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015, 334 p.

Reviewed by
Constantin Katsakioris, Leipzig

The history of the relations between the Soviet Union and Latin America has so far been an understudied topic. Political scientists of the Cold War era, who occasionally studied these relationships, concentrated on the Soviet-Cuban ties and put their spotlight on military and political cooperation, on the activities of Latin American communist parties or on the writings of Soviet experts of Latin America. The political, ideological and military dimensions clearly overshadowed the cultural one. As a result, the extremely rich history of Soviet-Latin American cultural encounters, literary and cinematic connections, scientific and student exchanges, and mutual perceptions constituted a black box. Tobias Rupprecht dug into these relationships and filled these enormous gaps. His book restores Latin America's prominent place in Soviet cultural life and gives the Soviet-Latin American relations the place they deserve in contemporary international history.

Rupprecht arguably starts his story with Nikita Khrushchev's Thaw and the Soviet come-back into the international cultural arena after the end of a period of isolationism. He is however fully aware of the historical background, Comintern's role, the very early Latin American interest in the Soviet experiment, as well as of the impact and legacy of the Spanish Civil War. Stalin's death, the emergence of the Third World and the Cuban Revolution set the stage for Moscow's new cultural policy towards Latin America. This new international cultural policy and the ensuing Soviet-Latin American romance is what Rupprecht, following Akira Iriye, calls "Soviet internationalism." The use of the Iriyean definition of internationalism, in the sense of a movement to promote cultural and scientific cooperation, along with the Soviet one, required explanation not less because Iriye used this term for worldwide processes and agendas often led by nongovernmental actors. More importantly, the Soviets themselves, notoriously, used the term internationalism differently, either as class-based namely proletarian solidarity in the Marxian tradition or as nation-based international solidarity, that is, support to the oppressed colonial and semi-colonial nations following Lenin's cardinal amendment of internationalism. Even if Rupprecht explains at the introduction that he opts for the Iriyean definition without dismissing the Soviet one, it is sometimes not very clear in the text which one between these two very different definitions is at play.

This terminological remark notwithstanding, the rich content and the fine analysis are by far more important. Chapter 1 provides a wonderful account of the Soviet self-representation towards both Latin America and the Soviet public. Rupprecht retraces the creation of Soviet scientific and cultural institutions related to Latin America, without losing sight of similar developments on the other side of the connection. The 1957 World Youth Festival in Moscow set the stage for an encounter without historical precedent between Soviet citizens and youngsters from Latin American. Soviet media dramatically increased their activity cultivating a new image of the USSR both in the Soviet Union and in Latin America. This image emphasized the Soviet technological achievements, the development of the Central Asian and Caucasian regions and the peaceful international policy of the Soviet Union, whereas it omitted almost all references to communist ideology.

Chapter 2 digs deeper into Soviet cultural life and shows the tremendous impact of Latin America on Soviet culture. On the one hand, against the background of the Cuban Revolution, revolutionary romanticism became widespread. On the other hand, images of an exotic and mythological Latin America were produced by Soviet writers and filmmakers and consumed by Soviet citizens, whose yearning for escape found in Latin America an ideal distant paradise. Escapism and folklorism notwithstanding, these images were positive and their consumption testified to the Soviet citizen's sympathy for Latin America. Latino music, films and travelogues written by Soviet authors also fostered the Soviet public's fascination with Latin America.

Chapter 3 turns the spotlight on the Latin American intellectuals, journalists, social and political actors who visited the USSR and analyzes their travelogues and accounts. Here Rupprecht does not confine himself to the leftist intellectuals, more often than not of middle or upper class background, who had spent much time in the West and who, ultimately, turned their back on the USSR in the 1960s or even earlier. He also examines the accounts of liberal and conservative visitors, who often extolled the discipline and the morality of the Soviet society, as well as the writings of non-white travelers of lower class background. Contrary to the other "groups," the visitors of lower class background were much more likely to comment positively on the standards of living and on the social development in the USSR. By including all these diverse groups and by paying attention to the various social and national backgrounds, Rupprecht provides a fair picture that goes much beyond any conventional narrative on the disillusionment of leftist intellectuals.

Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive picture of the Latin American students' migration and experiences in the USSR. As Rupprecht reminds, the overwhelming majority of students studied either at the Patrice Lumumba Peoples' Friendship University or at technological institutes and medical schools in Moscow, Kiev and other big cities, where they received a very good training. Combining archival sources and interviews Rupprecht provides an

Alltagsgeschichte of the students' life, from their adaptation to Russia's cold winters to their cultural activities and trips abroad. As the recollections of the students also confirm, with few exceptions, their experiences were very positive. Students from all backgrounds were grateful for the scholarships the Soviet Union provided them, which enabled them to receive higher education and in most cases to embark on very good careers.

Chapter 5 examines the biographies, international trajectories, political and scientific activity of the major Soviet specialists of Latin America. These experts, Rupprecht reminds, held various on Latin America and produced academic works of high quality. There were serious debates among them as well as between them and foreign scholars, and some of them overtly opposed the CPSU line and advocated for more support to radical movements. When it comes to the difficult question as to whether they influenced the CPSU decision-making, Rupprecht shows that some of them occupied key positions in the party's International Department or the Soviet government.

Overall Rupprecht's book, which in terms of content and questions addressed is like five PhD dissertations into one book, provides an extremely rich and fascinating account of the relationships between the Soviet Union and Latin America. The book makes the case that Soviet internationalism with regards to Latin America both in the Iriyean definition and in the Soviet one was not empty words and that fascination with Latin America was widespread in the USSR. As a result, there was a huge "market" in the USSR for cultural items related to Latin America. Sometimes we would like to learn more about the royalties Soviet and Latin American authors received, on the question of mixed couples and intermarriage, or on the political and ideological confrontations between Latin American leftists and Soviet hosts, but one could hardly expect from an author to do more than what Tobias Rupprecht did. The book is an outstanding contribution to the history of the USSR, of Latin America, and of the global Cold War.

Hans-Heinrich Nolte: Kurze Geschichte der Imperien. Mit einem Beitrag von Christiane Nolte, Wien: Böhlau, 2017, 505 S.

Rezensiert von
Klemens Kaps, Linz

Die in der Geschichtswissenschaft seit mehr als zehn Jahren zu beobachtende Hinwendung zur Erforschung von Imperien hat in den vergangenen Jahren eine beachtliche theoretische und methodologische Verfeinerung erfahren. Ausgehend von zu Standardwerken aufgestiegenen Arbeiten wie jene von Herfried Münkler[1] oder Jane Burbank und Federic Cooper[2] hat sich ein Forschungsstrang etabliert, der Imperien als im weitesten Sinn politischen Ordnungsrahmen auf die Agenda der Geschichtswissenschaft gesetzt hat. Insbesondere für die Globalgeschichte ist diese Diskussion relevant, erlauben doch Imperien wie keine andere politische Organisations-

form das historiografische Überschreiten nationaler und nationalstaatlicher Paradigmen und deren historische Kontextualisierung. Dies gilt auch dann, wenn zurecht darauf verwiesen wurde, dass auch Imperien und ihre politischen Zentralen insbesondere im 19. Jahrhundert Nationalisierungsprozessen unterlagen.[3] Die sich hier andeutende dynamische Verflechtung und Interaktion zwischen Nationalstaaten und Imperien, die das 19. Jahrhundert kennzeichnete, markierte nichtsdestoweniger nur eine Phase imperialer Herrschaftsformen[4], was deutlich wird, wenn man Imperien als eine der am längsten existierenden politischen Gemeinwesen in einen Vergleich über die longue durée einordnet.[5]

Es ist genau dieser langwellige globalhistorische Debattenzusammenhang, in den der Hannoveraner Historiker Hans-Heinrich Nolte sein jüngstes Buch einer *Kurzen Geschichte der Imperien* einbettet. Dabei soll eingangs gleich darauf verwiesen werden, dass das Adjektiv „kurz“ sich nicht auf die durchaus stattliche Länge des Buches bezieht, sondern auf die hochkondensierte und prägnante Darstellung jeder der im Buch besprochenen elf Imperien und drei Unionen. Nolte beabsichtigt mit seinem Buch vor allem eine theoretisch inspirierte Klärung des Begriffs und Definitionsrahmens von Imperien, die stark von der gegenwärtigen politischen Weltlage beeinflusst ist (S. 7f.). Der Ausgangspunkt ist dementsprechend aktuell gestaltet: Von der Frage nach dem imperialen Charakter der von den USA ausgehenden Hegemonie tastet sich Nolte an den Definitionsrahmen von Imperien heran. Noch recht breite Untersuchungsfelder wie „soziale Einheiten und Ökonomie“, „Religionen und Ideologien“, „Außenbeziehungen“ und „Formen von Politik“ (S. 9), die als Leitkriterien für die Gliederung der Skizzen der einzelnen Imperien und Unionen dienen, werden zu einem elaborierten zwölfstufigen „Kriterienkatalog“ (S. 43) ausdifferenziert: Angefangen von der Existenz einer Dynastie bzw. einer „monarchischen Spitze“, einer „Staatsreligion“ und „Reichskultur“ über das Vorhandensein einer Bürokratie mit einer „geschriebenen Reichssprache“, dem Adel oder anderen „Formen von alimentierter Elite“, einer zentral organisierten Armee, einem zentralisierten Fiskalsystem bis hin zur „Vielfalt der Provinzen“ mit einem Zentrum-Peripherie-Gefälle, „weichen“ Grenzen, einem schwachen Staatsapparat, der Friedenssicherung und der Vorstellung von „Barbaren“ jenseits des imperialen Herrschaftsbereichs reichen die Definitionsmerkmale.

Der Katalog greift bereits vorhandene Überlegungen zu imperialen Herrschaftsformen auf,[6] bringt sie jedoch in eine kohärente Systematik, die es erlaubt, die Komplexität von Imperien adäquat zu fassen und als Leitlinien den komparativ-evolutionären Ansatz des Buches zu strukturieren. So wird deutlich, wie es Monarchen gelang, aus ihrer Machtbasis Dynastien zu formen, deren Herrschaft Jahrzehnte, oft auch Jahrhunderte anhielt – von den Sargoniden im Neuassyrischen Reich über die Song bis hin zu den Osmanen. Nicht überall ging die monarchische Staatsform mit erblich-dynastischer Herrschaft einher, wie die Wahlreiche Rom und Heiliges Römisches Reich unterstreichen. Selbst hier jedoch war der Zugang zu der prestigereichen „monarchischen Spitze“ nur wenigen Familien vorbehalten und, wie das Beispiel der Habsburger eindrucksvoll belegt, konnte auch der

Wahlmodus die Vormachtstellung einer Familie über Jahrhunderte hinweg festigen. Bei der Legitimierung der Monarchie und ihrer obersten Vertreter, der Kaiser, spielte die Ideologie eine wichtige Rolle, die oftmals mit der dominanten Religion deckungsgleich war, die dann allzu leicht zur Staatsreligion wurde – wie Aššur im Neuassyrischen Reich, das Christentum im Heiligen Römischen Reich, der sunnitische Islam im Osmanischen Reich und dem indischen Mogul-Reich, die Orthodoxe Kirche im Russischen Reich und die Anglikanische Kirche in Großbritannien. Mitunter jedoch kam es zu einer Trennung zwischen Staatskult und den im Reich vertretenen Religionen, vor allem im Kontext konfessioneller Pluralität – wie im Alten Rom, in China sowohl unter den Song als auch unter den Mandschu, im Reich der Mongolen oder in Britisch-Indien. Dies verweist bereits auf die Frage danach, mit welchen Mechanismen es Imperien schafften, ihre sozioökonomisch, konfessionell, linguistisch und kulturell diversifizierten Bevölkerungen und Räume zu integrieren. Nolte bietet mehrere Ebenen der Erklärung an – von dem sogenannten „schwachen Staat“ und der Bewahrung von Unterschieden zwischen Zentrum und Peripherien, d. h. der Gewährung von regionaler Autonomie betreffend Religion, Sprache und kulturellen Traditionen, über Gestaltung der Grenzen als flexible, oft zonenhafte Bereiche bis hin zur damit einhergehenden Friedenssicherung. Diesem Differenzmanagement entsprach ein zentral gesteuerter Machtapparat, der von dem militärisch-fiskalischen Komplex ausging und seine Entsprechung in einer agglutinierenden Reichskultur (von Literatur und Architektur über Musik hin zu Skulpturen und Erinnerungsorten wie Denkmälern) und seiner tragenden sozialen Elite, dem Adel, sowie dem institutionellen Apparat, der Bürokratie fand. Die Vorstellung zivilisatorischer Höherwertigkeit gegenüber den jenseits der imperialen Grenzen gelegenen Kulturen stützte den imperialen Raum auch ideologisch ab, selbst wenn hier darauf verwiesen sei, dass die Vorstellung von kultureller Hegemonie und darauf fußenden Zivilisierungsmissionen bei weitem nicht auf trans- und interimperiale Zusammenhänge beschränkt war: Nicht nur in Kolonialimperien, sondern auch in Territorialreichen adressierten Zivilisierungsmissionen die bereits unterworfene Bevölkerung als zur Herstellung von Einheitlichkeit und imperialer Kohäsion dienende Integration.[7] Auch lässt sich die Frage stellen, ob das Vorhandensein von Grenzsäumen eine zeitlose Konstante von Imperien war, oder ob es mit dem Voranschreiten territorialstaatlicher Durchdringung nicht auch hier eine Entwicklung hin zur Liniengrenze gab.[8]

Diese skizzenhafte Zusammenfassung lässt den hohen Grad an Kohärenz und Abstraktion hervortreten, der das Buch kennzeichnet und so zu einer Vergleichbarkeit verschiedener Imperien rund um den Globus zwischen Antike und dem anbrechenden 20. Jahrhundert entscheidend beiträgt. Zugleich macht Nolte deutlich, dass die Geschichte der Imperien nicht in einem statistischen Fortschreiben einer einmal gewonnen imperialen Form besteht: Die von ihm getroffene Unterscheidung zwischen einem Sockel an originär entstandenen imperialen Formen zwischen Antike und dem Spätmittelalter – von dem Neuassyrischen Reich über Rom und Song-China bis hin zu den Mongolen und dem Osmanischen Reich – und den zwei nachkommenden Phasen von Imperien als „Wiederherstellungen“ und Imperien als „Mitgliedern des Weltsystems“ unterstreichen deren evolutionären Charakter: Denn selbst das Anknüpfen an vergangene Imperien bedeutete immer auch eine Neukonstruktion auf der Grundlage geschichtlicher Erinnerung und Traditionen und damit eine Neuübersetzung bekannter Formen und Mechanismen in neue Realitäten – wie das den Staatskult durch das Christentum ersetzende Heilige Römische Reich belegt. Besonders eindeutig war die Zäsur beim Übergang zu den weltsystemischen Imperien, als nun systematisch ökonomische Konkurrenz- und Hierarchiemechanismen nicht verschiedenartige Transferprozesse zwischen Nationalstaaten und Imperien in Gang setzten, sondern auch neue Impulse für die Konsolidierung und Ausdehnung imperialer Herrschaft setzten. Hier wird wie in keinem anderen Kapitel deutlich, wie der Autor seine langjährige Arbeit auf dem Gebiet der Globalgeschichte und insbesondere der theoretisch wie empirisch fundierten Auseinandersetzung mit der Weltsystemanalyse für die Imperienforschung nutzbar macht9: So erscheint die europäische Kolonialherrschaft nicht als etwas grundsätzlich Neues, sondern als eine Reformulierung bekannter Herrschaftsformen unter global verflochtenen Bedingungen, die ein asymmetrisches System an Interaktionen und Machttektonik hervorbrachte. Eine besondere Stärke des Buches ist es, dass Imperien nicht als geschlossene Herrschaftsform betrachtet werden, sondern als mit alternativen Gegenentwürfen konfrontiert werden. Ob der von Nolte gewählte Begriff der „Nation“ seit dem antiken Israel über das Mittelalter und die Frühe Neuzeit bis zum 19. Jahrhundert als überzeugend gelten kann, muss hier eher bezweifelt werden. Dabei geht es gar nicht darum, die Existenz einer kulturell anderen, den Imperien entgegengesetzten Identität von Bevölkerungsgruppen und Gemeinwesen in Abrede zu stellen, die auch über eine schmale Elite hinausreichte. Dennoch stehen die Unschärfen und Überlagerungen mit dem modernen Nationsbegriff nach 1789 einem klaren Verständnis dieser doch verschiedenen Identitätsformen eher im Weg. Dies ändert nichts daran, dass der Autor überzeugend argumentieren kann, warum es mit der globalen Durchsetzung von Nation und Nationalstaat in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zu einem Niedergang von Imperien kam. Es ist dieser Punkt, der wohl die intensivsten Kontroversen hervorgerufen hat bzw. noch evozieren wird: Die eingangs rezipierte Wahrnehmung von den USA als Imperium wird im letzten inhaltlichen Kapitel wie auch dem Schlusskapitel deutlich in Abrede gestellt, zusammen mit anderen Formen hegemonialer Herrschaftsausübung wie der Sowjetunion oder NS-Deutschland. Anders als bisherige Publikationen[9] sieht Nolte mit dem Niedergang der monarchischen Staatsform sowie des Adels als tragender Sozialgruppe auch das Ende imperialer Herrschaftsformen gekommen – was bleibe, sei die Verwendung des Wortes als „Vorwurf“ oder gar als „Schimpfwort“ (S. 459). Mit dem Industriekapitalismus sowie den sozioökonomischen, kulturellen und technologischen Veränderungen kämen patrimoniale Gesellschafts- und Herrschaftsstrukturen außer Mode – zentrale Kriterien wie Dynastie und Adel fallen damit weg. Damit argumentiert

Nolte eindrucksvoll auf geschichtswissenschaftlicher Grundlage für eine Historisierung von Imperien und implizit für eine Versachlichung der gegenwärtigen Diskussion über die globale Machttektonik. Sein akribisch recherchiertes und von profunder Detailkenntnis gekennzeichnetes Buch ist dabei aber weit mehr als eine vergleichende Analyse von Imperien, sondern eine eigentliche Globalgeschichte, die auch auf die Bezüge unter den imperialen Herrschaftsformen über Raum und Zeit hinweg aufmerksam macht. Die Frage nach den ausgewählten Imperien, die sich grosso modo auf den euro-asiatischen Raum beschränken, muss hier nicht wegen positivistischer Vollständigkeitsansprüche, sondern vielmehr wegen der Gültigkeit des definitorischen Rahmens gestellt werden: Waren Frankreich und Spanien, England vor 1707 oder die Staaten von Azteken, Maya und Inka Reiche im hier argumentierten Sinn? Insgesamt ist Hans-Heinrich Nolte ein großer Wurf gelungen, der auf der Grundlage seiner langjährigen Forschungen eine komparativ-evolutionäre Analyse von Imperien in einem globalhistorischen Rahmen vorlegt. Dabei werden nicht nur theoretisch-definitorisch neue Wege beschritten, sondern auch durch die Rezeption von Quellen über entsprechende Editionen gezeigt, dass selbst auf diesem hohen Reflexions- und Abstraktionsniveau die klassische geschichtswissenschaftliche Arbeit notwendig und gewinnbringend ist.

Anmerkungen

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9 Siehe z. B. Münkler, Imperien.

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